Community and Belief: the Development of Anglo-Saxon Christian Burial Practice, AD 700-1066



Volume I

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Short Abstract

The central aim of this thesis is to reveal patterns about burial practices over time and across the physical space of Anglo-Saxon England between 700 and 1066. This integration of geographical and chronological distribution analysis is achieved through bringing a breadth of unpublished Anglo-Saxon-period archaeological data to the fore that is now available due to advances in digitisation. It is argued that middle and Late Anglo-Saxon burial practice highlighted different levels of communities visible through burial practices: the family, who choose to overlap their graves to be together; the village community, which chooses to include the poor or ill and the dangerous in their midst; the region, in which the community travels or trades, and share the same custom of grave types; the religious community, which, in teaching about the Day of Judgement, leads the 'little community,' and fuses local practice, religious identity, and social rank. This is demonstrated through a combination of examination of the literary sources and both simple and statistical analysis of a broad sweep of new archaeological material. This thesis hopes to provide a typology and chronology for mid- to late Anglo-Saxon burial practice, creating a systematic, clear view of the consolidation, then diversification, of Christian burial practices in and across Anglo-Saxon England before the Conquest on a regional and national level.

Long Abstract

This thesis argues that changes in Anglo-Saxon burial practice between the early eighth and eleventh centuries reflect wider regional social and cultural transformations which were occurring across the same period.

The town and country planning legislation of the mid-1980s and early 1990s vastly increased the number of excavated Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, discovering sites in locations previously either inaccessible under buildings or ignored in favour of the larger scale, high-profile field excavations of the 1960s and 1970s. This has meant that the last thirty years have been fruitful in producing archaeological records from most counties in England and Scotland, allowing the opportunity for a holistic, rather than regional, examination of English burial sites of the Anglo-Saxon period to be performed. The development of online databases such as the Archaeological Data Service, which curates unpublished 'grey' archaeological reports, and Heritage Gateway, which is a digital collection of heritage listings and records from most English counties, has allowed ready access to information about a larger number of archaeological sites than ever before. These resources have made possible a study that would have been unthinkable before 1980, or even in the early 2000s.

In my thesis, I have made use of this newly accessible, geographically and chronologically broad data to address the methodological and scholarly omissions of earlier scholarship which used un-contextualized case studies as illustrations or which limited themselves by using archaeological data bound by artificial boundaries reflecting modern county, and country, lines. Through my examination of this new dataset, I have demonstrated that mortuary practices followed both regional and cultural boundaries, and have pinned down what is meant by the amorphous 'variety' in burial practices so widely cited in current scholarship. Further, I offer an explanation for how and why it changed over time, across regions.

To create this database, I have systematically collated and analysed all mid- to late Anglo-Saxon churchyard burials excavated between 1950 and 2017 in minster, rural church, and field cemeteries in England and southern Scotland (up to the Northumbrian Firth of Forth boundary) that have been dated to the period c. AD 700-1066. I have then used the framework of both processual statistical modelling and post-processual socio-cultural analysis to interpret the quantitative data, and applied my findings to chapters studying the way in which spatial organisation of the churchyard reflects social status, the way in which early medieval English protected their dead from the soil, physical methods of memorializing the deceased, and the possibility of the dead being 'pollutive' in their own right. This has produced a more nuanced understanding of the multitude of burial practices of the mid- to late Anglo-Saxon period, identifying previously unnoticed patterns of practice.

I conclude that the changes in commemorative forms were local reactions to various socio-cultural and political changes as much as the by-product religious development across those three and a half centuries.

The thesis is organized spatially, moving from the churchyard down into the grave, considering the grave furniture and then the body itself. It opens with an introduction which locates this study in the existing literature. As mentioned above, despite the growing popularity of mortuary archaeology and death studies, recent scholarship on death and burial in the early medieval period has fallen into two camps. First, a spate of well-researched, but geographically limited, archaeological theses written in the early 2000s (Buckberry, Craig-Atkins, and Cherryson); and second, more general works which have been largely contented to rely upon case studies for their archaeological information and which thematically discuss death and burial through other lenses: space, from Helen Gittos; literature and purity from Victoria Thompson; and legal, penitential, eschatological and liturgical viewpoints from Helen Foxhall Forbes. These scholarly works are rich in literary sources, but understandably cannot survey excavations widely; they thus illustrate documentary evidence without advancing our understanding of the extent of the material changes. Even Hadley and Buckberry, who bring together the best of both documentary and archaeological words, conclude from Buckberry's archaeological data that the forms of burial in the tenth and eleventh centuries were 'highly varied' due to the initiative of local communities. They fail to address, however, who these local communities might be or why these practices might vary. As described above, the digitalization of archaeological data in the last ten years has enabled me to address these elisions in research, combining my own examination of the sources with contextualized archaeological data to determine how, when, and why these variations in burial practice took place. The introduction further wrestles with and addresses theoretical and historiographical approaches to comparing text and material culture, and describes and explains the methods of statistical analysis used in the conclusions.

Chapter 2, 'Space: the internal organisation of churchyards,' focuses on the internal organisation of churchyard cemeteries, determining the various interior structures of Anglo-Saxon churchyards. It establishes that burials in minster and churchyard cemeteries were organized by sex, age, and social status, as has previously been proposed, but determines that the change in structure varied more in the later Anglo-Saxon period than the middle. This chapter's new analysis has found that these patterns varied between minster and non-minster church cemeteries as well as between church and field cemeteries. It also confirmed previously hypothesized patterns of burial distribution in the churchyard. Although much has been made of keeping the body whole in spite of the position advanced by Augustine of Hippo that the soul could ascend to Heaven whether the body was in one piece or not, this chapter also shows that minster and church cemeteries were more, not less, likely to have intercutting over time, even though those in charge of a church's burial grounds organized

their churchyard space actively, suggesting a shift in priorities shifted towards personal preferences in burial placement and family plots.

Chapters 3 and 4 are grounded in the database, and address the typology and distribution of grave types (Chapter 3) and grave variations (Chapter 4). Their central questions are: what were the distribution of the burial types and variations, and what were the causes of any concentrations in distribution, temporal or geographical.

Chapter 3, 'The Typology and Distribution of Burial Forms,' interrogates the cemetery dataset that I have created to examine grave types. It describes the form, distribution, and chronology of each burial type in turn, exploring their geological context, any written evidence, and analogous examples from Ireland and the Continent. It demonstrates that many burial types were regional, making use of local material (tile lining) or building upon earlier Iron Age practice (stone lining). It also demonstrates that a single burial practice, such as log coffins, can possess multiple meanings in very separated localities.

Chapter 4, 'Adorning the Deceased and the Grave,' moves systematically through grave variations just as Chapter 3 addressed grave types. It finds that these inclusions in the grave are somewhat regional, but mainly appear to be community-based, hewing to one type of cemetery over another and spread, in some cases, through ecclesiastical and social groups, particularly along coastal networks with Ireland and Scandinavia was fuelled by separate communities' different interpretations of what was helpful to include in the grave to represent, or aid in, preparation for Resurrection.

The last chapter, Chapter 5: 'The Body: Commemorating and Interacting with the Dead,' uses separate literary, liturgical, and archaeological evidence to explore conflicting approaches to handling the deceased body in Anglo-Saxon England and to incorporating the deceased's social persona in the grave. It explores folk practice and the ways that a community may have been involved or excluded from directing a loved one's funeral, and questions how tradition and taboo influenced how lay and church communities commemorated their life and interacted with their dead body. This includes postulating a more elite and ostentatious role for shrouds as part of a burial kit, examining the inclusion of the 'dangerous dead' within church cemeteries, and using anthropological analogues to identify possible apotropaic grave inclusions.

Finally, the conclusion brings together the findings of the previous chapters to look at the relationship between the observations that have been drawn from this comprehensive appraisal of the archaeological, written, and material sources. It outlines the patterns and developments in burial practice, as stated above, and how they were driven by identity, networks, faith, and local tradition. It looks ahead towards fruitful areas of future study in religious history and mortuary archaeology which have been opened by this thesis' findings.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

I. Introduction

1.1 Problem Statement

Death prompts the living to actions rooted both in faith and in personal and familial identity. The rituals surrounding it are as much a by-product of those left behind as they are a representation of the deceased: the amount of wealth and time at the survivors' disposal, the cultural obligation or financial ability to donate to the burial tableau, the expectation to host parties or wakes based on established cultural practice or social position, or alternatively to perform dramatic acts of grief, may all take precedence over the wishes of the dead. Even if the deceased had set aside funds for their own funeral or written a will while alive expressing their wishes, at the end the dead have no say in whether their funeral, burial, or commemoration occurs in the manner they intended. It is established within both archaeological and modern anthropological scholarship that, while it is not necessarily possible in pre- or proto-historic societies to reconstruct horizontal or vertical social structure from mortuary attributes, a person's burial nonetheless reflects not only their social persona (or their social persona as viewed through their survivors), but also how they were perceived and wished to be remembered by their community.[1]

[1] The *social persona* is a term used in anthropological role theory which refers to the range of social identities characterizing a person for any given interaction; first postulated by Goodenough (1965) and then developed by Arthur Saxe; W. Goodenough, 'Rethinking 'Status' and 'Role': Towards a General Model of the Cultural Organisation of Social Relationships,' in M. Blanton (ed.), *The Relevance of Models to Social Anthropology* (London, 1965), 1-24; A. Saxe, *Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices* (PhD Thesis, U. Michigan, 1970), 4-7.

Since the 1960s, this idea that the social persona is perceptible in a person's burial has led scholars to use mortuary practice to infer social structure in historical as well as ethnographic studies.[2] Such inference in Anglo-Saxon scholarship has hinged mainly on the classification of grave goods, as has the subsequent focus on determining immigration patterns and establishing local identity in the early Anglo-Saxon period.[3] In studies of both modern and ancient populations, funerals and the grave have been shown to be vehicles for the expression of ethnic and cultural identity; in Anglo-Saxon studies, research in this vein has usually centred upon the question of Anglian and Viking immigration and identity, or the process of Christianization.[4] This thesis investigates burials in the period after the initial 'Conversion,' a time which still witnessed considerable cultural and political change and

[2] The original surveys first presented in the proceedings of the 1966 symposium of the American Anthropological Association included Saxe and Binford's theories on determining social structure from mortuary practice, still cornerstones of the field today despite their methodological issues. Early medieval scholars continue to use burials to deduce aspects of horizontal (role) and vertical (class) social structure today. See: N. Stoodley, *The Spindle and the Spear: a critical enquiry into the construction and meaning of gender in the early Anglo-Saxon inhumation burial rite*. BAR Brit. Series 288 (Oxford, 1999).

[3] 'Early Anglo-Saxon' is defined as the period c.450-650AD. Since the nineteenth century, scholars have drawn parallels between early Anglo-Saxon grave goods and continental materials on the basis of Bede's comment in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* stating the continental origin of English immigrants (see, for example, the work of E.T. Leeds on classification of grave goods, and T. Wright, who uses grave goods as proof positive of the truthfulness of Bede's statement). This initial focus on grave goods has shaped both subsequent scholarship and site recovery (see below). Modern studies continue to link grave goods to local and immigrant identity, but with additional nods to horizontal and vertical social status as part of the social persona: J. Hines, *The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England in the Pre-Viking Period.* BAR Brit. Series 124 (Oxford, 1989); H. Härke, 'Changing Symbols in a Changing Society: The Anglo-Saxon weapon burial rite in the seventh century,' in M. Carver (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo* (Woodbridge, 1992), 149–165; T. Martin, *The Cruciform Brooch and Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2015), chapter six.

[4] A modern example is in E. Reimers, 'Death and Identity: Graves and funerals as cultural communication,' *Mortality* 4.2 (1999), 147-166: Reimers studied funerals of ten different immigrant groups and several Swedish ones in a modern Swedish cemetery; even though all of the deceased were buried (save one) and had markers in the same cemetery, in the case of the immigrants, each funeral contained noticeable differences from the Swedish norm and signals pointing to their specific non-Swedish religious or cultural identity, even in instances where the funeral was performed in Swedish.

upheaval, in order to shed light on the intersection of regional culture and religious practice in Anglo-Saxon England.

It is a common explanatory device to ask readers to imagine the 'everyday' Anglo-Saxon: let us call him Oswin. In another introduction, he would be the man to focus on, and a description of his funeral and his grave would be produced using a mélange of archaeological and literary material. But who is Oswin? Is he a farmer, a thegn, or a prince? Whatever we might imagine of his social status and identity might enable the extrapolation of information about his grave, as has been noted in previous scholarship. But as the distribution maps produced by this study will show, even if we knew that Oswin was a farmer, the place where he ploughed the land might have determined how he was buried as much as his social status did. Was he a Briton, Pictish, from Dal Riata or Strathclyde? Did he identify as an Anglian or a Saxon, as a person from Kent or Dumnonia, a man of Wessex or a descendent of Danes? Did he live in the hills of Deira away from court, or was he on land associated with a country manor only two miles from a minster, and how would his situation affect his burial? Would that change depending on whether he was buried in a churchyard or a field cemetery, and what would be the difference between those two graves? In addition, the sparseness of written sources for this period, and the uneven distribution of such sources throughout these four centuries, often leads to a flattening of the 'Anglo-Saxon' lived experience across time: how would Oswin's burial in the same area change had he been buried in AD 710, 850, 900 or 1000? Though present scholarship can only guess at the liturgy used at his bedside and burial, particularly in the early portion of this examined

period,[5] this project will help provide a base from which we may begin to extrapolate the death, and life, of all of these different possible 'Oswin's.

The central aim of this thesis is to reveal tentative patterns about use of burial practice over time and across the physical space of Anglo-Saxon England between AD 700 and 1066. In doing so, this thesis, wide in both chronological and geographical scope, has two objectives:

First, this study hopes to provide a typology and chronology for mid- to late Anglo-Saxon burial practice, creating a systematic, clear view of the consolidation, then diversification, of Christian burial practices in and across Anglo-Saxon England before the Conquest on a regional and national level. This integration of geographical and chronological distribution analysis is achieved through bringing a breadth of unpublished Anglo-Saxon-period archaeological data to the fore. In adding a chronological aspect missing from many studies, this thesis hopes to avoid the 'flattening' of the Anglo-Saxon lived experience across many centuries, and aims to produce a chronological framework which, though unable to provide incontrovertible answers about why some forms of burial came into and fell out of practice, will enable future researchers to head in the correct direction.

Second, in using unpublished archaeological material in a holistic context with other sources, I aim to address a gap in the study of how burial variation was informed by and

[5] As of 2019, no one has yet performed a thorough examination of the British burial office and Offices of the Dead for this period. Some of the surrounding liturgy has been examined, however: Victoria Thompson has studied the bedside *ordines* for the dying, whereas Helen Gittos publicised the unusual funerary procession for a monk of Winchester, found in an 11th-century sacramentary (Worcester Cathedral Library F.173, fos. 204-25r) as well as rites to consecrate a cemetery; V. Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2004), chapter 4; H. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013), 140-141. I hope to address this absence of examination of these particular funerary offices in a post-doctoral project, having already begun analysis and comparison of surviving manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon burial offices, Offices of the Dead, and Masses for the Dead.

influenced (or not) by social attitudes, regional tribalism, or political uncertainty. One aspect of this is the hope to uncover, however faintly or tentatively, the attitudes towards death of those who were living daily with it, the majority of whom were engaged at some level in the goal of attaining salvation—the avoidance of permanent spiritual death—for themselves and those around them. Laymen and bishops, shepherds and thegns, all were buried and often in some way commemorated; by establishing a typology and chronology of these funereal practices, this thesis hopes to make space for future scholarship to consider the interaction between lay and church traditions upon the forms of burial for these many possibilities of 'Oswins' (and 'Osgyths') across England up to the Firth of Forth. Considering these questions in the light of the archaeological data, this thesis will theorize about what senses of identity, regionalism, and tradition might have existed among these varied early medieval inhabitants of England and southern Scotland. Analysis of this thesis' dataset, in combination with a careful consultation of the historical sources, will advance our understanding of both the meaning as well as the varied practice of 'Anglo-Saxon' burial in its society.

1.2 Literature Review

1.2.1 State of the Current Thinking/ Research

Recent advances in the study of early medieval death and burial in England can be broken into three groups. The first of these contains archaeological surveys, usually focussed upon a particular region (Northumbria, Wessex, Lincolnshire, etc.) which produce a gazetteer of burials within the region which meet their individual criteria and then examine them using bioarchaeological and, increasingly, statistical methods. The second area of research

encompasses studies which use burial as a stepping-stone from which to explore an aspect of (usually social) history. These differ from the previous type of studies in that they aim at the outset to be interdisciplinary, and are explicit in using archaeological material in the form of case-studies, mainly as examples from which one can draw historical conclusions on childhood, the advent of the Vikings, or the extent to which burial can reflect political and social structure or the influence of the church. The final type of scholarship can be gathered under the heading of theoretical approaches to archaeological questions. At the same time that the aforementioned renaissance in mortuary archaeology was occurring in osteology labs and history and literature departments across Britain, some archaeologists, such as Devlin and Williams, turned to theory to push forward both scholars' analysis of the mentality and social structure of the early medieval English, and our understanding of the techniques which shape mortuary theory itself. The counterpart to exploring the theoretical frameworks of anthropology in this group is testing analytical methods from other sciences, as archaeologists such as Sayer have done in using statistical spatial analysis and as Bayliss, Hines, and Scull have done with advanced Bayesian modelling.[6] These theoretical and statistical approaches resulted not only in more critical evaluation of the *mentalités* of Anglo-Saxons, but of the pre-conceived models of social structure which all scholars bring to their research.

[6] D. Sayer and M. Wienhold, 'A GIS-Investigation of Four Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries: Ripley's K-function Analysis of Spatial Groupings Amongst Graves,' *Social Science Computer Review* 31.1 (2013), 71-89; A. Bayliss, J. Hines, K. Høilund Nielsen, G. McCormac, and C. Scull, *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries AD: A Chronological Framework* (Leeds, 2013).

The heart of the first group, regional surveys, can be traced to a series of archaeological theses written in the early 2000s consisting of well-researched regional surveys of the evidence for Anglo-Saxon burial practice, beginning with Helen Geake and Elizabeth O'Brien in the mode of Audrey Meaney's previously unmatched 1964 survey of Anglo-Saxon burial sites.[7] In the years surrounding the start of this thesis, renewed attention has been given specifically to the utility of bioarchaeological study of skeletal remains to decode both the influence of Anglo-Saxon social structure upon contemporary funerary practices and to understand the lives, or at least physical health, of those who were buried. This archaeological use of osteological and forensic science on early medieval English burials was spearheaded by Craig, Hadley, and Buckberry, and the archaeothanatological approaches which at the outset of my research were dismissed as impossible due to lack of skeletal data have now been employed by Green and Mui, whose theses are hotly anticipated.[8] Bioarchaeological indicators of stress have been used in many case studies to infer social status (as is done in Chapter 2 of this study), proving that a cemetery can be an 'actively constructed representation of society,' and that spatial analysis of stress indicators on

[7] H. Geake, *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion-Period England, c.600-850,* BAR Brit. Ser. 261, (Oxford, 1997); E. O'Brien, *Post-Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England: Burial Practices Revealed,* BAR Brit. Ser. 289 (Oxford, 1999); A. Meaney, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (London, 1964); J. Buckberry, *A Social and Anthropological Analysis of Conversion Period and Later Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sheffield (Sheffield, 2004); A. Cherryson, *In the Shadow of the Church: Burial practices in the Wessex Heartlands c. 600-1100 AD.* Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sheffield (Sheffield, 2005); E. Craig, *Burial Practices in Northern England, c. A.D.650-850: A Bio-Cultural Approach.* Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sheffield (Sheffield, 2009).

[8] Hadley; S. Mui, *Positioning the Corpse: Death, posture and representation in early medieval England.* Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Durham (forthcoming); E. Green, *What Are We Missing?—The importance of archaeothanatology for revealing funerary practices.* Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Sheffield (forthcoming).

skeletal remains can demonstrate social organisation within a cemetery.[9] But this bioarchaeological turn still does not fully address the broader picture of the potential influence of social, economic, and political change upon cemetery practice. Hadley and Buckberry, who bring together the best of both documentary and archaeological evidence, do conclude from Buckberry's archaeological data that the forms of burial in the tenth and eleventh centuries were 'highly varied' due to the initiative of local communities; a significant observation.[10] They do not address, however, who these local communities might be, their size, the level at which the variation occurs, or why these practices might vary.

Similar surveys examining a single burial type (e.g. charcoal) or mapping burials as part of a regional study have also produced gazetteers, increasing both the corpus of known burials and comparative material from unpublished reports, but facing similar chronological, spatial, and theoretical limitations.[11] Advances in this have been made by a very recent (2017) project by the archaeology department at the University of Durham to produce an index of early medieval cemeteries in Northumbria, 300-800AD, which contains information down to the burial, and has stated its intent to escape a narrow focus by melding social and scientific approaches with a similar emphasis on visualisation through mapping programmes, as in this study. Equally, the long-awaited *Mapping Death* project from

[9] E. Craig and J. Buckberry, 'Investigating Social Status using Evidence of Biological Status: A case study from Raunds Furnells,' in A. Cherryson and J. Buckberry, *Burial in Later Anglo-Saxon England, c. 650-1100AD* (Oxford, 2012), 128-141.
[10] D.M. Hadley and J. Buckberry, 'Caring for the Dead in Late Anglo-Saxon England,' in F. Tinti (ed.), *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2005), 121-147 at 136-8.
[11] Angela Redmond's work contains a list of all published 'traditional' Scandinavian burials in Scotland, Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the north of England: A. Redmond, *Viking Burial in the North of England.* BAR Brit. Ser. 429 (Oxford, 2007); J. Holloway, *Charcoal Burial in Early Medieval England* Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Cambridge (Cambridge, 2009). Holloway discusses the preliminary results from his gazetteer in J. Holloway, 'Charcoal Burial: A Minority Burial Rite in Early Medieval Europe,' in E.M. Murphy (ed)., *Deviant Burial in the Archaeological Record* (Oxford, 2008).

University College Dublin with its accompanying volume by Elizabeth O'Brien is a very significant undertaking which, when complete, will complement rather than reproduce this work.

Produced contemporaneously to the gazetteer-driven studies, the works in history from the early 2000s which have discussed Anglo-Saxon death and burial thematically using inter-disciplinary material have, accordingly, relied principally upon case studies for their archaeological information and understanding of burial practice. The most significant of these studies examine mortuary practice through adjacent contexts: space, liturgy, and architecture, from Helen Gittos; literature, art history, and a touch of anthropological theory from Victoria Thompson; and legal, penitential, eschatological and liturgical viewpoints from Helen Foxhall Forbes.[12] This strand of scholarship uses death and burial to cast light upon Anglo-Saxon culture, drawing upon the assumptions and deductions about the ways in which burial reflects society as explained above. These studies are largely non-archaeological, using literary sources as foci (as in some chapters of Victoria Thompson's *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*), and examine evidence for Anglo-Saxon death and burial practice from complementary disciplines such as history, art history, literature and theology.

To achieve such depth in other disciplines sometimes comes at the cost of using cherry-picked published excavations from archaeology as case-studies rather than embarking on

[12] Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places*; Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*; H. Foxhall Forbes, *Heaven and Earth in Anglo-Saxon England: Theology and Society in an Age of Faith* (Farnham, UK, 2013).

wide-spread surveying. Even within the last ten years, studies within the discipline of history which discuss burial practice have still founded their conclusions upon descriptive syntheses of case studies, despite the wealth of archaeological material available.[13] The use of case-studies in non-archaeological scholarly work supports original research, but often leaves questions about the extent to which the quoted material represents the broader archaeological picture. Literary evidence always has its shortcomings disclaimed, whereas a reader unfamiliar with the wider scholarly conversation may place undue weight on archaeological examples inserted into the text, such as the 'Roman' mausoleum at Wells.[14]

The final group of publications can be split into anthropological and scientific approaches. Though in different disciplines—one much more theory-focused than much contemporary early medieval archaeology, and the other published increasingly in science journals rather than archaeological ones—the similarity in these works lies, in my view, in the way in which they advance not merely our understanding of Anglo-Saxon culture, but our theoretical approaches to it, and the way in which archaeology and history as disciplines can use these approaches.

A sub-group of these publications concentrates upon adapting the anthropological and sociological understandings of memory and identity to study the early medieval mind, and on how such understanding of identity or preservation of memory as viewed through the

[13] Major works which focus holistically on a non-mortuary aspect of Anglo-Saxon life often do this, naturally, as their breadth and scope forbid the time and space necessary to do a complete reckoning of sites: J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), S. Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, 600-900* (Cambridge, 2006), S. Crawford, *Daily Life in Anglo-Saxon England* (Santa Barbara, California, 2009).

[14] The reader who may know W. Rodwell, *Wells Cathedral: Excavations and Structural Studies, 1978-93* (London, 2001) may not be familiar with J. Blair, 'Wells: Roman Mausoleum or just Anglo-Saxon Minster?' *Church Archaeology* 5-6 for 2001-2 (2004), 134-7.

act of burial can reflect both *mentalité* and social structure and inform our archaeological conclusions. Howard Williams, for example, read the funeral through a post-processual lens in his 2006 monograph combining anthropological theories of structuration (previously only applied to periods when burials had grave goods) with existing approaches to memory, and applied them to a broader range of archaeological material interpreted as commemorative practices.[15] These approaches to memory, adopted contemporaneously in the discipline of history, were previously reserved for Neolithic and Iron Age periods despite the inconsistency in written material across the Anglo-Saxon period, and produced valuable insights when applied to Anglo-Saxon burials and associated monuments.[16] These techniques have continued to be applied in recent work on identity.[17] The emphasis upon the impact of the individual on commemorative practices is a welcome counterbalance to the recent cultural-historical turn within archaeology which, while useful, can risk being over-sweeping.

The other area of research expanding the boundaries of archaeological theory is the interdisciplinary use of advanced computer modelling, which broader swathes of archaeologists now have access to as programs such as ArcGIS become more accessible in university faculties beyond Social Sciences, and as statistical modelling software grows

[15] H. Williams, *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain* (Cambridge, 2006).
[16] The history of which is outlined in F. McHugh, *Theoretical and Quantitative Approaches to the Study of Mortuary Practice*. BAR Int. Ser. 785 (Oxford, 1999) and Z. Devlin, *Remembering the Dead in Anglo-Saxon England: Memory theory in archaeology and history.* BAR Brit. Ser. 446 (Oxford, 2007). As an example of its earlier use in the discipline of history, but within the Anglo-Saxon period: C. Cubitt, 'Monastic Memory and Identity in Early Anglo-Saxon England,' in O. Frazer and A. Tyrrell (eds.), *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain* (London, 2000), 252-76.
[17] C. Orsini, 'Negotiating Identity in North-East England and South-East Scotland,' in S. Semple, C. Orsini, and S. Mui, *Life on the Edge: Social, Political, and Religious Frontiers in Early Medieval England* (Braunschweig, 2017), 83-90. S.M. Dooley-Fairchild, *Material Belief: A critical history of archaeological approaches to religious change in Anglo-Saxon England* (Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Durham, 2012).

increasingly sophisticated. While cluster analysis was used frequently in the 1960s-80s on grave good assemblages as part of the processual/ New Archaeological phase in archaeological theory, more sophisticated analysis – including methods to cross-check the results from said cluster analyses (see below)—is being created and tested all the time, as can be seen in annual proceedings of the CAA (Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology) Conference.[18] This sort of analysis used to be constrained to experts in this area (e.g. Alex Bayliss), who have produced revolutionary conclusions through decades of familiarity with the existing material and older modelling software.[19] However, less-specialised archaeologists and even historians are increasingly using Bayesian modelling and statistical testing to check recent and longstanding historical hypotheses. This movement towards questioning assumptions through testing reproducible models—a feat not performable in pure history as a discipline alone—is quickly changing the landscape of archaeology.

Each of these approaches to mortuary practice in the Anglo-Saxon period has produced valuable contributions and expanded our understanding of how people in early medieval England might have conceptualised and reacted to death in their midst. Yet even though each of these clusters of scholarship reaches across disciplines, they do not always use the

[18] I. Hodder and C. Orton, *Spatial Analysis in Archaeology* (Cambridge, 1976); Sayer and Wienhold, 'A GIS-Investigation of Four Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries,' 71-89; J. Bradbury *et al.,* 'Making the Dead Visible: problems and solutions for 'big' picture approaches to the past, and dealing with large 'mortuary' datasets,' *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 23.2 (2016), 561-91; I. Johnson, 'Aoristic Analysis: seeds of a new approach to mapping archaeological distributions through time,' in Magistrat de Stadtwein, et al. (eds.), *[Enter the Past]: The E-Way into the Four Dimensions of Cultural Heritage: CAA 2013, Proceedings of the 31st Conference, April 2003*. BAR Int. Ser. 1227 (Oxford, 2004), 448-52. Each issue of the CAA contains new experiments in modelling and analysis spanning not only mapping and testing for statistical significance, but also digital simulations of movement, 3D modelling and visualization, advanced application of maths towards predicting past results and cost-path analysis: See *CAA International,* http://caa-international.org/proceedings/published/.

[19] The most complete Bayesian model of the use of grave goods in Anglo-Saxon England, to date is Bayliss, Hines, *et al.*, *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries AD*.

bulk of data made available to them through individual progress. As described above, the digitization of archaeological data in the last ten years has enabled me to approach these elisions in research, combining my own examination of the sources with contextualized archaeological data to determine how, when, and why these variations in burial practice took place.

1.2.2 Research Gap

Missing from this cross-section of regional, thematic, and specialized studies is a close examination of the chronology of mortuary practice after the early Anglo-Saxon period (400-650AD).[20] First, current scholarship lacks a timeline of the shifts in burial practice once grave good use largely ceased at the end of the seventh century. Although Alex Bayliss and John Hines have just completed a chronology for sixth- and seventh-century grave goods, no one has yet attempted a similar typology and analysis for the changes in the ways in which the cemeteries were organized, the ways the grave cut was delineated, and the ways the body was treated and decorated in middle to Late Anglo-Saxon burial. Second, no one has created a comprehensive study of the geographical distribution of these grave types and variations. Regional studies have naturally not taken their conclusions beyond the borders of their area, though case studies from outside them which have contributed theory to the field (such as Raunds Furnells) do get mentioned.[21] Finally, minster burial has not been

[20] Lacunae of E-J. Pader, per Buckberry and Hadley; fixed in the early Anglo-Saxon period by Härke and Stoodley: E-J. Pader, *Symbolism, Social Relations, and the Interpretation of Mortuary Remains.* BAR Int. Ser. 130 (Oxford, 1982); H. Härke, 'Knives in Early Saxon Burials: Blade Length and Age at Death,' *Medieval Archaeology* 33 (1989), 144–148; Stoodley, *The Spindle and the Spear.*

[21] Boddington's report on the excavation of the cemetery at Raunds Furnells (Northants.) is often cited for this, being one of the first English reports to use Duday's theory of archeothanatology to extrapolate information about burial practice from body position: A. Boddington, *Raunds Furnells:*

considered separately from burial in churches not supporting a religious community, nor has there been a comparison of cemeteries near a church (minster or non-minster) and field cemeteries (away from a visible religious building), although execution cemeteries and 'deviant' burials have recently been the recipients of excellent and thorough attention, as mentioned above.[22]

The reason for these oversights—making chronological assumptions across four centuries, treating what were at the outset of the eighth century at least four polities spanning over 50,000 square miles as a single unit—rest in the lack of published data and the difficulty in accessing excavation reports, published or unpublished. Both types of data, archaeological and written, are sparse in this period. Pre-Conquest manuscripts and codices were cannibalized for pages in the later Middle Ages, lost, or destroyed, leading to a paucity of written sources. Regular publication and even full excavation of archaeological sites are often lacking, hobbling the primary way in which information about material culture sees the light of day after over a millennium underground. Reports are strewn across county councils, in excavation companies' filing cabinets, unpublished ten or even thirty years after an excavation, half-published online or in journals, and generally are difficult to obtain even upon request to a council or archaeological trust. The reports which can be obtained are often limited in scope by funding, without sufficient money to hire someone to write a pathology report or perform radiocarbon testing. Further constraints include time,

The Anglo-Saxon Church and the Churchyard (London, 1996). Duday's findings have been built upon and refined in more recent research: F. Blaizot, 'From the Skeleton to the Funerary Architecture: A logic of the plausible,' *Anthropologie* 52.3 (2014), 263-284.

[22] A. Reynolds, *Anglo-Saxon Deviant Burial Customs* (Oxford, 2009); A. Mattison, 'The Execution and Burial of Criminals in Early Medieval England, c.850-1150,' (Unpublished PhD, U. of Sheffield, 2016); Deviant burials discussed in Chapter 5: The Body: Commemorating and Interacting with the Dead, below.

especially in developer-funded archaeology, and constraints imposed upon archaeology in churches, often taking place in active churchyards and listed buildings, and prompted only by the commission of new flooring in a chapter house or new drainage or heating systems. Even very good reports may focus on the fabric of the Anglo-Saxon church, the material goods, and all aspects other than burial, which might receive a throw-away mention and hardly a drawing. Projects such as the Bournemouth AIP and the Library of the Archaeological Data Service are aiming to solve this gap in reporting and in grey literature accessibility, but both data and reporting still remain uneven. Despite this difficulty in obtaining evidence, the new online accessibility of recent material means that more can and should be done with this valuable corpus.

1.3 Structure of thesis

This thesis is organized spatially, moving from the churchyard down to the grave furnishings, then examining accessories within the grave, then addressing the treatment of the body itself. This introduction (Chapter 1) locates this study in existing scholarship and doubles as a methodology chapter. It explains the methods of analysis used to arrive at and test this thesis's conclusions, and wrestles with theoretical and historiographical approaches to comparing text and material culture.

Chapter 2, 'Burial Grounds: Spatial organisation of the dead,' focuses on the internal structuring of churchyard cemeteries. It uses both the larger database and examination of a subset of high-quality excavations to probe graveyards' internal organisation by social status and demography, and determines how cemeteries' spatial hierarchy of graves and internal structure varied depending upon the type of graveyard. Having plotted over fifty sites'

skeletal stress markers, age, and sex on site maps, it confirms that burials in minster and churchyard cemeteries were organised to varying degrees by those markers as has previously been proposed, [23] but goes farther to discover that churchyard cemeteries possessed this organisation the most, and that the same internal organisation extended only rarely to field cemeteries. Further, it concludes that minster and church-associated cemeteries underwent more change in internal structure over time than field cemeteries, and that, by the end of the period, church and minster cemeteries prioritised family plots over concerns about damaging existing interments.

Chapters 3 and 4 are grounded in the database, and address the typology and distribution of grave types (Chapter 3) and grave variations (Chapter 4). Their central questions ask what were the distribution of the burial types and variations, and what were the causes of any concentrations in distribution, temporal or geographical.

Chapter 3, 'The Typology and Distribution of Burial Forms,' interrogates the cemetery dataset that I have created to examine grave types. It describes the form, distribution, and chronology of each burial type in turn, exploring their geological context, any written evidence, and analogous examples from Ireland and the Continent. It demonstrates that many burial types were regional, making use of local materials (e.g. tile lining) or building upon earlier Iron Age practice (e.g. stone lining).

Chapter 4, 'Adorning the Deceased and the Grave,' moves systematically through grave variations just as Chapter 3 addressed grave types. It finds that these inclusions in the grave are somewhat regional, but mainly appear to be community-based, hewing to one type of

[23] Buckberry and Craig, 'Investigating social status using evidence of biological status: a case study from Raunds Furnells.'

cemetery over another and spread, in some cases, by networks of ecclesiastical, Scandinavian, and as-yet-unidentified groups. The broad yet not-wholly-overlapping distribution of several variations, combined with contemporary written sources, suggests that their inclusion was fuelled by separate communities' different interpretations of what was helpful to include in the grave to represent, or aid in, preparation for Resurrection.

The last chapter, Chapter 5: 'The Body: Commemorating and Interacting with the Dead,' uses different literary, liturgical, and archaeological evidence to explore conflicting approaches to handling the deceased body in Anglo-Saxon England and to incorporating the deceased's social persona in the grave. It explores folk practice and the ways that a community may have been involved or excluded from directing a loved one's funeral, and questions how tradition and taboo influenced how lay and church communities commemorated their life and interacted with their dead body. This includes postulating a more elite and ostentatious role for shrouds as part of a burial kit, examining the inclusion of the 'dangerous dead' within church cemeteries, and using anthropological analogues to identify possible apotropaic grave inclusions.

Finally, the conclusion brings together the findings of the previous chapters to look at the relationship between the observations that have been drawn from this comprehensive appraisal of the archaeological, written, and material sources. It outlines the patterns and developments in burial practice, as stated above, and how they were driven by identity, networks, faith, and local tradition. It looks ahead towards fruitful areas of future study in religious history and mortuary archaeology which have been opened by this thesis' findings.

II. Quantitative Methodology

2.1 Theory and Research Approach

2.1.1 Theory

While not slavishly following the processual, heavily-quantitative methodology of the 1960s-80s, recent regional studies have proved the utility of both Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and statistical analysis, which can act as heuristic tools to make inferences about human behaviour and to check assumptions often made when examining archaeological results in the light of textual evidence.[24] Basic statistical analysis, in many cases, draws attention to limitations in the theoretical perspective.[25] When studying the Anglo-Saxon period, this is particularly useful in offsetting historical accounts and theories of ideological processes and social structure which are often guesses at best, given the relative paucity of texts upon which to draw such information, particularly concerning burial practice. Even where contemporary texts do survive, these descriptions of rituals and burial practice, though phrased as if the way they have been recorded is the only way they have ever been performed, only truly reveal information about the ethnographic present, not an unbroken past.[26] This shortcoming, which is not always addressed in scholarly literature, evinces the need for more critical assessment, and indicates that using the archaeological data in a quantitative as well as illustrative fashion could be a useful counterweight to offset hagiographic and liturgical accounts. Accordingly, I incorporate archaeological information using a critical, 'pragmatic' research paradigm to temper and adjust my conclusions.[27]

[24] Buckberry, *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.*
[25] McHugh, *Theoretical and Quantitative Approaches*, 2.
[26] Pader, *Symbolism, Social Relations, and the Interpretation of Mortuary Remains*, 69.
[27] J.H. Kelley and M.P. Hanen, *Archaeology and the Methodology of Science* (Albuquerque, 1988).

2.1.2 Rationale

It is undeniable that patterns of use exist within cemeteries, and these patterns are assumed to possess social meaning.[28] Using large-scale patterning to aid in theorizing about changes of ideology is a well-established methodology in the field of pre-historic archaeology, as is the use of serial analysis to identify regional variations in mortuary practice in the Bronze Age, the early Iron Age, and the pre-Columbian Americas.[29] By using quantitative data to counterbalance my theoretical and historiographical approach, I follow a long line of archaeologists from the mid-1980s onwards who have chosen to offset literary and documentary context with statistical analysis, particularly in the field of mortuary studies, avoiding the hypercorrection in the quantitative direction which characterised processualism and New Archaeology, as well as the opposite overcompensation of post-processualism. In the past dozen years, small-scale statistical analysis of internal cemetery structure to determine horizontal or vertical social structure has been applied to the distribution of grave forms as well as grave goods, which, until recently, were (and, actually, still are) the favoured objects of study.[30] Whereas random inter-and intra-site sampling is better suited to studies of grave goods than to typographical studies of grave forms due to better and more careful recording, statistical analysis of distribution can be cautiously

[28] McHugh, *Theoretical and Quantitative Approaches*, 62.
[29] L.A. Beck (ed.), *Regional Approaches to Mortuary Analysis* (New York, 1995), particularly chapters one, nine, and eleven; S.J. Shennan, 'Ideology, Change and the European Early Bronze Age,' in I. Hodder (ed.), *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology* (Cambridge, 1982), 155-61; S.J. Shennan, *Quantifying Archaeology*, Second edition (Edinburgh, 1997); D.K. Charles, 'Woodland Demographic and Social Dynamics in the American Midwest: Analysis of a Burial Mound Survey,' *World Archaeology* 24.4 (1992), 175-197.
[30] Sayer and Wienhold, 'A GIS-Investigation of Four Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries,' 71-89; Analysis of grave forms: Buckberry, *Conversion Period and later Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*; Cherryson, *In the Shadow of the Church*; Craig, *Burial Practices in Northern England*. Distribution of grave goods, both inter- and intra-site: the collected works of Heinrich Härke; O'Brien, *Post-Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England*; H. Geake, *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion-Period England*.

extended to grave types and variations.[31] This statistical approach to geographical patterns of grave type use is employed as a final step in the typological section of this thesis (Chapters 3 and 4).

2.2 Study Design

2.2.1 Determining the sample

In archaeology it is not always possible to get a large sample. The research design of this project, however, demands collection over a broad area, and due to regional differences in site excavation, publication, and preservation (see 'Limitations' section, below), and the number of variables, creating a small, random, 'formal' selection from the over 300 sites surveyed would have been a very haphazard and uneven sample indeed. With a collection of material goods, one can select a random assortment from the whole dataset; programs exist to enable random selection of objects (usually pottery) from a database, which can then produce a formal sample to be tested for statistical significance. Using the whole dataset risks a lack of randomness typical of 'purposive' or 'typical' sampling, which complicates our ability to make confident and testable statements about the relevant populations.[32] By using cemeteries from multiple areas, however, the sample of all the discovered graves is equivalent to a random sample of the ideal underlying population of all of the graves which existed.[33] When designing the dataset, I endeavoured to group observations into a limited number of categories to aid in the presentation of frequency

[31] C. Fowler, 'Relational Typologies, Assemblage Theory and Early Bronze Age Burials,' *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 27.1 (2017), 95-109.
[32] Orton, *Sampling in Archaeology*, 3.
[33] C.E. Buck, W.G. Cavanagh, C.D. Litton, *Bayesian Approach to Interpreting Archaeological Data* (Chichester, 1996), 80.

distributions: there are not separate categories, for instance, for head-boxes, 'ear muffs,' and pillow-stones (which are all classified in one 'pillowstone' category), or for 'stone lining on sides only,' 'stone lining on sides and on bottom,' 'stone lining on sides and at head,' 'stone lining only on bottom,' 'stone cover on top' (all classified in one 'stone lining' category), etc. This reduced redundant variables which might obscure broader patterns of use.[34]

Because there is no way of knowing the total quantity of all cemeteries created in the Anglo-Saxon period, as there are no consistent records and often even suspected cemeteries have not been excavated, the database created by this study constitutes an informal sample, based upon archaeological, and, in a sense, historical criteria. 'Informal' samples consist of the deliberate choice of the archaeologist, based upon time, cost, or convenience; at one end of the spectrum are 'purposive' samples which are collected based upon existing knowledge of the site, such as geophysical survey; in the middle, a 'typical' sample is hand-selected by the archaeologist to represent a collection of objects, such as case studies; at the other end, 'haphazard' samples might be collected from the surface of a potential site.[35] Obtaining a truly 'formal' sample, which is randomly selected according to statistical procedures, is more difficult, and is more easily performed for a single region, site, or assemblage. This line of 'formality' in sampling can be difficult to walk. Helen Geake designed her sample to include only the best sites with grave-by-grave information, although her entire population included poor sites as well; her sample of 1093 furnished graves out of 2583 could hardly be called hand-picked as in case studies, and veers into the

[34] Shennan, *Quantifying Archaeology*, 22.
[35] C. Orton, *Sampling in Archaeology* (Cambridge, 2000), 2.

purposive.[36] A truly random sample would include unusable sites, so her subset of grave-by-grave recording is, in a sense, 'typical.' But Geake had an advantage in that her study was on use, not distribution: random sampling could produce statistically significant information in that context. Random sampling of my full population, described below, could possibly produce a testable chronology for some grave types; however, it would be unable to address any of the research questions on distribution posed above. For that reason, my sample, while limited as recommended through reducing the number of variables and by excavation date to encourage good-quality data, is 'informal' in Chapters 3 and 4 in the sense that I am not hand-picking the best data, but am reflecting everything regardless of quality when examining the chronology and distribution of burial types.[37] When examining biological indicators of social status in Chapter 2 on the other hand, the sample consists of a purposive choice of 25 out of 58 highly-rated sites (levels 4 and 5)[38] which contain the human biological and pathological data and site plans necessary to attempt a discussion of the internal use of churchyards and biological social status, regardless of the evenness of the location distribution.

Table 1: Sample of database used per chapter

Chapter	**Research Question**	**Sample**	**# of Sites**
2 (testing rows)	What percentage of sites have rows?	All sites containing 3 or more graves	270
2 (testing groups)	Are there groupings by age or sex? Are there groupings by family?	Sites of level 4 and 5 with over 3 graves	57

[36] Geake, *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion-Period England,* 23.
[37] For more on sampling see: 2.2.1, above.
[38] See Section 3.1.2 'Cleaning the data,' below.

2 (mapping bioarchaeology)	Do cemeteries show internal organisation when bioarchaeological indicators of social status are examined?	Sites of level 4 and 5, with site maps *and* grave-by-grave record of bioarchaeological indicators	30
3	What are the distributions of grave types?	Whole database	337
4	What are the distributions of grave variations?	Whole database	337
5	What are the positions of knives in the graves?	Knife burials of all levels	56

While different indicators of dealing with the 'dangerous dead' are presented in table form in chapter 5, they are not subject to statistical analysis or maps, and thus do not appear in the above table (Table 1).

2.2.2 Determining the dataset

To answer the initial question of whether the distribution of different burial practices was patterned geographically and chronologically, and whether and how said practices and distributions reflected social, religious, or cultural change, I initially sought a smaller dataset, following the principle, 'a relatively small quantity of good-quality data is often of more use than large amounts of low-quality data.'[39] When I began this thesis, I wished to focus solely on practice in minster cemeteries (e.g. Winchester, Wearmouth, Jarrow, St. Oswald's Gloucester, etc.), several of which have the benefit of being attested to in texts. Many minsters were recorded during the large-scale archaeological excavations of the 1970s, and a few (such as the excavation at The Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne) have been accidentally found through the obligatory excavations which must precede new building projects due to

[39] Orton, *Sampling in Archaeology*, 7.

the British government's 1990 guidance paper Planning Policy Guidance 16, an extension of the Town and Country legislation acts.[40] As my master's thesis was built upon case studies, in this project, I chose instead to undertake a broader survey, gathering as many data points as possible to answer questions about distribution of burial practice and putative networks between minsters, curious to determine whether the change in practice had social or theological roots.[41] After discussion with my supervisors, it was determined that in order to answer the research question about minsters I ought to look at all of the *church* cemeteries excavated in addition to the minsters. Further, in consultation with Duncan Sayer, Sarah Semple, and Martin Carver at the Early Medieval Archaeology Student Symposium, I determined that in order to make any conclusions about church cemeteries, I would need to also consider the *field* cemeteries to ensure that I did not find a practice to be partial to the church because I was only looking in that direction.[42] These two decisions led to the establishment of a huge dataset, complicated by the fact that the area studied could not be split into southern or northern England (as such lines might falsely influence conclusions about regionalism), nor split chronologically due to the fact that both relative dating by stratigraphy and radiocarbon dates (even when calibrated to one sigma) often span two-hundred-year periods, and not neatly, which would render any chronological split unable to confirm or demonstrate change over time. I have excluded execution cemeteries from this

[40] Planning Policy Guidance 16: Archaeology and Planning, November 1990, which acknowledged archaeological sites to be a limited resource and recommended that if preservation *in situ* was not feasible, then developers were allowed to preserve 'by record' through archaeological excavation or watching brief. This has now been supplanted by Planning Policy Statement 5 in 2010, and general guidance issued by Historic England as of 2015.

[41] A. Sheldon, 'Decoding Northumbrian Monastic Burial Practice: Vetting influences from France, Ireland, and Scotland' (Unpublished MA Thesis: Durham University, 2013).

[42] 'nEMASS': Early Medieval Archaeology Student Symposium 2014, jointly hosted by the 'North-East' universities Newcastle University, Durham University, and the University of York.

dataset, however, as they reflect exceptional practices and have been widely covered by other scholars.

The dataset's geographical limitations exclude both sites north of the Firth of Forth, which was, according to Bede, the greatest extent of Northumbria in the eighth century, and Wales, which was culturally and politically separate from the rest of England in the sub-Roman to Norman period.[43] This still leaves an enormous quantity of data to be examined. Chronologically, I have limited the survey data to cemeteries which date between c. AD700, about forty years after the last 'regional' nominal conversions to Christianity in England, and the Norman Conquest, defined here as post-Battle of Hastings in 1066. The AD700 boundary is the only chronological boundary drawn without reference to a historical event in the survey, and is drawn at that year due to a sea-change in the extent to which objects are included in graves after AD700.[44] This boundary serves as a practical limitation, as the study of early Anglo-Saxon grave goods is an extensive topic which deserves greater care than one could offer in a thesis centred upon other research questions. Further, graves with goods generally receive more attention in scholarly material, particularly in work discussing

[43] Wales had its own complicated history during the early middle ages, being not a single political unit and possessing many different ruling families, largely unconnected to the English, up through the eleventh century: see *Annales Cambriae*. There are records of political submission of various Welsh rulers to the English in the tenth century, but the claims do not continue into the eleventh century: W. Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1982), esp. 85, 114. Detailed examinations of Welsh and Western British material have been conducted by David Petts: D. Petts, 'Cemeteries and Boundaries in Western Britain,' in S. Lucy and A. Reynolds (eds.), *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales* (Leeds, 2002), 24-46; D. Petts, 'Variation in the British Burial Rite: AD400-700,' in D. Sayer and H. Williams (eds.), *Mortuary Practices and Social Identities in the Middle Ages* (Exeter, 2009), 207-221.

Bede mentions the Firth of Forth as a northern boundary 'which divides the lands of the English from those of the Picts' when describing the church of Abercorn: *HE* IV.26: D. Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100* (Cambridge, 2003): discussion of Northumbria's changing northern frontier can be found in his work on pages 30-34.

[44] For a definitive reassessment of the chronology of the dating of various grave goods, see Bayliss and Hines (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave-Goods*. Bayliss and Hines determined that the end of use of formal furnished burial was c. AD 670.

horizontal or vertical social structure. Excluding these graves lowers the number of cemeteries included significantly, particularly as both antiquarian historians were, and amateur metal-detectorists remain, more likely to discover and record graves with goods in them. I do cite case studies of sites used entirely before AD700 where necessary in the typological and distributive analysis of Chapter 3 to illustrate possible origins of the various burial types. In choosing sites which fall between these date boundaries, I have erred on the more inclusive side, given the broad date span presented by stratigraphy or radiocarbon determinations, and have weeded out extraneous sites only after initial review. The graph below plotting all of the cemeteries by type against their date range—presumed or probable start and end date—shows how this date limitation works: some included cemeteries start before the AD700 start date but end after it, and others may end far after the c.1066 end-date (the latest below is 1500), but are included since they start in the considered period, though only the pre-1066 phases are considered (Figure 1).

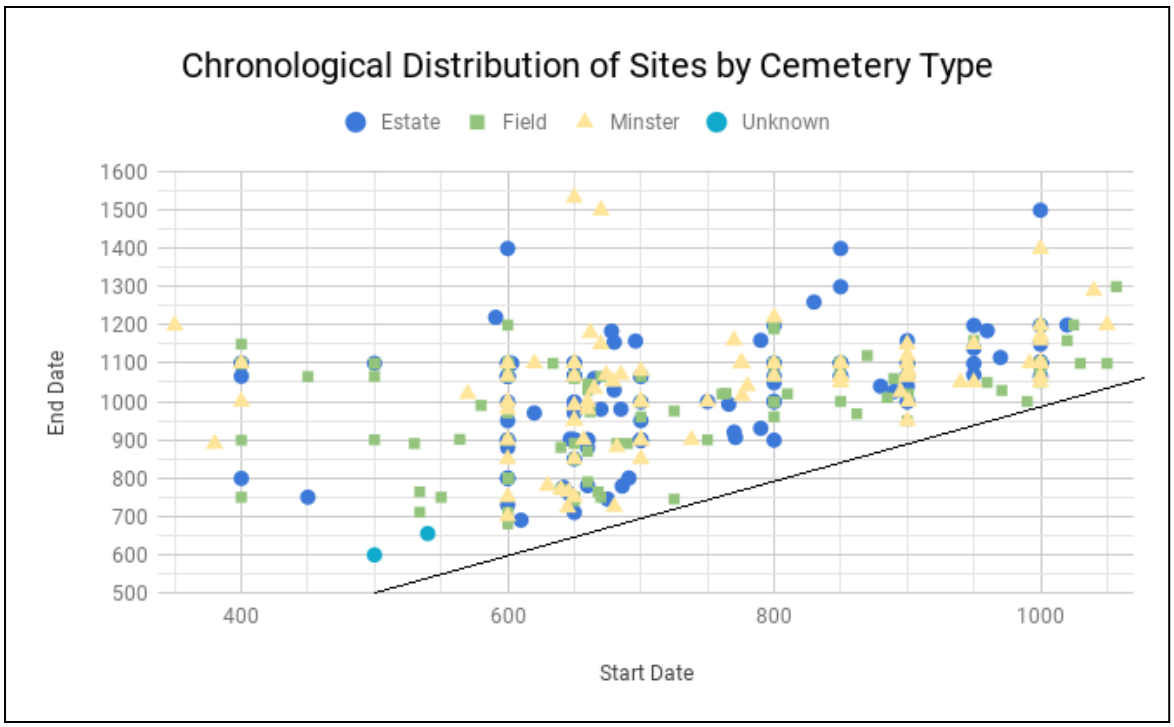


Figure 1: Distribution of sites over time by cemetery type. Distance from black 1:1 line indicates the length of time each cemetery is presumed to have been active/ range in which cemetery may have been active. End dates over 1100AD indicate multiple stages within a cemetery's use spanning into the high Middle Ages and later.

The other way I limited my research sample doubled as a method of cleaning the data: I sought a point in time in the modern period at which the variables necessary to my study were more reliably reported, increasing data evenness while shrinking the dataset. No archaeological sites were used which were excavated before 1950, as the majority of these were excavated to antiquarian standards, without plans of the site, grave-by-grave accountings, illustrations of the graves, or even descriptions of grave linings. A few better-recorded 1950s excavations, such as that at Thetford Girls' School where drawings of the skeletons and their stone pillows remain in the Norfolk archives, led me to draw the limit as early as 1950; another possible cap was 1960, as the rising influence of processualism in

archaeology encouraged more standardised site recording after that date.[45] Imposing restraints upon the date of excavation for accepted sites increased the quality of the majority of the archaeological reports examined.[46]

In this survey, the cemeteries are categorized into three groups: 1) minster cemeteries, which likely served a religious community in addition to the regular population, 2) 'church' cemeteries, which can feasibly be said to have been attached to a church, whether estate, rural, or urban; and 3) 'field' cemeteries,' which were not proximate to either type of religious establishment or building. While minster and church cemeteries are both centred on religious buildings and have many things in common, they are separated here for several reasons. Minsters, where there were multiple priests and a cohort of vowed religious to assist them, may have led, organised, and performed burial rites in a more elaborate or canonically comprehensive way than those at smaller churches, which might have had a priest who may or may not be well-educated, or, as Karen Jolly suggests, a small church which might have no clergyman in residence at all. Minsters also served an additional population of abbots/abbesses, vowed religious, and occasionally bishops, who may have followed different burial forms to the general population.

Further, minsters were treated differently from churches in Anglo-Saxon law. In the second laws of Edgar (AD960x962), the code differentiates 'old minsters' to distinguish them from new local churches of the period. Edgar's laws also mention churches on bookland, a

[45] Excavations by Thetford Grammar School, 1955 and 1957-8: P. Wheatley, 'Thetford Girls' Grammar School, 1957: Excavations on Mr. Pearson's Land, July 15th-July 23rd, 1957.' (Unpublished Document). Norfolk HER 5755; P. Wheatley, 'Site of St. John's Churchyard. Trial Excavation by the pupils of Thetford Girls' Grammar School under the direction of Miss P. Wheatley.' (Unpublished Document). Norfolk HER 5755.

[46] The full explanation of the method by which my data was cleaned is discussed in section 3.1.2, below.

precursor to the explosion of estate churches in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the Textus Roffensis (AD1002x1023), a ceorl needed to have a church among other possessions in order to be entitled to the rank of thegn. VIII Aethelred, issued in 1014, and the first laws of Cnut echo the classification, with the emphasis that

> 'All churches are not entitled to the same status in a temporal sense, although they have the same consecration in regard to religion'/ 'Ne syn ealle cyrcan na gelicre mæðe worldlice wirðe, þeah hi godcundlice habban halgunge gelice.'

Initially, I considered separating the churches into 'rural' (feldcircan) and estate (on bocland/ likely 'legerstow'). However, a significant portion of the studied churches with burial grounds are unattested before the Conquest, with the only evidence being the existence of medieval churches nearby. This meant that determining the subtype of non-minster church would, for a high proportion of these, be ultimately fruitless. Therefore, I have left the 'churches' in opposition to the minsters, but, just as I make no distinction between the old minsters and the new foundations as discussed in II Edgar, I do not separate the church cemetery type into subgroups.

2.3 Obtaining the Dataset

2.3.1 Information within dataset

To answer the above research questions about the origins, chronology, distribution and purpose of post-AD700 burial rites, I needed certain contextual, perceptual, and demographic information. The contextual information was qualitative and descriptive, situating the burials within the landscape, their local context, and their own cemeteries. This contextual data was gleaned from various contemporary written sources, such as charter boundaries, and described the physical relation of the cemetery to the surrounding

landscape and known local features, as well as to any associated settlement or industrial finds, and included any connections with local saints (as in the mention of St. Dunstan's burial at Winchester) or associated people of note (such as Orm's rebuilding of Kirkdale church, associated with the cemetery). Landscape surveys performed by archaeologists before excavation also valuably noted the existence of prehistoric, Iron Age, or Roman remains near cemeteries, to which I have added (where not already mentioned) a consideration of the local geology. Further contextual information which could not be quantified included information about the physical distribution of the graves within the cemetery, stratigraphic information for the relative dating of graves within those cemeteries, and identifying the National Grid Reference (hereafter 'NGR') of the site for mapping purposes.

Perceptual information included chartable data which could be parsed into different attributes described for each grave (or cemetery) via a yes/no (binary 1/0) division. This consisted of the presence of burial types and variations, recorded for the whole cemetery in the majority of the 400+ initially investigated cemetery sites, and on the grave level for the cemeteries examined in depth for Chapter 2's intra-cemetery study. Palaeopathological signs of stress, namely cribra orbitalia, dental enamel hypoplasia, and tibial periostitis, as well as certain dental attributes (caries and abscesses) were also recorded on the grave level where available. Photos of the excavated graves themselves were gathered where possible, as they often provided more detailed information about the implementation of grave types and their distribution throughout the cemetery than offered in the text of a site report.

The demographic information gathered for each cemetery was largely numeric, consisting of the quantity of burials in each cemetery, the age for each interred skeleton (where this can be determined), and the uncalibrated radiocarbon determinations for the graves, where listed. Sexes of skeletons were also recorded, where available, using the usual archaeological divisions of M (male)/ ?M (possibly male)/ ? (indeterminable) / ?F (possibly female) /F (female).[47] This quantitative information enabled analysis of correlations between grave type, sex, bio-archaeological indicators of social status, and age, used in Chapter 2, and analysis of the chronology of grave types within Chapters 3 and 4.

2.3.2 Data Collection

After determining the dataset, as described above, I attempted to be as methodical as possible in obtaining it. This consisted of a four-pronged approach:

First, I created a vocabulary of terms, defining which aspects and characteristics of the grave and cemeteries I would be examining and determining what the definition for each of the types and variations would be for the purpose of this study. As a major goal of this study was to construct a relational database which could be reused, it was critical to use codes and terms consistently and without ambiguity, so that the variables could be retrieved and queried accurately and consistently.[48] Second, I obtained data online through interrogating the *Heritage Gateway* and *Canmore* websites, which collate the historic environment

[47] For the most widely used sexing and aging scheme, as well as grading for cribra orbitalia: D. Brothwell, *Digging Up Bones*, third edition (Oxford, 1981).
[48] Shennan, *Quantifying Archaeology,* 7.

records for England and Scotland, respectively.[49] To these, I added the John Gray Centre website, which possessed information for the historic environment records of the East Lothians, the 'Keys to the Past' website, which is the online repository for a selection of archaeological records from Northumberland and Durham, and other county HER sites where applicable.[50] In instances where these sites and Heritage Gateway did not return results, or there was an advisory that results were incomplete, I emailed and called the county councils and several city/ UAD HER offices, which hold records separately to their surrounding county councils, requesting either a digital copy of the material which fit the criteria, or an appointment to personally visit the councils and collect the data myself.[51] This enabled me to create a nearly-comprehensive list of all sites which fit the criteria, published and unpublished.

Third, I reviewed the journals and proceedings of local archaeological societies dating from 1950 onwards, cross-referencing articles against the references provided by the HERs. This largely covered the published material. Sites which were not previously in the database were added to it, and information gleaned from these articles were added to individual records for each burial site. Further, I sifted through the excavation reports in *Discovery and*

[49] *Heritage Gateway,* www.heritagegateway.org.uk/ , 2012-2017; *Canmore: National record of the historic environment,* Historic Environment Scotland, canmore.org.uk/ , 2013-2017.
[50] *John Gray Centre,* www.johngraycentre.org/ , 2012-2017; *Keys to the Past,* www.keystothepast.info/, 2010-2017.
[51] Visited: Berkshire Archaeology, Buckinghamshire County Council, Durham County Council, Hertfordshire County Council, Norfolk Historic Environment Records Office, North Yorkshire County Council, West Yorkshire County Council, Wiltshire County Council. A few offices and archaeological companies did not respond to repeated emails, some due to being closed, or short staffed, due to government austerity. Several have closed since my initial 2014 enquiries, to the great detriment of both researchers across England and the future archaeological record as the HER office aids in preventing developers from using land without excavating in areas of high probability of archaeological finds, and stores the subsequent reports of findings.

Excavation in Scotland and *Excavations in Medieval Britain and Ireland* (the addendum to *Medieval Archaeology,* available in complete form until 2009 and in excerpts since), adding sites and information in the same manner as above.

Fourth, I cross-checked my information against existing regional surveys which overlapped in part or in whole with the period of AD700-1066. These included surveys by Jo Buckberry (Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, AD850-1100), Annia Cherryson ('Wessex', AD600-1100), Elizabeth Craig-Atkins ('The North', AD650-850), David Etheridge (southern Scotland, AD400-1100), and the typological survey of James Holloway ('Charcoal,' which extended into the High Medieval period).[52]

2.4. Techniques of Analysis and Synthesis

2.4.1 Database management

The database was initially divided into two parts: cemeteries which were associated with a church (church or minster cemeteries), and cemeteries or single graves which could not be proved on literary, historical, archaeological or geophysical grounds to be adjacent to a church which was in use sometime in the seventh to eleventh centuries (field cemeteries). While this, at first, provided a quick method to compare relative results between church and

[52] Counties surveyed by Cherryson: Berkshire, Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Isle of Wight, Oxfordshire (below the Thames), Somerset, and Wiltshire; Counties surveyed by Craig-Atkins: Northumberland, Tyne and Wear, Durham, North Yorkshire, East Yorkshire, West Yorkshire, South Yorkshire, Cumbria, Lancashire, Greater Manchester, Merseyside, and Cheshire; Scottish counties surveyed by Etheridge: Borders, East and West Lothian, Dumfries and Galloway, Strathclyde (south of the Clyde), and 'part of Central Region': D. Etheridge, *Some Aspects of Early Medieval Burial Practice in Southern Scotland, AD 400-1100.* Unpublished MPhil Thesis, University of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1993); Holloway, *Charcoal Burial.*

field cemeteries in the data, it proved clumsy when importing the data into ArcGIS, so the database was combined into one body in summer 2015. The database was recorded using Microsoft Excel; each site also possesses an electronic file in which all of the pertinent information from both published and unpublished sources are kept, including site maps as well as digital copies of archival material where possible. The Gazetteer (Volume II) is composed of summaries from this file and database.

The spatial data was collected for each site in the British National Grid Reference (NGR) form, which, through a macro in Microsoft Excel, was converted to the latitude and longitude coordinate system for entry into ArcGIS (British National Grid Projection). While I sought the greatest possible degree of specificity for the spatial data, occasionally the NGR given in a report is purposefully vague (centred in a one-kilometre grid square) rather than the specific location of the site produced using GPS, to prevent accidental destruction of a site by the curious or the detectorist. However, since data was to be mapped primarily at a national scale, I made no attempt to pursue coordinate locations of four-digit-referenced sites to within the ten-metre or one-metre square. This data, gathered specifically for the purpose of modelling, was cleaned before analysis to address a few sites whose published reports had not included an NGR, and correct a few sites which had been erroneously placed due to clerical error in entering the data. Georectification was not performed, as the survey was too large both in scale and in site number for the importation and cartographic placement of individual site plans to be useful.

The Microsoft Excel database was exported into an ArcGIS geodatabase format, a file type which aligns features and both their spatial (physical extent and shape) and non-spatial

properties (e.g. age, grave type, other descriptors) with their geographic spatial attribute data in queryable table form. Using the ArcGIS geodatabase format also allowed the data to be processed using ArcGIS's spatial analysis tools (discussed below, Section 2.4.2), which enable the user to test for clustering and statistical significance of correlations within the metadata.

When producing the digital cartography, only limited topographical information was included for reasons both of time and of pertinence to the research question; adding a landscape archaeology approach which would address the relationship with the topography relies upon an intimate knowledge of the landscape not possible at short study over such a large area, and regional studies have already examined the correlation between cemetery placement, political borders, and the landscape on a smaller scale with great success.[53] I have thus only included the major rivers, shorelines, and occasionally the Pennines, and produced thematic maps as opposed to topographical ones.

2.4.2 Methods of interpretation

Visual-Spatial Analysis

First, findings were drawn from the analysis of simple visual-spatial patterns emerging from the data as projected in ArcGIS version 10.5, a mapping software with tools for statistical analysis. Maps were made showing the distribution of site variables (e.g. grave type, minster or field cemetery status, inclusion of knives in graves), both singly across the whole chronology and in combination (field vs. non-minster church vs. minster cemeteries, for

[53] E.g. Orsini, 'Negotiating Identity.'

instance). These were further divided into 'time-sliced' maps, displaying the presence of grave types and grave variations century-by-century or by significant date ranges. Where radiocarbon dates were available for a number of sites utilizing a specific grave type or variation (e.g. pillow stones), I have displayed the chronological distribution of burial types using the OxCal calibration program, which produces both graphs and a multi-plot output using Bayesian modelling, showing the probable phases and comparative dates for a single grave type in a form comprehensible to the amateur as well as to the expert.[54]

Statistical Methods

In addition to the usual historical methods, some conclusions were made through statistical modelling of the data and testing of the significance of the geospatial and chronological patterns of use. Depending upon the query, I tested the data using both statistical significance tests as well as using Monte-Carlo simulation modelling, and, in one instance, a form of cluster analysis based upon Ripley's K-function which measures 'statistically significant clustering or aggregation and regularity' in internal spatial distribution.[55] This creation of multiple models increased the chance of catching errors and of disproving models made on incorrect assumptions.

The simplest of these analyses is the use of the chi-squared (X^2) test, which quantifies the probability that variables are independent (the null-hypothesis). This was used to test for interdependence between cemetery type (minster, field, or church) and grave 'type' as well

[54] OxCal online v. 4.3: C. Bronk Ramsey, 'Radiocarbon Calibration and Analysis of Stratigraphy: the OxCal Program,' *Radiocarbon* 37.2 (1995), 425-30; C. Bronk Ramsey, 'OxCal Output: Plots', *ORAU OxCal:* https://c14.arch.ox.ac.uk/oxcalhelp/hlp_output.html#plot; Bayesian modelling of radiocarbon dates is explained below in Section 3.4.1, 'Dating.'

[55] Sayer and Wienhold, 'A GIS-Investigation of Four Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries.'

as between cemetery type and grave variation. The chi-squared test on grave types was supplemented with a Monte Carlo simulation, to find relationships between specific values of the categorial variables representing cemetery type and grave variation.

Archaeologists have used multivariate methods of statistics such as cluster analysis to test for significant spatial clumping among variables.[56] The usual method for examining significant clusters of distribution starts with all the units to be clustered (e.g. graves) separately, and gradually joins any clusters that they may have formed, together, by an appropriate criterion, until eventually one cluster has been formed, consisting of all the units.[57] This technique works well for grouping samples based upon a single quality and testing whether they comprise statistically significant clusters or groups. These clusters, however, might represent cemetery density rather than chronology; they may indicate an intention to bury people in a specific manner, with a specific lining or a ritual inclusion, but cannot reveal the time-factor involved in the deployment of the practice over time.

To test chronological and geographic patterning jointly, in Chapter 4 I used the 'Space Time Cube' function, an extension of Ripley's K-function analysis that tests for clusters over time as well as space, which is found in the ArcGIS spatial toolbox for grouping analysis.[58] Rather than blanket-testing each variation, I only created a Space-Time Cube model of cemeteries

[56] E.g. Sayer's study testing whether spatial groupings existed within a sample of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Sayer and Wienhold, 'A GIS-Investigation of Four Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries.'
[57] Polythetic agglomerative method: McHugh, *Theoretical and Quantitative Approaches*, 64.
[58] See p. 206, below. 'Space-Time Analysis,' *ArcGIS Desktop,* ESRI (2017) http://pro.arcgis.com/en/pro-app/tool-reference/spatial-statistics/space-time-analysis.htm; 'Create Space Time Cube by Aggregating Points,' *ArcGIS Desktop,* ESRI (2017) http://pro.arcgis.com/en/pro-app/tool-reference/space-time-pattern-mining/create-space-time-cube.htm.

with charcoal burials, as this variation's burials are subject to the most radiocarbon dating, helping to form a more accurate model. As testing at two or three levels is considered good practice, the program was run using multiple sizes of 'bins' (50km and 100km squares) in order to 'catch' regional clusters of use, and to ensure that the results were not merely a by-product of the size of the query area.[59] The data was normalised before submission to the program by using a macro within Microsoft Excel to assign the 'duration' of each grave with charcoal that had a radiocarbon determination; the radiocarbon determinations were all recalibrated using the IntCal13 calibration curve, and rounded to the nearest 10 years so that ArcGIS could more easily sort the data into temporal bins. Just as the spatial dimension was tested on two levels, the chronological dimension was also tested for hot-spots (clusters of examples of use) on 10, 20, and 50-year duration intervals. Verification of cluster-analysis is a major issue within the field; graphical procedures using discriminant analysis, such as this, are one form of verifying results, but have not themselves been tested at length.[60] Nevertheless, this method produced a more refined statistics-based chronology of charcoal use, which, while difficult to test for statistical significance, provided a suggestion for interpretation and further research.

III. Limitations

The human impulse is to find correlations and patterns, even where there are none; conspiracy theorists are this impulse embodied. However, it is also the job of the curious

[59] Definition of a 'Level-1' versus a 'Level-5' quality site in section 3.1.2, 'Cleaning the Data', below.
[60] M.S. Aldenderfer, 'Methods of Cluster Validation for Archaeology,' *World Archaeology* 14.1 (1982), 61-72 at 62 (best practices) and 67 (discriminant analysis); see below, 'Limitations', for further discussion of the shortcomings of statistical analysis.

researcher to seek and see real connections between items of similar age, provenance, material, structure or type to answer questions about the past, and the challenge is to do so wisely without overreaching, but also without hedging so furiously that one has said nothing at all by the end of the work. Ideally, the early medievalist seeks to create as holistic a view as possible of daily life and practice within the period under discussion by utilizing all information at her disposal, integrating multiple sources of data: archaeological, material, literary, documentary. But each additional source of data involves new approaches to interpretation, and accordingly new problems both in ensuring data quality and in performing the methodology. Each method of interpreting data (whether statistical or through sociological, anthropological, or through other lenses) brings with it a different shortcoming; each attempt to interpret archaeological data to reach historical conclusions raises new and frustrating limitations. This section addresses questions about the quality of the data and its use, as well as explaining the limitations of both archaeological and historical methodology, and how unfixable aspects of that are dealt with within this thesis.

3.1 Maintaining Data Quality

The use of both qualitative and quantitative data demands methods to transform the various data into forms which can be compared to each other. From the outset it was apparent that the sites themselves, much less the records, were in highly varied states of a) completion of excavation, b) trustworthiness of analysis, and c) level of accessibility to the original data. This broad difference in quality would threaten the trustworthiness of my own data and the credibility of my conclusions if not addressed.

The first strategy employed to enhance the trustworthiness of the data was to filter the sites and data collected to determine which were the most important variables in my work, and whether they could be aligned to the same standards. Because my question hinges on the chronology of change, yet is based in a time period when absolute dating produces broad results and even relative dating from the included grave material is nearly impossible due to lack of grave goods, I wanted to prioritize sites which used radiocarbon dating to facilitate Bayesian analysis, which combines the relative and absolute dating information to provide a more narrow range of possibilities for the duration of a cemetery. As mentioned above, I limited the percent of my data which would not meet a high standard by setting the boundary for collecting sites at 1950, at which point more complete reports were created, with even the occasional radiocarbon date (although due to different processing methods those dates are no longer considered reliable).[61] I recalibrated all raw radiocarbon ages using the most recent calibration curve and calibration software (IntCal13 on OxCal4.3) to produce a set of comparable calibrated date ranges.

3.1.1 Problems in combining information from a range of SMR authorities

A further problem in attempting to compile a survey of all sites across such a broad region is that the study area includes 83 English Historic Environment Record (HER) offices associated with either Urban Authority Districts (UADs) or county councils, and 19 Scottish local authority areas. As already stated, the information collected from each of these offices was not necessarily equal; each office was performing to the best of its ability, but some had suffered layoffs, some were unstaffed, others, such as Liverpool, had been combined with

[61] See Section 3.4.1, 'Dating', below.

museums, and each had digitized their collections to a different extent. Thirty-eight HER offices were emailed for this project as their records were either not digitized, only partially digitized, or the results of their online databases referred to unpublished reports which were only held in physical offices; not all of them responded. Information obtained in-person from the HERs also varied widely in detail on a record-by-record level. Some records included helpful newspaper clippings; others, like Ailcy Hill, the original notebooks. Some only contained a single notecard with no additional material, and other records only gave secondary literature, such as Audrey Meaney's 1964 or Jo Buckberry's 2004 gazetteers, as a reference. Buckberry's work itself occasionally gives only an SMR reference, creating a chicken-and-egg record situation; such a reference implies that either the record did not exist before Buckberry, or that, although the information came from many sources published or unpublished, the SMR does not have any references aside from Buckberry.

This obviously posed a problem: sites which are ill-recorded, or even counties whose offices provide little information, may present the impression of absence when really there is just poor recording, which might distort any analysis of comparative use of grave type. Helen Geake, when cleaning her data for analysis, attempted to avoid this by creating a sample designed to remove the worst-recorded sites and then using a sub-set of only the sites which contained a grave-by-grave recording; Tom Moore used his entire sample, inserting caveats as necessary where inconsistencies in data quality were revealed by his ranking system (below).[62] I have combined these two approaches, ranking the entirety of my sample

[62] Geake, *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion-Period England*, 23: Her total sample subset consisted of 43% of the graves in her database; T. Moore, *Iron Age Societies in the Severn-Cotswolds: Developing narratives of social and landscape change*. BAR Brit. Ser. 421 (Oxford, 2006).

and using only '3's and higher for the internal spatial analysis of Chapter 2, but using all sites where grave types could be established from excavation reports, and not merely assumed absent due to negligence in publication, in chapters 3 and 4.

3.1.2 Cleaning the Data

At the suggestion of Sarah Semple, I used a rating system for the completion of excavation and extent of publication for the excavated sites modelled on Tom Moore's doctoral thesis published in the *British Archaeological Reports* British series as *Iron Age Societies.*[63] I inverted the system so that a higher number reflected greater detail on excavated material and refined the scale to reflect the type of data included in the reports:

Level 5: Fully excavated to a high standard, published with specialist reports, access to all details on a grave and skeletal level so as to be able to map grave type and skeletal pathology details within the cemetery. E.g. Barton-upon-Humber, Raunds Furnells.

Level 4: Excavated to modern standards, but without full publication, or with publication on a smaller scale. Interim specialist reports available, no chronological breakdown of pathology (all skeletons from start to AD1500 or 1800 assessed as one group), inconsistent grave-by-grave reports. Radiocarbon dating included. E.g. Rothley.

Level 3: Limited excavation, but with radiocarbon dating and some specialist reports. Drawings plotting location of cemetery and layout are present. E.g. St. Aldate's, Oxford.

[63] Moore, *Iron Age Societies in the Severn-Cotswolds*, 12.

Level 2: Evaluations, and small-scale excavations, usually unpublished or only available in brief interim reports. No drawings of cemetery layout or grave distribution. Dating and material culture evidence loosely sketched. E.g. Eccles.

Level 1: Only passing reference in *Discoveries in Scotland, Excavations from Medieval Britain and Ireland,* or HER reports. No specialist reports, no drawings of cemetery layout or grave distribution. Unreliable or limited dating. E.g. Arniston (Midlothian).

Level 0: Antiquarian or discovered to start and end pre-700. Created so that I could still track records cited in other gazetteers.

As Moore himself mentioned, this rating system is subjective, but its subjective nature is not all bad; even if imperfect, it reflects for the future the extent to which each site was published in the years that I compiled the survey. While in time many sites might be published properly (a '1' mention of 'Eleven Saxon graves were found,' with not a single further sentence of explanation, may be raised up to a level '3' journal article), or published to an even better extent (Winchester Old Minster, for example, might move from a '4' to a '5' once fully published), my data can be judged upon the condition it is in now, and, indeed, adjusted accordingly as improvements become available over time. This allows the reader to judge the dependability of my data and, indeed, for the dependability of my data to be increased over time, as I acknowledge the present state of the data and allow that this quality may improve as new publications appear. This also allows the reader to reuse the data in my gazetteer to draw their own conclusions, as the rating system informs them which sites are already in a condition for detailed analysis, and which might need subsequent research. The dataset was closed in July 2017.

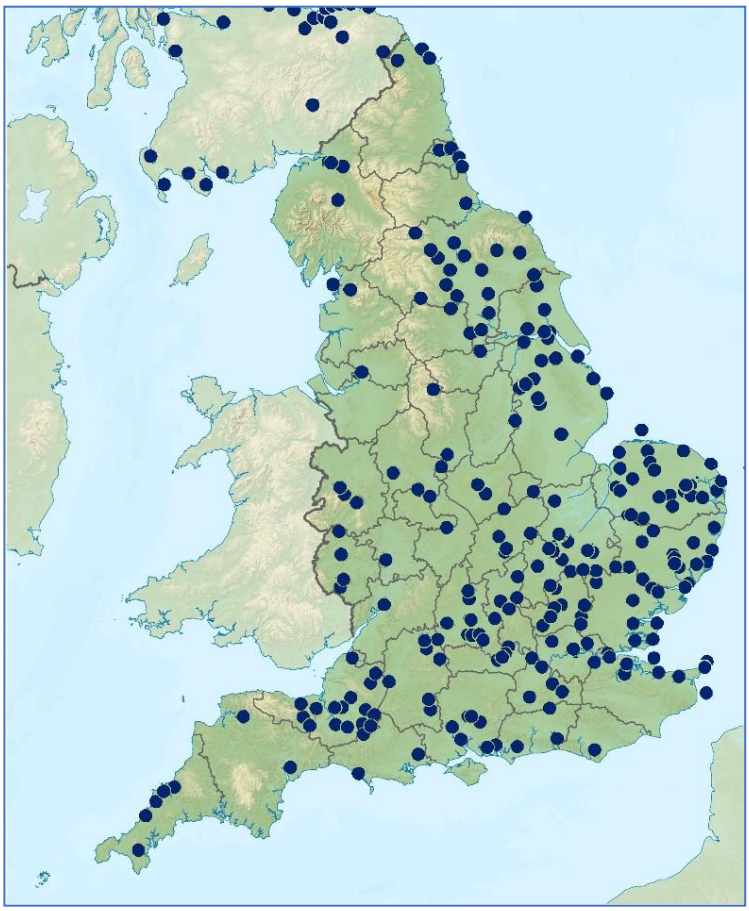


Figure 2: All cemeteries collated for this study against topographical map of the UK.

3.2 Excavation Distribution

While the methods for collecting data in this study were designed to be as thorough as possible, there are still a number of 'blank' spots on the map, given the fragmented and complicated nature of the archaeological data and its uneven collection and preservation (discussed below) (Figure 2). There are, no doubt, omissions within my database, no matter how thorough I attempted to be. However, a combination of population models and information on excavation distribution indicate that the larger gaps on the map can be explained by geological, historical, or archaeological factors. Areas which were historically little built upon include the Weald in Kent, a large segment of which is designated an Area of Natural Beauty (AONB) subject to zoning which discourages new building, and thus new excavation, the Pennines, and the Wash.[64]

[64] Per the National Park and Access to the Countryside Act 1949.

The English Landscape and Identities Project (EngLaid), which concluded in 2016, produced models of estimated population density in the early medieval and pre-historic periods in England based upon pottery, survival of material culture, and projections based upon the Domesday book, as well as density maps of all known archaeological excavations.[65] The areas of poor archaeological returns in my database appear to match the gaps in their maps, which were drawn from mass input from Historic Environment Records and the Portable Antiquity Scheme, combined. While the likeness in our lacunae hopefully indicates that there was not a potentially severe error in terms of my own data collection, it also indicates that both datasets may possess similar weaknesses as they are both drawn from Historic Environment Records.

However, while the EngLaid map suggests that there are areas without archaeological evidence which may have always lacked an early medieval population (Figure 3, Figure 4), the Domesday relative population density model which their project produced, based upon a combination of regression from nineteenth-century Ordinance Survey maps and information from the Domesday book, questions that as the only outcome. The hypothetical population count from this population model dramatically increases the density of population in areas such as the Pennines, despite the return in that area of hardly any archaeological material.[66] This gap between the material created in the past and what is found by archaeologists is termed by Letty Ten Harkel as the 'affordance': the interaction

[65] C. Green, C. Gosden, A. Cooper, T. Franconi, L. Ten Harkel, Z. Kamash, A. Lowerre, 'Understanding the Spatial Patterning of English Archaeology: Modelling Mass Data, 1500 BC to AD 1086,' *Archaeological Journal* 174.1 (2017), 244-280.

[66] Distribution pattern as part of a historical process: T. Hägerstrand, 'What about People in Regional Science?' *Papers of the Regional Science Association* 24 (1970), 143-54; see also T. Hägerstrand, *Om tidens vidd och tingens ordning* (1991).

between buried archaeological evidence and its recovery.[67] This 'affordance' includes not only a varied geographical density of site excavation, but also the potential for geographic disparities in quality of both the site and the skeletal assemblage recovery. The difference caused by soil geography upon the skeletal assemblage is discussed below.

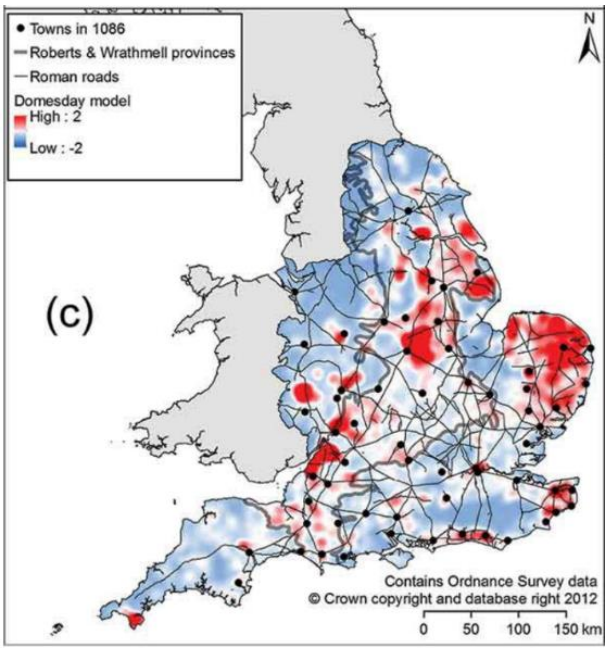


Figure 3: Map displaying early-medieval population model based upon Domesday book; Green et al., 'Modelling Mass Data,' 268.

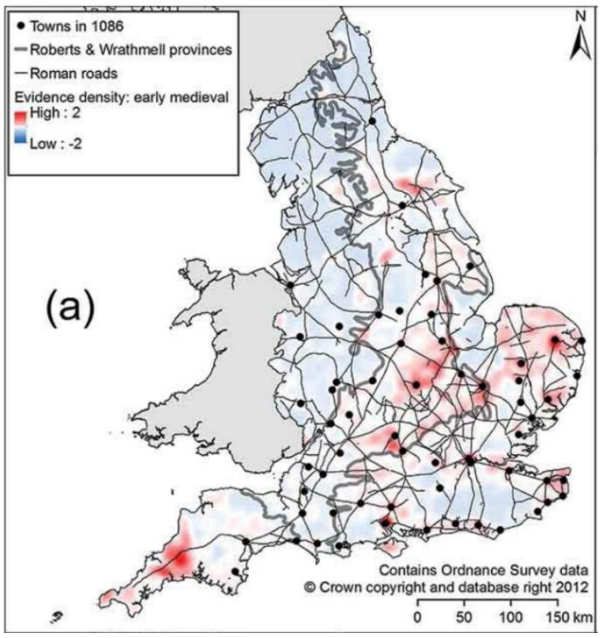


Figure 4: Map of an alternate estimated population density model based on early medieval archaeological evidence instead of Domesday data; Green et al., 'Modelling Mass Data,' 268.

3.3 Interpreting Quantitative Methods

3.3.1 Problems in Sampling

As addressed above, one of the limitations of this study is that, while some of the inter-site questions can be answered through random sampling, some variables have such limited survival (e.g. log coffins) that a random sampling might consist of only 5 sites—not enough

[67] Green *et al.,* 'Understanding the Spatial Patterning of English Archaeology,' 253.

to determine geographical distribution of different burial practices over time. Further, random sampling of the dataset without altering it to contain graves from each county would create the possibility of a sample which omitted some regions altogether by accident. On the other hand, specifying the inclusion of every county might unfairly weight some of the counties despite their comparatively low numbers of cemeteries.[68]

3.3.2 Problems with Statistical Analysis

There are several potential hazards in using statistical analysis, which partly influenced the post-processual turn away from its use in the 1970s-80s. Improvements in computing have created more methods of cross-checking results, but, particularly in archaeological practice, there is a failure by most users to properly validate the results generated by clustering procedures.[69] A common solution is to refer to external criteria independent of the clustering process; this may, however, lead to circular reasoning, as a researcher might discard results which do not match expectations.[70] A test must be formulated to question an explicit expectation, and test a hypothesis, or else the data it produces is essentially worthless.[71] There is also the problem, already noted, of determining an adequate sample out of an already small and disparate population, when it is well-known that what has survived is already a mere portion of what previously existed.

[68] The nature and causes of the uneven distribution of sites and cemeteries, and our limitations in being able to firmly state that we can extrapolate the entire burial population from this sample, is discussed above in section 3.2, 'Excavation Distribution'.
[69] Aldenderfer, 'Methods of Cluster Validation for Archaeology,' 61.
[70] P.H.A. Sneath, 'Evaluation of Clustering Methods,' in A.J. Cole (ed.), *Numerical Taxonomy* (New York, 1969), at 257.
[71] McHugh, *Theoretical and Quantitative Approaches*, 62.

3.4 Problems in Interpreting the Archaeological Data

3.4.1 Dating Archaeological Material

Answering the research question relies upon the establishment of a plausible chronology for the various burial types and variations. This naturally involves dating, but in this period, when sites are unevenly spread across the region in question in both time and location, historical information about specific locations and their inhabitants is limited, radiocarbon dating returns broad results and is not always feasible, and datable stratigraphic changes mainly occur after the Norman Conquest, there are obvious complications. To establish the necessary chronological framework of burial types and variations, each cemetery had to be dated, and those which fell wholly outside of the assigned period (AD700-1066) were discarded. The methods by which I determined whether cemeteries were used in this period fall into two categories, each, naturally, with their own pitfalls: relative dating and radiocarbon dating. Radiocarbon dating is usually termed 'absolute' since the calibrated radiocarbon age produces a date range before the present that we tie to a calendar; I have avoided that term for the reasons described below.

Relative Dating

Most of the cemeteries in this study have been assigned to their period through relative dating, by which one determines the relative order of past events (or archaeological layers) without necessarily determining their actual numerical age or calendrical date.[72] The

[72] In the Gazetteer, dating is broken into three parts: one, 'Period,' which states the overarching period of use of the cemetery in the normal historical/archaeological conventions (mid Anglo-Saxon, Late Saxon, Saxo-Norman); two, 'Date Range,' which reflects, in centuries, the range of dates within that period which the archaeologists have assigned to the cemetery layers based upon the combined documentary evidence, relative dating of the Saxon-related layers, as described here, and the radiocarbon determinations. Third, where available, I include a section on the radiocarbon dating of the site (described in further detail below).

cornerstone of relative dating in archaeology is the stratigraphic principle that the oldest layer of dirt was laid down first. As each deposit accumulates, it buries the one below it; things like pits, or grave cuts, can cut through those layers, and doing so shows that the grave is newer than what it 'cuts.'

Grave goods, much less closely datable items such as the bone comb found in a grave at St. Patrick's Lancashire, are rare in this period.[73] Consequently, relative dates are often determined by inclusions of small finds, such as broken pottery or coins, in the 'grave fill,' the soil consisting of several churned geological layers and whatever was in them which was dug up to make the grave, then put back upon the body. Pottery fragments (sherds) are often datable to within a couple hundred years, comparable to the range of dates obtained from radiocarbon dating, and, accordingly, pottery is the primary source by which most archaeological contexts are dated in England.[74] In this period, expected pottery types include Maxey ware (c. AD 650-850), Ipswich ware (c. AD 725-850) and Thetford ware (tenth-eleventh century AD).[75] Unlike Roman and Greek pottery, however, wheel-thrown pottery in early medieval England is not used or distributed uniformly in any of its periods of use.[76] Less commonly found, but often datable to within a century, are reused carved stone fragments, rubble or plaster elements from the destruction and rebuilding of a church.

[73] See Section 'The Clothed Body,' below (Chapter 4). T.W. Potter and R.D. Andrews, 'Excavation and Survey at St. Patrick's Chapel and St. Peter's Church, Heysham, Lancashire, 1977-8,' *The Antiquaries Journal* 74 (1994), 35-114.
[74] J.A. Barceló *et al.*, 'The Statistics of Time-to-Event: Integrating the Bayesian Analysis of Radiocarbon Data and Event History Analysis Methods,' in *CAA* (2015), 533-542.
[75] J. Hurst, 'The Pottery,' in D. Wilson (ed.), *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1976), 314-48.
[76] A. Vince, 'Forms, Functions and Manufacturing Techniques of Late Ninth- and Tenth- Century Wheelthrown Pottery in England and their Origins,' in D. Piton (ed.), *Travaux du Groupe de Recherches et D'Etudes sur la Céramique dans le Nord – Pas-de-Calais; Actes du Colloque D'Outreau (10 -12 Avril 1992)* (1993), 151-64.

Coins such as sceattas appear with the skeleton in only thirteen sites included in the gazetteer, although they appear more frequently in grave fills or other proximate layers.[77]

As these small datable objects may have been in earlier, non-contemporary layers before they were intermingled and replaced over the body, they provide a *terminus post quem* for the burial. The comparative paucity of surviving datable material culture in this period presents a major difficulty to determining even relative dates, however, particularly as cemeteries are often proximate, but not directly stratigraphically related, to more easily dated settlements and churches, and, as stated above, do not regularly include grave goods during the period under study.

'Horizontal stratigraphy' is often used in cemeteries but is not reliable in determining intra-cemetery grave chronology. It posits that the oldest features are in the most desirable places; the oldest graves would be closest to a hill or church, for instance. As this and other studies have shown, this is not necessarily the case, as the cemetery is often divided by socio-economic status as much as sorted by horizontal stratigraphy.[78] This study thus restricts itself to vertical stratigraphy, as described above.

[77] Excluding sites with Roman coin pendants (classed as jewellery), these 13 sites are: Bath Abbey (Bath UAD), Carlisle Cathedral (Cumbria), St Wystan's Repton (Derbs.), Garton-on-the-Wolds (E. Riding of Yorks.), Northdown Broadstairs (Kent), Spofforth (N. Yorks.), Clifford St., Southampton (Southampton UAD), Buttermarket, Ipswich (Suffolk), Coddenham (Suffolk), Steven's Street, Whitstable (Greater London), Bulford (Wiltshire), Staple Gardens, Winchester (Winc. UAD), and St. Mary Bishophill Jr. (York). Sceattas in graves c. AD625x780 have been examined in C. Scull and J. Naylor, 'Sceattas in Anglo-Saxon Graves,' *Medieval Archaeology* 60.2 (2016), 205-241.

Issues with Radiocarbon Dating

Radiocarbon dating is often presented as a method by which a 'true' date for an object or cemetery can be obtained. In cases where there are no material culture typologies with which to date a grave, and stratigraphic clues can only point to a vague period such as 'pre-modern,' radiocarbon dating is often the only way to produce a comparatively narrow range of potential dates for an object or layer. Radiocarbon determinations themselves are mere percentages of likelihood; the 'sigma' (σ) represents the standard deviation, or possible amount of variation in values. 1σ indicates a 68.27% likelihood that the date at which the organism from which the sample was taken stopped absorbing carbon (i.e., died, or, in the case of charcoal, the date the tree added the ring—not the date of the burning of the charcoal itself) falls within that date range, whereas 2σ indicates a 95.45% likelihood that the real date is within the supplied range of dates.

A problem in accurately determining the date of cemeteries and graves using this method, however, is that the date of a single event such as a burial, or even a protracted event such as how long a cemetery was in use, cannot be adequately addressed by calibrating single radiocarbon determinations, and even where archaeologists take (and are able to afford) multiple samples for radiocarbon dating from an excavated cemetery, there is no guaranteed method of determining an exact range of the cemetery's duration of use.[79] Simple combinations of radiocarbon dates (e.g. R_Combine in OxCal), cannot be used to determine the length of use of a cemetery, and should only be used for dates which relate to the same event (e.g., three radiocarbon determinations from the same femur). Statistically meaningful models approximating cemetery chronology can be created,

[79] Barceló *et al.*, 'The Statistics of Time-to-Event,' 533.

however, using Bayesian statistics to combine radiocarbon dates with historical and archaeological data. Ideally, this Bayesian modelling, performed in programs such as OxCal, can estimate date boundaries accurately enough to consider transitions in cemetery use.[80] This optimal result would be derived from radiocarbon determinations from each feature layer of the cemetery, a sterile layer between them, and the top layer, modelled in conjunction with historical information and any relative dating information from the stratigraphy. Radiocarbon dating is expensive, however, and such detailed levels of determinations are rarely gathered due to financial limitations.

Radiocarbon Date calibration

Despite the usefulness of radiocarbon determinations, there are events both in the lifetime of the sample and in processing the sample after excavation which can produce an inaccurate date range. Once removed from the ground, the sample may be exposed to contaminates: samples from museums which may have been treated with varnishes, glues, and fixatives, samples which were poorly stored or exposed to organic material such as paper or, in the case of charcoal, accidentally mixed together may all produce erroneous dates. These factors are usually addressed by the testing lab, but although accelerator mass spectrometer facilities are provided with standards, comparative testing against those standards is voluntary and there is still unevenness between labs in sample processing.[81] Due to increased awareness of these hazards, and improvements in both pre-treatment and calibration methods, all dates before 1970 are considered unreliable; bone data, the basis

[80] OxCal program: Bronk Ramsey, 'Radiocarbon Calibration and Analysis of Stratigraphy,' 425-30, and C. Bronk Ramsey, 'Bayesian analysis of radiocarbon dates,' *Radiocarbon* 51.1 (2009), 337-360.
[81] I have been advised by multiple parties to take results from one of the commercial labs, more affordable than the rest, with an extra dose of caution as they until recently did not account in any way for the marine reservoir offset, discussed below.

for this study, is not considered consistently reliable until the 1990s.[82] New pre-treatment methods for samples developed since 2004 have further increased the accuracy of radiocarbon determinations, and widened the gap in quality between 1970s determinations and those of today.[83]

Radiocarbon testing produces a date *BP* 'before the present' (established early in the history of radiocarbon dating as 1950AD), an age which is determined from the stage of half-life deterioration of the carbon-14 isotope in the sample.[84] This date *BP* requires calibration to produce a Gregorian calendrical date, which can be performed using a variety of calibration curves and software (e.g. IntCal04, IntCal09 curves for the Northern Hemisphere, and OxCal and CALIB programs for computers).[85] Accordingly, in order to make the radiocarbon dates gathered for this database comparable, I recalibrated the samples' raw dates using the OxCal software, version 4.3, using the newest atmospheric calibration curve, 'IntCal13,' wherever the original uncalibrated dates *BP* were provided.[86] This calibration on the most recent calibration curve also accounts for various non-lab variables which occurred in the

[82] Before 1970, pre-treatment was inconsistently administered and did not address as many potential sources of contamination.
[83] C.E. Buck and P.G. Blackwell, 'Formal Statistical Models for Estimating Radiocarbon Calibration Curves,' *Radiocarbon* 46.3 (2004), 1093-1102; P.J. Reimer *et al.,* 'IntCal04 Terrestrial Radiocarbon Age Calibration, 0-26 cal kyr BP,' *Radiocarbon* 46.3 (2004), 1029-58; F. Brock *et al.,* 'Current Pretreatment Methods for AMS Radiocarbon Dating at the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit (ORAU),' *Radiocarbon* 52 (2009), 123-147.
[84] Use of *BP* established in M. Stuiver and H.A. Polach, 'Discussion: Reporting of ^{14}C data,' *Radiocarbon* 19.3 (1977), 183-198.
[85] Calibrated dates are denoted by the presence of '*cal*' before AD or BC when listing the year: this standard format was determined at the 1985 International Radiocarbon Conference at Trondheim. I will be updating the calibration to IntCal20 in a forthcoming published volume.
[86] A description of the updates to the International Calibration (IntCal) curve in 2013 (producing the 'IntCal13' standard) can be found in P.J. Reimer *et al.*, 'Selection and Treatment of Data for Radiocarbon Calibration: An Update to the International Calibration (IntCal) Criteria,' *Radiocarbon* 55.4 (2013), 1923-1945.

life of the sample, such as the varying amount of carbon in the atmosphere, and produces a more accurate date range as a result.[87]

Both uncalibrated dates and recalibrated dates are included in the Gazetteer (vol. II) wherever possible, to provide both an up-to-date calibrated calendar range for the sample and to supply the raw data for future scholars to have to-hand when the next update in calibration technology occurs; there is a note in the Gazetteer wherever this was unable to be accomplished for a site due to the absence of the initial laboratory code and/or lack of the sample's uncalibrated date *BP* from the archaeological reports.

The Marine Reservoir Effect

Radiocarbon dating rests upon the determination of the stage of the half-life of the unstable ^{14}C isotope, which is absorbed by all living things, and which transfers up the food-chain until the time of death, at which point the absorption system is 'closed' and the organism loses its content of radioactive carbon at a constant rate.[88] However, the 'reservoirs' from which radiocarbon is absorbed into the food chain—the biosphere, the atmosphere, sediments and the ocean—vary in both their carbon content and the rate at which the absorbed carbon reaches equilibrium in the medium. The oceans' carbon reservoirs (up to 100 times as large as the atmosphere's) have a very slow rate of mixing, and consequently possess varied levels of carbon of various ages; limestone (calcium carbonate), for instance,

[87] Including impacts from atmospheric abnormalities from events such as solar flares and from ice sheets melting and releasing old carbon: R. Berger, 'The Potential and Limitations of Radiocarbon Dating in the Middle Ages: the Radiochronologist's View,' in R. Berger (ed.), *Scientific Methods in Medieval Archaeology* (Los Angeles, CA, 1960), 89-140 at 97. On other contamination of bone: M.J. Aitken, *Science-Based Dating in Archaeology* (London, 2013), 986-7. For dates 2,000-10,000 years BP, Iron Age dates, and modern samples there are other errors caused by geomagnetic oscillations, changes in atmospheric ^{12}C caused by the industrial revolution, and by the deployment of nuclear weapons in the mid-20th century.

[88] Berger, 'Limitations of Radiocarbon Dating,' 90.

can release older carbon into the ocean which, when absorbed by a shellfish or algae, can make the organism, its shell, and whatever eats it look much older than it is.[89] This is termed the Marine Reservoir Effect (MRE). Archaeologists have only recently started to realize the extent to which this effect dislocates radiocarbon-based chronologies, as in this year's reassessment of the charnel at Repton, whose calibrated date ranges after factoring in the MRE shifted by as many as 176 years.[90] This carbon-offset process can pass up the food-chain in both seawater and freshwater biomes, and also affects any terrestrial organism—including humans—which consumed either marine-derived proteins or even animals which eat those marine-derived proteins.[91] For a project that seeks to create a chronology of burial practice and make conclusions on the comparative use of practices between minster, church, and field cemeteries—the former containing the graves of vowed religious whose

[89] The average error is four hundred years.

[90] C.L. Jarman and M. Biddle, 'The Viking Army in England: New Dates from the Repton Charnel,' *Antiquity* 92 (361), (2018), 183-199 at 193. Examples of the MRE on radiocarbon dates, and the varied ways in which the offset can appear, are by turns amusing and depressing. Usually terrestrial animal bones are used to determine the offset which might occur in omnivores such as humans; modern lambs in Orkney, however, historically eat seaweed for most of the period after their weaning and in instances show the same amount of marine reservoir offset as if they were seals—transferring that offset to humans, as well. Freshwater reservoir effects can be as bad as the marine; in Lanting and Van der Plicht's study of the Counts of Holland, the counts and their relatives, in their marked graves with their death-year known, produced radiocarbon determinations which differed from their death-dates by up to 350 years due to this freshwater effect; J.N. Lanting and J. van der Plicht J, 'Reservoir effects and apparent ages,' *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* 9 (1998), 151–65. A further published example of reservoir-effect-caused discrepancy to a historical date is in Sayle *et al.,* where ^{14}C dates from skeletons at a settlement around Lake Mývatn in Iceland pre-dated the historical settlement of Iceland; accounting for the MRE brought the dates forward not merely post-AD871, but into the 11th-13th centuries: K.L. Sayle, *et al.*, 'Modelling Lake Mývatn's Freshwater Reservoir Effect: Utilisation of the Statistical Program FRUITS to Assist in the Re-Interpretation of Radiocarbon Dates from a Cemetery at Hofstaðir, North-East Iceland,' *Quaternary Geochronology* 36 (2016), 1–11.

[91] P. Ascough *et al.,* 'Radiocarbon Reservoir Effects in Human Bone Collagen from North Iceland,' *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39 (2012), 2261-71; G.T. Cook *et al.*, 'A Freshwater Diet-derived C-14 Reservoir Effect at the Stone Age Iron Gates Gorge,' *Radiocarbon* 43 (2012), 453-60.

dietary proteins would consist mainly of fish and seabirds—the MRE's impact on radiocarbon determinations poses a significant problem.

This effect can be corrected for. Doing so requires determining the proportion of marine versus terrestrial foods in the sampled individual's diet on a case-by-case basis, reflected in the stable isotopes ^{13}C and ^{15}N. This proportion can be reconstructed using the difference (δ) between these isotopes in the sample and the values measured from animals on an all-marine or all-terrestrial diet,[92] but the methods for determining the initial proportion of marine diet from this isotope delta have varying degrees of confidence.[93] Correcting the MRE's impact also requires establishing the difference between the global average marine reservoir offset and the local reservoir value (ΔR) for the area in which the marine proteins originated.[94] Only a few bodies of water, however. have had their local reservoir value calculated to-date, making exact calculations of the ΔR, and thus accurate calculations of the marine offset, near-impossible.[95]

As this issue arose at a very late stage of my thesis, I unfortunately did not have enough time to recalibrate every sample cited in the gazetteer to include a marine-reservoir offset,

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[92] Lanting and van der Plicht, 'Reservoir effects and apparent ages'; refined approach in A.K. Styring, R.A. Fraser *et al*., 'Refining human palaeodietary reconstruction using amino acid $\delta^{15}N$ values of plants, animals and humans,' *Journal of Archaeological Science* 53 (2015), 504-515.

[93] Van der Sluis has shown that tooth enamel can reveal quick dietary changes invisible using bone collagen stable isotope data, which suggests that even in instances where the $\delta^{13}C$ and $\delta^{15}N$ can be determined, such information may not reveal the whole story: L.G. Van der Sluis *et al.,* 'Investigating Intra-Individual Dietary Changes and ^{14}C Ages Using High-Resolution $\delta^{13}C$ and $\delta^{15}N$ Isotope Ratios and ^{14}C Ages Obtained from Dentine Increments,' *Radiocarbon* 57.4 (2015), 665-677.

[94] G.T. Cook *et al.,* 'Best Practice Methodology for ^{14}C Calibration of Marine and Mixed Terrestrial/ Marine Samples,' *Quaternary Geochronology* 27 (2015), 164-71.

[95] Some of these local reservoir values (ΔR) are listed in the 14CHRONO Marine Reservoir Correction Database http://calib.org/marine/ ; Pertinent areas for this study include Ascough *et al.,* 'Radiocarbon Reservoir Effects in Human Bone Collagen from North Iceland'; N. Russell *et al.,* 'A Period of Calm in Scottish Seas: a Comprehensive Study of ΔR values for the Northern British Isles Coast and the Consequent Implications for Archaeology and Oceanography,' *Quaternary Geochronology* 30 (Part A) (2015), 34-41.

nor could I do so to the same level of accuracy as the aforementioned recent publication of the Great Viking Army charnel in Repton, which not only recalibrated results according to the semi-local marine offset and the diet determined by each skeleton's $\delta^{13}C$, but also resubmitted skeletal samples for radiocarbon dating. I have, however, included the $\delta^{13}C$ and the $\delta^{15}N$ wherever possible in the Gazetteer to give a rough indicator of the presence of a marine diet, which may indicate to future researchers that the dates are off for that particular sample (though without indicating by how much). These deltas are not always listed in the excavation reports; I have filled in the extra information wherever possible from the journal *Archaeometry* (which publishes results from the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit (Oxford, UK)), the series of published volumes listing radiocarbon determinations funded by English Heritage, and the journal *Radiocarbon* (which publishes the dates from the NSF- Arizona Accelerator Mass Spectrometry Lab (Tucson, Arizona)), although I have found nothing else to reliably have coverage for other labs.[96] Taking this extra data into account has hopefully ameliorated potential MRE-related discrepancies in my overall chronological framework.

3.4.2 Soil and Skeletal Preservation

As is mentioned above, the archaeologically surviving sample of a cemetery population is reduced by several factors, and epidemiology is extremely difficult because of the effect of diminishing numbers.[97] While grave disturbance and even excavation affect the size of the

[96] These missing labs include the Beta Analytic, Inc. lab (Miami, Florida, USA), the now-defunct British Museum lab (London, UK), the Center for Accelerator Mass Spectrometry, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (Livermore, California, USA), the Center for Isotope Research, University of Groningen (Groningen, the Netherlands), the Scottish Universities Environment Research Centre (East Kilbride, Scotland), whose uncalibrated dates are listed on *Canmore*, but which do not include the deltas for isotopes, Tandem Laboratory (Uppsala, Sweden), and the lab at The Queen's University of Belfast (Belfast, Ireland).

[97] T. Waldron, *Shadows in the Soil: Human bones and archaeology* (Stroud, 2001), 45-6.

final skeletal assemblage, soil plays a large part in the initial attrition of the skeletal population. Soil pH explained 84% of variation in mature long-bone preservation in Gordon and Buikstra's 1981 study relating to bone preservation, and this impact has been proven to be true in recent studies as well.[98] Brothwell observes that several different types of soil preserve bones well, but that such preservation depends essentially upon the acidity of the soil, and is not dictated by its type as much as by its permeability; a gravel could produce brilliantly preserved bones when undecalcified or waterlogged, but in instances where the gravel is decalcified or more acidic, the bones crumble.[99] Unfortunately, soils are dynamic: both before and after deposition of any human relic, there continues to be movement and redistribution of biochemical, caustic, and ionic soil components.[100] After a deposit is placed, land-use might further change the composition of the soil horizon, and even choices such as whether to pasture cows versus sheep on a field can potentially speed up both erosion and podzolization dramatically. Leaching of nutrients and pH can thus differ even at the scale of a 10cm by 10cm square according to what grew on the ground before burial due to land use. [101] This means that bone survival in a cemetery can vary widely even from grave to grave.

Looking at the limitations imposed by soil pH upon a skeletal assemblage on a cemetery scale, certain regions are more likely than others to preserve, or decay, bones. The soil in the south-west is particularly unsuited for preservation; most cists excavated there are

[98] C. Gordon and J. Buikstra, 'Soil pH, Bone Preservation, and Sampling Bias at Mortuary Sites,' *American Antiquity* 46.3 (1981), 566-571 at 569; K. High *et al.,* 'Apatite for Destruction: Investigating Bone Acidity at Star Carr,' *Journal of Archaeological Science* 59 (2015), 159-168.
[99] Brothwell, *Digging Up Bones*, 7-8.
[100] V. Holliday, *Soils in Archaeological Research* (Kalamazoo, 2002), 3.
[101] S. Limbrey, *Soil Science and Archaeology* (London, 1975), 154.

'empty', as the body has fully decomposed. Some soils in the south-east and West Midlands dissolve the body in such a way as to produce a silhouette of the skeleton or body itself, referred to in various reports as 'body silhouettes,' 'sand bodies', or 'body stains,' where, according to Carver, it is 'detectable as brown-dark brown crusts, lumps, or bars of sand' in the earth.[102] The best known instances of this are at Snape and Sutton Hoo, but in Shropshire, the soil around Haughmond Abbey produced sand 'shadows' as well, with only tooth enamel and coffin stains surviving from the bodies and the grave furniture.[103] Our knowledge about coffins, in the south-west especially, is thus incomplete, as they very rarely return skeletal material with which we could assign sex, age or any skeletal-pathology-indicated social position. The North and East Midlands, on the other hand, regularly turn up both skeletal and other organic material, but not necessarily coffin stains or preserved wood except in waterlogged contexts.

There are no areas within this study, however, where historical or archaeological evidence indicates the presence of a population where all evidence of burial is absent due to the pedological speeding of decay; there are no broad swathes of massive cemeteries filled only with grave-cuts without even the shadows of skeletons. Where distribution maps cover areas which have spotty skeletal preservation, however, I have taken extra caution to ensure that other signs which might indicate burial type—straight-sided grave cuts, coffin stains, coffin fittings or burial position—are caught where the information exists in the report, and recorded.

[102] When concerning the body as opposed to, say, the remains of wood; M. Carver, *Sutton Hoo: A Seventh-Century Princely Burial Ground and its Context* (London, 2005), 39; W. Filmer-Sankey and T. Pestell, *Snape Anglo-Saxon Cemetery: Excavations and Surveys 1825-1992* (Ipswich, 2001), 85.
[103] J. West, and N. Palmer, *Haughmond Abbey: Excavation of a 12th-century cloister in its historical and landscape context* (Swindon, 2014).

3.4.3 On Patterns

Different viewers of data notice and emphasise various elements of pattern; patterns of large datasets are so complex that they cannot be understood solely on an observational basis. While we can interpret the end distribution of objects and practices as an aspect of the historical process, extrapolating such patterns beyond their scale-specific context can stray into what is termed 'the ecological fallacy,' where data captured at one scale can be used to (wrongly) infer patterns occurring at another scale of analysis.[104] In the quantitative realm, this fallacy particularly occurs in multi-scalar analysis when data is misjudged by introducing fast-scale and slow-scale variables for an independent variable, then treating fast-scale and slow-scale variables as if they are independent.

Such supposition must be avoided. In order to infer human action through the distribution of practices, on each rising scale the practice and data must be re-contextualized; accordingly, we can look at the impact of individual choice on a cemetery-level, but will find it more difficult to judge accurately on a regional level, and can infer individual action on a short-term scale of a generation or two, but not across five centuries.

Avoiding this human assumption, and considering that different viewers will have different responses to the data, I see this fact as another reason that datasets such as contained in this thesis should be collated, well-organized, and opened to scholars on the 'open research

[104] G. Lock and T. Harris, 'Introduction: Return to Ravello,' in G. Lock (ed.), *Beyond the Map: archaeology and spatial technologies* (Amsterdam, 2000), xiii-xxx at xiv.

access'/ 'digital humanities' model. Although I have read as broadly as I can on the subject, what I see in my data may not be what someone else observes. It was an unintended consequence that my initial question, 'What was the change in burial practice at minsters, and what drove it?', opened to enquiry a slew of other questions about chronology, regionality, and identity, and necessitated asking many individual follow-up questions about each burial type and cemetery variable which the dataset produced. If the entire dataset is considered as a single sample, then these subsequent questions, and the analysis derived from them of which the most promising is presented in Chapter 3, may seem statistically insignificant; shaking a tree multiple times and seeing what falls is the equivalent of resubmitting one's data until it produces what one likes. However, viewing the mapped variables as multiple samples out of the whole population of the entire dataset, which just happen to overlap, is letting the question dictate the dataset; good statistical practice. While multiple models have been considered here, the tests have *not* been re-run until producing exotic or exciting results. I am aware that mine is not the last word, and, indeed, I hope that it is not and that this database bears new fruit when handled by different gardeners. This collection of archaeological data, viewed through both statistical and historical lenses, will produce defensible interpretations of the use and distribution of burial practice, but these, like many conclusions about this period, will likely be a springboard to future scholarship, and not the final word.

IV. Integrating Text and Material Culture

4.1 Introduction

As has already been established, this thesis approaches Anglo-Saxon burial using two different forms of evidence, text and object, offering a more complete picture than can be gained from a single viewpoint alone. However, these two types of source material are not self-evidently commensurable and certain methodological problems in comparing the two need to be considered carefully.

The limited textual evidence in the Anglo-Saxon period compared to other historical eras has long forced historians to use materials from other disciplines as evidence. Apart from charters, wills, and chronicles, textual material cited in Anglo-Saxon historical research is often literary rather than documentary. An example is the problematic early-twentieth-century use of *Beowulf* as an illustration of Anglo-Saxon burial practice, or historians' reliance on the accuracy of accounts of people only attested to in, for example, Alcuin's *Lives of the Bishops and Saints of York*, Bede's semi-hagiographical asides in the *Ecclesiastical History,* or other hagiography. Literature (even in the form of homilies or hagiography) and non-literary documents are not entirely dissimilar: a text speaks with the author (or commissioner)'s intent and is subject to his or her biases, regardless of whether it is literary or produced as a legal document for an institution. But a piece of sculpture or pottery, or indeed a grave, also contains its creator's individual vision, knowledge of their craft, or interpretation of their obligations, as well as information about the commissioner. Material can, from this view, be read as text.[105] The difference is that the physical object relays that information in a language requiring more (and more hesitant) inference and

[105] I. Hodder, 'This is Not an Article about Material Culture as Text,' *Journal of Anthropological Archaelogy* 8.3 (1989), 250-269.

interpretation by the scholar, from which the original creator's bias is more difficult to discern; our modern interpretative bias while examining such an object is also more difficult to extract from the visual 'text' than when dealing with literal text.

4.2 Problems with Interpreting Texts

There are plenty of problems in interpreting texts even without considering material alongside them: issues of authorial intent, temporal flattening and imposing modern anachronisms are the most egregious. Text is often more explicit in suggesting historical connections and causality than material items; in the rare item which also contains text on it, whether the Kirkdale sundial or the Alfred Jewel, the cause for its creation is more easily determined by the text than from other aspects of the material. In this way text provides an invaluable source of evidence, but the interpretation of this evidence is not necessarily straightforward. It is widely known that due to the bias of authorial intent, whatever view it provides must be considered cautiously: in a very obvious example, by Alcuin's reckoning, the monks of Lindisfarne were afflicted by Vikings due to their own laxness of behaviour.[106] He states a very clear causality—'some great guilt'—for a known event, but it would be naïve to take him at his word when we have no idea of the scale of laxity or strictness with which the monks of Lindisfarne followed their Rule, and when we are aware that the 'bad things happen because you weren't pious enough' trope is common in both biblical stories and homilies, as well as being used in histories (ecclesiastical and otherwise). Alcuin, while he may have honestly believed that this unknown sin was the cause, was just as much reusing an old trope to provide logic to disaster as he was stating what to him may have

[106] Alcuin, 'Letter to Higbald, bishop of Lindisfarne, and his monks… (793, after 8 June),' in Whitelock (ed.), *EHD,* 778-9.

appeared to be the obvious factor.[107] Similarly, when attempting to recreate a causality, timeline, or boundary around an event from text, multiple textual sources can mislead as much as enlighten. This does not mean that we ought not to use text as context, however, merely that we ought to be aware of authorial intent in texts and careful in their interpretation and subsequent association with objects or movements.

As mentioned above, because of the unevenness of documentary sources across the whole Anglo-Saxon period there is also a danger of flattening the temporal, regional and individual variation of surviving textual evidence. With legal material surviving mainly from the south of England in the seventh and eighth centuries, but more literature and hagiography surviving from the north in the same period and the situation somewhat reversed thereafter, with more hagiographic, historical, and literary material surviving from the south from about 850AD onwards, one must acknowledge that comparing most sources risks anachronism. All too often, geographical and temporal barriers are swept aside in the attempt to find the way of life of our 'Oswin,' the everyman Anglo-Saxon (not usually Briton or Pict) who exists at all times, in Northumbria, the Danelaw, Kent and Wessex simultaneously, who is described by material in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* as well as the *Life of St. Dunstan,* is exposed to tenth-century liturgy from minsters while worshipping pagan gods suggested by faces on seventh-century brooches, while following eighth-century law-codes and being warned by Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* of the dangers of sorcery, but still using the ninth-century *Bald's Leech Book*.

[107] In Alcuin's defense, he also offers the 'God punishes those he loves' explanation; without delving into theology this is another point of view which the historian might find difficult to prove.

The issue of identification of time in text—how people in the past conceived of their own era, which ties, occasionally, into their own perceptions of local identity—is fraught, although we use phrases such as 'Anglo-Saxon England' and 'Iron Age Scotland' offhand, despite neither of those countries existing at the time of which we speak.[108] But if anachronism is avoided, it is worth hazarding the examination of these texts to access the cultural content. Even as we understand individuals to act independently of set laws, only text can offer insight into the frame of meaning in which they act. While the frame of meaning may vary over even so little as ten years, authors of a text still provide a guide to their period's *mentalité* even if they are describing their past rather than their present— a guide that is otherwise inaccessible in the study of physical objects.[109] Understanding individual and group action requires understanding the relative and historically constructed framework of meaning in which these groups act.[110]

Using the textual sources at our disposal does not necessitate capitulating to this temporal flattening. Rather, being aware of these sources and using them (with the caveats expressed already) can provide markers, context, and potential frameworks for the uncovered material culture and archaeological changes.

[108] It is acknowledged above that the start date chosen for this study, AD 700, contains its own randomness, possessing only the significance of being a round number after which, thanks to Bayliss and Hines' new chronological framework for the use of grave goods in Anglo-Saxon England, we can fairly certainly say that the bulk of grave goods were no longer regularly in use. See Chapter 3, 'Graves,' and Chapter 4, 'Bodies,' for the exceptions, which include coins, some animal bone, the occasional ring or comb, and knives.

[109] J.M.H. Smith, 'Introduction: Regarding Medievalists: Contexts and Approaches,' in M. Bentley (ed.), *Companion to Historiography* (London, 1997), 105-116.

[110] I. Hodder, 'Burials, Houses, Women and Men in the European Neolithic,' in D. Miller and C. Tilley (eds.), *Ideology, Power, and Prehistory* (Cambridge, 1984), 51-68 at 53.

4.3 Correlation, Causality, and Context

Historical archaeology offers many paths forward in considering text and material through interdisciplinary approaches: while material goods and text are often unrelated in the physical sense, this type of relation is not necessary for successful comparison; spatial and temporal correlation and associations can corroborate different types of evidence even though their different forms require a different hermeneutic.[111]

Causality cannot be inferred by a single object alone. Archaeologists seek to determine causality through the context of an object: the reason that a hair pin is found in a layer is conjectured based upon the placement of the object within the fill (loose, near the head of a body, in a box with other goods?), the other archaeological contexts adjacent to the fill, associated datable objects in the layer and on the site, and the way in which the structural remains point to what sort of building it was in and to when it dated. The hair pin itself is placed within the greater picture by being classified and then placed into the greater context of all hair pins of that type: was it mass marketed? Imported? Does its archaeological prevalence make it seem popular, or common? Is it only found in towns, or certain regions? There is the causality of why the pin was where it was (purposeful deposit in a grave; as part of a cache with other objects; lost in a house, or lost in a field), and the hypotheses about what that pin might have meant to the person wearing it (deduced from the iconography upon it, or the expense of the materials, or the distribution of similar items locally and internationally which might point to whether it was a luxury item or a commonly traded one) which might also help us reconstruct something about said owner. But even

[111] A. Andrén, *Between Artifacts and Texts: Historical archaeology in a global perspective* (New York, 1998), 164; P. Galloway, 'Material Culture and Text,' in M. Hall and S.W. Silliman (eds.), *Historical Archaeology* (Oxford, 2004), 42-64 at 42.

taking into consideration this rich archaeological context, we cannot know historically what was meant by the deposition of that object, or even its significance to its wearer, from the object alone. Although we might deduce from an object its dates of production or deposition, the provenance of its material, and where it was last placed or lost, to form an educated guess about *why* it was with who it was with, and what it might have meant to them, we also need to consider the textual context surrounding the object.

4.4 Frameworks for Interdisciplinarity

Although the interpretation of texts and material culture in the disciplines of archaeology and history are underpinned by somewhat different conceptual frameworks, their theoretical frameworks can overlap and complement each other. Both disciplines rely upon empirical evidence which can be used equally in either framework, though the evidence is developed in different conceptual crucibles; both disciplines accept theoretical frameworks which have in the last thirty years borrowed increasingly from anthropology and leant towards a relativistic turn of postmodernism/post-processualism. Furthermore, both disciplines have grappled with and come to terms with inclusion of scientific data within their disciplines, adapting their frameworks to a multi-disciplinary, holistic acceptance of multiple forms of material. This is shown clearly by the expansion of social history to include the study of materiality, which encompasses not merely the existence of an object archaeologically, but creates a new conceptual framework about how objects functioned and what they meant and signified to those who handled them.[112]

The most exciting progress in fleshing out the lives of people of the past, particularly in the early medieval period in the North Sea region, has been made through inter- and multi-

[112] C. Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, 2011), 31.

disciplinary efforts, even where these efforts have been seen as squarely within their disciplines. John Blair used archaeological and geological frameworks in *Early Medieval Surrey,* a book catalogued as 'history' in most libraries; hewing to the linguistic turn, a very philological interrogation of diction, syntax, and meaning applied to historic text, enabled Sarah Foot's creation of a new typology for female religious houses based upon the linguistic evidence.[113]

Words and texts are, of course, closer in form than a grave cut and a hagiography or chronicle entry. But temporal correlation enables the use of frameworks side-by-side even with information as disparate as volcanic ash strata and written sagas. Integrating different forms of information to create, and test, a model is a worthy holdover from the processual period in archaeological theory. Binford suggests using outside sources of information to produce 'robust' arguments; while he uses this principle to defend using ethnographic data, not texts, to hypothesize the impact of human behaviour on physical remains, his emphasis on considering external pertinent data to produce stronger conclusions is a principle which informs Bayesian analysis as well.[114] As already seen, historical texts can be used to flag scientific errors (e.g. the *Islendingabók* challenging the accuracy of the radiocarbon ages from Lake Mývatn's human population in Iceland, leading to a reassessment of the impact of the freshwater reservoir effect upon the dates). Similarly, conclusions from heavily scientific disciplines can be used to check history gleaned from texts which we know contained bias or might contain pseudo-history (e.g. using the tephra (volcanic ash) horizon of AD 871±2 to check Ari Þorgilsson's dates surrounding the colonisation of Iceland, as he

[113] S. Foot, *Veiled Women I* (Aldershot, 2000); J. Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey* (Stroud, 1991).
[114] L. Binford, *Nunamiut Ethnoarchaeology* (New York, 1978).

wrote the *Islendingabók* well after the fact and likely inflated the importance of his patrons, the Haukdaelir family, within it).[115]

Successful methodological interdisciplinarity, which this thesis attempts to use, improves the quality of the results by using the concepts and insights of one discipline to contribute to the problems and theories of another.[116] Accordingly, in this thesis, I use archaeological theory to interrogate historical theories about Anglo-Saxon culture, before examining these theories in the light of textual evidence to contextualize Anglo-Saxon burial practice and offer both new theories and new evidence to support old ones. Taking an interdisciplinary approach necessitates considering and avoiding a number of methodological problems, as I have discussed, but the extra effort is ultimately justified by the insight we can gain from it; even though fragmentary, more of the picture can be seen by looking at it from multiple angles.

V. Summary

As this introduction has shown, using both statistical analysis and archaeological material to set material typologies within their greater geographical, chronological, and historical framework—indeed, to create a chronological framework for the use of burial practices at all—is fraught with pitfalls, but also filled with potential. Advances in computing and technology have enabled more complex statistical analysis of geographic data and models of chronology than ever before, as well as enabling a more thorough and detailed

[115] O. Vésteinsson, 'Patterns of Settlement in Iceland: a study in pre-history,' *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 28 (1998), 1-29; A. Friðriksson and O. Vésteinsson, 'Creating a Past: A Historiography of the Settlement of Iceland,' in J.H. Barnett (ed.), *Contact, Continuity, and Collapse: the Norse colonization of the Atlantic* (Turnhout, 2003), 139-161.
[116] J.T. Klein, 'Typologies of Interdisciplinarity: the boundary work of Definition,' in R. Frodeman (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Interdisciplinarity* (Oxford, 2017).

understanding of the impact of geological processes on both date calibration, site distribution, and skeletal preservation. The Portable Antiquities Scheme and explosion of developer-led archaeology, while creating often frustratingly unpublished material, has also led archaeologists to new finds and produced an abundance of new cemeteries to flesh out historical models which were previously case-study led, and improved software and the recent creation of expansive internet databases have enabled me to access a previously unheard of wealth of data, and provided the tools to manage it and submit it to analytical programs with far greater ease than even twenty years ago. While material culture and textual sources are different, their difference does not mean that the evidence they offer is irreconcilable. This combination of factors has permitted a study of this size and range to even be considered, allowing this project to attempt to address a noticeable gap in our understanding of the transformation of early medieval burial, and to begin to solve the questions surrounding it, with caveats, in a multidisciplinary manner.

Chapter 2: Burial Grounds: Spatial organisation of the dead

This chapter lays out how the internal structure of different types of graveyards in the middle and late Anglo-Saxon periods may have varied based upon the size and type of the community being served, how that community ranked its members or prioritised certain demographic and social groups within itself, and how changes in that community over time may have affected whether and how the community prioritized either the respect for the body in the grave, kin-group ties, or the expression of relative social status through the position of the burial in the graveyard. Both general interrogation of the total dataset of mid- and late Saxon cemetery sites with three or more graves (270/337), and examination of a sample of high-quality cemeteries in which age, sex, and pathology could be plotted on a site map, revealed that each type of graveyard—minster, church, and field—struck its own balance between respecting the pre-existing graves of the deceased and reflecting the social and familial associations which the lately deceased had in life.[1] The analysis suggests that the internal structure of minster and non-minster church cemeteries changed over time to reflect these desires, with later cemeteries increasingly burying children more prominently, abandoning row structure in favour of intercutting burials which reflected family connections, prioritizing burial closer to special structures, and placing women and the poorer members of society in zones farther away from the church.

Three different samples from the overarching database were used to draw the conclusions in this chapter. The first sample is of all cemeteries with over three burials, which is the minimum to determine a row; the second is all cemeteries rated a 4-5 whose records have

[1] See 'Table 1: Sample of database used per chapter' for comparison with other chapters.

A) grave-by-grave sex and pathology information and B) site maps which label the graves so that that information may orientated spatially.

I. Cutting in: Church and Family connections

Although some measures were taken in middle and Late Anglo-Saxon graveyards to preserve the wholeness of the body, particularly in the form of grave linings and markers, Anglo-Saxon homilies repeated Augustine's assertion that on the day of Resurrection the body will arise whole, regardless of its condition, and this survey's evidence for cemetery organisation and intercutting suggests that after a point this exhortation was taken to heart, especially in church cemetery contexts.[2] This thesis' survey indicates that there was a shift in practice between the middle and late Saxon period where, especially from the ninth century forward, those who buried their loved ones were more likely to intercut previous burials, even in cemeteries with room for expansion, despite also employing several practical measures to ensure that the body might not be damaged by future burials.

While substantial evidence for grave markers, stone or wooden, does exist in some cemeteries, the use of markers appears nowhere near universal.[3] Only 15% (53/337) (of the cemeteries in this survey presented evidence of markers in the form of post-holes (which

[2] Augustine, *City of God against the Pagans* XXII, xxi, 'Even if the body has been completely ground to powder in some dreadful accident, or by the ferocity of enemies; even if it has been so entirely scattered to the winds...that there is nothing left of it' this would not prevent its corporeal resurrection. Repeated in Blickling Homily 7 (Easter Sunday): 'Then after these things… Saint Michael the Archangel… will raise up all bodies from the dead, though they were previously… devoured by wild animals, or carried off by birds, or torn to pieces by fishes'/ 'Þonne æfter þeossum þingum … Sanctus Michahel … awecceaþ ealle þa lichoman of deaþe, þeah þe hie ær eorþe bewrigen hæfde, oþþe on wætere adruncan, oþþe wildeor abiton, oþþe fuglas tobæron, oþþe fixas oslitan, oþþe on ænige wisan of þisse worlde gewiton.': R. Morris (ed.), *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century* (London, 1967), 48-9; A. Cherryson, *Disturbing the Dead: Urbanisation, the Church and the Post-Burial Treatment of Human Remains* (Oxford, 2007), 138.

[3] C. Maddern, *Raising the Dead: Early Medieval Name Stones in Northumbria* (Turnhout, 2013), 56; Devlin, *Remembering the Dead,* 55-57.

may indicate the use of wooden grave markers), grave slabs, namestones, or a headstone in-situ or as a result of excavation.[4] The paucity of evidence for grave markers suggests that other modes of marking the grave may have been used, such as mounding the backfill or laying a movable monument on top of the soil.

It is quite possible, though, particularly given the proximity of some cemeteries to settlement sites, that even without these markers the kin group would have remembered where their loved ones lay.[5] The most obvious method of creating internal structure without the use of head-markers was by using rows and pathways within the early stages of cemeteries, and the evidence suggests that this was a majority practice within all three types of cemeteries: field, church, and minster (Figure 5).

When using a threshold of cemeteries which contain three or more burials, nearly two-thirds of the cemeteries in this survey contained rows (172/270; Figure 5).[6] Site plans indicate that, even in cemeteries where there was room to expand, adherence to row structure diminished over time, however, particularly in highly-prized areas of minster cemeteries (discussed below) and in urban estate cemeteries. Examination of the grave

[4] Five post holes were associated with burials at Gamlingay, Cambs., (7th-11th c. church cemetery): J. Murray, T. McDonald, *et al.,* 'Excavations at Station Road, Gamlingay, Cambridgeshire,' *ASSAH* 13 (Oxford, 2006), 173-330. While there are many extant fragments of Anglo-Saxon mortuary sculpture, almost all of it was found not-in-situ, and the majority of the sites at which they are found have not been excavated, or excavations have not found their Anglo-Saxon cemetery (as at Sockburn). In the first seven volumes of the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* (searchable online), over 120 sites, the high majority unexcavated, were associated with grave-covers; of 28 sites containing hogbacks, only four were found in situ, excavated after 1950, and qualified for this survey.

[5] Proximity to village discussed in H. Hamerow, 'Communities of the Living and the Dead: the relationships between Anglo-Saxon settlements and cemeteries, c. 450-850,' in M. Henig (ed) *Intersections: The Archaeology and History of Christianity in England, 400-1200: Papers in Honour of Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle* (Oxford, 2010), 71-76.

[6] This number allowed the inclusion of small row cemeteries, such as Cumwhitton, whose burials are arranged into one row of 3 and one row of 2: C. Paterson *et al*., *Shadows in the Sand: Excavation of a Viking-Age cemetery at Cumwhitton* (Lancaster, 2014).

plans of minster cemeteries with rows shows that, while the percentage of cemeteries containing rows differs very little between the three cemetery types, the presence of rows does not necessarily disallow a high percentage of intercutting within later phases of the cemetery itself. As will be shown, intercutting of burials increases over time in minster cemeteries while remaining constant in field cemeteries.

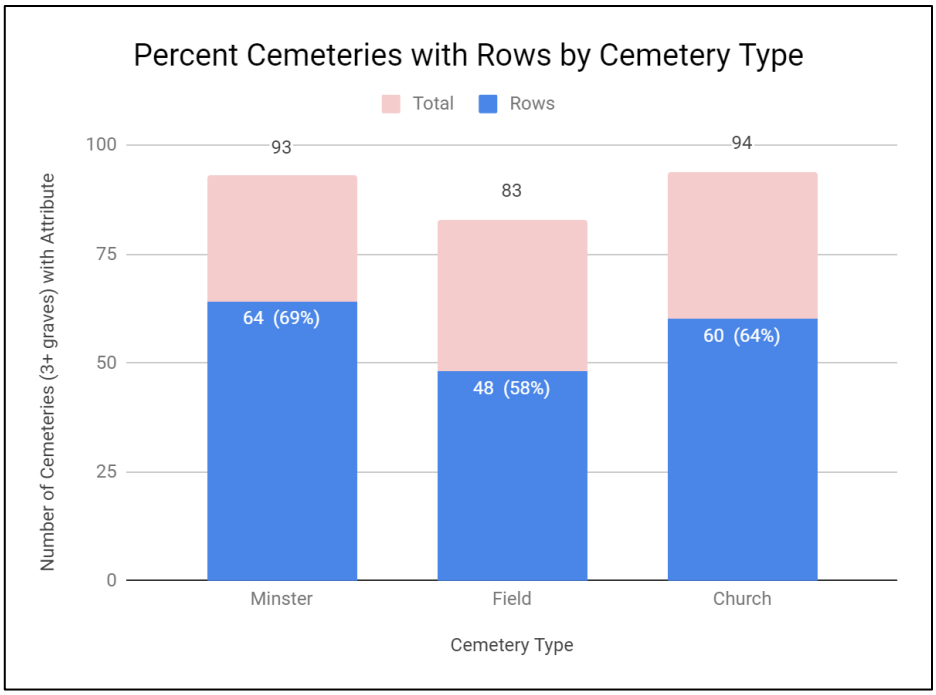


Figure 5: Number and percent of cemeteries with rows by cemetery type. 'Total' cemetery sample is formed in this instance only of those sites containing 3 or more burials (270 cemeteries)

Rows

Intercutting burials, where one grave in its creation intersects and removes the grave fill of an existing burial, sometimes disturbing the body, occurs both in cemeteries with rows and those without, but in a survey of the most complete level of this thesis' cemetery sites, rows were present in 64% of the non-minster churches studied, and intercutting was relatively limited even in later periods (Figure 5). 69% of the surveyed minsters started with row structure before intercutting took its toll upon cemetery organisation in later periods (ex:

Exeter, where the Period II graves are in rows, but not the Period III inhumations). In the tenth to eleventh centuries, only 50% of the surveyed level 4 and 5 minsters maintain their row system. This might be due to cemetery space being highly prized, particularly where the cemetery has been active for a long period of time, contains a spiritual focal point (as at Old Minster, Winchester), or serves a large population. The evidence of this chapter suggests, however, that the unravelling of church rows into clumps and heavily intercutting areas reflects not merely a put-upon group of gravediggers, but communities which have been reminded through homilies and pastoral interactions that the wholeness of one's body does not negatively affect one's chances at Resurrection, opening the door for those who wished to be buried in more prestigious positions, or nearer their loved ones, to intercut or remove the graves of their predecessors.

The interruption of otherwise structured burial sites by intercutting burials is most evident at minster cemeteries. In the cemetery at Rothley, the burial zone closest to the Anglo-Saxon minster appears to have had the most demand; though the cemetery has rows, they are heavily intercut in the south, and extra rows seem to have been squeezed into this highly desirable section (Figure 6). Intensity of intercutting usually increases in areas of high status. The prestige of this area is doubly suggested by the length at which it remains in use, far longer than the rest of the cemetery site, from the ninth into the tenth century. [7]

[7] T. Upson-Smith suggests that this southern group of burials is the northern border of a separate minster burial area with different organisation: T. Upson-Smith, 'Archaeological Excavation at The Grange, Rothley, Leicestershire, March-June 2007.' Northamptonshire Archaeology. (Unpublished report, 2008), 19.

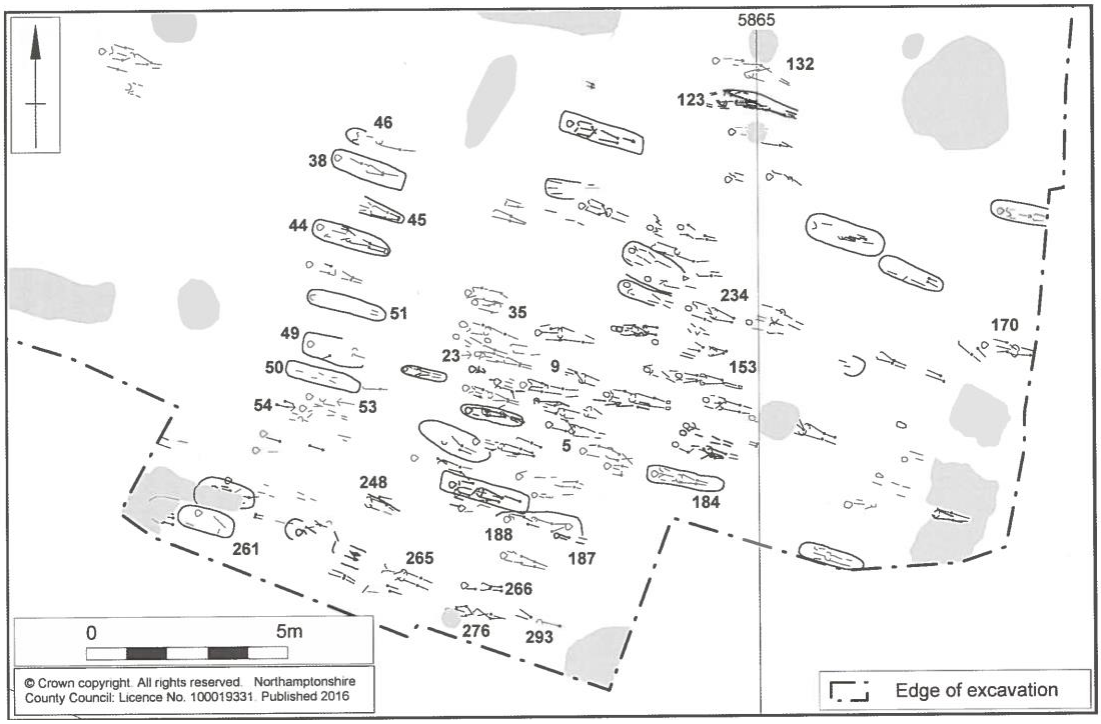


Figure 6: The early medieval cemetery at Rothley, Leicestershire. From Upson-Smith 2016, fig. 15.

At Wearmouth, rows existed both in the early (c.674-864) and late periods (the ninth-eleventh centuries) on either side of the path. Although bone survival was poorer in the eastern part of the cemetery, in the early period there still appear to have been 2-3 loosely organized rows of men and youths to the left of the path, and two very loose rows to the right of the path perpendicular to the church and Wall F. On the west side of the cemetery, the rows were respected, though there was a high level of intercutting, perhaps indicating family groups (discussed below). However, later burials on the east side (which was primarily reserved for the religious community in earlier periods) did not respect the paths, and these were further overrun in the period after the monastic housing had been destroyed (Figure 7). As these late burials were likely part of non-monastic church use between the destruction of monastic Building B and Aldwin's re-founding of the monastery

in 1072, the row intercutting may have occurred due to forgetting, or not being able to decipher, the cemetery layout between periods of burial, rather than from intense use.[8]

[8] Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow,* 78-80; Symeon of Durham, *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesia* III.22 (LVIII?), pp. 695–696.


Wall 4
Building B
Path
Wall VI
Wall F
Wall H
N
Female
Juvenile
0
30
feet
0
10
m
'Early' Graves
'Late' Graves

Figure 7 (opposite): Shifting distribution over time of female (purple) and juvenile (green) burials at Wearmouth, after Cramp 2005, figs. 8.1A, 8.1B, 8.3 and 8.5. Uncoloured skeletons are either men or unidentified adults in the skeletal catalogue.

Church cemeteries varied more widely both in the extent to which they employed a row structure and in the degree with which they allowed graves to intercut existing burials. The amount of intercutting at Cherry Hinton, Cambridgeshire (eighth to twelfth centuries), is remarkably low given that it contains over six-hundred-and-fifty burials and its interpretation of 'rows' is rather loose compared to the discipline of Raunds Furnells. Similarly, in the cemetery south of the church at Wing, the first generation of burials were in a well-tended row structure, and the intercutting burials of the later Saxon cemetery respect the row structure.[9] Other church cemeteries, however, even with short periods of use, have their internal structure devolve over time in the same manner as long-use minster cemeteries. While the first phase cemetery at Rivenhall, Essex (seventh to ninth centuries) had almost no overlapping rows, Cemetery 2 (tenth to eleventh centuries) had its graves lumped together in intersecting groups for which grave depth had no correlation to period.[10] Thought to be associated with a priory to its east, the cemetery at Godalming, Surrey also initially possessed loose rows, but over time the grave cuts were no longer respected, and the whole cemetery is thick with intercutting graves (Figure 8).[11] Unlike at

[9] M. Holmes with A. Chapman, 'A Middle-Late Saxon and Medieval Cemetery at the former Victorian School, Wing, Buckinghamshire.' Northamptonshire Archaeology, Report 07/111. (Unpublished report, July 2007), 6.

[10] W.J. Rodwell and K.A. Rodwell, *Rivenhall: investigations of a villa, church, and village, 1950-1977.* CBA Research Report 55 (London, 1986), 82-99.

[11] N. Randall *et al*., 'An Archaeological Excavation of Land at Priory Orchard, Station Road, Godalming, Surrey: An Assessment Report.' (Unpublished report, 2016), 32-5. Godalming was a manorial center, bequeathed c. 800 by Alfred to his nephew (BCS 553), but the earliest archaeological evidence is mid-Saxon. A vicarage is known to have been east of the cemetery in the 12th century, but the presence of a church contemporary with the cemetery is unclear.

Wing and Wearmouth, however, the cemetery demography does not appear to suggest that these intercutting graves are family burials, as will be discussed in the following section.

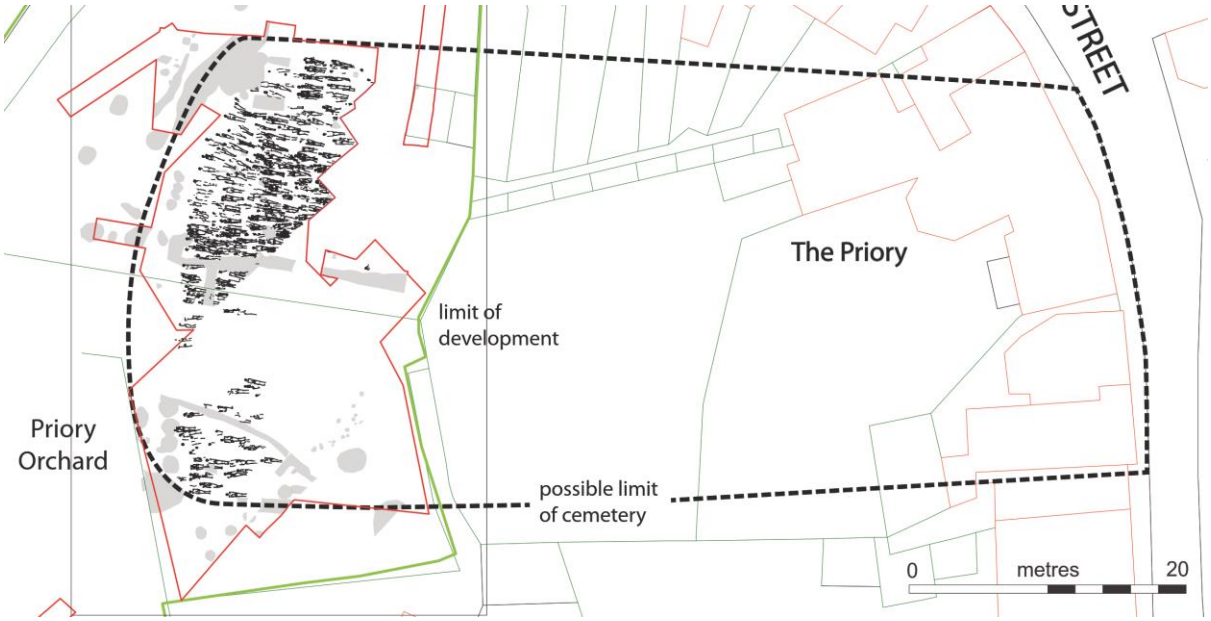


Figure 8: Rows and possible extent of the cemetery at Priory Orchard, Godalming: N. Randall et al., 'Priory Orchard,' fig. 2.

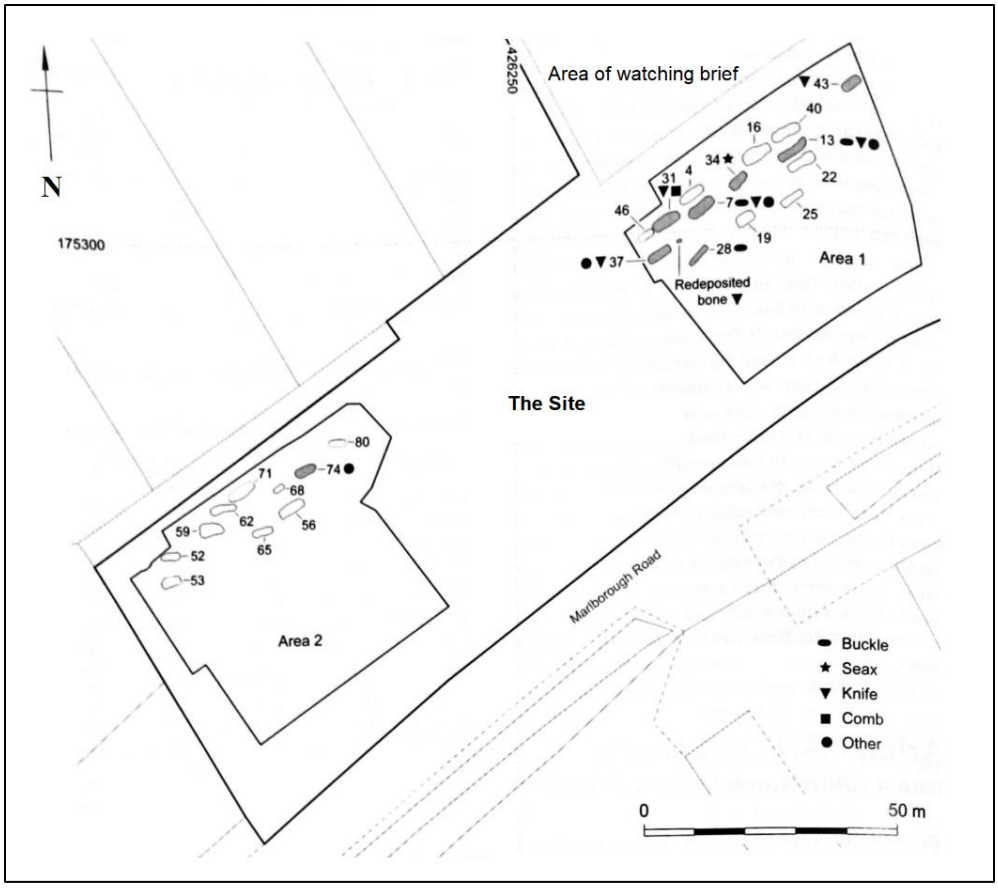


Figure 9: Cemetery at Aldbourne, Wiltshire; Stoodley et al., 'An Early Anglo-Saxon Cemetery,' 64.

In comparison, a lower percentage of field cemeteries contain rows, but field cemeteries both with and without rows have relatively little intercutting across their lifetimes. Adwick-le-Street, a mid-Saxon field cemetery, contains two very tidy rows with almost no intercutting; a couple of burials in the northern group appear to have been too narrowly squeezed into the existing row frame, but they are the exception to a very orderly string of graves.[12] At Aldbourne in Wiltshire, a field cemetery of almost the same period (Middle Saxon, seventh to early eighth centuries), two groups of burials exhibiting different qualities are separated by an unexcavated area (Figure 9). The burials are not clearly in rows, but nor

[12] J. McKinley, 'A Conversion-Period Cemetery at Woodlands, Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire,' *YAJ* 88.1 (2016), 77-120.

do they intercut; they respect each other's space similarly to those at Adwick-le-Street, despite the slightly different form. Occasionally, as at Bevis Grave, bones were carefully reburied when bodies were disturbed by newer interments.[13] Given the emphasis often found in academic literature (including here) emphasizing the ways in which the body was demarked and preserved in Christian contexts, it is surprising that field cemeteries should have less intercutting than minster and church cemeteries. However, field cemeteries were generally in use for shorter periods of time than minster and church cemeteries (Figure 1) . If field cemeteries such as Adwick-le-Street, with its 40 interments, had no intercutting, perhaps it was because it served a small, localized community for a relatively short period of time. Duncan Sayer, in his proposal of a model generation-based dating scheme for the early Anglo-Saxon period, suggests that a cemetery of 49 might serve one family for three or four generations, or, perhaps, a couple of families for two.[14] In such a case, cemeteries such as Woodlands, Adwick-le-Street would have served the purpose of familial plots, which appear in the later phases of increasingly populous churchyards, without the longevity which necessitated intercutting.

Family Burials

In some cemeteries the spatial and stratigraphic arrangement of graves strongly suggests that families were buried together; not only mother and child, but, over time, the whole

[13] Bevis Grave, Hants. (7th-10th c.) field cemetery: D.J. Rudkin, 'Excavations at Bevis' Grave, Camp Down, Bedhampton, Hampshire,' (Unpublished Report, Fishbourne, 2001); A. Cherryson, 'Disturbing the Dead: Urbanisation, the Church, and the Post-Burial Treatment of Human Remains in Early Medieval Wessex, c. 600-1100AD,' *ASSAH* 14 (Oxford, 2007), 130-142.

[14] D. Sayer, 'Death and the Family: developing generational chronologies,' *Journal of Social Anthropology* 10.1 (2010), 59-91 at 64.

unit.[15] Occasionally, a woman and infant or child are found buried together within the same grave cut, as at St. Mary Street, Southampton, where a woman was buried with an in-utero foetus.[16] In this case, they died, and were buried, together. In some groups, however, the suspected family members do not appear to have been buried contemporaneously with each other. Instead, the well-aligned intercutting grave pairs, particularly when of different ages or sexes, indicate that the later graves may have been family members who wished to rest in the same area as the relatives who predeceased them. This is evident not only in later cemeteries such as St. Mark's, Lincoln, which dates to the tenth and eleventh centuries, but also famously in the cemetery at Wearmouth.[17] Ninety percent of the female burials at Wearmouth in the early period were segregated on the west side of the cemetery (west of Building B) with both male and juvenile burials accompanying them (Figure 7). These burial groups often contained more than one male and more than one female, suggesting a family plot, possibly of multiple generations.[18] This implies that the specific burial plots were remembered by subsequent generations and honoured accordingly until they themselves joined the plot. The stratigraphic evidence from cemeteries such as St. Mark's, Lincoln, Wearmouth, Trowbridge, and North Elmham all support the interpretation of multiple burials as family plots, and it ought to be noted that there are no visible post-

[15] 'Infants' are defined as babies, pre- or peri-natal through year 1. There is some variation among bioarchaeologists in the terminology for children and teenagers; for the sake of brevity, here I emulate Craig-Atkins and use 'juvenile' to refer to all non-adults as a group, including infants. Infants are still discussed separately below. See also S. Halcrow and N. Tayles, 'The Bioarchaeological Investigation of Childhood and Social Age: Problems and Perspectives,' *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 15.2 (2008), 190-215.

[16] M. Garner, 'Interim Report on Archaeological Excavation at 69 – 72 St Mary Street, Southampton, (SOU 1553).' Southampton Archaeology Unit Report 1053 (Unpublished report, 2011).

[17] B.J.J. Gilmour and D.A. Stocker, 'St Mark's Church and Cemetery, '*Archaeology of Lincoln*, 13.1 (1986), 17; R. Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites* (London, 2005), 78-9, 86, 88.

[18] It ought to be noted that Wearmouth is an unusual minster site in that family burials are present in both early and late periods, and both periods have little intercutting, unlike the devolvement into clumps seen in some later Minster churchyards.

holes near the graves at any of these sites, suggesting that grave markers were not a prerequisite for remembering the location of family burial sites (Figure 7, Figure 10). The people at Rothley, Leicestershire, a minster whose cemetery's northern section has been excavated, also appear to have changed their priorities from ensuring that the dead received their space in orderly rows towards prioritising proximity to one another: the rows, founded to the west, devolve into clumps as the cemetery expands east and gains newer burials; sporadic burials occur at its northern limits, stopping before extending into the Roman ruins (Figure 6).

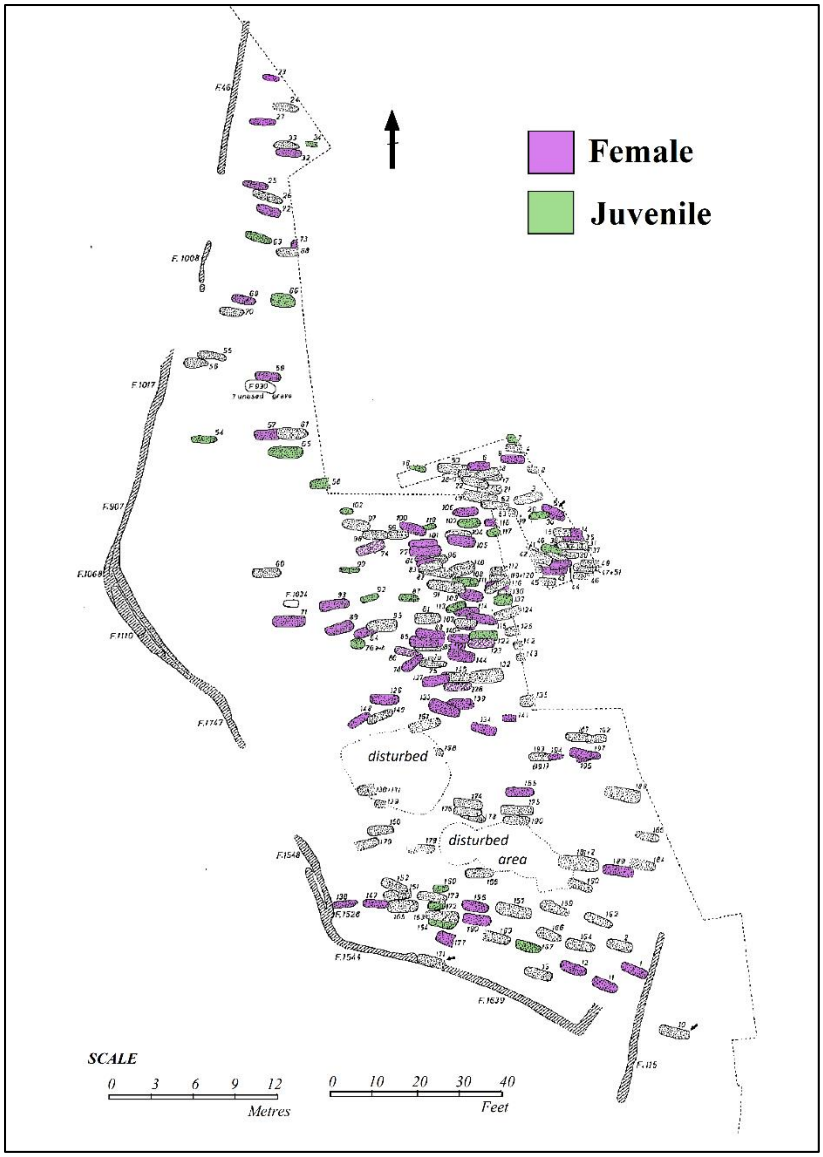


Figure 10: Distribution of female and juvenile remains at North Elmham Cemetery. After Wade-Martins and Yaxley, Excavations in North Elmham Park, Fig 158.

Later church graveyards such as at St. Mark's Lincoln, Wing, and Rivenhall also shifted over time towards burial in family groups rather than rows. Burials which were cut by these new family groups were sometimes reinterred as charnel deposits, even occasionally placed within the new grave, suggesting that subsequent generations were still concerned about the fate of existing burials, despite their willingness to intercut them. Occasionally, the top intercutting grave appears to have been dug to align with the grave below, but without being so deep as to disturb the body or coffin. This is evident at Wing, where certain burials

appear to cut the existing grave while preventing harm to the existing skeleton.[19] Some of these pairs are male-female matches of about 5-10 year difference in age, suggesting a married couple; others, in the cases of G48 and G77, a juvenile being buried over an adult, suggesting a child-parent relationship. Five out of seven intercutting adult pairs at Wing are male-female matches, usually with the female being the later burial, and older.[20] The male-male intercutting pair may have been brothers, or other close kin. The insertion of a juvenile body into an adult's grave (likely a parent's) has analogues in many church cemeteries of this period, as where newborns or children are buried either next to or at the feet of a female grave, who we can presume would have been the mother.[21]

Table 2: Age and sex distribution of intercutting graves at Wing, Bucks: after Holmes, 'Wing, Buckinghamshire,' 10.

Later Burial			**Earlier Burial**		
No.	Sex	Age	No.	Sex	Age
G12	Female	30-35	G13	Male	30-35
G09	Male	35-40	G10	Female	45+
G19	Male	30-35	G22	Male	25-30
G28	Female	35-45	G35	Male	25-30
G34	Female	45-50	G38	Male	35-45
G54	Male	45-50	G55	Female	35-40
G67	Female	35-	G62	Adult	---

[19] Holmes, 'Wing, Buckinghamshire.'
[20] Holmes, 'Wing, Buckinghamshire,' Table 2, 10.
[21] This would also have early Anglo-Saxon precedent: Stoodley's 2002 study on early Anglo-Saxon multiple burials found that 22% of double burials surveyed were woman and child, 12% a woman and infant, and 19% man and woman: N. Stoodley, 'Multiple Burials, Multiple Meanings? Interpreting the Early Anglo-Saxon Multiple Interment,' in S. Lucy and A. Reynolds (eds.), *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales* (Leeds 2002), 103-21.

		40			
G48	Juvenile (female)	10	G49	Adult	---
G77	Juvenile	1	G76	Female	30-35

In contrast to the ad-hoc cemetery plan at Wing, where insertions created the double burials shown in Table 2, the late Saxon cemetery at Milton Keynes Village potentially demonstrates a late burial ground which prioritised kin-group connections over row-structure, organized in family plots from the beginning.[22] The Milton Keynes Village site, which may have been associated with a church, possesses two mixed age and mixed sex groups. These are arranged in clumps rather than rows from the lowest layers, suggesting a family plot. Both 'lower' and 'upper' burial contexts contain intersecting burials, in addition to intercutting both each other and a further 'middle' context. Here we find the same six metres squared on the west used continuously for burial, along with the growth of another group, about 10x5m, to the north east. In each context men, women, and children were mixed together, suggesting that these were long-use family plots in an area which never had rows, and providing an alternative model to the rowstandard seen above.

The combination of intercutting graves matching familial pairs, and the care with which some displaced bones were reinterred suggests in some instances that the disturbance of the grave was done out of a desire to maintain the kinship bond in death as well as life. While this applies in cemeteries which were very full and had a long period of activity, such

[22] J. Parkhouse, R. Roseff, and J. Short, 'A Late Saxon Cemetery at Milton Keynes Village,' *Records of Buckinghamshire* 38 (1996), 199-221.

as Rothley, it also occurred in cemeteries which had burial space, such as Wearmouth, suggesting a priority shift towards keeping the family together.

II. Age Discrimination? Prioritizing the young

Church and minster cemeteries within this survey also differ from field cemeteries in the ways they are internally organized by age. After the seventh century, church cemeteries, both minster and not, exhibit various kinds of social structuring: they have areas which give children pride of place, which prioritize one sex over another, or from which the ill or poor are excluded (discussed in Section III. Hierarchies of Burial, below). While field cemeteries of the seventh century are often structured around central burials, such as the remarkable Street House burial in Loftus, in contrast, the field cemeteries within this survey do not show much noticeable or substantial internal social division (e.g. Adwick-le-Street).[23] Furthermore, burials of youths and the poor vary in location depending on whether the cemetery is associated with a church.

The written evidence of the early medieval period in England refutes the now-disregarded theory of Ariès that parents in the Middle Ages kept young children at a distance because of the high rate of infant mortality, and were relatively unmoved by their deaths.[24] The same anguish felt in the modern world at the death of a young person is visible in episodes within Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert* and the *Life of Wilfrid,* among other saints' lives: parents in great agitation plea for saints to heal, baptize, or give good burial to their children, craving

[23] S. Sherlock, *A Royal Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Street House, Loftus, North-East Yorkshire* (Cleveland, 2012).
[24] P. Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (1960).

intercession and miracles not only for their children's physical health, but also for their souls.[25] Bede records that children of royal houses were even given church burial during the early post-conversion seventh century, although church cemeteries had only just moved inside the city, and only abbots, kings, and bishops were technically allowed to receive church burial.[26] Given the eagerness of parents to obtain baptism, if not miraculous healing, for a dying child, it is consistent that parents would also seek special burial treatment for children, especially infants, in order to better secure their place in the afterlife.[27]

Written sources, particularly the early ones, indicate that burial within the walls of churches was restricted to bishops, abbots, kings and holy men. Despite laws in the seventh century prohibiting burial in the church as well as burial in towns, Augustine, Sebbi, Paulinus, and Theodore are all described by Bede and anonymous hagiographers as being buried within the church, along with other unnamed abbots and bishops.[28] Bede himself describes Wilfrid as being buried 'close to the altar on the south side' at Ripon, and Cuthbert as being buried 'on the right side of the altar' at Lindisfarne.[29]

Burial near the altar was clearly the highest honour. It is possible that the desire to be buried near to the saints, in imitation of early Christian cemeteries centred around the

[25] Bede, *Prose Life of St. Cuthbert,* Chapter 33; Stephan, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid,* Chapter 18, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927).
[26] King Edwin and Queen Æthelburh's children Æthelhun and Æhelthryth, 'snatched from life while still wearing the chrisom' and buried at York, and Eanflæd and Uscfrea, buried in a church at Gaul 'with the honour due to royal children and Christian innocents.' *HE* II.14, II.20; J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), 62 n.204.
[27] See S. Foot, '"By Water in the Spirit": the administration of baptism in Early Anglo-Saxon England,' in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), 171-92 at 188, 190.
[28] Paulinus, 'buried in the sacristy of the blessed Apostle Andrew'; Sebbi buried 'in the church of the blessed Apostle of the Gentiles,' Theodore in St. Peter's Church at Canterbury: Bede, *HE*, III.14, IV.11, V.8.
[29] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, V.19, Bede, *Prose Life of St. Cuthbert*, Chapter 40.

graves of the holy martyrs, made burial spots near the church highly prized for the rich and the holy, which in turn led to the slow creep of burials into the body of the church itself.[30] While Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury (r. 740-760) is credited with moving the burial-place for archbishops inside cities in England, the ban on burial inside the church was slower to lift, and in England the general ban on lay people within the minster was not lifted until the so-called *Canons of Edgar,* normally dated to the early eleventh century.[31] In the meantime, it was common for bodies to be interred in the porticus or side-chapels of the church, as with Abbot Eosterwine in the porticus at Wearmouth.[32] The fact that children were granted the honour of being centred upon special structures, as described below, and placed as close to the church as possible in the later Anglo-Saxon period indicates a change in approach towards the young and either their social status or their spiritual status. Infant and juvenile burials have also been found to have received preferential treatment with pillow stones, coffins, and certain grave inclusions.[33]

One of the great mysteries of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries is the relative absence from graveyards of children, especially infants, particularly considering the prevalence of infant death in contemporary written sources.[34] This curious absence occurs primarily in the early

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[30] F. S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: the creation of a ritual process in early medieval Europe* (Cornell, 1990), 25.

[31] Wulfstan, 'The So-called 'Canons of Edgar' (*Can. Ps. Edg.)*,' in D. Whitelock *et al.* (ed.), *Councils and Synods: with other documents relating to the English church. Volume I: AD 871-1204* (Oxford, 1981), 313-337 at 324: [29] *7 riht is þæt man innan cyrican ænine man ne byrige butan man wite þæt he on life gode to ðam wel gecwemde þæt man þurh þæt læte þæt he sy þæs legeres wyrðe.* 'No man be buried inside the church unless one knows that in his life he pleased God so well that on that account one may consider that he is entitled to that burial place.'
The ban on intra-mural burial in Rome was lifted at about same time: Foot, *Monastic Life*, 312, fn. 143.

[32] Foot, *Monastic Life*, 313; *History of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, chapter 20.

[33] Discussed in the next chapter.

[34] J. Buckberry, 'Missing, Presumed Buried? Bone Diagenesis and the Under-Representation of Anglo-Saxon Children,' *Assemblage* 5 (2000), http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/assemblage/html/5/buckberr.html. Accessed 7

Anglo-Saxon period, but also appears in middle and late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries to a lesser degree. Whether judging by modern third-world life-tables or medieval cemeteries, there ought to be at least a 30% mortality rate:[35] in Raunds Furnells, where children's burials survive fairly well and are very well recorded, juveniles comprise only 18% of the mortuary population.[36] This implies that a high percentage of children were treated with an invisible mortuary rite – buried shallowly, or in soils which are very poor for bones, with no grave lining—and makes the occasions where children *are* present and treated in a special fashion very curious.

Children within churchyards can be found both on their own within rows as well as interred at the foot, or in the very near vicinity, of a female burial, particularly after the ninth century. As discussed above, this intercutting makes sense if family members sought to be buried together. Segregation of burials by age does appear, however, and is discernible in two forms: first, the separation of sub-adults from adults in monastic and minster communities, and second, the well-documented practice of infants and pregnant women being buried under the eaves of the church.[37]

Children on the Edge

In some phases of mid-Anglo-Saxon minsters and church cemeteries, a proportion of children have been found in their own smaller special cemeteries, in addition to being

September 2018; S. Crawford, 'Children, Death and the Afterlife,' *ASSAH* 6 (Oxford, 1993), 83–92 at 83.

[35] A. Grauer, 'Patterns of Life and Death: the palaeodemography of medieval York,' in H. Bush and M. Zvelebil (eds.), *Health in Past Societies.* BAR Int. Ser 567 (Oxford, 1991), 67-80.

[36] A. Boddington, *Raunds Furnells*.

[37] See especially E. Craig-Atkins, 'Eavesdropping on Short Lives: Eavesdrip burial and the differential treatment of children one year of age and under in early Christian cemeteries,' in D.M. Hadley and K. A. Hemer (eds.), *Medieval Childhood: Archaeological Approaches* (Oxford, 2014), 95-113.

intermingled among the general population on a limited basis in other phases. Whithorn has a 'children's cemetery' composed primarily of perinates or infants on the outside of the surrounding wall of the Phase 2 (Northumbrian) burial chapel with five adult graves within it (Figure 11).[38] The children, especially in Phase 1 and 2, overcut each other with frequency, and had unusually high instances of dental enamel hypoplasia (DEH) and cribra orbitalia as well as porotic damage in other parts of the body.[39] Fifty-six children in total were buried in the area against the east wall of the structure. A further example is at Staunch Meadow Brandon, Suffolk, where a highly-concentrated group of children's burials was found on what is believed to have been the western edge of the second-phase cemetery (Cemetery 2, which also contains unequal numbers of men and women: see Figure 22).[40]

[38] 'Mortuary chapel' destroyed c. AD 845; P. Hill, *Whithorn and St. Ninian: the Excavation of a Monastic Town, 1984-91* (Stroud, 1997)*,* 170.

[39] Hill, *Whithorn,* 168-72, 557-9; see also Church Walk, Hartlepool, with its group of 31 children, 19 of which were infants: R. Daniels, 'The Anglo-Saxon Monastery at Hartlepool, England,' in *Medieval Europe 1992, Pre-Printed Papers 6: Religion and Belief* (York, 1992), 171-6.

[40] A. Tester *et al*., *Staunch Meadow, Brandon, Suffolk: A high status middle Saxon settlement on the fen edge.* EAA 152. (Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, 2014), 390.

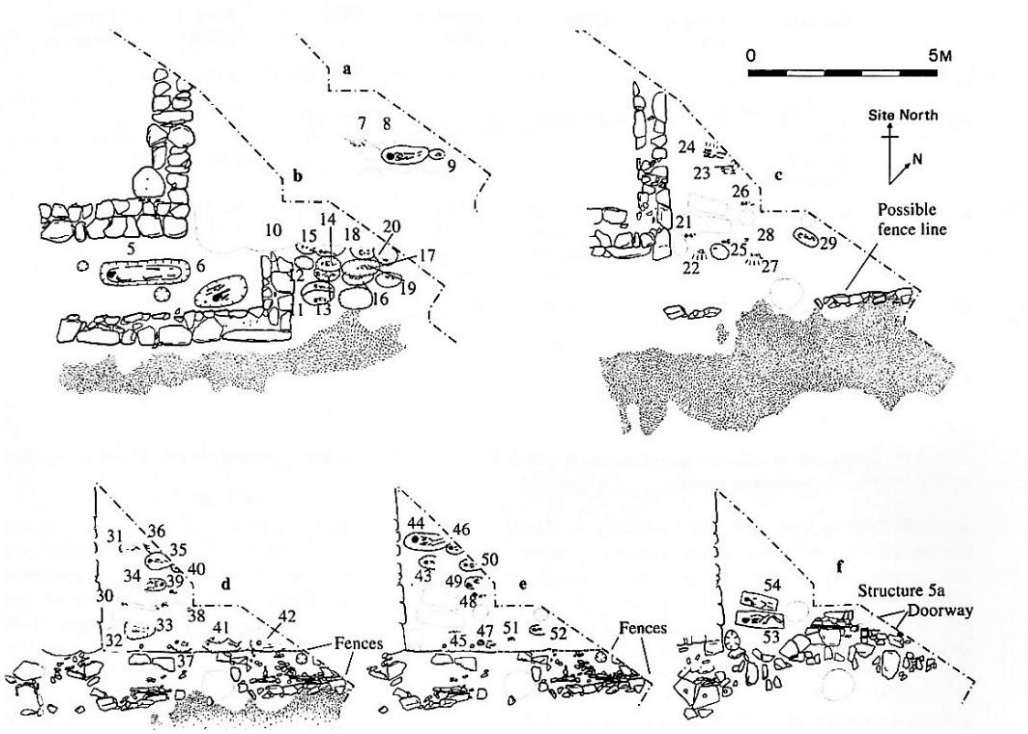


Figure 11: Whithorn's "children's graveyard": a and b show early burials; c through e show later burials probably dating to Phase 3; f shows the late burials, possibly dating to Phase 4. Hill, Whithorn, 171.

Prejudicial Treatment based upon Coming of Age

Determining the age of a juvenile skeleton is dependent not only upon surviving dentition, but on the more fragile bones surviving well enough to measure bone length and see the closure of epiphyses.[41] Although the bone fusion which occurs throughout puberty is not always an accurate indicator of age, future close analysis of the burials might nonetheless reveal whether treatment or placement of the body differed among youths depending on whether they were considered to have reached adulthood. With a strong enough skeletal sample, the age when an oblate enters the community would be one point at which to

[41] For a general overview of the difficulty of determining age among juveniles, even when examining bone fusion, see: T.D. White and P.A. Folkens, *The Human Bone Manual* (Burlington, Mass., 2005), 364, 373, and 384.

examine changing burial practice and pattern. In the Classical world's traditional, poetic division of the ages of man into seven periods of seven years, *pueritia* lasts between the ages of seven and fourteen, at which point the youth becomes an adolescent. This is used by Augustine in his metaphor of the ages of the world in *De Civitate Dei* (with only six ages, however) and in turn adopted by Bede.[42] Sally Crawford, in her review of the ages at which children might have been considered adult within Anglo-Saxon England, hypothesized that the liminal age might have been between ten and twelve years old.[43] In late seventh-century Kent, a child whose father has died was expected to look after his property after he reached ten years old, before which a kinsman was his (and its) protector; at the same time in Wessex, a ten-year-old could also be considered answerable for a theft, and subject to the punishment for it.[44] Athelstan, c.935, attempted to raise the age at which a 'man' could be executed for theft from twelve to fifteen years old, which implies that twelve was the original age for manhood, but that culturally, the liminal age of maturity may have been rising in the later Anglo-Saxon period.[45] Might the point at which a child is able to care for his own property, or becomes a man in the eyes of the law, have changed the place where he was buried?

Similarly, canon law promulgated at Carthage, repeated in the *Dialogues* of Ecgberht, stated that 'a man be not ordained deacon, nor a virgin consecrated, before they be twenty-five

[42] P. Archambault, 'The Ages of Man and the Ages of the World: a study of two traditions,' *Revue d*' *Etudes Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 12.3-4 (1966), 193-228 at 194, 206-7.
[43] S. Crawford, *Childhood in Anglo-Saxon England* (Stroud, 1999), 46-53.
[44] 'The Laws of Hlothhere and Eadric, Kings of Kent (673-685),' in Whitelock (ed.), *EHD,* 360, #6; 'The Laws of Ine (688-694),' in Whitelock (ed.), *EHD,* 365, #7.2.
[45] II Athelstan, #1 and VI Athelstan, #12: 'No thief is to be spared who is caught with the stolen goods [if he is] over twelve years'… vs. 'It seemed too cruel to him that a man should be killed so young… it seemed to him… that no man younger than fifteen should be killed.' In 'King Athelstan's laws issued at Graetely, Hampshire (II Athelstan, 924-939),' and 'The ordinance of the bishops and reeves of the London district (IV Athelstan),' in Whitelock (ed.), *EHD,* 381 and 391.

years of age, unless a reasonable necessity compels.'[46] This provides a further age threshold at which treatment of the living might be expected to change. If the dentition survived in good enough condition, it would be very interesting to test whether there exists a correlation in minster cemeteries between men over twenty-five/ thirty-five (the bracket with which one can age the skeleton on the basis of molars) and burials nearer to the walls of the church, or burials containing a greater number of grave variations. Archaeologists noticed that almost 50% of the young adults in the Newcastle excavation were buried in the Compound, a potentially prestigious area of already high density.[47] Once the detailed burial information and the human skeletal remains from recently-excavated minsters such as Lyminge, Whitby, and Lindisfarne becomes available, a cross-examination of whether there was any alteration in the treatment of the dead before or after those secular and religious rites of passage would hopefully be able to answer this question.

Wearmouth is the only minster cemetery within this survey where youths, not infants, are found separately in an area apart from family burials. While the west side of the cemetery served a mixed population in the early period, as described above, the area east of Building B contained primarily male burials and youths, suggesting an area that included oblates alongside other religious inhabitants of the minster (Figure 7). Though the area west of building B also possessed a high concentration of juveniles, it was offset by adults of both sexes: 10 juveniles to 17 male and 5 females in the early phase, and 14 juveniles, 13 males, and 5 females in the late phase. Two youths are also in a family burial to the south of Wall F,

[46] In *Dialogus Ecgbrihti,* #91; Canon 16, Council of Carthage AD419.
[47] J. Nolan *et al.,* 'Early Medieval Cemetery at The Castle, Newcastle upon Tyne,' *Archaeologia Aeliana* 39 (2010), 147-288 at 232.

and thus are unlikely to be oblates. However, east of the pathway, three sub-adults are laid in a row in the early layers, in an area which has only male burials except for a string of female burials within three metres of the church (clearly special burials), and no incidence of stress markers. Most of the east of the churchyard suffered from very high bone loss before excavation, so the rest of the 'monastic' half is missing, but this row of youths, cut somewhat into the cemetery path, leaves open the possibility that its inhabitants belonged to the monastic community, particularly as the row was fleshed out in later periods with another sub-adult burial.

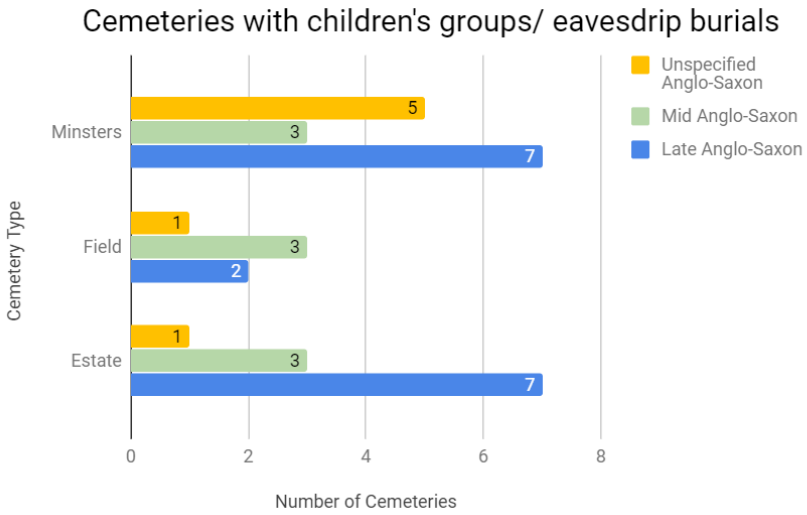


Figure 12: Distribution of cemeteries with organisation by age, by time period. 'Unspecified' refers to sites which span the entire 650-1100 period.

Eavesdrip

One of the most fascinating developments in the Anglo-Saxon churchyard is that of eavesdrip burial. As we have already seen, anxiety about children's souls has a solid basis in

scripture and was reinforced in Augustine's writings on original sin.[48] John 3:5 says 'Without being born of water and the Spirit, no one can enter the kingdom of God.' Though physically distant from the councils in Gaul and Rome confirming that view, evidence from both homilies and secular law suggest that the Anglo-Saxon religious were of the same mind. Bede records a letter of Pope John to the bishops of Ireland which indicates his belief, at least, that original sin in infants would prevent their entry to heaven. Citing Psalm 51:5, it says, 'For all other men were born with original sin, and are known to bear the mark of Adam's transgression, even if they are without actual sin, in accordance with the prophet's words: 'Behold I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother bring me forth.''[49] Thus, although parents may have felt that a child who died soon after birth was free of sin, contemporary church doctrine asserted that their children were doomed regardless if they died unbaptised. Bede is not the first or last Anglo-Saxon writer to mention this; the earlier Whitby *Life of Gregory the Great* states that, 'without baptism none will ever see God,' and Ælfric of Eynsham reiterates that sentiment in his homily on the Lord's Epiphany.[50]

This threat to an infant's soul combined with the quite high chances of infant death led to English laws commanding the prompt baptism of infants, in spite of Continental canon law

[48] Augustine, *City of God against the Pagans* XXII, xxi; Augustine *Confessions,* Book I Chapter 7 where he quotes Job 14:4-5: 'No one is free from sin before You [God], not even the little infant who has lived on the earth one day'/ 'Nemo mundus a peccato coram te, nec infans cuius est unius diei vita super terram.' J. O'Donnell (ed.), *Augustine: Confessions, a text and commentary* (Oxford, 1992). D. Alexandre-Bidon, and D. Lett, *Children in the Middle Ages: 5th- 15th centuries* (Notre Dame, IN, 1999), 24; Also: 'All who are born are damned; none is free except by being reborn.' Augustine, *Sermo* 294.16, col. 134; P. Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c.200-1150* (Cambridge, 1993), 123.

[49] Psalm 51:5 (50:7); Bede *HE,* II.19, Colgrave and Mynors 202-3.

[50]'*Nemo enim sine babtismo Deum videbit umquam*': Anonymous monk of Whitby, *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great,* Chapter 29, trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge, 1985), 126-7; Ælfric, Homily 3 'Sermon on the Lord's Epiphany', ll. 252–57, *Catholic Homilies*, ed. Godden, p. 26: '*… forðan ðe se cwyde is swiðe egeslic þe Crist cwæð, Þæt nánungefullod mann ne becymð to ðam ecan life*'.

adjuring that baptism take place only on Easter and Pentecost.[51] There was, however, a loophole allowing for a shorter ritual to be performed in one day, any day, rather than with all the multiple presentations to the bishop (the 'Scrutiny') and only at Easter and Pentecost, for those with who were direly ill, and this short ordo was widely circulated, and almost never absent from liturgical books.[52] This regular use of the baptismal rites for an *infirmus* or *paganus* for infants rather than waiting till Easter, perhaps following the adage 'better safe than sorry,' is observable in surviving Anglo-Saxon laws at an early date. The seventh-century *Laws of Ine* legislated that a child be baptised within 30 nights, or else have the father 'make satisfaction within 30 shillings.' If the child died unbaptised as a result of this procrastination, the father was to 'make satisfaction with all that he has.'[53] Even despite the law against double-baptism, the eleventh-century *Excerptions of Ecgbriht,* believed to be substantially the work of Wulfstan of York, recommended that when uncertain about whether an infant was baptised, with no certain witnesses of their baptism found, and the infants, of course, unable to make a proper answer themselves, should be 'baptized without scruple,' lest they 'be deprived of the cleansing virtue of the sacraments,' or perish unbaptised.[54] This was not just a law of Wessex, however. The eleventh-century

[51] In 585 the 3rd canon of the Council of Mâcon issued a censure, requesting that baptism be conferred only on Easter Sunday, except in cases of extraordinary illness or extreme age, with families to appear at church on the first Sunday of Lent to begin the process. The 829 Council of Paris, Canon 7 & 847 Council of Mayence softened this by saying baptism was to be performed only at Easter and Pentecost, and also allowed exceptions if 'required otherwise.' In Alexandre-Bidon and Lett, *Children in the Middle Ages,* 25-6. 'Concilium Matisconense a. 585,' in F. Maasen (ed.), *MGH Concilia aevum Merovingici* (Hanover, 1893), 163-174 at 166.

[52] S. Keefe, *The Water and the Word* (2 vols.) (Notre Dame, IN, 2002), 156-8. See Keefe also for a description of the different scrutinies, and an examination of the wide variety of Carolingian baptismal *ordos*.

[53] *The Laws of Ine* in D. Whitelock (ed.), *English Historical Documents, Vol. 1*: *c.500-1042* (London, 1955), 364; Thorpe, *Diplomatorium I,* 2-25.

[54] *Excerptions of Archbishop Ecgbriht of York*, no. 41, in J. Johnson (ed.), *A Collection of the Laws and Canons of the Church of England* (Oxford, 1850), 186-203, at 193; J. Cross and A. Harmer, *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection* (Cambridge, 1999), 5.

Northumbrian Priests' Law (c. AD 1020-1023) went even further to suggest that a child be baptised within nine days, under penalty of six ores. If the child 'die[d] heathen' within those nine days, amends were to be made to God only, but if 'through carelessness' death occurred to the unbaptised child after that nine day span, a fee of 12 ores was to be imposed.[55]

This anxiety about infant baptism may have led to the prevalence of burial under the eaves, so that holy water of some sort might help the child get to heaven.[56] 'Eavesdrip' burial refers to this practice whereby infants, children, and likely their mothers (occasionally with children still in the womb) were buried under the eaves of churches and minsters. Their presence in the area within 1.5m of the church, which otherwise mainly goes unpopulated, is thought to be a result of parents' anxiety about these infant souls ascending to heaven in the afterlife—or, alternatively, a reward for their special status as both baptised and innocent creatures.[57]

Archaeologically, 'eavesdrip' burial of infants in the Anglo-Saxon period is found quite widely, particularly in late Anglo-Saxon levels of stratigraphy. Within this survey, examples of eavesdrip burial are spread throughout what would have been Mercia, Wessex, and Essex. Crawford points out that this practice is not limited to England, either, as it also

[55] *Northumbrian Priest's Law,* no. 10 and 10.1, in *EHD, Vol. 1*.: *c.500-1042,* ed. Whitelock, 435-6; Latin ed. Liebermann I, pp. 380-385

[56] Crawford, 'Children, Death, and the Afterlife,' 88; Examples include Saint-Barthélemy church beside the basilica of Saint-Denis, where the majority of young children are buried near the south wall of the church chancel (9th c.) and Saint-Etienne Church in the episcopal group of Rouen, tenth and eleventh centuries, where 30% of the non-adult interments are located along the south wall, 'always under the rain gutters': Alexandre-Bidon and Lett, *Children in the Middle Ages,* 30. This brings up further questions about whether eavesdrip burial, whatever its meaning, was 'caught' from Gaul along with the Benedictine reforms.

[57] Alexandre-Bidon and Lett, *Children in the Middle Ages*, 30-31.

occurred within Merovingian contexts in France.[58] As one of the obstacles to analysing youth populations is the lack of bone survival in infants and neonates, particularly in acidic soils such as those in East Anglia, the number of surviving eavesdrip burials is surprising and speaks to the frequency with which such inhumation must have occurred. (Figure 12)

Raunds Furnells is the best-known example of eavesdrip burial: the filling of the space 1.5m from the church occurred late within the site's chronology, and the fill was nearly exclusively (with one male exception) infant and youth burials. Not only are the closest 1.5 meters out from the church composed primarily of the young dead, but also the percentage of infant burials in the population decreases significantly with distance from the church. The far eastern curving rows of Zones 4 and 5 contain extremely few infants: infants compose 3/75 (4%) interments in Zone 4, and 2/52 (3.8%) interments in Zone 5. In south-eastern Zone 5, there also are a relatively low number of children (12% of inhumations in the area, whereas children compose 20.0-29.8% of the inhumations in the other zones), suggesting that by the time the cemetery needed to expand, the practice may have been to bury children closer to the church regardless of whether they had been baptized. The infant and child burials in Zone 5 also tend to be at the north of the zone, i.e., closer to the church and the main body of the churchyard.

Cherry Hinton also has a concentration of children in the area within 1.5m of the church walls: the proportion of neonates and infants in the population is low, (6.3%) (43/683) , but over half (28/43) of those were buried in the 1.5m 'eavesdrip' area (Figure 13).[59] The

[58] S. Crawford, 'Infant Baptism and Burial,' in I. Cochelin and K. Smyth (eds.) *Medieval Life Cycles: Continuity and Change* (Turnhout, 2013), 55-88 at 57, 68. Continental examples include Saint-Martin de Trainecourt, at Mondeville in the Calvados, La Courneuve, St. Lucien, and Cour d'Albane necropolis, Saint-Etienne Church (the episcopal church of Rouen): Alexandre-Bidon and Lett, *Children in the Middle Ages*, 29-32.

[59] L. di Ruffano and T. Waldron, 'The Skeletal Analysis of an Anglo-Saxon Population

eleventh-century church on Market Avenue on Norwich Castle Bailey is different to Cherry Hinton in that children make up 65% of the minimum number of individuals compared to Cherry Hinton's 6.5% (Figure 13, Figure 14). This is an unusually high rate, beyond both the anticipated 30% and the 'ideal' 40-50%, which may be due to good soil quality (Figure 14). There the ratio of infants to juveniles underneath the eaves is not as high as at Cherry Hinton, with only four infants among the 17 juveniles within 1.5m of the church walls. There are also, however, three women under the eaves, one of whom shares the same grave fill with a neonate (SK 3747 and 3729, respectively), suggesting that she, and her infant, died of complications in childbirth.[60] The dentition of the female skeletons indicated that they were under 35, within childbearing age.[61]

from Cherry Hinton, Cambridgeshire.' Archaeological Solutions Ltd. (Unpublished report, 2000), table 5; T. McDonald and P. Doel, *Land at 69-115 Church End, Cherry Hinton, Cambridge: An Archaeological Evaluation* (Unpublished report: Hertford, June 2000); E. Craig-Atkins, 'Eavesdropping on Short Lives.'

[60] B. Ayers, *Excavations within the North-East Bailey of Norwich Castle, 1979.* EAA 28. (Dereham, Norfolk, 1985). Also logged as "Market Avenue/ Rose Lane" cemetery, NHER 416: There are 5 late Saxon/ Anglo-Norman cemeteries on or around the Castle bailey, so the distinction is important.

[61] Sayer and Dickinson suggest that given the fact that populations in Anglo-Saxon England were 'pre-industrial, rural, family-based societies… small and dispersed,' deaths were less frequent and thus an infant and adult woman buried together were very likely related, and a case of obstetric death: D. Sayer and S. Dickinson, 'Reconsidering Obstetric Death,' *World Archaeology* 45.2 (2013), 285-293 at 287.

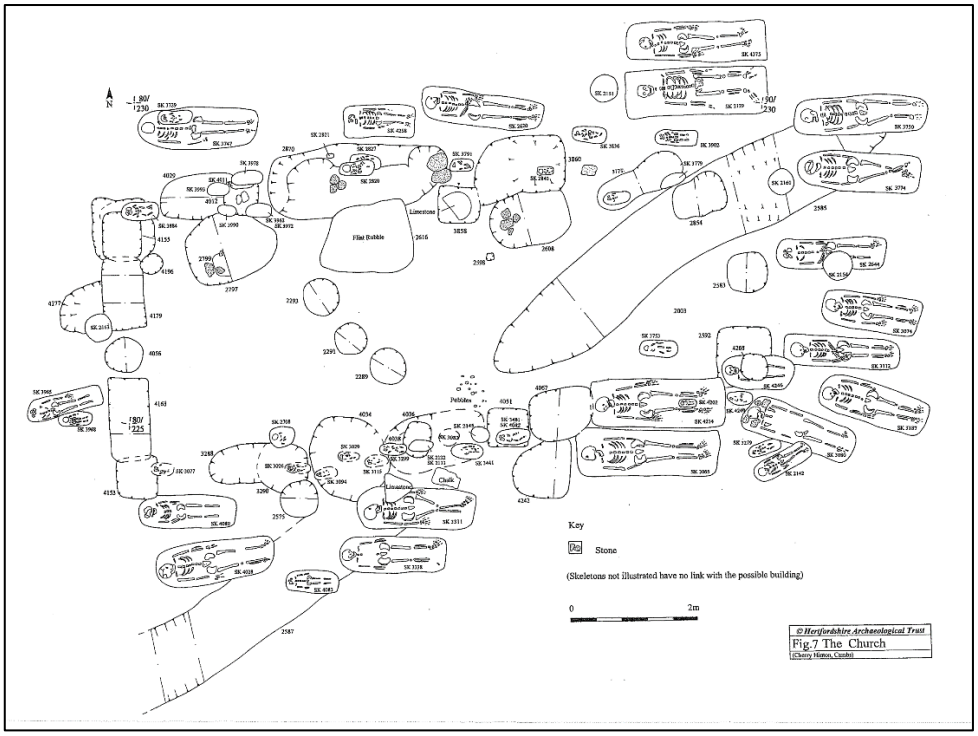


Figure 13: Overview of cemetery at Cherry Hinton, Cambs. From McDonald and Doel, 'Land at 69-115 Church End,' Fig. 7.

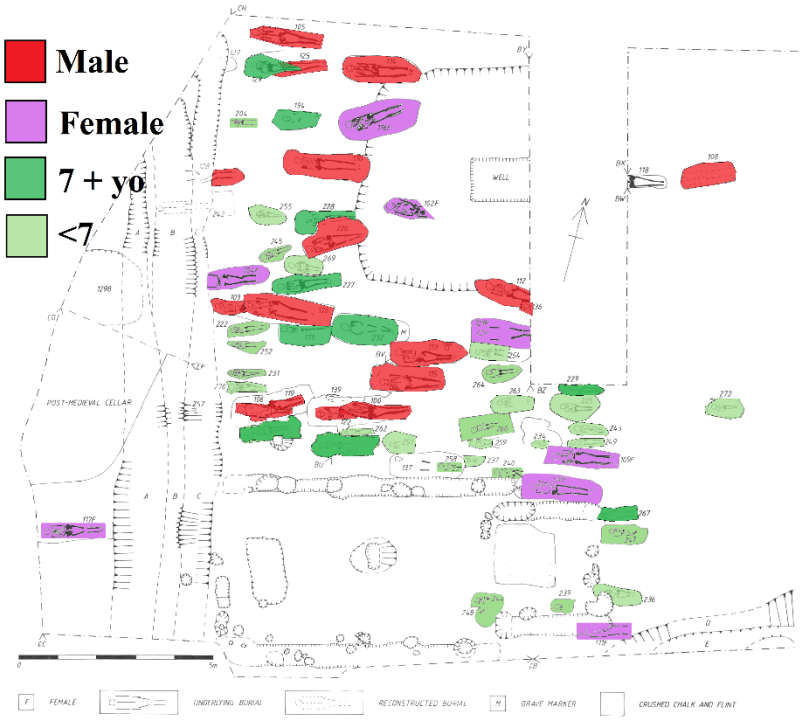


Fig. 7 Periods II, III, IV and V. Overall site plan (church as at Period IV only). Scale 1:120

Figure 14: Market Avenue, Norwich Castle Bailey eavesdrip burials around north and east end of Period IV church, Periods II, III, and V

Although eight minsters, including Hartlepool and Wearmouth, appear to have had special areas where a greater percentage of children were buried, it is interesting that none of these appear to have been in the 'eavesdrip' area. This may be because eavesdrip burial practice does not seem to have begun in England until the tenth century. Nazeingbury, with its relatively brief period of use from c.700-900 provides perhaps the earliest example of infant burials being situated near church walls.[62] However, scholars have questioned whether the northern building really is a church, especially as the North-South arrangement of Nazeingbury's buildings is highly unusual compared to the usual East-West strand of churches, and there is not a high concentration of juveniles within the 1.5m area surrounding either building. The absence of eavesdrip burials on their sites may thus indicate that the practice did not reach that (by that point, lay) community, or that it was not adapted by them by their own choice.When limiting the query to only cemeteries with a quality over '3', however, the number of cemeteries with age groups remains virtually the same, suggesting that this sort of grouping may be underreported, and increases in site recording quality may increase the quantity of cemeteries with this feature.

As regards eavesdrip burial, the hint which Bede gives us about child burial may be rather telling: the two children Æthelhun and Æthelðrith are 'snatched out of this life whilst they were still in their white garments,' and perhaps baptized hurriedly as their health appeared to waver.[63] Regardless of their youth or the swiftness of the baptism ceremony, they were still granted royal burial in the minster at York. It is tempting to speculate that the single

[62] P.J. Huggins *et al.*, 'Excavation of Belgic and Romano-British Farm with Middle Saxon Cemetery and Churches at Nazeingbury, Essex, 1975–6,' *Essex Arch. Hist.* 10 (1978), 29–117.
[63] *HE* II.14.

infant burials which occur in the apses of certain Anglo-Saxon churches may also have been noble children baptized in similar circumstances.

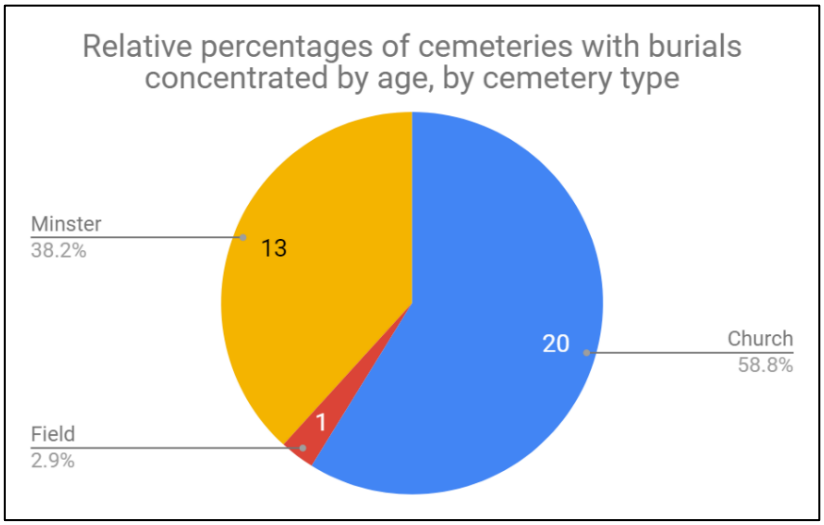


Figure 15: Distribution among all cemetery types of cemeteries organized by age. Whole number in chart represents the total number of sites which contain this attribute across the survey.

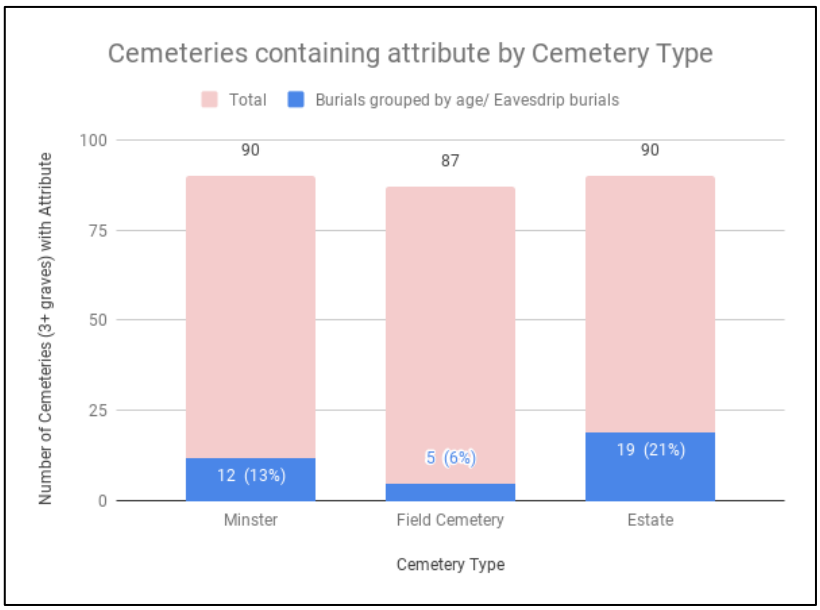


Figure 16: Distribution between cemetery types of cemeteries containing burials grouped by age or containing eavesdrip burials, against total number of cemeteries with over three graves in survey.

In contrast, a surprising number of field cemeteries do not demonstrate large differences in where children are placed compared to adults (Figure 15, Figure 16). Church cemeteries

with either clumps, separate areas for children, or eavesdrip burials outnumber field cemeteries 6:1. The typical field cemetery, when it does contain children's burials, appears to have children integrated normally among the population, as at Woodlands, Adwick-le-Street. Of 47 field cemeteries in the database with over 3 inhabitants and a moderate (level 3) quality of publication, only three contained grouping by age (12%), and there was no spatial or temporal patterning among them.[64] This is a further difference between field and church cemeteries.

III. Hierarchies of Burial

Just as there were hierarchical rules regarding the use of space within the church, there may have been unlegislated traditions concerning the distribution of women or those of lower social status in church-adjacent cemeteries. Unfortunately, most excavations only examine a small section of the graveyard, often the churchyard south of the church, which provides only part of the picture. As a result, the conclusions here are tentative, but general trends of organisation across the churchyard can still be discerned.

For those who could not be interred in the porticus of the church, being near to the church was the next best thing. The following analysis of the interior distribution of the different sexes and markers of malnutrition within the graveyard supports the widely held assumption that burials closer to the church prioritised male burials and healthier bodies,

[64] Bamburgh Bowl Hole, Northumberland; Dixon Keld, Masham, N. Yorks.; Farmers Ave, Norwich, Norf. With the same query limitations on quality and number, estate churches returned a result of 16/49 (27%) cemeteries with age-related organisation; these very heavily favoured the late Anglo-Saxon period, as 8 were firmly dated to the late Anglo-Saxon period and 2 were Saxo-Norman; 3 were undatable Anglo-Saxon period, and 3 were mid Anglo-Saxon (Spofforth, Harrogate, N. Yorks; Lincoln Eastern Bypass, Lincs.; Sedgeford, Norfolk).

while women and those who were without means, at least in their youth, were more likely to not have special markers of any sort and to be buried more than 10m outside the chapel walls.

Divisions by cardinal direction and by distance from a church reflect subtle grouping by sex, age, and social status within the churchyard structure. Within the first meter of the church walls there are few burials aside from the eavesdrip burials of the tenth-eleventh century, composed of infants, young children, and occasionally women with foetuses (discussed above). Though the area is not exclusively the provenance of those of high social status, the first 5m away from the church shows a remarkably lower incidence of biological markers of low social status such as tibial periostitis, dental enamel hypoplasia, and cribra orbitalia. In the next area, between 5-10 meters away from the church, tibial periostitis starts appearing among the population. The highest percentage of tibial periostitis, dental enamel hypoplasia and cribra orbitalia occurs 10 meters and over away from the church and, while not limited to it, are overwhelmingly to the southeast of the churchyard.[65]

Distribution by Sex: Separate, or Together?

The excavation of certain well-processed cemeteries, such as Raunds Furnells, confirms that even outside of monastic contexts there was still some internal organisation by sex (Figure 18, Figure 19). At both Raunds Furnells and St. Patrick's, Heysham, sections of the cemeteries nearer to the church contain a much higher concentration of men. At Staunch Meadow, Brandon, Suffolk, the coffin burials in Cemetery 1 showed disparity between the sexes and were also concentrated in the 10m closest to the church (Figure 17). At Wing,

[65] For example, in St. Peter's, Barton-upon-Humber.

coffins were across all the rows, but mainly in the northern half, and twelve out of the twenty coffined burials were male (60%), five female (25%), two juvenile and one unsexed.[66] This shows a preference towards men being interred in coffins over women, as well as a slight divergence in spatial distribution, as there is an equal proportion of males to females in the overall grave population.

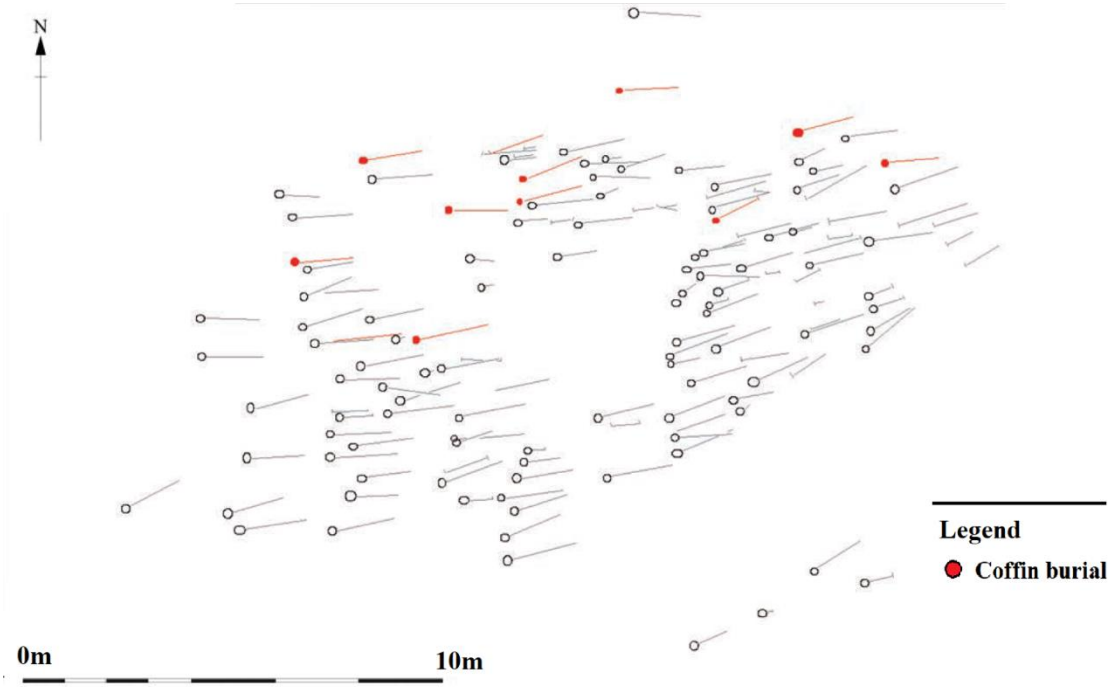


Figure 17: Distribution of coffin burials in Staunch Meadow, Brandon, Suffolk, Cemetery 1. From A. Tester et al., Staunch Meadow, 192.

While 'gender' parity exists in most field cemeteries across the period, the ratio of male to female burials in minster cemeteries, especially before the tenth century, is much less constant. The ratio between the sexes in many tenth- to eleventh-century layers of churchyards may signal the shift of lay population burial from field cemeteries to church

[66] 20 out of the 41 classifiable burials are very likely to have been coffined, based upon interpretation of the bone positioning within the grave: The 'tumble' of the bones here indicates the use of coffins, as the void around the body allows the bones to move during decomposition. A narrow coffin can produce a body which is 'parallel-sided,' but which does not have the head or clavicle position of a shroud burial: Duday, *The Archaeology of the Dead*, 32-36; Holmes, 'Wing, Buckinghamshire,' 12.

cemeteries, as churchyard burial became more popular and accessible, by the eleventh century.[67] If a disparity existed—and given the presence of secular clergy and double monastic houses, this need not have been the case—this influx of lay population may have archaeologically overwhelmed any quantitative difference in the cemetery gender ratio from the presence of a religious community.

By contrast, in cemeteries of the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period, the average ratio of adult women to men in South Yorkshire cemeteries is 1.4F to 1M; the field cemetery at Woodlands, Adwick-le-Street has a slightly higher ratio of 1.6:1.[68] Despite being a parish church, male remains outnumbered female at Raunds Furnells in the area south of the church, 26 to 9, especially within the first 10 meters.[69] Just as we have already seen with child burials, a portion of minsters, regardless of region, display both imbalance in their gender demography and burial zoning in their cemeteries.[70]

[67] Leading to the implementation of taxes (the 'soulscot' of ninth-century charters and Æthelred's eleventh-century laws) and the further obscuration of material trace of early religious communities associated with minsters: J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society,* 463, 470; S. Foot, *Monastic Life*, 317, esp. footnote 172: 'the first references in charters are in texts from the 870s: S 1275 and S1279; the obligation was imposed in law in V Æthelred, 12.1, and VIII Æthelred, 13'; H. Gittos, 'Creating the Sacred,' in S. Lucy and A. Reynolds (eds.), *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales* (London, 2002), 195-208 at 201.

[68] Castledyke: 1.3 to 1; McKinley, 'A Conversion Period Cemetery at Adwick-le-Street,' 90; A. Boylston, R. Wiggins, and C. Roberts, 'Human skeletal remains,' in G. Drinkall and M. Foreman, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Castledyke South, Barton-on-Humber.* Sheffield Excavation Reports 6 (Sheffield, 1998), 221–36.

[69] A. Boddington, *Raunds Furnells*, 56-7.

[70] Wearmouth, Newcastle, and Hartlepool display this in the north; Staunch Meadow and Winchester Old Minster in the South.

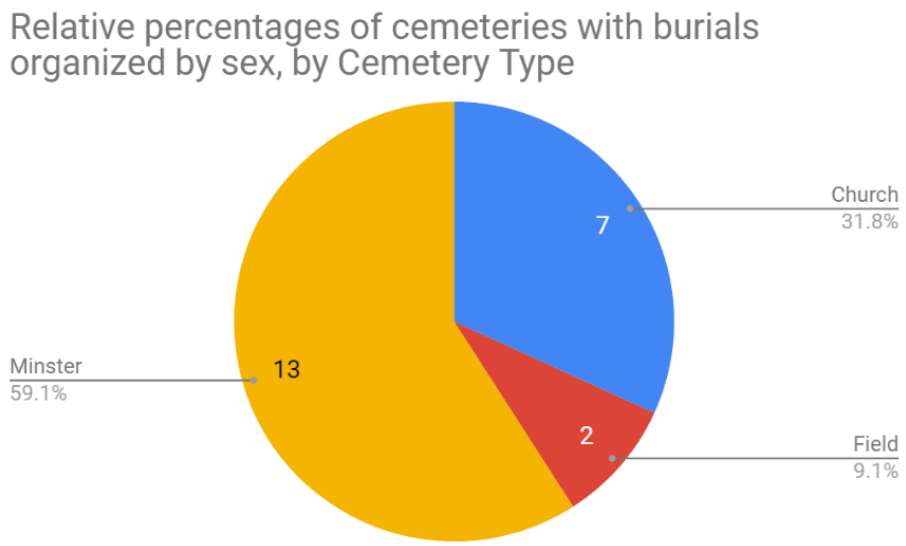


Figure 18: Relative percentage of cemeteries with internal organisation by sex, showing division of practice between cemetery types. Whole number in pie represents the total number of sites which contain this attribute across the survey.

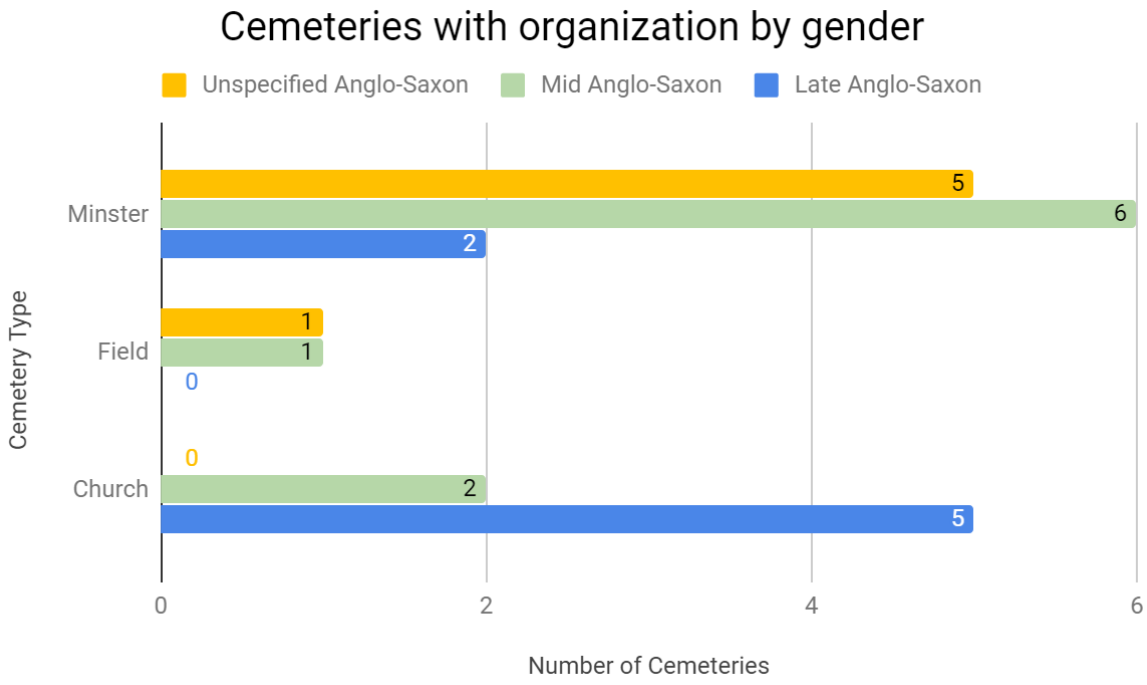


Figure 19: Distribution of cemeteries with organisation by gender by period. 'Unspecified' refers to sites which span the entire 650-1100 period.

Religious communities were separated by gender in death as well as life, but with certain caveats. First, although in some cases the gender of the community created a disparity in gender balance, this was not always represented by segregation in the churchyard. Second, though one would expect whichever gender dominated the religious house (ex: male at Wearmouth, female at Nazeingbury) to appear more frequently in high-status areas near the church, even if the area were not fully segregated, within this small sample, this is not the case: although there are separate areas where men outnumber women (Wearmouth) and women outnumber men (Nazeingbury), at Nazeingbury, men are the most populous near to the church rather than at the outskirts of the cemetery.

As described above, the written evidence suggests that many minster communities regarded the area south of the church and east of the altar as more desirable for the burial of their own elite and thus, perhaps, more sanctified. This has different repercussions for gender distribution. Nazeingbury in Essex provides a contrary example to religious separation by gender in death: while the cemetery had a demographic imbalance, with female burials outnumbering male burials 86 to 32, there was no distinct segregation between them (Figure 20).[71] The eastern and southern areas contained the highest percentage of female burials, with certain rows and the entire later stage of the south cemetery being primarily female. This represents an inversion of the model seen at Raunds and Brandon, where male burials outnumbered women in that perhaps-coveted space. Nevertheless, at Nazeingbury men and women are buried almost equally within 10m of the church.

[71] Huggins *et al*., 'Excavations… at Essex', 56.

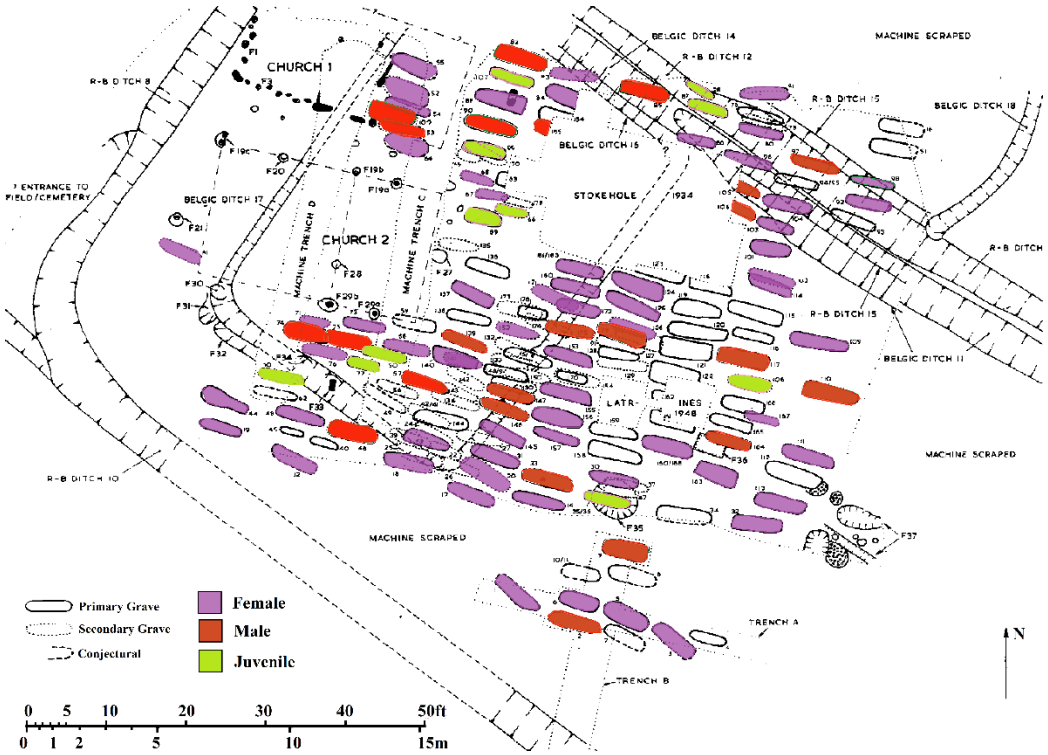


Figure 20: Distribution of female and juvenile burials at Nazeingbury, Essex, after Huggins 1978.

Members of the religious community were not always separated from the community at large. At Hartlepool, excavations suggest that the monks' and nuns' cemeteries were in different places, but not necessarily divided from their patrons. Nineteenth-century excavations indicate that Cross Close was the cemetery for the female religious house, and more recent work by Daniels shows that St. Hilda's Church Walk was probably the cemetery for the male religious (Figure 21).[72] As Cross Close was excavated in the nineteenth century, unfortunately the best evidence for the prevalence of female burials are the name-stones from the excavations of 1833, 1838, and 1843. The 'name-stone,' a flat slab with a cross incised or in relief, appear to be one of the earliest, if not the earliest, stone monument type

[72] Daniels, *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool*.

in Northumbria.[73] The crosses on these slabs usually bisect a name, which tends to be Old English, written either in uncial, insular, or runes, and occasionally flanked by serifed crosses (as in the case of Whitby 21) or α and φ (as on the Hartlepool and Billingham stones).[74] Unfortunately, all of the name-stones currently known have been found out of context, and cannot be paired with the bodies whom they used to indicate nor with a stratigraphic layer (eg. Wearmouth MS 1; Jarrow MS 14, MS 15, MS 16; Lindisfarne 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27; the new name-stones from Lindisfarne were also not in situ).[75] Still, the name-stones at Hartlepool supply an art-historical reasoning which complements the literary evidence for an early female foundation. In addition to their early date, 5/8 of the Hartlepool name-stones have definite female names (Hildithryth, Hildigyth, Torhstuid, Berchtgyth, --gyth), not only supporting the idea that Heiu's early religious community was within this area, but also that these women received burials with greater financial investment into them, potentially marking them as important within the minster or as women of a higher social status.[76]

[73] Ibid., 139
[74] J. T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: Northern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 2001), 242-3.
[75] R. Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites* (2 vols.), (Swindon, 2005), 193-199; R. Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England: County Durham and Northumberland* (Oxford, 1984), 202-203.
[76] Daniels, *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool*, 80.

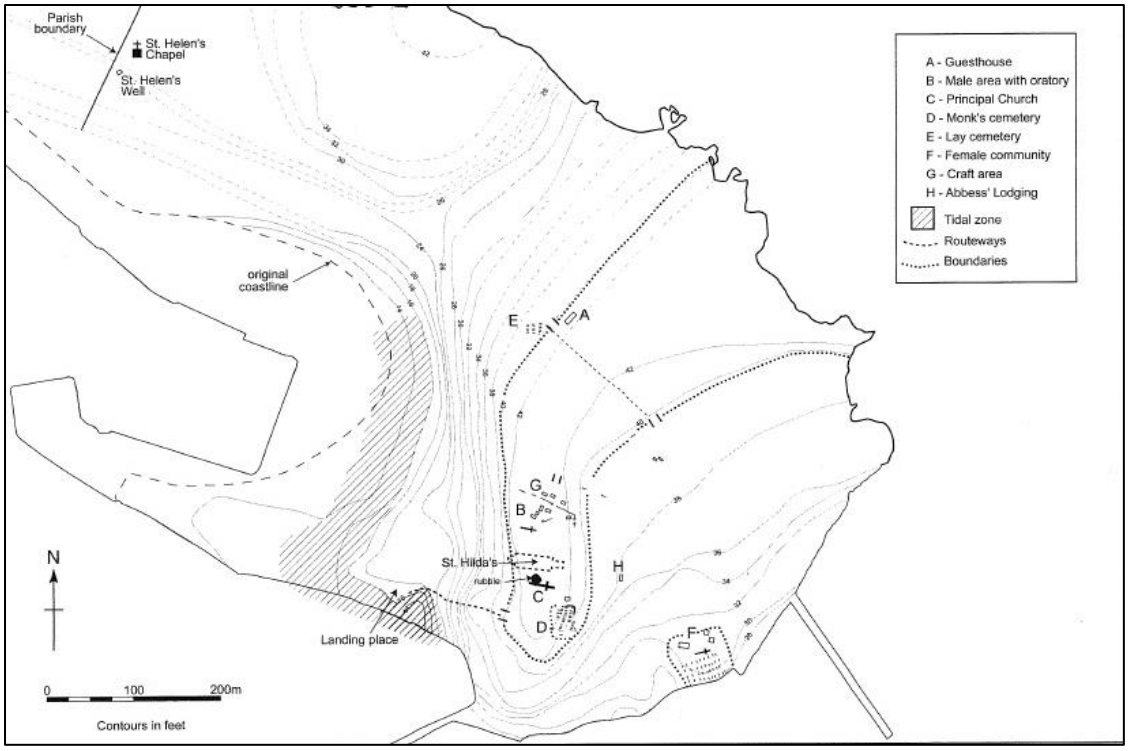


Figure 21: Proposed layout of religious cemeteries: Church Walk=D, Church Close =F. From Daniels, Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool, 174.

Church Walk cemetery contains not only the men of the religious house, but also a mixed lay population. There is a higher concentration of men to the north, nearer St. Hilda's church, but not complete separation. According to Daniels, Church Walk underwent a relatively short period of use in the mid eighth century Daniels breaks the Church Walk burials into six groups, A-F, of which E and F are hypothesized to represent the male monastic community based upon their gender demographic (12 M/17 burials in group F, 'dominance of relatively elderly males' in group E).[77] Of these, Daniels proposes that group E is a western extension to group F, as group F's burials were highly disturbed with intensive intercutting of burials. This suggests either extended use, that the area was highly desirable, or both. Radiocarbon dates eliminate the prospect of extended use in this instance, from

[77] Ibid., 37.

which we can conclude that the area must have been desirable and therefore significant to the religious community.

Similarly, at Wearmouth, 90% of female burials were interred on the west side of the cemetery, suggesting that ecclesiastical burials were segregated from the lay population, at least for a time.[78] There is, however, a line of early female burials following the southern side of the church, unassociated with the youth burials, which traverses this east-west divide and may indicate that these women possessed either high or religious status. These women represent either an easing of segregation or a purposeful trespassing; their early date combined with their church placement suggests perhaps that they were important early female figures at the minster.

Old Minster Winchester demonstrates that areas surrounding the focal points of saints' cults can also display demographic discrimination. The area to the west of St. Swithun's tomb is also remarkable as one of the least dense and slowest-growing areas of the burial ground. Axially west of the seventh-century nave, it contains only 16 single adult burials in either a monolithic coffin, iron fittings, packed with orange sand, or in coffins fastened with many nails. These special graves were also overwhelmingly male.[79] As areas surrounding it grew so overused and intercut that the charnel indicates that burials were being cut into even before they had fully decomposed, the fact that this area, close to St. Swithun, remained orderly suggests that it contained very prestigious burials.

In contrast to the high quantity of male burials flocking around the tomb of St. Swithun in Winchester, at Cemetery 2 at Brandon, Suffolk there was a single male inhumation within

[78] Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*.
[79] B. Kjølbye-Biddle 'The disposal of the Winchester dead over 2000 years,' in S.R. Bassett (ed.), *Death in Towns* (Leicester, 1992), 210-47 at 227.

the remains of a post-hole building (F4531), with women outnumbering men 8-3, and children outnumbering them both, 21-11.[80] While the building had fallen out of use, and was clearly not the grave of a saint, it had been connected by a pebble pavement to a probable monastic communal building which was the centre of the northern site at Brandon, and the uneven distribution by age and sex around the focal point appears purposeful (Figure 22). Three rows of child burials with some women respect the edge of the building; first row cutting F4531 respects the clay floor east of it, which may have been a replacement building. Although it is possible that this second cemetery represents the outskirts of the new monastic cemetery started in the east of the site, the unusual distribution of men and women and tidiness of the rows suggests that these burials intended to focus upon the former building, and that women and children, over half of whom had signs of coffin linings in their grave fills, were buried here as a priority. The cemetery at Newcastle also demonstrated differential treatment between female and male burials. All thirty to forty of the burials at "The Island" Barrow-upon-Humber were found to be male in the 1960s analysis of the excavation.

[80] A. Tester *et al*., *Staunch Meadow, Brandon, Suffolk,* 216.

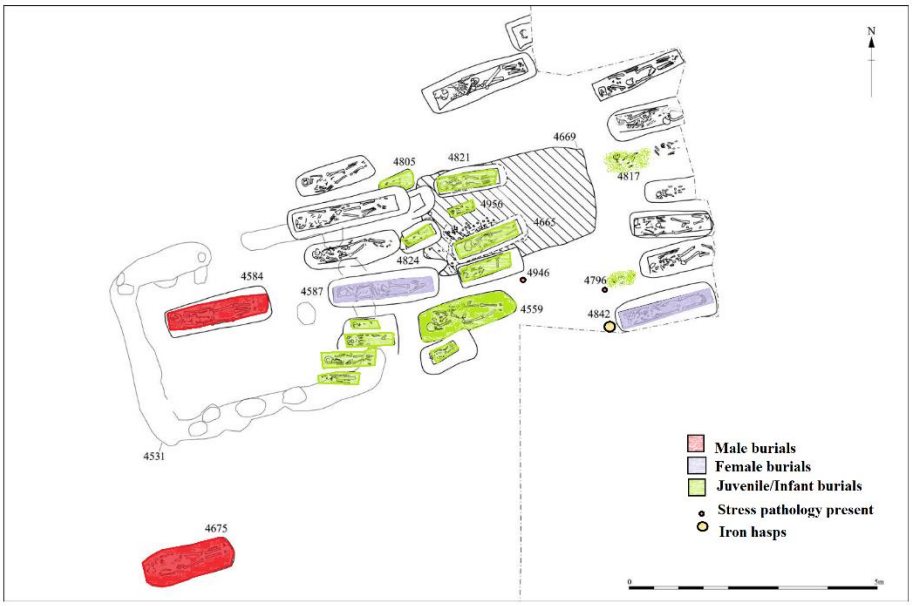


Figure 22: Cemetery 2 at Brandon, Suffolk. 6 women and 1 man are unmarked here due to absence of grave numbers. After A. Tester et al., Staunch Meadow, 212.

Layout of graves with low 'biological' social status

When examining burials of the early Anglo-Saxon period, archaeologists have previously relied heavily upon grave goods to determine a burial's social status. As Christian churchyards in Anglo-Saxon England largely lack grave goods, however, grave type, discussed in the next chapter, is usually used to determine a body's former social prestige. A further way of ascertaining the former social status of a body from a grave, proposed by Elizabeth Craig-Atkins and Jo Buckberry, is by examining excavated skeletons for biological markers of stress.[81] These markers reveal the effects of childhood ill health, vitamin deficiencies, infectious disease and hard work upon the bone.[82]

[81] Buckberry and Craig, 'Investigating social status using evidence of biological status: a case study from Raunds Furnells'.
[82] Periostitis in White and Folkens, *The Human Bone Manual*, 318; R. Mensforth *et al.,* 'The role of constitutional factors, diet, and infectious disease in the etiology of porotic hyperostosis and periosteal reactions in prehistoric infants and children,' *Medical Anthropology* 2 (1978), 1-59.

Although Buckberry and Craig-Atkins identify six different markers of stress, they focus upon three markers which are the most reliable indicators of nutritional disadvantage. These are 1) dental linear enamel hypoplasia (hereafter DEH), which occurs during periods of childhood ill health and appears as grooves or pitting in the enamel of the dentition,[83] 2) cribra orbitalia, bone growth on the roof of the orbits (eye sockets) which, depending on the instance, may represent iron-deficiency anaemia but is more likely a response to vitamin B12 deficiency,[84] and 3) tibial periostitis, bone forming activity on the surface of the tibia which can indicate many health issues including infection, leprosy, and syphilis, but which can also be evidence of general stress and physical strain.[85]

When examined against the documentary evidence of burial 'ad sanctos', the patterning of the pathology in the cemetery layout supports the hypothesis that lower-class people were buried towards the outskirts of cemeteries. The 5m divide suggested by Craig-Atkins and Buckberry when examining Raunds Furnells, where people buried 5m outside the church

[83] K. Dobney, 'An epidemiological pilot study of dental enamel defects: problems and procedures,' abstract for paper presented at TAG conference, University of Sheffield, December 1988 (Unpublished abstract, 1988); A. Goodman and J. Rose, 'Dental Enamel Hypoplasia as indicators of nutritional status,' in M. Kelley and C. Larsen (eds.), *Advances in Dental Anthropology* (New York, 1991), 279-94; L. DeLong and N. Burkhart, *General and Oral Pathology for the Dental Hygienist* (Baltimore, MD, 2008), 510–11.

[84] P. Walker *et al.*, 'The Causes of Porotic Hyperostosis and Cribra Orbitalia: A reappraisal of the iron-deficiency-anemia hypothesis,' *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 139 (2009), 109-125.

[85] Craig and Buckberry, 'Investigating Social Status Using Evidence of Biological Status, 131; Walker *et al.* 'Causes of Porotic Hyperostosis,' 120; J. Robb *et al.,* '"Social" status and "biological" status: a comparison of grave goods and skeletal indicators from Pontecagnano,' *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 115 (2001), 213-222. Robb's analysis of the confluence of skeletal stress markers and grave goods found that tibial periostitis was the most reliable determiner of social status among the eighth- to seventh-century BC graves examined, corresponding strongly with the absence of grave goods in contrast to cribra orbitalia and dental enamel hypoplasia. As Craig-Atkins and Buckberry continue to consider both DEH and cribra orbitalia to be stress markers, however, I also consider them as such here, particularly as the correlation between social status and grave goods has come into question both in the Anglo-Saxon period and beyond: H. Härke, 'Early Anglo-Saxon social structure,' in J. Hines (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons from the migration period to the eighth century: an ethnographic perspective* (Woodbridge, 1997), 125-170.

were much more likely to possess the stress marker tibial periostitis than those within the 5m mark, does not hold up when tested against the minsters of St. Peter's Barton-upon-Humber and Wells. The data does support Buckberry and Craig-Atkins' extrapolation of Raunds Furnells' burial layout as regards cardinal direction, with cribra orbitalia and dental enamel hypoplasia much more likely to be found in the south-east outskirts of the church than to the south-west of it. Furthermore, the distribution of cases of lower 'biological' social status does reinforce, in the case of Wearmouth, the probable divide in health between the members of the minster and that of the laypeople surrounding it.

Of the churchyard sites examined in this smaller sample, only a third provided human skeletal remains reports which assigned pathologies to skeletons, rather than lump statistics on prevalence of skeletal pathology (peculiarly, these statistics often combine across periods as wide as Anglo-Saxon to post-medieval). Of these sites, only the churchyards of two (Raunds Furnells and St. Peter's Barton-upon-Humber) were completely excavated in all directions around the church. Wells was excavated east and north-east of the nave of the Anglo-Saxon minster, Wearmouth and Jarrow were excavated to the south of their churches, Nazeingbury's excavated churchyard extended both south and east of its two churches, and Addingham and North Elmham's cemeteries were excavated at a distance greater than 10m south from their respective churches. With these limitations in mind, it is obvious that data will skew to the south of the church and may not fully address questions about cemetery layout and biological social status in the north of churchyards such as are present at St. Peter's Barton-upon-Humber.

The first conclusion drawn from examination of the eight churchyards is that people with markers of biological stress were buried towards the outskirts of cemeteries associated with

churches. At Jarrow, only one skeleton with DEH (#70/50, Saxon period) is buried within 10m south of the Anglo-Saxon nave; the rest with DEH (both Saxon and Late Saxon-Early Medieval) are 22-30m away, to the east and south of monastic building B. Nazeingbury phase 1 also has one skeleton with DEH (#50) within 5m of the later church, a 13-15 year old youth, while 2/6 skeletons with DEH are within 10m of the aforesaid church and the other 3 skeletons with DEH and 3/3 with cribra orbitalia are quite far afield, in the farthest three eastern rows and in the southern-most group of burials before the cemetery is bordered by the Romano-British ditch. Wearmouth's early phase, before the collapse of the monastic building, also shows cribra orbitalia outside of the 10-meter mark in a group in the far south of the churchyard, some of whom also present levels of dental enamel hypoplasia (Figure 23). Although the distribution of skeletons with stress markers at Barton-upon-Humber is somewhat complicated, and skeletons with poor biological social status are not limited exclusively to the edges of the cemetery, they are more prevalent there.

The corollary to that conclusion would be that those members of society with biological stress markers were excluded from the prime area within 5-10m of the church. The written sources certainly indicate that being buried south of the church (to the east of the altar) was desirable for high status burial.[86] However, this does not appear to preclude burials with some of these stress markers being buried within 5m of the church, as at Wells. There is heavy burial activity of all biological social statuses and grave types in the area immediately to the west of Wells' apse and around the mortuary chapel west of it. There is a far lower rate of pathology at Wells than at the other seven minsters and churchyards studied: a mere

[86] As with Wilfrid at Ripon and Cuthbert at Lindisfarne (see FN70, above), and Cedd at Lastingham: Bede, *HE* III.23. Æthelburh and her congregation at Barking also see a resplendent light which indicates that the bodies of her congregation should be buried to the south of the church: Bede, *EH* IV.7.

6% of burials showed DEH, cribra orbitalia or tibial periostitis as opposed to 10.7% at Jarrow and at Wearmouth, 12% at Barton-upon-Humber. As the Wells excavation opened a smaller area closer to the church than these other three minsters, despite the incursion of skeletons with stress markers within 5m of the church, Wells demonstrates that the incidence of these traits closer to the church are lower than across whole graveyards. When compared to the burial data from excavations at Addington and North Elmham, which both are on the far outskirts of their respective church cemeteries, at least over 30m away, the comparison of stress rates becomes remarkable: Wells' 6% is quite low compared to the 15% pathology rate at Addington and the 23% rate at North Elmham.[87]

Examination of minster and rural sites has shown that the south and south-east quadrants of churchyards were home to the resting place of clusters of stress-marked skeletons. In their 2010 publication, Buckberry and Craig-Atkins determined that cribra orbitalia and dental enamel hypoplasia are much more likely to be found in the south-east outskirts of the Raunds Furnells church than to the north of it. The majority of skeletons with tibular periostitis were located to the south of these churches, with fewer cases to the north and west.[88]

Wells and Barton-upon-Humber provide counterpoints to this. As Wells was not excavated to the south, nor beyond the 'mausoleum' west of the apse, it is difficult to say how completely the pathology report refutes the above pattern.[89] However, plain burials

[87] It is entirely possible that dental enamel hypoplasia was over-recorded at North Elmham, thus causing the unusually high incidence of stress pathology. Its rates for tibial periostitis and cribra orbitalia are on-par with Gloucester's (which is not pictured here as I was unable to obtain a grave-by-grave breakdown of the pathology as I did for the included sites) and are actually below those of Barton-upon-Humber.

[88] Buckberry and Craig, 'Investigating Social Status Using Evidence of Biological Status,' 136.

[89] While the presence of burials in proximity suggests that this is a mortuary structure, there is no evidence that it is Roman in date. However, skeletal fragments from inside the mausoleum returned

(discussed in the next chapter) with tibial periostitis are present in this area of the churchyard very close to both the minster and mortuary focal points, albeit at a rate of 1.9% of the early burials and 3.5% of the later period burials. At Barton-upon-Humber the closest instance of tibial periostitis to the church is at least 5m away from the south wall of the first Saxon church, and skeletons with tibial (and occasionally fibular) periostitis are, in fact, the most heavily represented stress-related pathology to the south of the church. However, tibial periostitis is represented quite heavily north of the church as well. Although skeletons with tibial periostitis consisted of 15.8% and 16.7% of burials at the south east of the Saxon minster, tibial periostitis was also present in 9.5% and 8.5% of burials at the far north-west of the Saxon burial ground, a good 10m away from the church. Particularly because Barton-upon-Humber is a relatively late burial ground, estimated to be in use at the earliest around 950AD, its high percentage of people who were malnourished and under biological stress reinforces the idea that the minster and church cemeteries of the tenth century and later were open to a different, poorer, and likely lay clientele than in the previous centuries.

Craig-Atkins and Buckberry suggested a 5m divide on the basis of their examination of Raunds Furnells, where people buried 5m outside the church were much more likely to possess the stress marker tibial periostitis than those within the 5m mark. This 5m divide is not found in the minsters of St. Peter's Barton-upon-Humber and Wells. However, Buckberry and Craig also noticed that the milder cases of tibial periostitis were located farther from the church. It has not been feasible within the constraints of this thesis to re-examine all of the bone samples or to examine the distribution of severe vs. non-severe cases of tibial periostitis and see whether this gradation of severity in the churchyard layout

date ranges as early as calAD 430-493 (9.6% at 2 sigma), although the majority of date ranges for this disarticulated bone fall between the seventh and eleventh centuries.

is replicable in the other churchyards, as most of the human skeletal pathology reports are limited in their description of stress markers. Further research may therefore reveal even more fine-grained distributional patterns.

The distribution of cases of lower 'biological' social status does suggest, in the case of Wearmouth, that there was a divide in health between the members of the minster and that of the laypeople surrounding it. Cribra orbitalia occurs more frequently in the family sections of the Wearmouth burial ground (pictured below): the cluster of female and infant burials on the west edge of the site (the chapel is immediately to the north of this picture) and in the two groupings from the 1968 and 1976 excavations at the south of the site. There are two instances, however, of cribra orbitalia in the southern part of the area where oblates may have been interred (below, in excavation areas '62 and '66). One is part of a cluster (66/57, 66/58, 66/59) of late Saxon burials which were buried after the collapse or purposeful destruction of the monastic Building B (not pictured), of which the other two are rare instances of tibial periostitis coinciding with a coffin nail in the grave fill and with stones by legs, respectively. Their proximity to female burial 64/21 (of the earlier Saxon period, before the destruction of Building B) may indicate that this southern section was open for lay burial, especially as the fortunes of Wearmouth declined. Alternately, as graves 66/59 and 66/57 are both male (one adult, one 24-28 years old) with objects indicating grave furniture, the tricky nature of determining the reasons for tibular periostitis may simply mean that these were monks of the cemetery who were unfortunate enough to have caught systemic infections. The late Saxon child burial (66/58) with what may be the start of cribra orbitalia, aged 18 months, also has grave furniture. It is a reminder that ill-health does not always discriminate as to wealth or funereal attention. Nonetheless, there remains a large difference in health between the oblate/religious population and the lay population to the

west of Building B, even including these four cases of pathology in the 'oblate' sub-adult population.

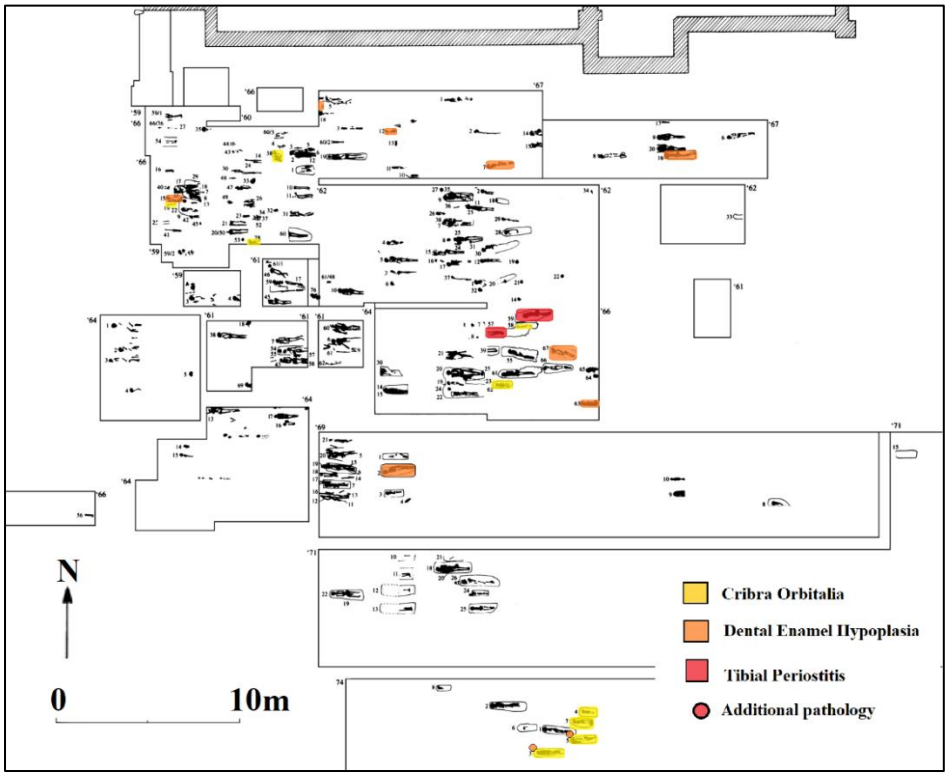


Figure 23: Wearmouth incidences of cribra orbitalia, tibial periostitis, and dental enamel hypoplasia over all periods

This zoning by sex and social status does not extend to cemeteries unaffiliated with a church. However, the use of biological signs of social stress does suggest that, whether included for prestige or for superstition, grave goods, and burial variations with perhaps-costly grave furniture, were not associated with the ill and the poor in field cemeteries. At Aldbourne, there appears to be a division between the ill and the well which might suggest division by social status, but although Area 2 is better nourished than Area 1, Area 1 also has more grave goods—buckles, a seax, knives, a comb—which do not overlap with the Area 1 burials that present stress pathology. There is a negative correlation between the mal-nourished and the graves containing grave goods, or even just containing nails or other iron,

in Area 1, as every grave which does not contain an object presents a symptom (except for child burial 46). The even distribution of men and women in both this section and area 2, showing balanced populations, suggests either that Area 1 with grave goods was the initial, older cemetery, and Area 2 the 'continuation' cemetery, or that Area 1 and Area 2 contained two populations from, perhaps, the same village area, holding different traditions. The shift from grave goods in Area 1 to plain burial in Area 2 may be reflective of the broader change in practice away from interring grave goods throughout the late seventh to early eighth centuries.

Within the field cemeteries where I mapped biological markers of social status, the only differential treatment of the ill is found at Adwick-le-Street, where the majority of the cemetery showed either cribra orbitalia (45.8%) or dental enamel hypoplasia (17% of surviving dentition) anyway.[90] The most ill person in the cemetery is facing W-E instead of east-west. Between the cemeteries at Adwick-le-Street and Aldbourne, there was only one grave which possessed both indicators of ill health and a metal object. The people of Aldbourne buried their poor with their rich (3 tibial periostitis, 1 cribra orbitalia, one dental enamel hypoplasia). The use of the cemetery changed over time, with one population—in worse health, but in the practice of burying their dead with objects—to the north, and another, in better health, but having largely given up on objects, to the south west. While Milton Keynes is likely an estate site, its curious clumping raised the question of whether it might zone burials, and the overlap of grave goods, no matter how ordinary, with biological stress indicators. Nevertheless, just as at Adwick-le-Street there is no intersection found between inclusion of goods or metal and pathology. Similarly, at Priory Orchard, there was

[90] McKinley, 'A Conversion Period Cemetery at Adwick-le-Street,' (2016), 94-7.

hardly any overlap between special burials with ash, nails, or teeth, burials with artefacts, burials with grave trappings such as pillowstones.

IV. Conclusion

This survey reveals significant patterns within graveyards which varied based upon the type of cemetery and the point in the cemetery's lifespan at which the phase of burial occurs. These patterns set into sharp relief differences in organisational approach between the differing communities who used minster, church, and field cemeteries, particularly between those cemeteries associated with a church and not. Compared to their contemporary field cemeteries, the eighth- to eleventh-century church and minster cemeteries possessed more intercutting and more internal structure, both in terms of rows and in terms of organisation by age, social status, and sex.

While organising cemetery burials by sex or age was a minority practice in both minster and church cemeteries, the way this organisation was implemented in them, and the near-complete lack of it in field cemeteries, indicates that the separation of men or the special treatment of infants probably related to a community's interpretation of Christian doctrine. The connection between interpretation and implementation appears not merely to be based in the way that the community was formed, as, for instance, there are many more records of single-sex religious houses than there are cemeteries with single-sex sections; not all minsters which we know to have been single-sex even have separate male areas or phases, as Wearmouth does. Rather, a selection of houses decided to maintain separation in death as well as in life, or prioritised the positioning of male bodies nearest saintly bodies.

The two field cemeteries with organisation by sex each possess a nearly 2:1 demographic unevenness; of the two, St. Oswald's (M outnumbered F) most likely had an as-yet-unidentified church nearby; In Riccall Landing, female bodies outnumber male, but there is only possible spatial patterning, not whole exclusion; nevertheless, the spatial patterning is remarkable as it resembles church-associated cemetery structure.[91] Similarly, the overwhelming majority of cemeteries with separate juvenile areas, or infants organised around a central feature are related to a church (20) or minster (13). The shortfall of juvenile burials in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries has been long noted, due to some combination of poor preservation and a possibly separate practice for the internment of youths in the early Anglo-Saxon period;[92] the difference between the separation of juvenile burials in fields and minsters suggests that making that infant practice visible became far more important once churches were established.

Although we opened with the idea that people disregarded Augustine's precepts on the condition of the body necessary for resurrection, the discovery that field cemeteries contain much less intercutting than church cemeteries may indicate that that belief –that even a holy body that is ripped apart will arise whole on Judgement Day– was trusted in much more than has been previously believed. The increase in long-lasting stone monuments for the everyday dead in Anglo-Saxon England may have been almost entirely about preserving the memory of the dead for prayers rather than protecting their bodies. This would allow

[91] R. Hall *et al*., 'The Medieval Cemetery at Riccall Landing: a reappraisal,' *YAJ* 80 (2008), 55-93 at 71.
[92] Buckberry, *'*Missing, Presumed Buried?'.

the Late Saxon trend in minster and church cemeteries towards intercutting and family burial to be more concerned with proper belief, rather than less.

As always with the implementation of ritual practices there are multiple factors at work, not least of which are the desires of the deceased, the desires of their survivors, and the expectations of the community. On the desires of the deceased we can only speculate based on the limited literary evidence that survives, as leaders and saints occasionally choose their own 'eternal resting place' within their cemetery or church in hagiographies, but other vowed religious are not depicted as doing so.Even an abbot's desires might be overlooked by the survivors in favour of what would best build his or her cult.[93]

The trends detailed in this chapter provide a more direct form of evidence for the expectations of the community, however, because although a single person can become a trend-setter, a trend has to fit within the larger expectations of the community in order to catch hold. This general resistance to innovation is considered to be even greater at major ceremonies or rites of passage such as burial.

Many seventh-century burial grounds, such as Street House in Yorkshire, are internally organized by social status and may reflect kin-group, various social hierarchies, and occasionally even horizontal social status (one's 'role' as smith, priest, warrior, etc.).[94] The data suggests that aspects of internal organisation by social structure which are less visible during the eighth century become more obvious within the cemetery by the tenth century,

[93] As Æthelflaed in *HE* IV.19, and Dunstan in *The Life of St. Dunstan-B,* 9.2: M. Winterbottom and M. Lapidge (eds. and trans.), *The Early Lives of St. Dunstan* (Oxford, 2012), 35.
[94] Some inclusions in the grave such as slag are thought to be indicative of the deceased's profession. The decomposition of organic material in the grave means that, we will perhaps never be aware of whether there were other wooden or plant-based talismans or tools included in the grave which might indicate this.

reflecting changes in approach to expressing difference in class, sex or age. The explosion of burial types and variations in the tenth and eleventh centuries, covered in the next chapter, aided in this differentiation and personal expression, but until this study it was not abundantly clear how much estate churches outstripped field and even minster cemeteries in implementing divisions by age and grave type, and, particularly in urban contexts, how much they broke their structure by creating intercutting family groups.

The time at which a cemetery began to be used is not the only factor which determined its internal organisation. Although cemeteries which had just started in the tenth century, particularly estate churches, were likely to contain 'eavesdrip' burials, they did not have the same intensity of family group grouping or intercutting as those cemeteries which had already been active for a hundred years or so, such as North Elmham. The increase in intercutting and kin-groupings at this period could stem from any number of developments. Andrew Wareham has proposed that a change in kin-groups began in this period, stemming from changes in lay involvement with the rituals associated with saving the souls of loved ones.[95] Another possibility is that the establishment of estate churches meant that formal religious cemeteries were more local than they had been before when only minsters possessed burial rites,[96] which may have allowed greater input by the family of the deceased on where the dead—and perhaps they themselves—would like to be buried. What is clear is that field cemeteries remained largely unaffected by the increase in intercutting and disregard of the buried body in favour of the newly deceased, whereas both minster and estate churches across England, to a moderate degree, changed their attitudes towards

[95] A. Wareham, 'The Transformation of Kinship and the Family in Late Anglo-Saxon England,' *Early Medieval Europe* 10.3 (2001), 375-399.
[96] B. Kemp, 'Some Aspects of the Parochia of Leominster in the Twelfth Century,' in J. Blair (ed.), *Ministers and Parish Churches: the local church in transition 950-1200* (Oxford 1988), 88-9.

the buried body. On one hand the increase in intercutting brought people together, but on the other they implemented various organisational schemes which, for unclear reasons, divided children, women, and the poor from the rest of the community.

Chapter 3: The Typology and Distribution of Burial Forms

I. Introduction

The following two chapters examine the changes and variations in burial practice in England between 700 and 1066 using the cemeteries in the database established for this project (Figure 24), and aim to clarify the geographical distribution of different grave forms and to deduce which factors may have influenced the distribution and implementation of these different practices. They will test whether the variations seen in burial practice in these centuries were rooted in regional difference, and how different customs spread geographically across England. Did the employment of different ways of burying the deceased represent shifts in local identity, foreign influences, or variations in religious belief?

Converting to Christianity in no way imposed a single method of burial upon converted peoples, even though burial practices in England did change somewhat in the decades surrounding conversion. As previous scholars have noted, the 'Christianized' Anglo-Saxons used a variety of practices between the seventh and eleventh centuries to prepare the grave for burial.[1] These mortuary practices have been classified by Jo Buckberry in her survey of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire burials in two broad categories: 'grave types,' which are diverse ways of separating or demarking the body from the grave cut, and 'grave variations,' which

[1] Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, 117-26; J. Buckberry, 'On Sacred Ground: Social Identity and Churchyard Burial in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, c. 700-1100 AD,' *ASSAH* 14 (2007), 120-132.

are elaborations in the grave that can occur within any of the types.[2] I have used her typology, but have distinguished additional subgroups within these categories.

In the next two chapters, I progress one-by-one through the grave types and variations before drawing conclusions about the larger patterning of each category. I first describe the typologies of each burial type and variation, including their geological and historical background. Then, I examine the grave types and variations in their geographical and archaeological contexts, testing whether specific grave types can be said to vary regionally and chronologically. Finally, I address the larger research questions of whether the distribution and spread of certain grave types can be said to reflect local or foreign traditions, whether a timeline of transmission can be established, and to what extent diffusion and increased popularity of both established (such as cist burial) and previously sporadic (such as charcoal and sand lining) grave variations can be attributed to certain ecclesiastical networks or spread by other means.

Though scholars have agreed that a variety of burial practices were used in the mid- to late Anglo-Saxon period, the organization or motivation behind such variety, particularly within and between cemeteries in the same region, has been deemed inscrutable.[3] By examining the distribution of certain grave types *en masse* rather than attempting to project their significance from a case-study level, however, the potential motivations behind the use of each form of burial treatment in particular locations and periods become more apparent. The study reveals that while there is some intersection between the geographic areas in

[2] Buckberry, *Social and Anthropological Analysis of Cemeteries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*; Buckberry, 'On Sacred Ground,' 117.
[3] Hadley and Buckberry, 'Caring for the Dead in Late Anglo-Saxon England,' 137-8; D. Sayer 'Christian Burial Practice in the Early Middle Ages: Rethinking the Anglo-Saxon funerary sphere,' *History Compass* 11.2 (2013), 133-146.

which different burial types are found, burial types and variations also cluster within different, specific areas. I established in my Master's thesis that, unlike in the areas of art and architecture, there was no prevailing influence upon burial form in Northumbria from the missionary delegates of Ireland or from ongoing communications with the religious houses of Northern France.[4] Rather, there was a continuation in use of a local Iron Age and Romano-British burial form (stone-lined burial) in both Bernicia and Deira from field cemeteries to the church and minster cemeteries (e.g. Hartlepool, Whitby, Whithorn) (Figure 25). Many other grave types and variations (e.g. chests, charcoal, chalk) bore no resemblance to previous historical local burial practices, however, and appeared to be a product of their own time and place. Chest burials, for instance, were found by Elizabeth Craig-Atkins' survey of northern burials to have been a form concentrated in Northumbria within the sixth- to ninth-century.[5] Craig-Atkins' results support my venture that geographic mapping of the entire assemblage of types may produce interesting conclusions about the intersection of burial form and culture, and I believe that this methodology is borne out by the rest of this chapter.

[4] A. Sheldon, 'Decoding Northumbrian Monastic Burial Practice.'
[5] E. Craig-Atkins, 'Chest Burial: a middle Anglo-Saxon funerary rite from Northern England,' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 31.3 (2012), 317-337 at 320-1.

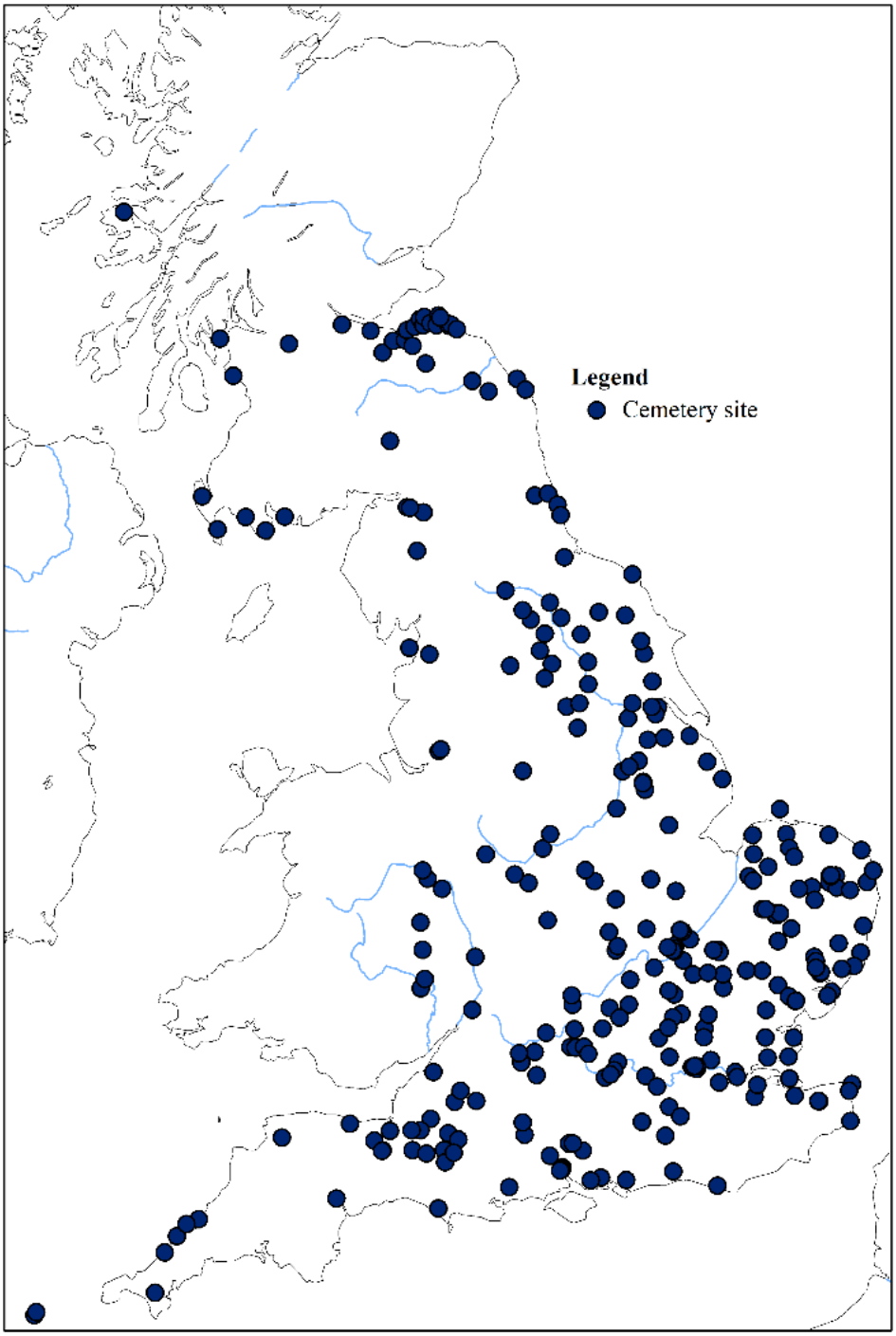


Figure 24: Map of surveyed cemeteries

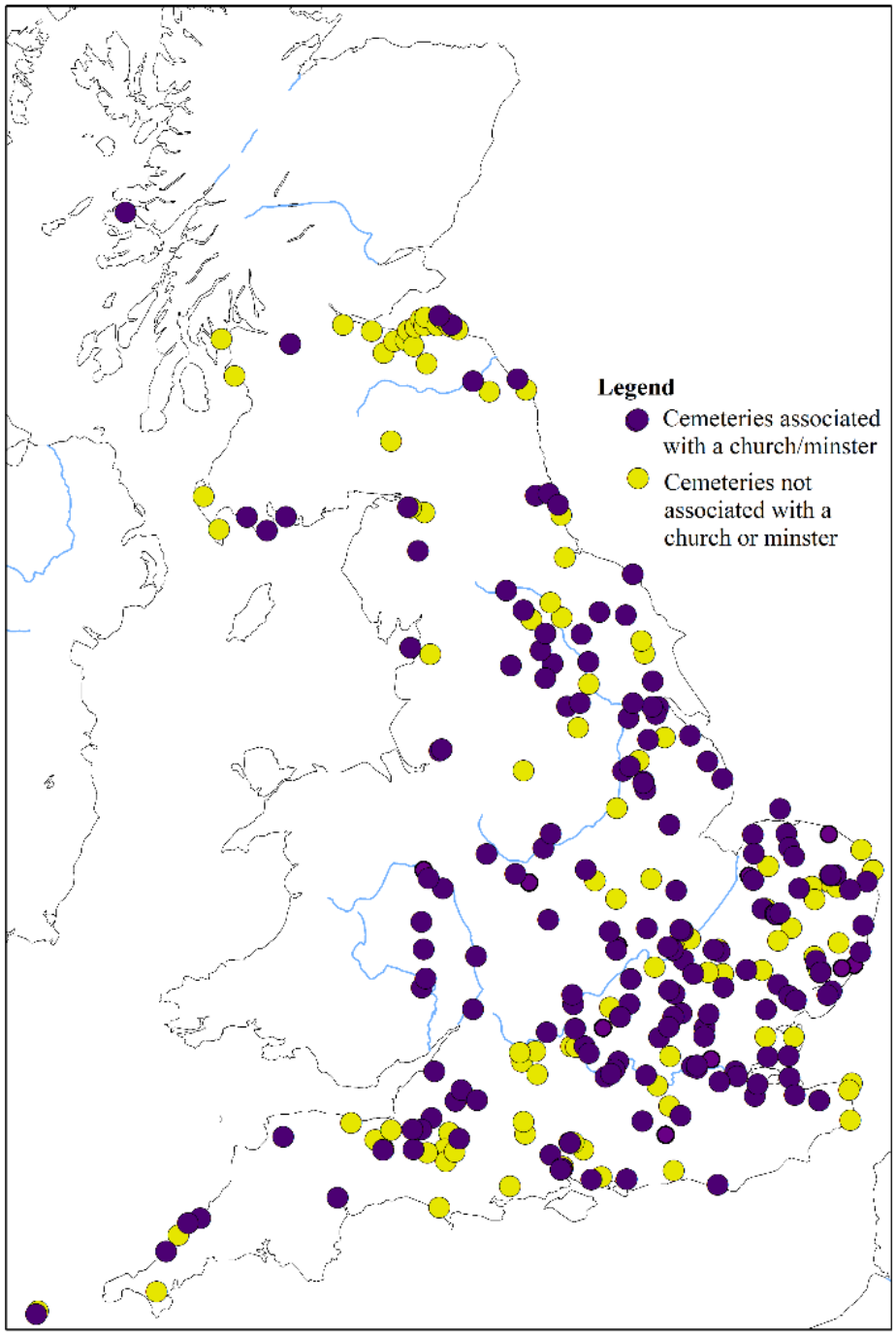


Figure 25: Surveyed cemeteries by presence or absence of church association

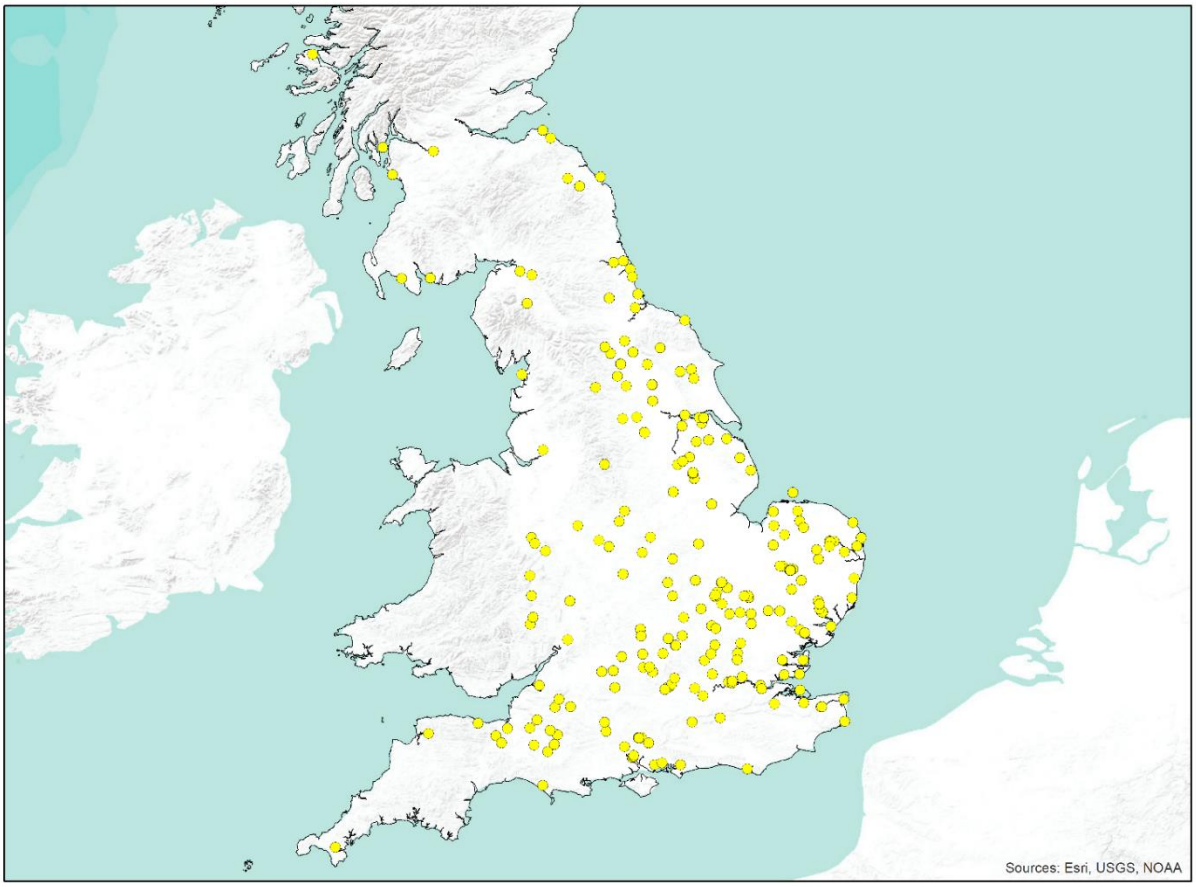


Figure 26: Cemeteries with plain earth graves

II. Containing the Body: Grave 'types'

The grave 'types' are furniture, structures, or barriers delineating the grave from the ground. In this survey, these consist of wooden coffins, log coffins, chests (which have various locking and hinge apparatus), and plank-lining; sarcophagi, stone-built structures, stone-lined graves/cists and tile-lined burials; and plain earth graves, which are graves lacking any lining whatsoever (essentially, dug pits).[6] Most of these types are known from pre-Christian as well as Christian settings in both the Continent and England, as will be

[6] O'Brien notes that cists are parallel sided, constructed with a basal, side, and large covering slab, whereas lintel graves are lined with slabs, but have an earthen base, and are often narrow and tapered. Distinctions between them, and the lack thereof, are discussed further below: E. O'Brien, 'Burial Practices in Ireland: 1st to 7th c. AD,' in J. Downes and A. Ritchie (eds.), *Sea Change: Orkney and Northern Europe in the later Iron Age, AD 300-800* (Balgavies, 2003), 62-72.

discussed below, but their distribution, both geographically and among different cemetery types, varies.

Plain Earth ('Control')

Typology and Distribution

The 'plain earth' grave type is the most widely used type in the period, and acts as a 'control': the main, simplest form of burial from which other types and variations deviated (Figure 27).[7] It can be considered the most basic inhumation burial type as it is characterized by the absence rather than the presence of any grave lining, and required no additional effort to produce beyond digging the grave; it simply consists of the body within the grave cut, which was then covered with the grave fill (the dirt removed from the hole in the first instance). The grave cut itself may vary widely in depth, length, or the roundness of sides within any region, but the size of the grave cut for an adult is usually internally consistent within cemeteries, which suggests that variation in the grave cut between cemeteries is due to a change in soil type or the proximity of the soil to the bedrock. Physically, this type can be combined with almost any grave variation.

Chronologically, plain burials span the entire period and beyond, through the centuries between the Romano-British Iron Age up to and beyond the Norman Conquest (Figure 28). Interment in plain earth graves was common even in the early Anglo-Saxon period (c.400-650AD) when both cremation and elaborated wooden structures within the grave were in use.[8]

[7] In some studies, referred to as 'dug graves.'
[8] A.C. Hogarth, 'Structural Features in Anglo-Saxon Graves,' *Arch J.* 130 (1973), 104-119.

Geographically, plain earth graves are found in all regions which this study covers, although their presence is limited in England's south-west and in modern Northumberland and south-eastern Scotland (Figure 26). The plain earth grave type is particularly common as the most basic form of burial throughout areas of Anglo-Saxon (as opposed to British or Pictish) cultural occupation in the early Anglo-Saxon period, as suggested by place-name evidence, and also correlates, except in the north-west, with lowlands. Plain burials occur about evenly in both cemeteries not associated with any known church as well as in churchyards as important as at the monastery at Wearmouth; the difference in plain earth burial use between the field cemeteries (70%) and church cemeteries (in 88% of minster cemeteries and 88% of estate church cemeteries) may be attributable to the use of stone-lined burials as a default burial type in field cemeteries of southern Scotland and the south-west, particularly in the first century and a half of this survey (Figure 27).

Plain earth graves did not change significantly in form across one thousand years; rather, aspects beyond the grave cut itself such as orientation and location did. As an example, plain earth burials were found in St. Mary's Exeter on and off from the Roman period through the Late Saxon period, but, as far as the archaeological record shows, they differed in form only by what the graves were oriented upon: the Roman forum and basilica (SE-NW), the old St. Mary's (NE-SW), or the new St. Mary's (E-W).[9] This supports the belief that plain dug graves were the neutral, basic inhumation form during the aforementioned

[9] C. G. Henderson and P.T. Bidwell, 'The Saxon Minster at Exeter,' in S.M. Pearce (ed.), *The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland* (1982), at 152-3. It is likely, although Henderson and Bidwell do not observe it, that there was an eastern foundation dedicated to St. Peter which comprised a 'minster' when combined with the first Anglo-Saxon St. Mary's, as is the pattern at most Anglo-Saxon minster sites. St. Mary's might have catered more for lay needs: J. Blair and N. Orme, 'The Anglo-Saxon Minster and Cathedral at Exeter: twin churches?' *Friends of Exeter Cathedral Annual Report,* 65 (1995), 24-26.

periods (coffins, other burial linings, and grave goods being possible elaborations of this basic form), and that this status did not significantly change over time.

It is possible that the simple nature of the grave might in itself have subtext in the right context: for example, the choice to use a dug grave instead of a coffin might, for some elite members of Anglo-Saxon society or religious communities, have communicated a penitential or ascetic subtext. Without written evidence suggesting otherwise, however, such burials do not confidently suggest anything of the thoughts of the people who buried their dead, beyond their preference for inhumation over cremation, with the function of placing the deceased body in a place where it could decompose away from the topsoil and without being uprooted by animals.

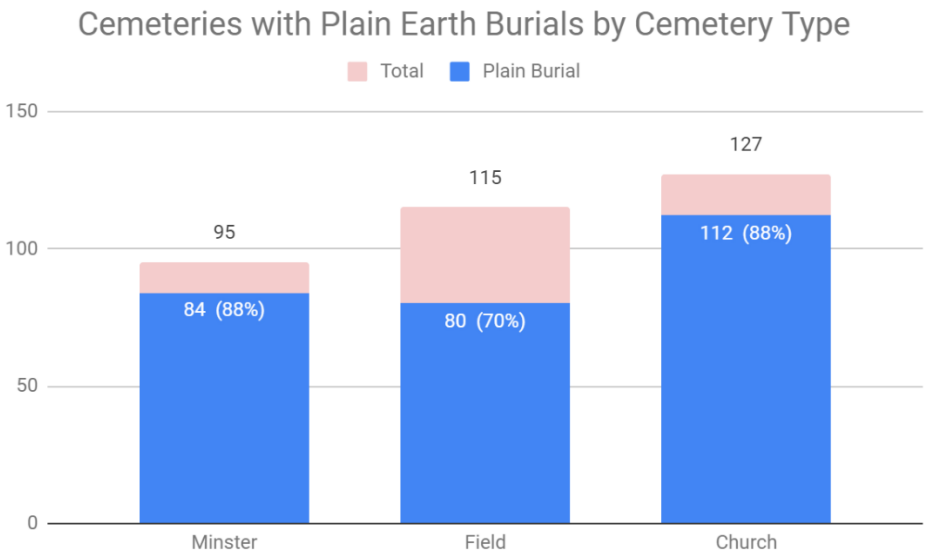


Figure 27: Cemeteries which contain plain earth burials divided by type of cemetery. Note that this number equals all cemeteries which contain this burial type, but plain earth is not the sole burial type in the majority of these cemeteries.

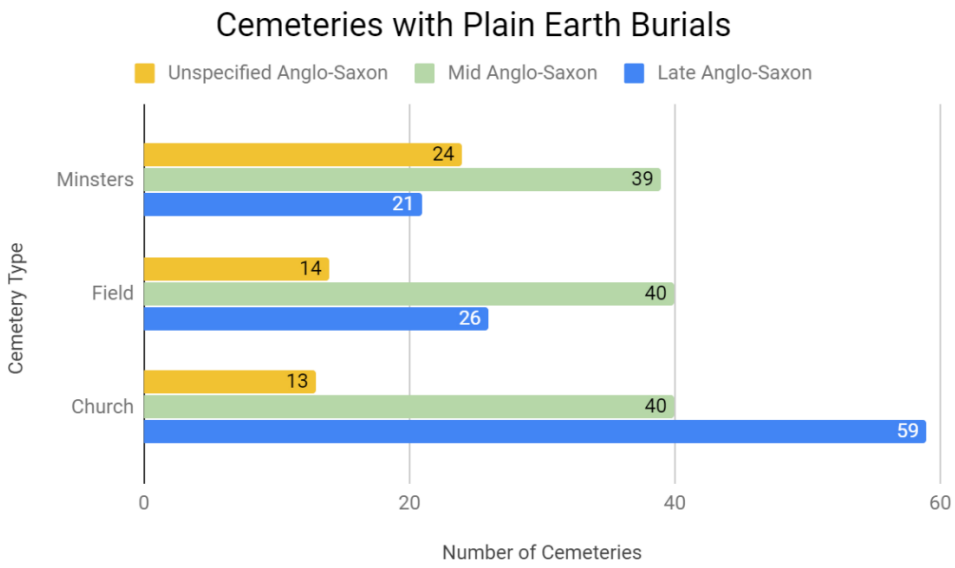


Figure 28: Number of cemeteries with plain earth burials by time period and cemetery type

Coffins (Wooden)

Typology and Distribution

Coffins are classified here as a container around the body in the form of a parallel-sided box constructed of wooden planks, which is held together usually by pegs, but occasionally by nails. Coffins are also one of the few grave linings which might have been also used to carry the body to the grave.[10] For many years in British archaeology a single nail was held to archaeologically indicate the existence of a coffin, despite the questions about durability and structure which that raised. However, in a remarkable survival at Caister-on-Sea in the 1950s, archaeologists found hazel twigs inserted as wedges into pre-drilled holes through which nails were driven: the projecting end of twig splintered and was flattened beneath

[10] E.g. Wilfrid: Bede, *EH*, V.19.

the nail head.[11] As the presence of wooden coffins is usually inferred by archaeologists from the iron nails which sealed them in the grave cut, this realization that degradable, potentially archaeologically invisible pegged construction was widespread has led archaeologists to question whether coffins might have been even more common than present archaeological records suggest. Since the 1970s and 1980s, pegs have been increasingly identified within grave contexts lacking nails, and their prevalence implies that many coffins have been lost to decomposition without any iron material to indicate their presence. At Winchester, so many of the surviving coffins were of peg construction that Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle suggested that the actual number of coffin burials at Winchester and other sites may far outstrip the surviving evidence for them: she estimated that in the soil, with pegs, evidence survives for only as few as 5% of the actual number of coffins which had existed.[12]

Where they do survive, the planks for coffins, including St. Cuthbert's coffin, have been found to be oak.[13] Unfortunately, we cannot determine with any confidence whether the average oak timber intended for use in coffins was pre-seasoned.[14] Some coffins, however,

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[11] M.J. Darling and D. Gurney, *Caister-on-Sea: Excavations by Charles Green 1951-1955,* EAA 60 (Norwich, 1993), 53.

[12] B. Kjølbye-Biddle, *Winchester: the Anglo-Saxon Minsters* (forthcoming). Round wooden pegs were also seen to survive at Beverley: M. Johnson, 'Recent excavations at Beverley Minster,' in D.H. Evans (ed.), *East Riding Archaeologist* 12 (2009), 397-402 at 399.

[13] J.M. Cronyn and C.V. Horie, *St. Cuthbert's Coffin: The history, technology, and conservation* (Durham, 1985), 21 and 74: Cronyn and Horie note that the oak timber used for Cuthbert's coffin was 'of the highest quality,' slow-grown and straight-grained, and at least 300-400 years old when felled. Other coffins identified as oak include Grave 92 at Caister-on-Sea, Norfolk, and all of the coffins at Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire: Darling and Gurney, *Caister-on-Sea Excavations 1951-55*, 54; W. Rodwell and K. Rodwell, 'St Peter's Church, Barton-upon-Humber: excavation and structural study 1978-81', *Antiquaries Journal* 62 (1982), 283-315 at 301; T. Waldron, *St. Peter's Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire, vol. 2: The Human Remains* (Oxford, 2007), 23.

[14] Where available, wet-lab dendrochronology may suggest the number of years between the cutting of the tree and the interment of the coffin, as at Beverley Minster, but very few sites have been able to make this determination, as it requires remarkable preservation of the wood; Johnson, 'Recent Excavations at Beverley Minster,' 400.

appear to have had their boards charred before construction, as at Caister-on-Sea, Wells, Hereford, and Barton-upon-Humber, which presumably helped the preservation of the wood.[15]

Chronologically, wooden coffins in England have a long history from at least the Romano-British period forward. The third- to fourth-century Roman cemetery at Poundbury (in Dorchester, in what would become Wessex) contained primarily coffin burials, with wooden coffins alongside lead ones.[16] Coffins continued to be used intermittently throughout this early period, even though Post-Roman ('Sub-Roman') British burial practice is largely invisible in the archaeological record apart from some intrusive plain earth inhumations in settlement areas.[17] Wooden coffins are also found in Anglo-Saxon and British (in the west of England) contexts of the fifth century, in field cemeteries, cemeteries around Iron-Age monuments, and in mixed rite cemeteries alongside cremations, and appear to have been used sparingly in fifth- and sixth-century Devon and Cornwall until phased out in favour of cist burials.[18] In southern Scotland and Pictland, by contrast, the common late-Iron Age grave forms were (and continued to be through the early medieval period) primarily long cists and dug graves, with log coffins for variety.[19]

Despite the use of coffins in both the Post-Roman and Early Anglo-Saxon periods, however, there is little to no evidence of continual, un-broken use of the Roman cemeteries which

[15] Darling and Gurney, *Caister-on-Sea Excavations 1951-55*, 54; R. Shoesmith, *Excavations at Castle Green* (London, 1980); W. Rodwell, *Wells Cathedral: Excavations and Structural Studies, 1978-93* (London, 2001); Waldron, *St. Peter's Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire: vol. 2*, 27.
[16] D.E. Farwell and T.L. Molleson, *Excavations at Poundbury 1966-80, Volume II: The Cemeteries* (Dorchester, 1993), 61-66 and 114-134.
[17] O'Brien, *Post-Roman Britain.*
[18] O'Brien, *Post-Roman Britain*; Farwell and Molleson, *Excavations at Poundbury II,* 83, as another example.
[19] Log burials and cist burial will be discussed in further detail below.

used coffins.[20] Coffins were only one of a diverse group of wooden structures used in high-status early Anglo-Saxon inhumation burials of the sixth and seventh centuries to protect the body, but their prevalence in inhumation practices above other wooden plank and dug-out forms only appears to begin in the seventh century.[21] By the end of the seventh century, coffins were also used in Deira, and more limitedly, in Bernicia and the north-west. In this survey, coffins appear in nearly every region outside of the south-west in all periods up to and including the eleventh century (Figure 30, Figure 31).

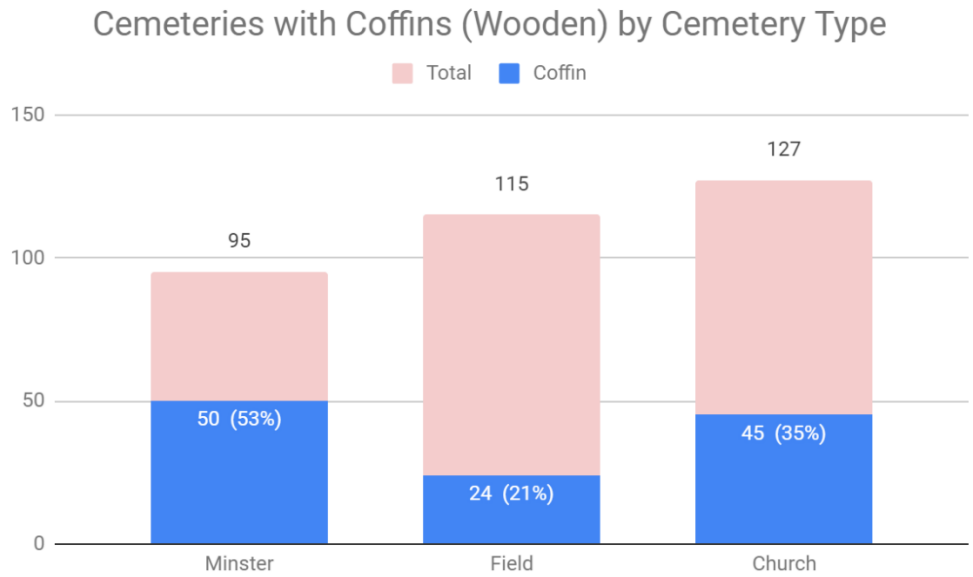


Figure 29: Number of cemeteries containing coffins by cemetery type

[20] A few religious sites were reused, such as the Roman basilica upon which St. Mary Major in Exeter would be built, but they do not appear to have had unbroken use as cemeteries from the Roman to the Anglo-Saxon period.

[21] See: bed burials, graves with post-holes, boats (in East Anglia). A good summary is in S. Lucy, *The Anglo-Saxon Way of Death* (Stroud, 2000), 98-102.

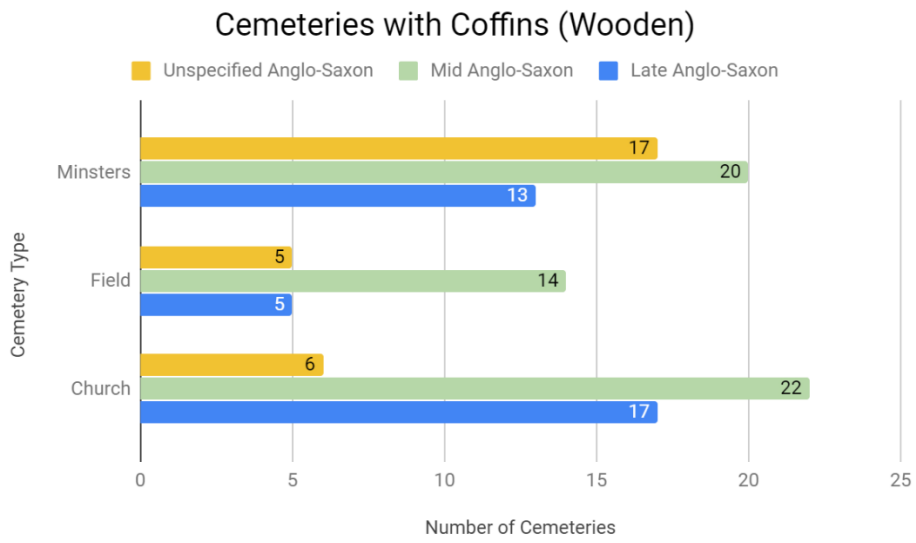


Figure 30: Cemeteries with coffins by time period and cemetery type

The very prevalence of coffin burial makes the areas from which it is absent conspicuous. Examining the spread of coffin use from a regional perspective reveals gaps in the distribution map which can be attributed merely to lack of excavation (i.e. the Peak District, the Weald), but also gaps which might represent an actual absence of use in the period under discussion (Figure 31). The South-West also appears to have adopted coffined burial more slowly than the rest of Anglo-Saxon England, though this impression may be an issue of preservation of sub-Roman materials. If one were merely to examine case studies, and if Exeter, Wells, and Bath were our only south-western examples from 700AD forward, it would be easy to make the mistaken assumption that coffin use was as prevalent in the southwest as in the rest of the country. Instead, at sites such as St. Endellion and Padstow we can observe that coffin burials, alongside plain earth graves, were the exception rather than the rule in the south-west, until they became popular within seventh-century minster cemeteries.

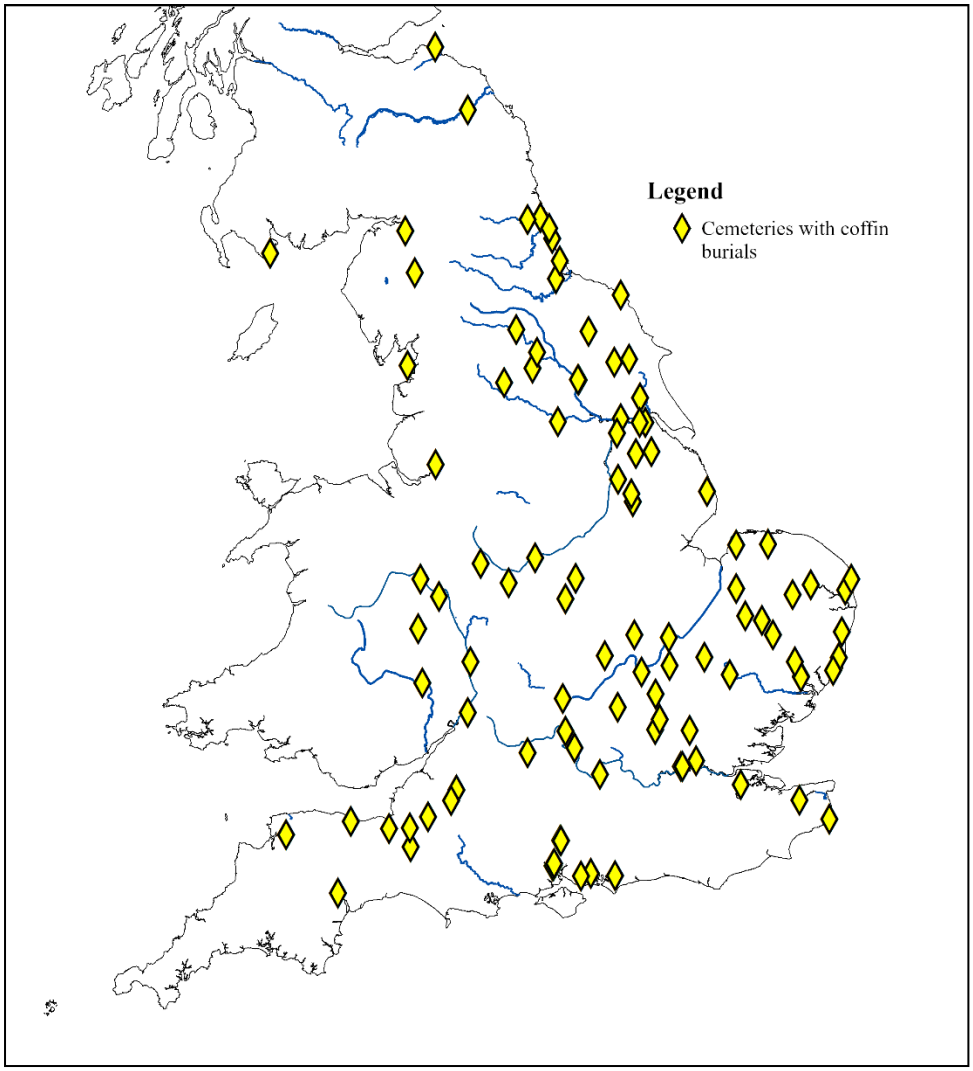


Figure 31: Wooden Coffin Distribution Map

A similar dearth of coffin examples exists north of the Tyne, likewise suggesting that, even after conversion, local practice was preferred over whatever new suggestions were being floated through trade, new residents, or church networks. The use of coffins never quite becomes common in what is now southern Scotland during the early medieval period,[22] and

[22] Excepting log coffins, which are a different grave type, being of wholly different construction: see Cemeteries with chest burials by time period and cemetery type

Log coffins section, below.

examples from the north-west of England appear to be sparser in comparison to areas south of (and around) the Tyne.

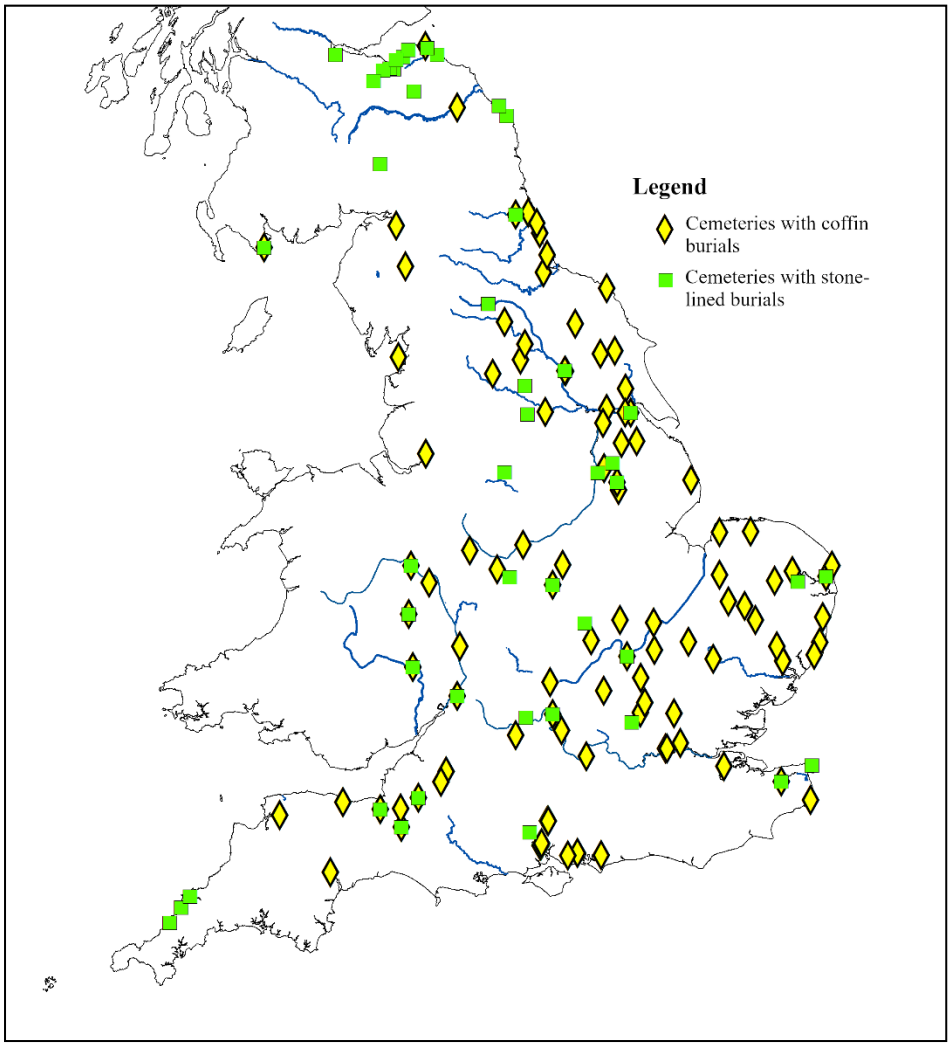


Figure 32: Map of Coffin vs. Stone-lined Cist burial cemeteries

Burial practice in southern Scotland (the farthest extent of Northumbria) consisted in this period of plain earth graves, cist burials, and log coffins.[23] Around the Tyne, most of the

[23] As noted in the thorough examinations of Scotland's late Iron Age and early medieval burial practice by Etheridge and Maldonado: Etheridge, 'Some Aspects of Early Medieval Burial Practice'; A. Maldonado, 'Christianity and Burial in late Iron Age Scotland, AD 400-650' (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Glasgow, 2011).

surviving instances of wooden containers appear to be chest burials, rather than coffins.[24] Plank built (as opposed to log) coffins, for instance, do not appear at Whithorn until the 'Northumbrian' period (as Hill terms it), although Whithorn saw Christian activity in its bounds from the fifth century forward.[25] Rather, stone-lined cists were predominant throughout Dumfries and Galloway, Berwickshire and the Lothians. The coffin fashion, quickly adopted and utilized in churchyards in the Anglo-Saxon-dominated south and east, took its time spreading in the north, even though the Northumbrian (or Bernician) church was evangelizing the area with the help of the Irish of Iona. We can thus observe that even a practice noted for its ubiquity was adopted unevenly across different regions (Figure 32).

There is always the possibility that a certain grave type or practice is prevalent not because of some intimate connection to ritual or symbol of belief among a society, but merely due to the practicalities of geological and ecological availability determined by proximity to different bedrocks, rivers, or sea-access, and whether people live upland or in lowlands, in woodland or pastureland. Therefore, both the effort and cost of obtaining the materials ought to be considered when interpreting the distribution of coffin burials. Although ancient woodland management has been studied intermittently since the 1960s, recent interest in landscape archaeology has brought new appreciation for the impact which geology and environment have upon land use and material culture.[26] As can be expected, evidence for

[24] For example, at Carlisle Cathedral, Dacre, and St. Michael's Workington, Cumbria, where chests appear in eighth-century grave contexts, though it is reasonable to suppose that pegged-only coffins may have been present (though invisible in the grave fill). Carlisle is the only of these Cumbrian sites with proof for coffins at any period as well: M. McCarthy *et al*., 'A Post-Roman Sequence at Carlisle Cathedral,' *Arch. J.* 171 (2014), 185-257, at 194.

[25] See 'Plank Coffin' section, below. In Maldonado's rephasing of Whithorn, this adoption of the use of non-log coffins at Whithorn occurs in stages 2 and 3, during the Northumbrian episcopacy; Maldonado, *Christianity and Burial,* 190-1.

[26] Tom Williamson and Stephen Rippon, Chris Smart, and Ben Pears have embarked on studies of change in the landscape and land utilisation in post-Roman Britain and Early Medieval England,

post-Roman to Norman woodland and forest are rather thin on the ground. Della Hooke and Oliver Rackham have both tried to reconstruct the extent and distribution of the Anglo-Saxon woodland and its management.[27] Charter evidence, from whose bounds the locations of trees and woods can be reconstructed, exists for Anglo-Saxon woodland locations in the south of England, but similar recreation of northern woodland distribution is complicated by the lack of surviving contemporary charters. Using combined evidence from the Domesday book and Frank Stenton's assessment of forest extent, which itself is based upon historic maps among other evidence, Della Hooke created two maps which estimate the extent and density of Anglo-Saxon woodlands. In comparing these two maps against the distribution maps of all wooden burial types, two interesting patterns reveal themselves (Figure 33). First, there is not always a direct relationship between woodlands and the frequency of wood-using burial types. Sites with coffins are understandably prevalent in areas surrounding Hooke's reconstruction of the Ciltern forest (per Domesday records of 1086). On the other hand, we find a plethora of plank, chest, and coffin burials in Deira, and particularly along the Ouse, which do not correlate with the extent of proposed early medieval woodlands. This may indicate the transport of logs and planks up the Ouse by boat, in the same way that oolitic limestone and dolstone was transported between monasteries on the Wear for the carving and distribution of stone crosses.[28] Most communities had access to their own managed woodlands, even if they had to travel; woodlands were apportioned between them, as seen in the charters of forest rights in

respectively. See: S. Rippon, C. Smart, B. Pears, *The Fields of Britannia* (Oxford, 2015), and T. Williamson, *Environment, Society, and Landscape in Early Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2012).

[27] D. Hooke, *Trees in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2010); O. Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape* (London, 1996), 47.

[28] As at St. Botolph's at Frosterley: Archaeological Services Durham University, 'St. Botolph's Chapel, Frosterley, County Durham: Archaeological Excavation Interim Report,' Report 3342 (Unpublished report: Durham, January 2014).

Kent.[29] This transport still adds cost to the implementation of the burial practice itself, however.



Figure 33: Probable distribution of Anglo-Saxon woodlands. From Hooke, Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England, 140.

Conversely, there also is not a perfect correlation between the absence of woodland and absence of wooden grave types or prevalence of stone ones. In the lands formerly dominated by Mercia in the West Midlands, numerous forests are recorded in the

[29] D. Hooke, *Trees in Anglo-Saxon England*, 139.

Domesday Book. Archaeological evidence for coffin burials in Mercia is sparse, however, and about equal to stone-lined burials in this region, despite the soil being generally favorable to the survival of environmental and biological remains. Nor are stone linings more popular in the areas in Deira and the Midlands which lacked forests. This lack of relationship between contemporary forests and coffin evidence indicates that in many places coffins were produced regardless of cost or general availability of wood suitable for planking, instead being used based upon the desires of the deceased and their family.

Wooden coffins can be found combined with almost all of the grave variations. They have been observed in combination with charcoal, yellow sand lining, chalk, earmuffs and pillow stones, willow-wands, quartz stones, and with both clothed and shrouded burials.

Discussion

The most common feature in the distribution of coffin burials, particularly in the early part of the period under study, is not the adoption of Christianity, but the extension of Anglo-Saxon political influence. All wooden containers for bodies, except log coffins, appear to diminish in frequency at the northern and south-western edges of Britain (Figure 45). The soil in the south-west is particularly unsuited for organic preservation; most cists excavated there are 'empty', as the body has fully decomposed. The north, however, regularly turns up both skeletal and other organic material, implying that the lack of coffin evidence may a sign of an actual absence of them. Difference in practice between the areas north and south of the Tweed could be attributed to the extent to which Anglo-Saxon culture was distributed outside of the context of the church; north of the Tweed, there are few-to-none Germanic-style burials, and more British names. As mentioned above, there does not seem to be a

religious influence or subtext to the coffin grave type, as within this survey, the coffins definitely situated within mid-Saxon period cemeteries (c.600-850, as opposed to the Late Saxon or 'unspecified Saxon' examples) are nearly evenly distributed between church (forty two, of which twenty are minster) and field (fourteen) cemeteries, further suggesting that this burial type had cultural origins rather than religious (Figure 29).

Chests

Typology and Distribution

The chest grave type houses the body within a wooden container with a hinged lid, usually lockable; the reused, reopenable nature of this container is what differentiates it from coffins, as does its ability to lock and be unlocked. These chests are identifiable archaeologically by the survival of hinges and a locking apparatus rather than (or in addition to) peg, dowel, or nail reinforced construction.[30] As with coffins, archaeological evidence suggests that chests were constructed with pegs more frequently than with nails; the chest containing skeleton 644 at The Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, for instance, had only two nails, clearly not enough (even with brackets) to hold it together without pegs.[31]

Although chest burials have been found in cemeteries that range from the fifth century to the end of the twelfth century, the radiocarbon determinations taken directly from chest burials themselves provide a somewhat narrower date range. Craig-Atkins found that most of the chest burials produced radiocarbon dates extending from the seventh to the ninth

[30] Craig-Atkins, 'Chest Burial,' 318.
[31] P. Ottaway 'Iron objects' in J. Nolan, 'The Early Medieval Cemetery at the Castle, Newcastle upon Tyne,' *Archaeologica Aeliana* 39 (2010), 269-75 at 274.

centuries AD, a much shorter range than the cemeteries which contain them. [32] Further analysis facilitated by this study alters that range slightly to the mid-seventh to the tenth centuries AD. While the practice spreads over a great distance by the tenth century, the centre of the practice appears to be the area along the Humber (Figure 35). The southern-most examples of this burial type at Winchester (Hampshire), Hereford (Herefordshire), and Repton (Derbyshire), date to the late, rather than middle, Anglo-Saxon period.

Chest burials, like coffins, were frequently combined with grave variations, particularly in their later iterations (though they are not combined with as many variations as wooden coffins are). Clothed burials with limited grave goods in chest burials were not uncommon: at Thwing, a woman was buried in a chest fully clothed with beads, a knife, and a buckle.[33] Evidence from Carlisle Cathedral of buckles, rings, and other wearable items in the grave fills of the chest burials also suggests the possibility that the deceased were clothed.[34] 14/39 (48%) of cemeteries with chest burials within this survey also contained grave goods.

[32] Craig-Atkins, 'Chest burial,' 320.
[33] Craig-Atkins, 'Chest burial,' 331; T.G. Manby, 'Thwing: Excavation and Field Archaeology in East Yorkshire.' (Unpublished report, 1986).
[34] McCarthy *et al.*, 'A Post-Roman Sequence at Carlisle Cathedral,' 185-257.

Table 3: Chest burials c. 700-1066

Chest Burials, c.700-1066			
Site Name	**County**	**Dates of Cemetery Use[35]**	**Minster/ Field/ Church**
Flower Field, Seaham, Seaham	Co. Durham	8th-11th centuries AD (for chest burials)	F
Carlisle Cathedral, Carlisle	Cumbria	9th c. strap end; 10th-11th c. (cemetery above silver penny of Athelstan 924x39)	M
Dacre	Cumbria	8th/9th c. coffin fittings; sceatta dated 738x57; 6 stycas dated 820x854	M
St. Wystan's Churchyard, Repton	Derbyshire	9th-11th centuries?	M
St. Mary Major, Exeter	Devon	5th-8th c., and 11th c.?	M
Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway, Scotland	c. 700-730 (Period I)	M
Kemp Howe	E. Riding of Yorkshire	Grave 3: calAD 490- 650; c. 725-745	F
Thwing	East Yorkshire	8th-9th	C
St. Oswald, Glos.	Gloucestershire	850-1120; C14 (68%) 850-1050	M
Winchester, New Minster	Hampshire	901x1079AD	M
Winchester, Old Minster	Hampshire	600-1100	M
St. Guthlac Hereford, Castle Green	Herefordshire	Simple burials 630-770; charcoal 840-100; 68.2% 678-779; 95.4 651-901	M
Caistor, 16 High St.	Lincolnshire	8t c.? 2 oxcal dates: 682-881	F
Lincoln Eastern Bypass	Lincolnshire	700-900 (need C14)	C
Little Carlton, Lincs.	Lincolnshire	7th c.?; C14 650-710	M
Boneyard, Sedgeford, West Norfolk	Norfolk	Mid to Late Saxon; C14 from 2 diff parts of the site returned dates of CalAD 662-881 & Cal AD 689-887 (95%) -pottery & debris indicate 200-300 years of occupation, c .AD 700-750 to 950-1000	C
Snarehill Hall, Brettenham, Breckland	Norfolk	Late Saxon	C
Church View, Whitton	N. Lincolnshire	calAD 560-780, calAD 680-960	F
Flixborough	N. Lincolnshire	7th-11th centuries	C

[35] In this and in all other charts and references throughout the text, radiocarbon dates (in their 'before present'/BP form) have been re-calibrated using the IntCal13 atmospheric calibration curve unless otherwise noted. In some cases I was unable to find the original uncalibrated form for a radiocarbon date, and those have been marked in-text and cited as rough centuries instead of a specific range. For the uncalibrated determination and other details about the laboratory and conditions of obtaining the determination, see the site's entry in the Gazetteer (Appendix 1).

Chest Burials, c.700-1066			
Site Name	**County**	**Dates of Cemetery Use[35]**	**Minster/ Field/ Church**
St. Chad's Church, Barrow-upon-Humber	N. Lincolnshire	9th-12th centuries	C
Ailcy Hill, Ripon	N. Yorkshire	calAD 660-830	M
Riccall's Landing, Selby	N. Yorkshire	C14 for most burials = c. 10th-12th centuries; SK 4 calAD 680-805	F
Spofforth, Village Farm, Harrogate	N. Yorkshire	7th -13th centuries	F
St. Oswald's Church, Thornton Steward-Sowden Beck Water Pipeline, Richmondshire	N. Yorkshire	7th-9th centuries; calAD 660-810 (G 066); calAD 680-900 (G 059); calAD 810-1020 (G 069)	F
Viewly Bridge Anglo-Saxon Cemetery	N. Yorkshire	Mid Saxon; calAD 640-780 calAD 670-880	F
Whitby Abbey Headland/ Abbey Farms	North Yorkshire	657-?	M
Muchelney Abbey	Somerset	8th-?11th centuries	M
Bishopsmill School, Norton	Stockton-on-Tees	EARLY to late	F
Burrow Hill, Butley, Suffolk	Suffolk	late 7th/early 9th c; C14 (HAR-2897) early phase 1170 ± 80 years BP (i.e. a.d. 700-860; 95.4 682-998, 50%771-906	C
Chequer Meadow/ Staunch Meadow, Brandon, Forest Heath	Suffolk	Mid Saxon: 570-1420	M
The Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Tyne and Wear	Saxon to 1080	M
Wearmouth	Tyne and Wear	c. 680-800	M
St. John's Priory, Pontefract - Booths ?(NGR is St. Clements)	West Yorkshire	591-771 (sk267, ph1); 550-710 (sk519, ph 1); 83-=1220 (sk 548, ph 2)	C
York Minster	Yorkshire	calAD 696-997 (B37); calAD 717-742/754-1021 (B40); calAD 819-837/856-1164 (B106)	M

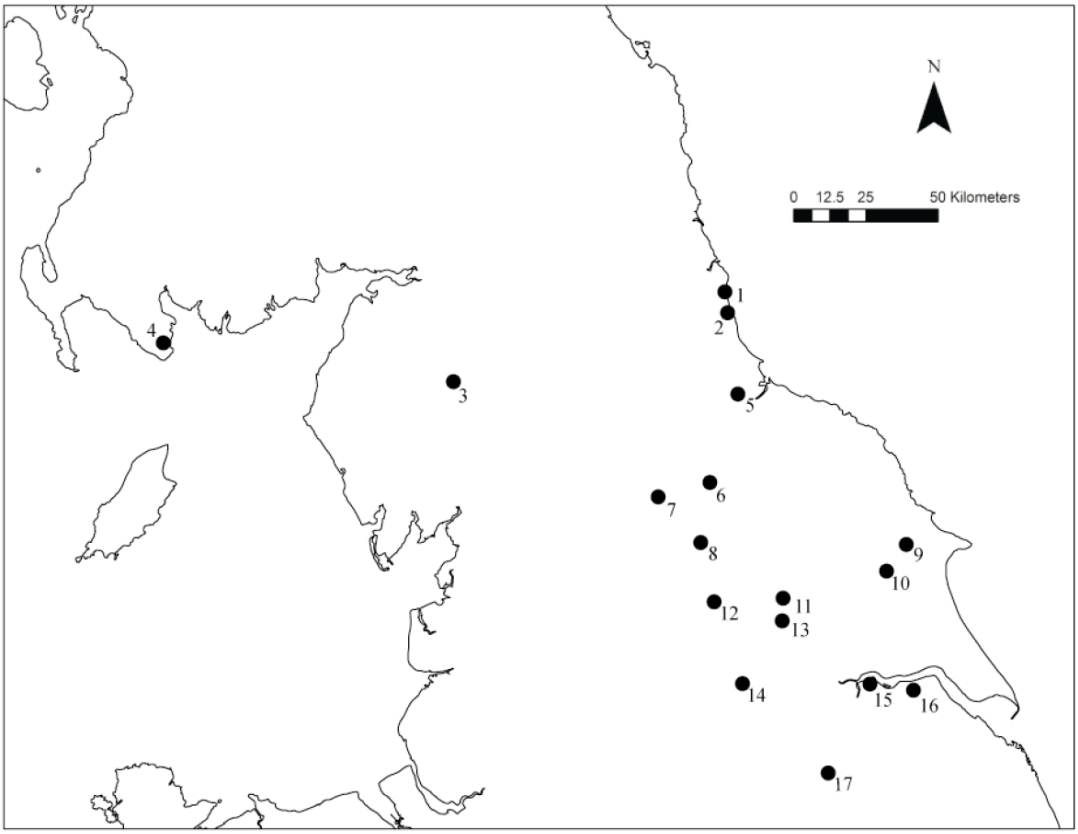


Figure 34: Chest Burials between AD600 and 850 from Craig-Atkins, Northern Burial, fig. 7.4.

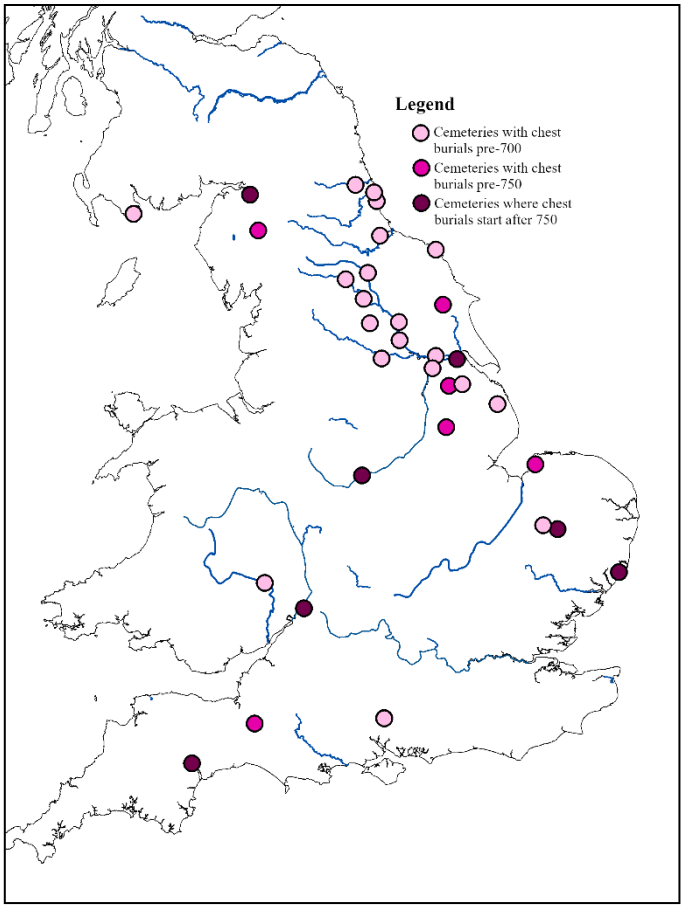


Figure 35: Chest burials in cemeteries, by start date (pre-AD700, AD700x750, post-AD750)

In her survey of northern Anglo-Saxon burial practice, Elizabeth Craig-Atkins found that chest burial was a northern custom (Figure 34), but my own analysis of the data finds an even narrower distribution.[36] In this survey, all but two examples of chest burials in cemeteries which may have begun pre-c.700AD are very clearly in the basin of the Yorkshire Ouse (8) or on the adjacent Deiran coastline (3) (Figure 35).[37] The chest burial examples in cemeteries starting between AD 700 and 750 move only slightly out of this Deiran zone, to Whithorn (Period I), Dacre, and Carlisle Cathedral in the west, all of which were religious communities along the recently-established Northumbrian border, and farther north in

[36] Craig-Atkins, 'Chest Burial,' 318.
[37] Though they may have ceased usage after c.700, bringing them within the purview of this survey.

Bernicia.[38] There are eventually chest burials in the Wessex and on the southern coast of East Anglia, but these occur only at some point between the latter half of the eighth century and the eleventh.[39] Even the example of the monastic cemetery at Repton, Derbyshire, in the Midlands, dates later than the examples in Northumbria, with a cemetery date range of c.800-1100AD.[40] This progression suggests that chest burials were a local practice that expanded from their home territory, primarily through church networks, century by century (Figure 34, Figure 35). The broader view afforded by the present study refines Craig-Atkins' hypothesis of chest burial being a strictly Northumbrian practice, suggesting that Deira was the hub of its use, and confirming that the spread of the practice to the south occurred after its heyday in Northumbria, possibly in an ecclesiastical context.

Discussion

Though chest burial originated and flourished in seventh- to ninth-century Northumbria, its highest concentration was in the Deiran heartland in the Vale of York, particularly in church cemeteries along the Ouse. By the ninth century, however, chest burial appeared to have spread not only west, as at Whithorn (eighth century) and other sites along the Bernician border, but also to the south (Winchester, c.800-1050). An origin in Deiran local tradition is supported by how the earliest chest burial examples (especially those in cemeteries starting before AD700), located in Deira, were more varied in cemetery type, whereas the Late Anglo-Saxon examples, primarily in the south and south-west, were all in cemeteries

[38] E.g. Flower Field and, reputedly, Lindisfarne (discovered after this dataset was closed). This periodization reflects Maldonado's rephasing of Whithorn; Maldonado, *Christianity and Burial,* Chapter 7.
[39] See Table 3. Ex: St. Mary Major Exeter (Devon), Winchester (Hants.), Muchelney Abbey (Som.)
[40] B. Kjølbye-Biddle, *Repton: The People* (Forthcoming).

associated with churchyards, four of which were minsters (Figure 36, Figure 37).[41] One would like to imagine, although there is not sufficient proof, that Yorkshire monks, abbots, abbesses, or bishops fleetingly brought this grave type with them to the south as they were installed in new locations, in the same way that they may have brought chest burial to the north-west around the time that Whithorn was incorporated into Bernicia's diocese.[42]

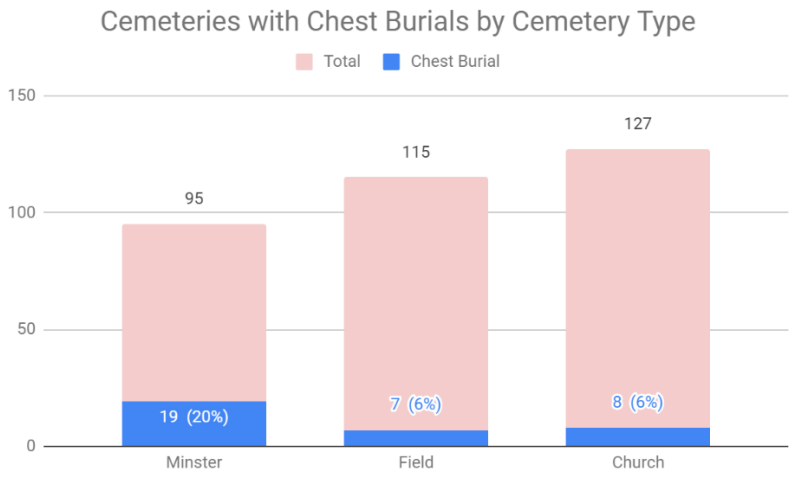


Figure 36: Number of chest burials by cemetery type

[41] Exeter; Winchester: 'Variation 10' in 'Chapter 10: Grave-types at the Old and New Minsters,' in B. Kjølbye-Biddle, *Winchester: The Anglo-Saxon Minsters* (forthcoming); P.K. Baillie-Reynolds, 'Muchelney Abbey,' *Archaeological Journal* 107 (1950), 120-21; Kjølbye-Biddle, *Repton: The People*.
[42] *HE* III.iv; 'The see is now under English rule. This place which is in the kingdom of Bernicia…': Colgrave and Mynors, 223.

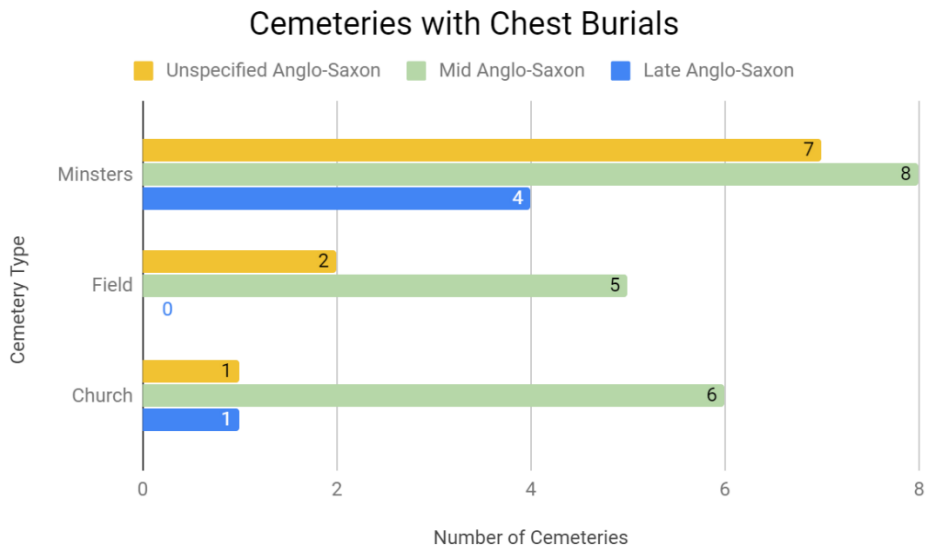


Figure 37: Cemeteries with chest burials by time period and cemetery type

Log coffins

Typology and Distribution

Log coffin burials consist, as their name suggests, of split logs, hollowed out, with a body placed inside. In surviving instances, the logs appear to have been hollowed out by burning (as seen in an example at Forteviot, Perthshire), rather than uniformly chiselled out by hand.[43] Where the tree species can be determined, log coffins have been found to be constructed of oak, which matches the description in the tenth-century Irish *Betha Adomnán* which describes Brudei, a Pictish King, being buried in a 'block of hollow withered oak' on Iona.[44] Where the wood does not survive, log coffins are recognizable

[43] Maldonado, *Christianity and Burial*, 104; E. Campbell and M. M. Gondek (eds.), 'Forteviot, Perthshire: Excavations of a Pictish cemetery and Iron Age enclosure 2009.' Strathearn Environs and Royal Forteviot Project (Unpublished Report: Glasgow, 2009).

[44] e.g. At Scotch Street, Armagh, Ireland, and Tandderwen, Denbighshire, Wales: K. S. Brassil, W. G. Owen and W. J. Britnell, 'Prehistoric and early medieval cemeteries at Tandderwen, near Denbigh, Clwyd,' *Arch. J.*, 148 (1991), 46–97 at 88; A. Hamlin and C. Lynn (eds.), *Pieces of the Past: archaeological excavations by the Department of the Environment for Northern Ireland, 1970-1986*

archaeologically as a particular rounded grave-cut, although this cut is also typical of hollowed-out canoe burials.[45]

(Belfast, 1988), 59; The date of Brudei's death is given by the Annals of Tigernach as 693: 'Annals of Tigernach,' ed. W. Stokes, in *Revue Celtique* 7 (1886), 212; The quote from the *Life of Adomnán* will be discussed more below, but the description of the container for Brude reads: 'Ceppán caue crínn dara,' where *ceppán* can refer to a block or log and *dara* is the genitive form used for oak (*darach*) after AD 918. Royal Irish Academy Dictionary of the Irish Language (Dublin, 1913-1976); M. Herbert and P. Ó Riain (eds. and trans.) *Betha Adamnáin: The Irish Life of Adamnán* (London, 1988), 1-44. Maldonado cites the *Betha Adamnáin* in his *Christianity and Burial,* but does not discuss the passage in any detail.

[45] Tree-trunk canoe burials, discernible where the wood survives by their greater length and the sloping upwards of one or both ends, are Bronze Age in date; they are also part of the short-lived 7th-c. boat-burial tradition in East Anglia, as in the boat grave at Snape and at Burial 3, Mound 3 at Sutton Hoo: W. Filmer-Sankey, 'Snape Anglo-Saxon Cemetery: the current state of knowledge,' in M. Carver (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo* (Woodbridge, 1992), 39-52 at 48; R. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial I* (London, 1975); Hill, *Whithorn;* N.P. Figgis, *Dead Men's Boats: the early mediæval canoe from Llan-gors and the sunken dug-outs of Wales and the Marches* (Wales, 1995).

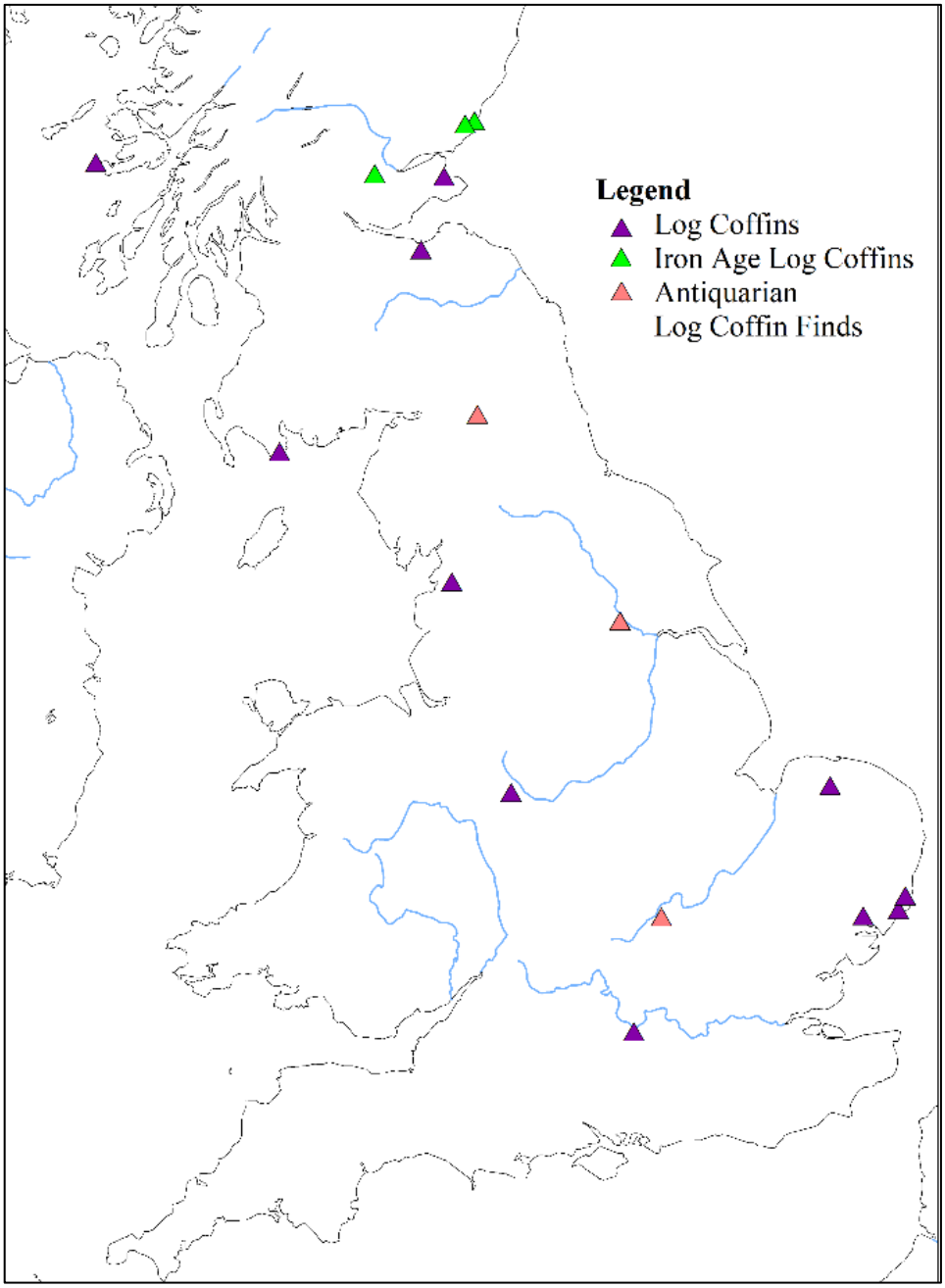


Figure 38: Iron Age and Early Medieval log coffin burials in England and Scotland

There is no single combination of variations which predominates among log coffin burials. At Whithorn, where nearly one third of the early burials were in log coffins, a small number of burials were also marked by quartz stones or wooden marker posts;[46] At St. Bertelin in

[46] In Phase I and II of Period 1: Hill, *Whithorn*, 73.

Staffordshire, a rather late instance of log burial, the log coffin also contained head supports;[47] The Quernmore log coffin contained a shrouded body.

Log coffins are first found in the British archaeological record during the Bronze Age, where they were common enough for several to survive to this day.[48] After phasing out of visible use in the early Iron Age, log coffin burials reappeared in Scotland in the middle to late Iron Age, particularly within cairn/ square barrow cemeteries, clustering around the Firth of Forth from the fourth century AD. Some of these cemeteries with log burials, such as Thorneybank, continued in use into the English early medieval period, which is when this grave type enters the time and area of this study.[49] From the seventh to the eighth centuries AD, log coffins appear at a network of sites along the Irish Sea coast and across Northumbria, as at some of the earliest levels at Whithorn (Period I Phase 4), Cumbria, and potentially three instances in modern-day Northumberland.[50] By the eighth century, the use

[47] M.O.H. Carver, *Stafford Field Reports 1975-1990* (ADS online, 2010) https://doi.org/10.5284/1000117. The initial report on St. Bertelin, *The Church of St. Bertelin at Stafford and its Cross,* describes the 'log coffin' as a wooden cross, buried in the middle of the Church alongside other burials of a Late Saxon/early medieval date. Carver re-identifies this as a tree trunk burial, which is possible given the curved grave cut, but also raises the question of why there were no remains found within the excavation of it, whereas remains were found with the other burials of a similar stratigraphic position. It is also a chronological and geographic outlier, as all other instances are a few centuries before and also clustered either up North (as discussed below) or one of two in Kent/East Anglia (late sixth- early seventh-century). A. Oswald (ed.), *The Church of St. Bertelin at Stafford and its cross: Excavation Report* (Birmingham, 1955).

[48] V.G. Childe, 'Scotland before the Scots,' *Rhind Lectures in Archaeology* (London, 1946), 119.

[49] For example, Square Barrow, Boysack Mills, Angus: D. Murray and I.B.M. Ralston, 'The Excavation of a Square-ditched Barrow and Other Cropmarks at Boysack Mills, Inverkeilor, Angus,' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 127 (1997), 359-386. In Scotland, the Iron Age is widely considered to extend all the way through to 800AD; D.W. Harding, 'Redefining the Northern British Iron Age,' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 25.1 (2006), 61-82.

[50] Hill, *Whithorn and St. Ninian*, 37; Maldonado assigns log coffins to phase two out of three in his reassessment of Whithorn's phasing based on the more usual method of judging burials based upon alignment in combination with the cutting of contexts: Maldonado, *Christianity and Burial,* 189. See also: Quernmore, Cumbria, and Scotch Street, Armagh: Hamlin and Lynn (eds.), *Pieces of the Past,* 59; I have received second-hand information from archaeologists about potential log-coffins at Bamburgh Bowl Hole, and Hart, County Durham, but as the coffins remain unpublished, are in neither *Medieval Archaeology* nor Heritage Gateway, and I have not been able to obtain images of them, I have left them off the map.

of log burial appears to be in decline north of the Tees, if the phasing of Whithorn or Thornybank is to be believed. Log coffins appear much less frequently in the layers associated with the seventh century Northumbrian takeover of Whithorn than in the earlier ones, seeming to be supplanted by chest burials instead.[51] A single, later find at St. Bertelin suggests that the practice moved south into what were once solidly British areas of Mercia.[52] Unlike cist burials, the practice of log burial does not seem to extend into south-west England. This may only appear to be so because the soil in the south-western areas of modern Cornwall and Devon is extremely poor at conserving biological material. Usually, however, grave types in use in Devon and Cornwall extend to Somerset, whose soil is better at preserving organic material; in this instance that is not the case. Like coffin burials, it is possible that there were proportionally many more instances of this practice which have not survived a thousand years of decomposition to be observed by archaeologists today.

But a second area of log coffin burials also appears in the late sixth to early seventh centuries in East Anglia, where Great Ryburgh (Norfolk), Barber's Point (Suff.), Buttermarket, Ipswich (Suff.), Burrow Hill (Suff.), and two other antiquarian-excavated cemeteries show evidence of log coffins in the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period, primarily in field cemeteries. Their use at the cemetery at Great Ryburgh—the one cemetery with a potential church or mortuary building, with all of the graves in rows and in great quantity—is particularly remarkable, as log coffins here were the rule rather than the exception, with all but six of the graves the log coffin type.[53]

[51] Hill, *Whithorn;* the ratio is 'several' for Period I, Phase 1, and only one for Period I, Phase 2.
[52] M. Carver, *Stafford Field Reports 1975-1990*.
[53] The remainder being plank-lined: C. Hilts, 'Great Ryburgh: a remarkable Anglo-Saxon Cemetery revealed,' in *Current Archaeology* 322 (2016), 18-23, at 19. No church has been found on the site, as the emergency excavation was limited to the area destined to become a fish pond, but one is suspected.

As already mentioned, consideration of the geology and flora of the area in which any given grave type is common is an essential litmus test for the extent to which the practice inconvenienced the early medieval people burying their friends or family, and therefore, how much value they placed on it. Log coffins rely on mature timber oak, a broad enough tree to be hollowed to fit a person. Despite some deforestation during the Roman and early Iron Age, pollen evidence indicates that local communities in southern Scotland managed their woodland to ensure continuous supply.[54] Further, just as charter evidence suggests in England, the right to use woods was meted out to various people regardless of the distance between their estate and the forest in Scotland; Adomnán reports towing oak timbers from the mouth of the River Sale to Iona for repairs to the monastery.[55] This implies that using an oak tree for a coffin rather than as building supplies was an expensive choice, as it required a timber oak of around 25-30 years, but one predicated on tradition, not scarcity.[56]

By contrast, the areas in the north in which log coffins are prevalent had less ready access to oak, as far as scholars have estimated on the basis particularly of the region's soil and biome. This supports the idea because of its scarcity, using an oak tree for a coffin, rather than as building supplies, indicated wealth, or status.

[54] A. Crone and F. Watson, 'Sufficiency to Scarcity: Medieval Scotland, 500-1600,' in T. Smout (ed.), *People and Woods in Scotland: A History* (Edinburgh, 2003), 60-81 at 79; On English deforestation: Hooke, *Trees in Anglo-Saxon England,* 143.
[55] Adomnán, *Life of Columba,* Chapter XLV.
[56] A. Mitchell, 'Dating the Ancient Oaks,' *Quarterly Journal of Forestry* 60 (1966), 271-276.

Table 4: Log coffin burials, Iron Age to 11th c., including Scotland

Site	County	Number of Burials	Dates	Minster/ Field/ Church	Note
Boysack Mills	Angus, Scotland	1	1st-3rd c. AD	F	Iron Age
Redcastle, Angus	Angus, Scotland	1	c. 400-800 AD	F	-
Iona	Argyll and Bute, Scotland	1	Early Medieval	M	Out of Bounds
Smallmead, Reading	Berkshire	1	calAD 234-350, but also calAD 534-635	F	Early Anglo-Saxon
Hallow Hill, St. Andrews	Fife, Scotland		calAD 530-635, calAD 815-975	F	Out of Bounds
Stonefarm Bridleway, Kent	Kent	63 (cemetery total)	mid-6th to late 7th c.	F	Early Anglo-Saxon
Jubilee Tower Car Park, Hare Appletree Fell, Quernmore	Lancashire	2	calAD 646-778 (51.6%)	C	-
Newton, Midlothian/ "Thornybank"	Midlothian, Scotland	115+ (cemetery total)	5th-6th c.	F	Late Iron Age
Newport Pagnell	Milton Keynes	1	?	?	Antiquarian
St. Germanus Chapel, Selby	North Yorkshire	1	?	C	Antiquarian
Great Ryburgh, Norfolk	Norfolk	81/89	Early to Mid Saxon	C	-
Wydon Eals farm, near Haltwhistle, Northumberland (now in Durham Cathedral)	Northumberland	'Several'	late 7th to early 8th c.	?	-
Forteviot	Perth and Kinross, Scotland		5th-6th c.	F	Late Iron Age
Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway, Scotland	>16/145	c. 500-800 AD	M	-
St. Bertelin's Church, Stafford	Staffordshire	1/9	9th-11th c. ; C14 says AD 772 is possible, but not earlier for 'other reasons'	C	-
Barbers Point, Friston, Suffolk Coastal	Suffolk	19 (cemetery total)	6th-9th c.	C	-

Site	County	Number of Burials	Dates	Minster/ Field/ Church	Note
Burrow Hill, Butley, Suffolk	Suffolk	over 200 (cemetery total)	calAD 771-906	C	-
Buttermarket, Ipswich, Suffolk	Suffolk	71 (cemetery total)	7th c.	F	Early Anglo-Saxon
Sutton Hoo Mound 17	Suffolk	1	c. 600-620 AD	F	Early Anglo-Saxon

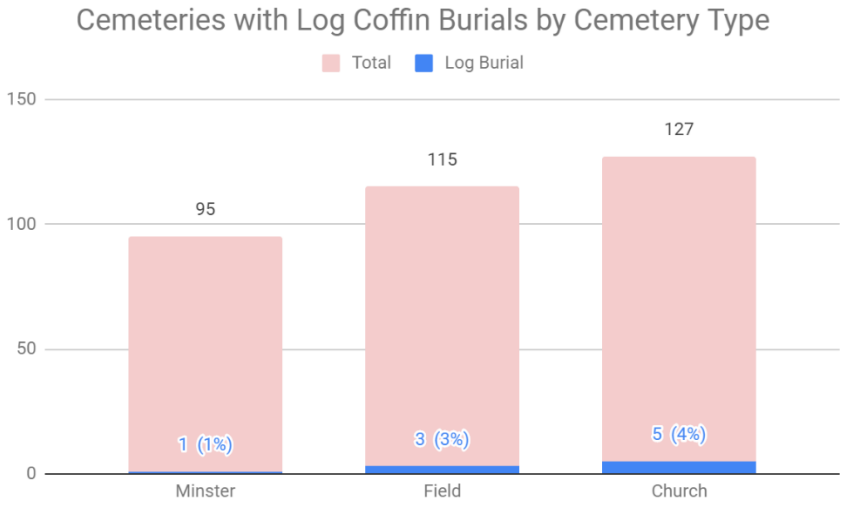


Figure 39: Cemeteries with Log Coffin burials, by cemetery type

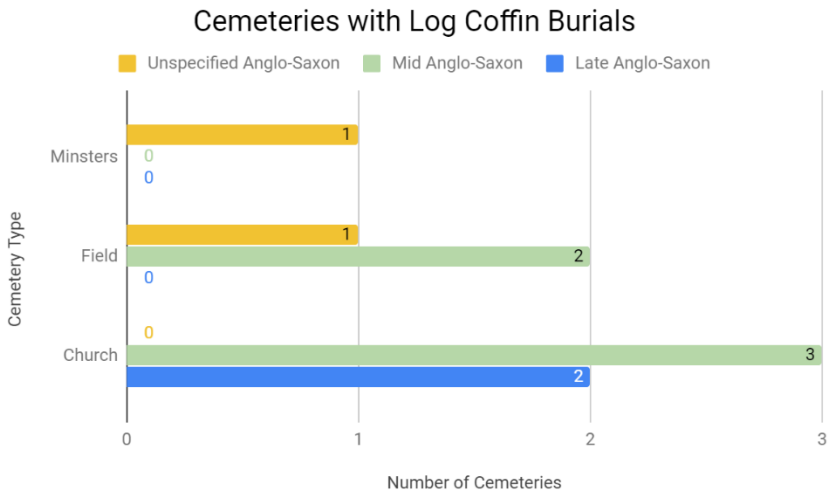


Figure 40: Distribution of log coffin burials, over time and cemetery type

Discussion

The review of the geographical and chronological distribution of log coffins reveals several trends, despite the small number of log coffins which fall within this study's purview.[57] First, log coffins appear to have been used primarily in the early part of the studied period, with next to no examples surviving or found after the eighth century.[58] Second, log coffins show a shift over time from secular cemeteries to churchyards, and, third, their use appears,

[57] Adrián Maldonado has noted a few instances of log coffin burial in what would have been Pictish kingdoms north of the Firth of Forth in the period 400-700AD (Maldonado, *Christianity and Burial)*, which are included here, and alerted me to the discovery of a log coffin at Iona. I also found antiquarian reports of log coffin burials in Selby, North Yorkshire, 'several' from Wydon Eals, one of which was recently radiocarbon dated to the late seventh- to early eighth-centuries, and one at Newport Pagnell*;* Yorkshire County Council Historic Environment Record: Yorkshire Archaeological Society. 1977 - 1980. Yorkshire Studies Card. SE 63 SW 2496; 'Wydon Eals Anglo-Saxon Log Coffins,' at *North Pennines Virtual Museum,* http://www.npvm.org.uk/objects/06/index.htm. Accessed 21 July 2017.

[58] Bronze Age: Childe, 'Scotland before the Scots.' The fourth-century example, and the earliest post-Bronze Age by radiocarbon date, is from Thornybank, Midlothian in the third to sixth century AD (calibrated to 2σ); A.R. Rees, 'A First Millennium AD Cemetery, Rectangular Bronze Age Structure and Late Prehistoric Settlement at Thornybank, Midlothian,' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 132 (2002), 313-355.

perhaps falsely given the low rate of survival, to move from the north towards the south of what would become Northumbrian territory over time (Figure 39, Figure 40, Figure 38). The combination of patterns one, two, and three suggests that northern log coffin use developed from a local tradition to one expressing high status, eventually replaced by a combination of the more common stone-lined burial and other grave variations (discussed in their sections, below).

The available data for the northern tradition of log coffin use in this period and its Bronze-Age origins suggests a origin developed from a regional British practice in the area of the Goddodin, Miathi, Strathclyde and Pictish kingdoms which developed into a cultural practice used to express more complicated ideas about identity and rank in the late Saxon period. The first late Iron Age instances occur north of the Tay, outside of the present area of study.[59] As noted above, log coffin use descends below the Firth of Forth by the sixth century, and by the seventh century, at the practice's peak, cemeteries in southern Scotland shifted to regular use of both long-cist and plain dug burials. At the time of the first early medieval log-coffin burials in Scotland, burial within a churchyard was not the expected practice; some burials were in row cemeteries, but others were episodic in distribution or centered upon pre-existing landscape features and tumuli. The shift over time in location of log-coffin burials from field cemeteries to churchyards may have reflected a change among the elite in terms of what they identified as symbols of power or prestige, and how they chose to ally themselves with the church as it coincides with seventh and eighth century establishment of Irish and Northumbrian monasteries in the area.

[59] e.g. at Boysack Mills, Angus: Murray and Ralson, 'A Square-ditched Barrow and Other Cropmarks at Boysack Mills,' 359-386.

Though the sample is very small, the shift in log coffins from late Iron Age field cemeteries to church or minster cemeteries after the period of conversion in Scotland suggests that the friendship between the Scottish royal houses and the Ionan abbots (who had their own royal connections) may have been part of impetus to move to church settings, taking a local practice and making it elite. The northern instances of log coffins in cemeteries are so sparse within cemetery settings that one wonders whether there may have been some rareness or prestige associated with their use. While there were multiple log coffins in the late Iron Age cemeteries at Forteviot and Thornybank, log coffin burials do not reappear in these numbers past the seventh century, suggesting a shift in who used them and why. The later appearance of log-coffins in some quantity at Whithorn might allude to a statement about politics than social status, as it is the only church at which they appear in some quantity, and only before the Northumbrian period, after which their use diminishes.[60] The antiquarian finds of log coffins at Selby and Haltwhistle slightly change the regional distribution curve; their rarity does not conflict with the log coffin being a symbol of status, but it is unclear what church alliance these log coffins may have been affiliated with. This change may have been influenced by the growth in political clout and ecclesiastical import of the church of Iona over the seventh and eighth centuries, the monastery's proselytizing of the Picts and its friendship with the Pictish kings, the kings of Dál Riata and (later) Alt Clut, and Adomnán's political heft in Ireland.

[60] The only other multiple find in the north is the 'several' log coffins found in the antiquarian excavation of 1823 at Wydon Eals, in Northumberland, whose surrounding context was never excavated. Excavated in the early 1800s, it is noted as having had 'several' of these coffins, of which three remain in the North Pennines museum and one is reputed to be the one at Durham, currently away for conservation but intended to go into the Durham Cathedral 'Open Treasures' exhibit (previously on display in what was formerly the Monks' Dormitory).

Both Adomnán's *Life of Columba* and the anonymous *Betha Adomnáin* refer to the friendship between the royal house of Alt Clut and Columba. Columba performs a miracle of power in King Brudei's presence, and, when Brudei's body is later brought to Adomnán, Adomnán is reported to have been much distressed by his passing.[61] The friendship between the monastery at Iona and these royal houses may have been part of the impetus for both cemeteries and log burials to move to church settings. The question of whether log coffins were considered appropriate for the elite is suggested by the writers of the tenth-century Irish *Betha Adamnáin*, produced on Iona, who reproduce an epitaph which Adomnán is supposed to have written for King Brudei in which Brudei son of Bili of Alt Clut (Dumbarton/ Strathclyde) is buried in such a coffin.[62] A hitherto undiscussed and unavailable report of a log-coffin burial on Iona supports the idea that Adomnán may have been familiar with the practice of burial in log coffins. [63] Whether the coffin is an appropriate vessel for King Brudei is another matter:

Is annamh,	It is strange that
Iar mbeith I rríghe thuaithe,	After having held the sovereignty of a kingdom
Ceppán[64] *caue crínn dara*	a hollow withered[65] trunk of oak
Im mac rígh Ala Cluaithi.	Should be around the son of the king of Alt Clud.[66]

[61] 'King Brude'/ 'Brudei'/ 'Bruide'/ 'Bridei' son of Bile/Bili; Adomnán, *Life of Columba,* ii.33, *Betha Adamnáin:* P. Ó Riain and M. Herbert (eds., trans.), *Betha Adamnáin: The Irish Life of Adomnán,* (London, 1988), 57; A.O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History* (Stamford, 1990), 200-1.
[62] Adomnán, *Life of Columba* I.15; also in *Betha Adamnáin*.
[63] A. Maldonado, pers. comm.
[64] 'Cepp' means 'tree stump/log/block of wood,' and 'ceppán' literally translated is 'trunk-ish'. The *RIA Dictionary of the Irish Language* (DIL) entry for *ceppán* cites the entire line from *ceppán* to *dara* as a cipher for a coffin, but does not address the word itself.
[65] Or 'decayed,' 'old.'
[66] Ó Riain and Herbert, *Betha Adamnain,* with Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History;* For advice on translation from Old Irish I am grateful for the help of Dr. David Burke.

'*Is annamh'* is translated by Herbert and Ó Riain as 'it is an unaccustomed fate,' but the RIA dictionary definition of *annamh* as 'seldom' or 'rarely' seems to clash with that translation.[67] Anderson translates the phrase as 'It is strange that,' interpreting the passage more as a commentary on loss and the peculiarity of seeing the dead body of someone once known to you alive and powerful, and less a reflection upon the container his dead body is in.[68]

The difficulty in interpretation is whether, based on the ambiguity of the phrase '*is annamh*,' the writer thought that a log coffin burial was appropriate but rare, or whether the death of Brudei is the strange or shocking thing to Adomnán, or whether tenth-century Irish hagiographers may have thought this was an unusual way to bury a king.[69] Regardless, it may still be significant that the tenth-century authors thought it probable that a king would be buried in a log-coffin around the turn of the eighth. Correspondingly, when 'Arthur's' grave was 'discovered' by the monks of Gloucester in 1191, the monks thought it fitting to report him as being discovered in a huge log coffin.[70]

Finally, from the end of the Iron Age until circa 700, there appear to be two concurrent areas of log coffin use, in southern Scotland and in the south-east of England, with nothing in between. The parallel adoption of the log-boat/ log-coffin burial practice in the south-east of England between the fifth and mid-seventh centuries is a different phenomenon altogether. Unlike the late Iron Age to early medieval cemeteries in the north, the early

[67] Ó Riain and Herbert, *Betha Adamnáin*; RIA *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, Column 350; Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, 201.
[68] Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, 200-1.
[69] The use of *dara* as the genitive for *dair*, 'an oak,' only occurs after AD918.
[70] Gerald of Wales describes him, 'profundis in terra quercu concaua reconditum'/ 'buried deep in the earth in a hollow oak': Giraldus Cambrensis, *De Principis Instructione* in R. Bartlett (ed., trans.), *Giraldus' Instruction for a Ruler* (Oxford, 2018), 366-7; The location of the log coffin grave at St. Bertelin, in the centre of the post-built excavated church structure, similarly implies that the coffin must have held a person of high status.

cemeteries of East Anglia and Kent rarely contain log coffins, and only the late seventh-century Great Ryburgh has them as a majority cemetery practice. Further, three of the seven instances of south-eastern log coffins are either paired with, or in cemeteries with, grave goods. Smallmead is the earliest of all of the south-eastern log coffin burials, its inhabitant merely covered in bark, and without grave goods, but the other two early log coffin burials, dating to the very early seventh century, are not only within cemeteries containing grave goods, but in cemeteries of such prestige that they also contain mounds (one Bronze Age, the others contemporary with the burial) and horse burials.[71] The fact that log coffins possess continental analogues, like other elements of early Anglo-Saxon material culture seen in south-east England, encourages some wild speculation about what the practice may have meant to its users. These early southern log-coffin cemeteries occur in a relatively concentrated geographic area, along the south-eastern coast and up the Thames; not a single polity, but a region across which there would have been connections and trading with the Continental areas in which log coffins occurred in the fifth through seventh centuries (Figure 41). Interestingly, though some of the sites (e.g. Butley, Suffolk), are near settlements with indicators of being a 'productive' site with Continental trade, most Continental sites with log-coffin use do not have much evidence of Anglo-Saxon trade (compare bottom of Figure 38, Figure 41, Figure 42).[72]

[71] Smallmead, Reading, Berkshire: *Berkshire Archaeological Journal* 71 (1981-2), 104. Stone Farm Bridleway North of Saltwood Tunnel, Kent, and Mound 17 at Sutton Hoo; H.J. Glass, 'Archaeology of the Channel Tunnel Rail Link,' *Archaeologia Cantiana* 119 (1999), 189-220 at 210-12.
[72] Butley: V. Fenwick, 'Insula de Burgh: Excavations at Burrow Hill, Butley, Suffolk 1978-1981,' *ASSAH* 3 (1984), 35-54; C. Loveluck and D. Tys, 'Coastal Societies, Exchange and Identity along the Channel and Southern North Sea Shores of Europe, AD 600-1000,' *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 1.2 (2006), 140–169.



Figure 41: Log coffins of the early middle ages in Western and Northern Europe; From K. Zimmerman, Baumsarg und Totenbaum, fig.11

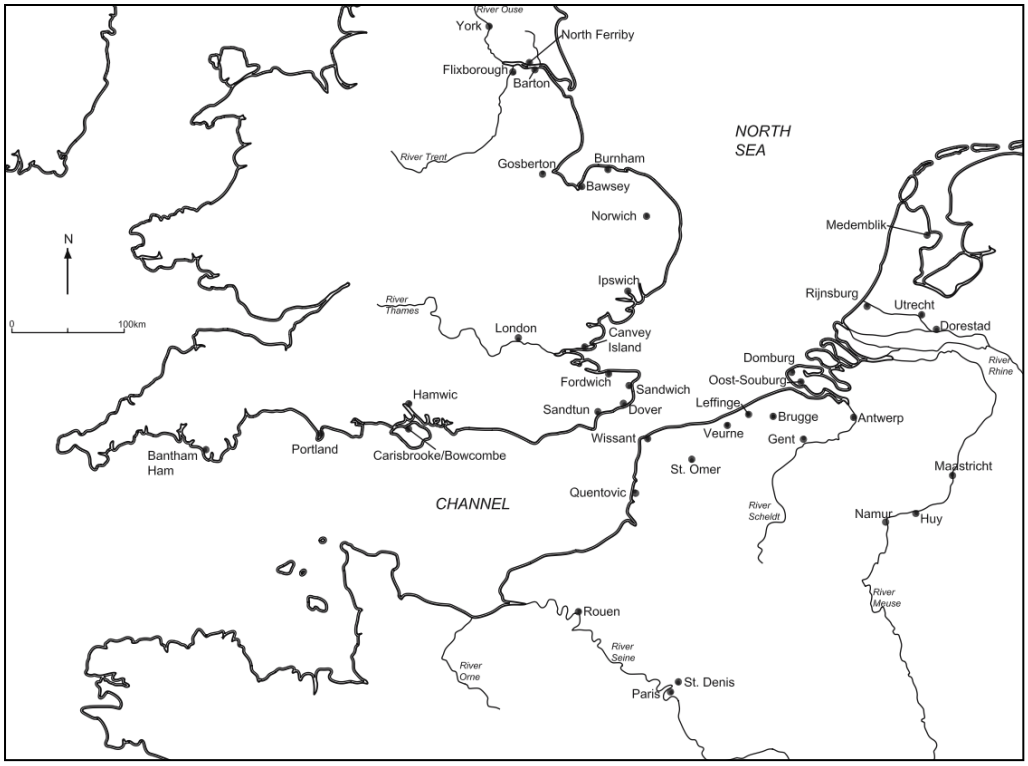


Figure 42: Known trade centres along the North Sea; Loveluck and Tys, 'Coastal Societies,' fig. 1.

Correlation is not causation, of course. Nevertheless, the combination of the log coffin's presence in the midst of 'migration' and 'conversion' period material culture, the fact that the earliest four of these south-east cemeteries are field rather than church cemeteries, the existence of continental analogues in some areas and the contemporary political connections across the channel may hint that these log coffins were designed and used on the Merovingian-period model seen in Germany, and were meant to emulate them in a different continuation, or appropriation, of tradition to that up North.[73]

Plank-lined burial

Typology and Distribution

The plank lined burial type is constructed of unconnected boards, usually either under the body or coffin at the base of a dug grave, on the sides of the grave with stone rubble to keep the boards in place, or, more rarely, as a single plank above the grave, as at Beverley Minster.[74] Cases of wood remains being found without nails have in the past almost always been classified as 'plank lined'; determining whether a grave is plank lined as opposed to coffined in this latter case must now be approached with more caution since it is clear from Kjølbye-Biddle's and Rodwell and Rodwell's studies that coffins were widely made without nails.[75] Within this type, there may be a sub-category of charred plank burials, found at

[73] K. Zimmerman, *Baumsarg und Totenbaum: zu einer Bestattung unter dem Berner Münster* (Bern, 1992).
[74] M. Johnson, 'New Light on the Development of Beverley Minster,' *East Riding Archaeology* 166 (2013), 31-50 at 36.
[75] So, for example, I am hesitant to call the 'plank' above Grave 66 at Caister-on-Sea an example of a plank-lined burial, particularly as the authors observe that though Grave 66 was marked as having a wood stain, the precise nature of it was not written in the site notebook; Darling and Gurney, *Caister-on-Sea*, 54.

Holton-le-Clay, Lincolnshire, and Kellington, Yorkshire.[76] Another potential method of plank construction without nails was found at the Hamwic excavations, where a coffin-like feature seemed to have been constructed of wooden planks lining the grave, held into place by six stakes driven into the ground on either side of the planks to keep them upright around the body.[77] Plank-lined graves as a type have been paired mainly with the head support grave variation, but are also paired with willow wands and, at Kellington, quartz pebbles (Table 5).

Table 5: Plank Lined Burials, c.700-1066

Plank Lined Burials			
Name	**County**	**Dates**	**Graves**
Lincoln Eastern Bypass	Lincolnshire	8th-9th centuries	150
St. Helen's Church, Cumberworth, East Lindsey	Lincolnshire	10th-11th c. plaque	26
St. Peter's Barton-upon-Humber	Lincolnshire	10th-11th centuries	399
St. Lawrence Jewry/ Guildhall	London	1046-1100 (dendro: 1046, 1066)	18
Market Avenue/ Rose Lane, Norwich, Norfolk	Norfolk	Late Saxon	68
Farmer's Ave, Norwich Castle Bailey Cemetery 3 (777N)	Norfolk	c. 1000-1080	'many'
Wells Cathedral	Somerset	650-1100	223
Cook Street, Southampton	Southampton	c. AD 691-800	22
Buttermarket, Ipswich, Suffolk	Suffolk	7th c.	71
Burrow Hill, Butley, Suffolk	Suffolk	late 7th-early 9th centuries; calAD700-860 (1σ)	?/200+
The Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Tyne and Wear	Saxon to 1080	83
Kellington Church	Yorkshire	10th-11th centuries	?
Cumwhitton, Cumbria	Cumbria	early 10th c.	6
Great Ryburgh, Norfolk	Norfolk	Mid-Saxon	6/89
Winchester, Old Minster	Hampshire	600-1100	743
Caister-on-Sea	Norfolk	Radiocarbon dated to the early 8th century	1/74
Trowbridge	Wiltshire	950-1139	162

[76] Holloway, *Charcoal Burial in Early Medieval England*, 257-8; H. Mytum, 'Kellington Church,' *Current Archaeology* 133 (12.1) (1993), 15-17 at 16; J. Sills, 'St Peter's Church, Holton-le-Clay', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 17 (1982), 29-42, at 31.

[77] This may be a quintessential plank-lined burial; Grave 2962 (fig. 5): M.F. Garner, 'Middle Saxon Evidence at Cook Street, Southampton (SOU 254),' *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 49 (1993), 77-128 at 91.

Plank Lined Burials			
Name	**County**	**Dates**	**Graves**
Beverley Minster	E. Riding Yorkshire	c. 992-1100	1/8
Bath Abbey (+ Kingston Parade & York Street)	Bath	750-1000; 750-950; 700- 900 (C14); 8th-9th c.	32
Stanton, Upthorpe Road, Suffolk	Suffolk	late 7th-early 8th	33
Swinegate (St. Benet's), York	Yorkshire	9th-11th c.	100
St. Michael's Close, Thetford, Breckland	Norfolk	Late Saxon/Saxo-Norman (11th-12th c.)	99

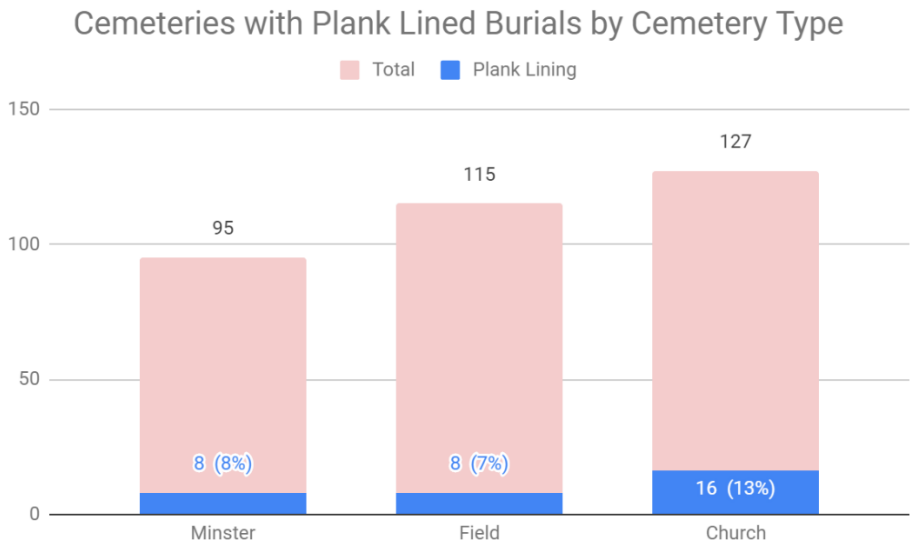


Figure 43: Cemeteries with Plank Lined Burials by Cemetery Type

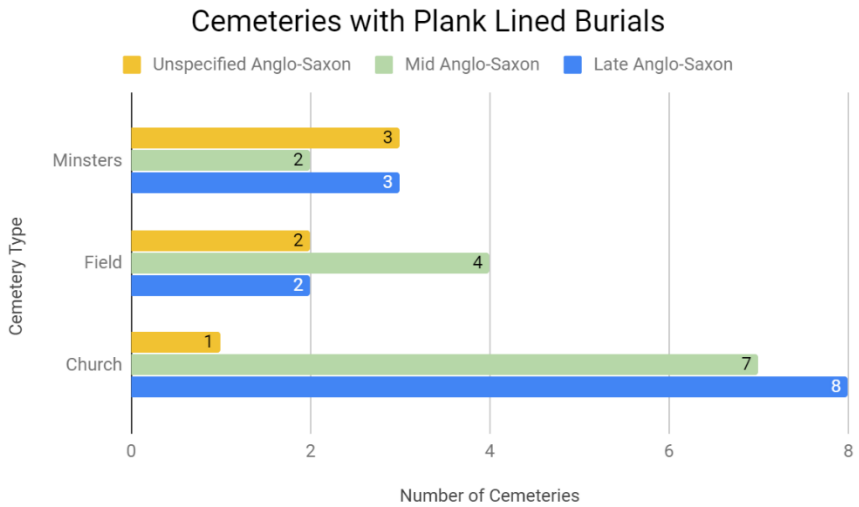


Figure 44: Cemeteries with Plank Lined Burials

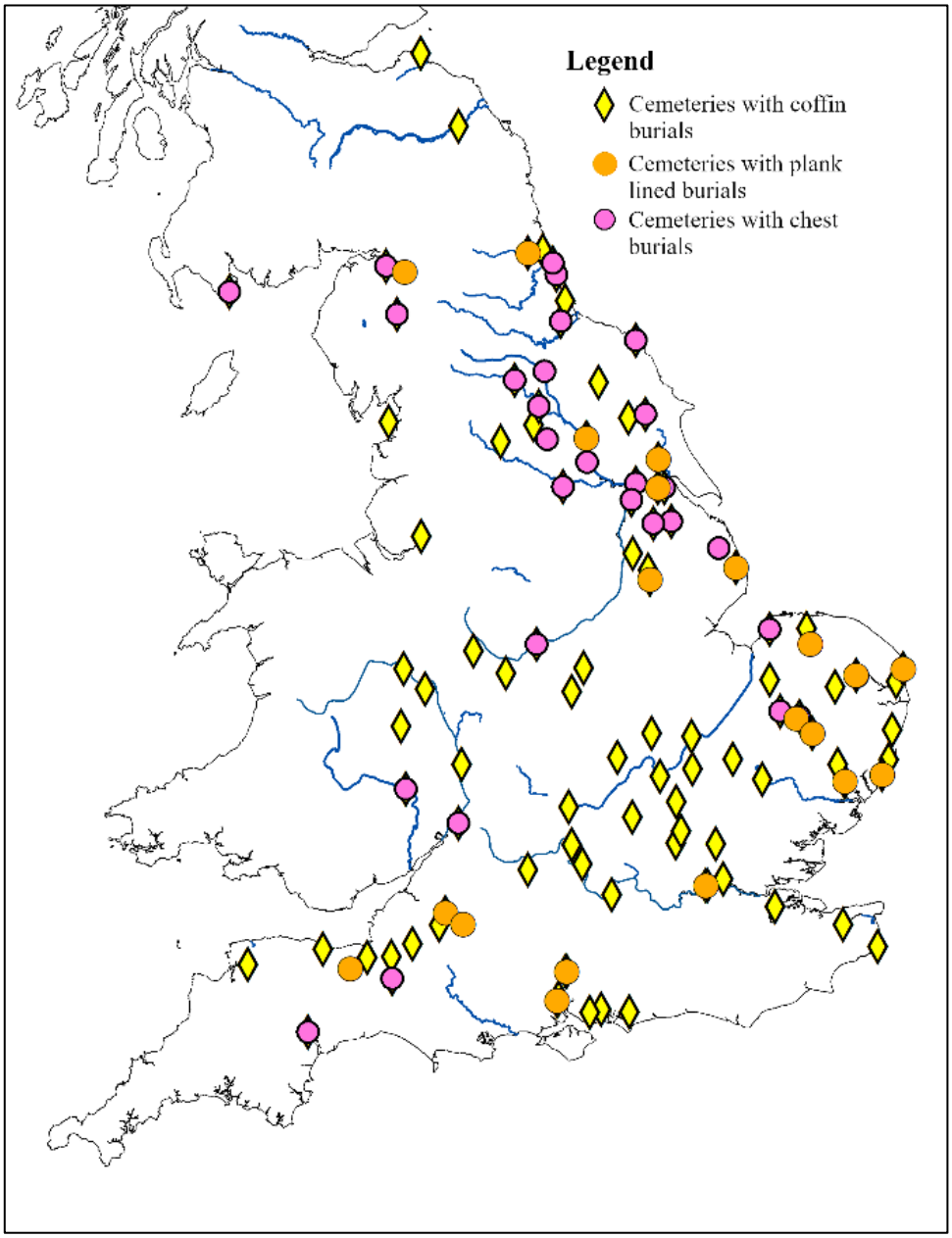


Figure 45: Distribution of all wooden grave types from this survey (all periods): coffins (yellow rhombuses), chest burials (pink circles), plank lining (orange circles)

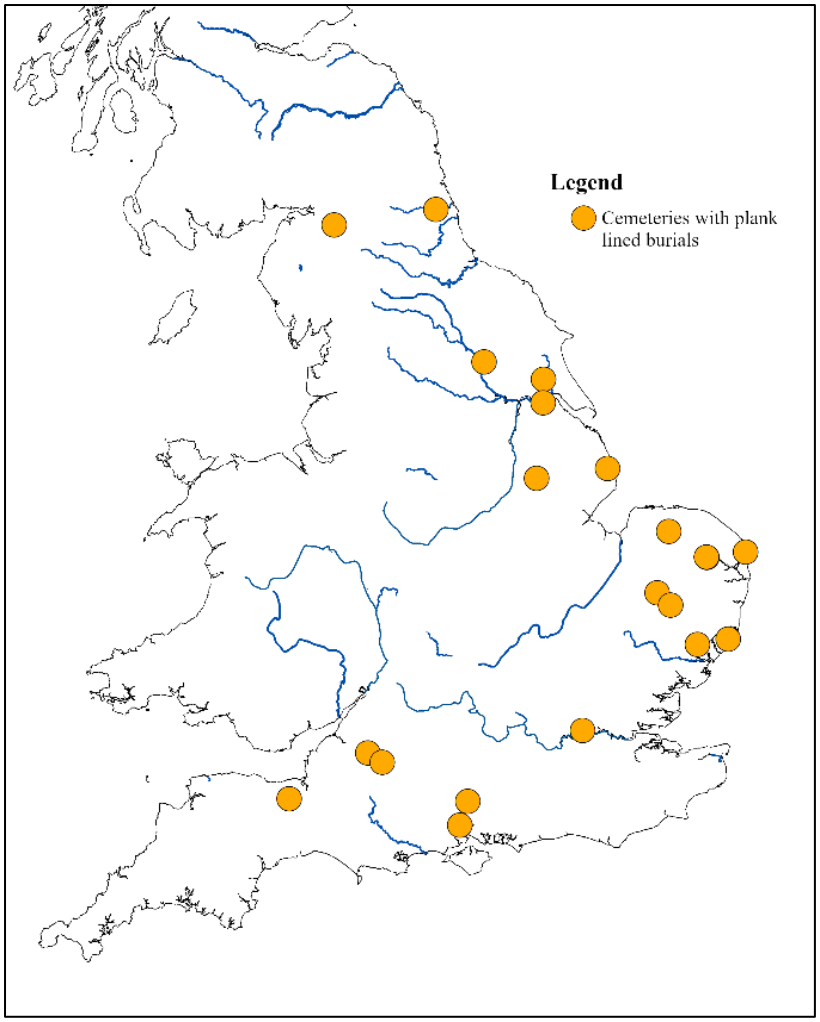


Figure 46: Plank-lined burials, c.700-1066

Plank lined burials within this survey are found more often in church and minster cemeteries than in field cemeteries, particularly in the later Anglo-Saxon period (Figure 43, Figure 44). Unfortunately, of all of the wooden grave linings, plank lined graves are the most inconsistently attested. The dates of plank-lined burials vary widely. Their uneven recording and the practice's overlap with cemeteries containing coffin burials suggests that their use may have been spurred by practical reasons (Figure 45), though local tradition may factor into their coastal distribution (Figure 46).[78] It is possible that their remnants are most likely

[78] E.g. B.A. Ayers, 'Excavation of a Late Saxon Timber Church, Norwich: 1979,' *CBA Churches Bulletin* 15 (December 1981), 13-16 at 14.

to be mistaken for another grander burial type, given that any wooden fragment is usually recorded as a 'coffin' burial. As a result, the map of their distribution gives no further context regarding the usage of this type or its origins. In comparison with other types of wooden burial containers, it is quite difficult to see whether there is any history of this use in one particular area over another. Within the examples cited, there appears to be a concentration on the east coast, but this is countered by examples of plank covers used with stone cists at Whithorn.

Sarcophagi

Typology and Distribution



Figure 47: Sarcophagus from St. Alkmund, Derby

Sarcophagi are large rectangular or sub-rectangular boxes made of dressed, and sometimes carved, stone, ideally of one piece with a separate lid, but occasionally in multiple pieces slotted and/or mortared together. Cramp classifies these in three types: 1) the *corner-post shrine*, with slab sides set into rectangular corner columns (as in the St. Andrews Sarcophagus), 2) *coffin-type,* of a single hollowed-out block (as at St. Alkmund, Derby), and 3) the *sarcophagus type* where the coffin is formed from a 'house shaped block with a

gabled or hipped roof.'[79] New evidence from Lincoln Castle of an *in-situ* sarcophagus, with body still inside, suggests that lids may have been mortared to the main part of the stone coffin once the body was placed inside (Figure 48).[80] Sarcophagi in England, unlike those in Merovingian France, tend to be parallel-sided rather than trapezoidal, and do not often have (or survive with) head niches, although examples are known, and Anglo-Saxon sculptors may have modeled head-niched sarcophagi after Roman survivals, when not stealing them outright as described in the story of Æthelthryth's translation in the *Ecclesiastical History*.[81] Repurposing Roman sarcophagi may have continued into the later Anglo-Saxon period even after masons became more common, as the tenth-century Durham Ritual includes a benediction for the use of antique vessels.[82] Grave 11 in Camerton, Somerset provides an example of a re-used Roman sarcophagus. [83]

While some examples of Anglo-Saxon sarcophagi have survived to the present day, very few are found within their archaeological contexts. Like shrouded burials, sarcophagi are far

[79] R. Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament* (Oxford, 1984), xxi.
[80] FAS Heritage, 'Lincoln Castle'; S. Seaton, 'The Lincoln Sarcophagus,' Nottinghamshire Local History Association Website. 14 March 2014: http://nlha.org.uk/news/lincoln-sarcophagus/ Accessed 20 September 2017.
[81] Examples of Merovingian stone sarcophagi can be found in P. Périn et al., 'Les sarcophages Mérovingiens de Plâtre Moulé et Orné de Paris et de Saint-Denis: État de la question,' *Antiquite tardive* I (1993), 147-150. The early medieval sarcophagus at Lincoln Castle and the sarcophagus ('stone coffin') at Raunds Furnells are examples of head-niches in Anglo-Saxon-era sarcophagi; A. Boddington, *Raunds Furnells*, 46-7. Bede, *Ecclesiastical History,* IV.11 and IV.19. In Æthelthryth's case some of the brothers were 'ordered … to look for some blocks of stone from which to make a coffin for this purpose,' suggesting the intent to create a stone-lined grave, but then they miraculously encounter a coffin of white marble with a lid at *Grantacæstir.* Æthelthryth's translation and the discovery of a Roman coffin, *HE* IV.19: 'The place for the head [was found] particularly cut, exactly fit for her head, and shaped to a nicety'.
[82] The benediction may have been initially intended for ancient chalices, but, as Vegvar points out, a sarcophagus is also a vessel: C.N. de Vegvar, 'The Value of Recycling: Conversion and the early Anglo-Saxon use of Roman Materials,' in *Haskins Society Journal* 9 (1997), 123-130; the 'Durham Ritual' is in Durham, Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.IV.9.
[83] M. Harman *et al*., 'Burials, bodies, and beheadings in Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon cemeteries,' in *Bulletin of the British Museum of Natural History (Geol.)* 35.3 (1981), 145-88.

better attested to in literature than found in-situ. Out-of-context examples of sarcophagi survive in some quantity: many of them were on display above-ground rather than being consigned to the dirt, making them more likely to have been both moved and reused, and less likely to be found as part of a burial ground.[84] Of the ones which not moved in the intervening centuries, examples at St. Alkmund's, Derby, and Lincoln Castle appear to have been carved contemporarily with their purpose (Figure 47, Figure 48). [85] The effort of creating the sarcophagus, the beauty of the carvings in several cases, and the fact that they were often, according to hagiographies, commissioned for future saints such as Æthelthryth all point to this above-ground placement. Despite their in-situ scarcity, however, both literary and sculptural evidence indicate that stone sarcophagi continued to be used in Anglo-Saxon England from the seventh through the eleventh centuries.



Figure 48: Recently discovered ?Anglo-Saxon sarcophagus, Lincoln Castle

[84] Such as Sebbi's sarcophagi. Bede, *HE,* iv.11, Colgrave and Mynors (eds.), 366-9.
[85] St. Alkmund, Derby; Lincoln Castle.

Table 6: Sarcophagi found in-situ, c.700-1066

Sarcophagi found in-situ, dating c. 700-1066			
Site Name	**County**	**Cemetery Type**	**Dates**
St. Alkmund's Church, Derby	Derbyshire	Minster	8th century
Whithorn	Dumfries & Galloway, Scotland	Minster	c. 500-1100
Winchester, Old Minster	Hampshire	Minster	c. 600-1100
St. Mary's Priory Walsingham	*Norfolk*	*Church*	*?Post-Conquest/Saxo-Norman*
St. Chad's Church, Barrow-upon-Humber	North Lincolnshire	Minster	11th-12th century
Kirkdale	North Yorkshire	Minster	8th-9th century
Raunds Furnells	Northamptonshire	Church	10th to 11th centuries
Christ Church College (St. Frideswide), Oxford	Oxfordshire	Minster	8th-12th c.; C14 734-825 calAD *cal by A. Bayliss
York Minster	Yorkshire	Minster	calAD 696-997 (B37) calAD 717-742/754-1021 (B40) calAD 819-837/856-1164 (B106) calAD 819-1218 (B107) calAD 783 & 1122, 891-1218 (B38) calAD 779 & 1158 (B38)

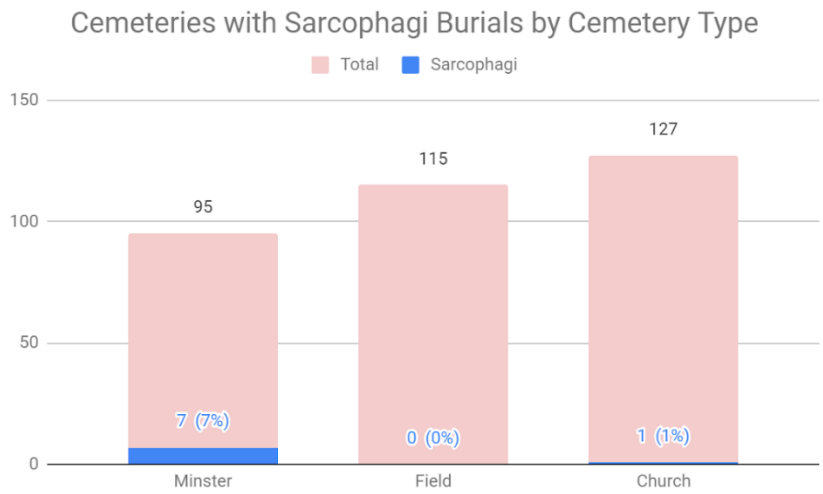


Figure 49: Distribution of Sarcophagi Burials across Cemetery Types

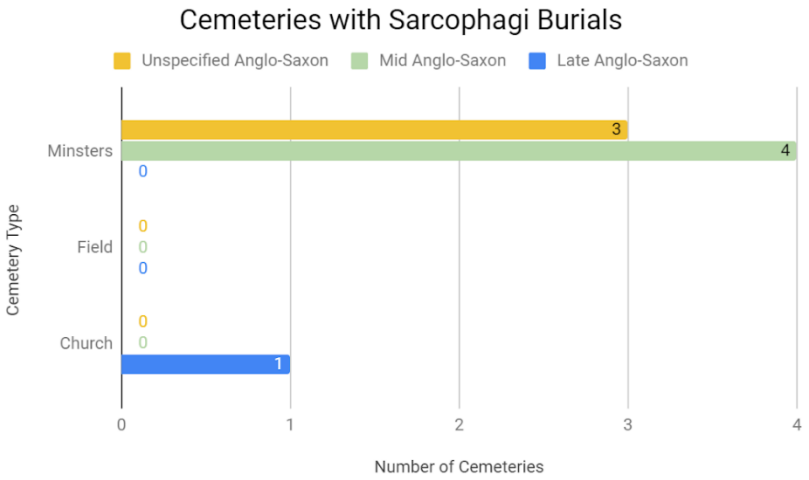
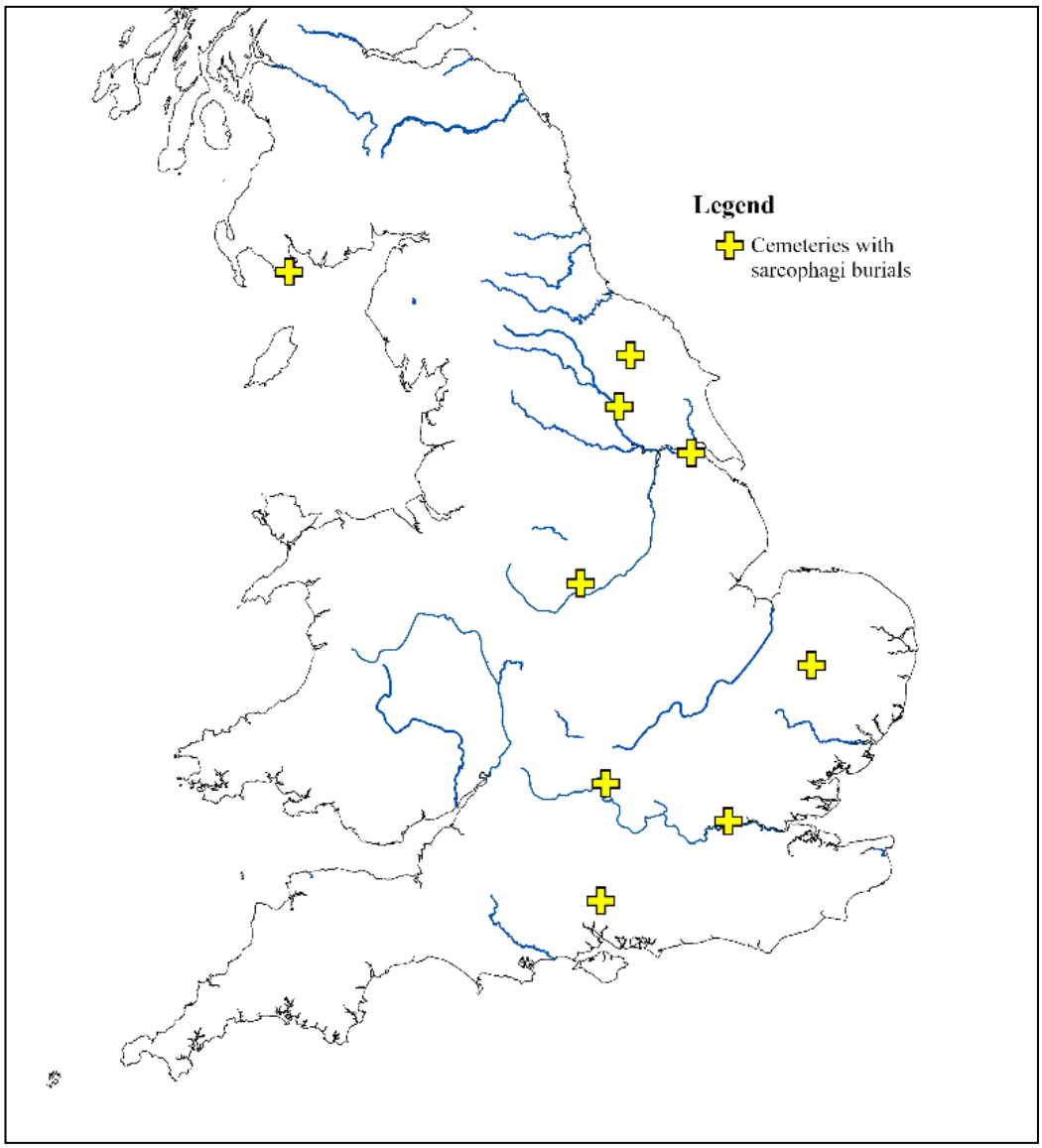


Figure 50: Distribution of Sarcophagi burials by period and cemetery type

Figure 51: Distribution of in-situ Anglo-Saxon sarcophagi



The most immediate observation upon viewing the distribution of sarcophagi is that, unlike in the row-grave cemeteries of Merovingian and Carolingian France, in England sarcophagi are exclusive to churches, and particularly connected to minsters (Figure 49, Figure 50). Seven of the eight surviving Anglo-Saxon in-situ sarcophagi were found at minsters, and sarcophagi or other sculptural fragments, when found not-in-situ, are usually an indicator of

the nearby presence of a church or a religious establishment of some wealth.[86] Sarcophagi fragments of this period have been found beyond the present geographic limits of this survey past the Firth of Forth, but again, predominantly at minsters.[87] This cemetery-type, rather than geographic, pattern implies strongly that rather than a regional practice, the use of sarcophagi in England in this period was almost exclusively a practice linked to the spread of religious houses.

Surviving fragments of relief from Anglo-Saxon sarcophagi showcase a complex visual programme mixing biblical allusions with local art forms. The imagery used on the stonework can, of course, have a bevy of multiple meanings, utilizing not only images of religious power and piety but speaking to a broader spirituality and Anglo-Saxon aesthetic. Although biblical allegory may have been used for political statement on any instance of a sarcophagus, sarcophagi as a burial form have no perceptible regional connection to any specific Anglo-Saxon kingdom.

Discussion

As mentioned above, sarcophagi, found in cemeteries across the whole of Anglo-Saxon England and into Pictland, show no regional prejudice in distribution that we can tell (given the unknown quantity which either have been destroyed or are no-longer *in-situ*) (Figure 51). They are limited in their distribution in only one discernible way: they appear to be

[86] Although, of course, sometimes sarcophagi not *in-situ* are turned into flower planters at some distance to where they were originally buried: 'Garden trough turns out to be Roman Coffin worth £100,000,' *The Telegraph,* 30 January 2013: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/gardening/gardeningequipment/9836998/Garden-trough-turns-out-to-be-Roman-coffin-worth-100000.html

[87] Such as the four fragments of sarcophagus of 10th-11th century date found at Haile Church, Cumbria; R. Bailey and R. Cramp (eds.), *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture v.2: Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire* (1988)*,* 112

found only at minsters and some churchyard contexts, never in field cemeteries. Undecorated sarcophagi only become more frequent in church cemeteries at the end of the examined period in Saxo-Norman/post-Conquest cemeteries, as at St. Mary's Walsingham. Both literary sources and the fineness of craftsmanship of, say, the St. Andrews or St. Alkmund sarcophagi suggest quite strongly that this was a burial variation limited only to those of high status within the church or those closely associated with the church.

There appears to be no correlation between the elaboration of the sarcophagi and change over time. The visual programmes range from simpler interlace (Derby) to the complex (St. Andrews), to completely plain (Lincoln). The carvings are sometimes based upon creative resources available, such as illustrations from manuscripts, and were possibly based upon imported pieces of stone, wood, or plaster from the continent, and artistic styles were carried between religious houses. It is possible that the sarcophagi with more complex visual programmes not modelled upon Roman examples were skeuomorphs of carved wooden coffins.[88] This is suggested by both the prevalence of complicated wooden carvings in the Scandinavian church tradition and the existence of a few surviving wooden pieces with sophisticated visual programmes in wood, such as the Uttoxeter Casket, an Anglo-Saxon reliquary made of boxwood.[89] The figures upon it are of comparable detail and quality to those found on other relief stone sculpture, such as the late tenth-century flying angel from the Church of St. Laurence in Wiltshire.[90] Certain sarcophagi not-*in-situ*, such as at Ripon, have aspects which might evoke a wooden exemplar: in Ripon, the shape of the

[88] J. Blair, pers. comm.
[89] C. Karkov, *The Art of Anglo Saxon England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2011), 348.
[90] J. Backhouse, D.H. Turner, L. Webster (eds.) *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art: 966-1066* (London, 1984), 130 no.135.

sarcophagus (undated) resembles a log coffin.[91] There was certainly a tradition of carving wooden models for sarcophagi in France, which would then be filled with plaster, transferring the pattern from the mold to the plaster in a cast.[92] While the method itself was not transferred over the channel, the wooden sarcophagus-mold carving provides a comparison for working first in wood before stone.

[91] J. Blair, pers. comm.

[92] L. Renou, 'Note sur la construction des sarcophages de plâtre à l'époque mérovingienne en région parisienne,' *Bulletin du Groupement archéologique de Seine-et-Marne* 11 (1973), 3-7.

Stone-lined graves: Long-cists, stone-built/mortar graves, and tile-lined graves

Typology and Distribution

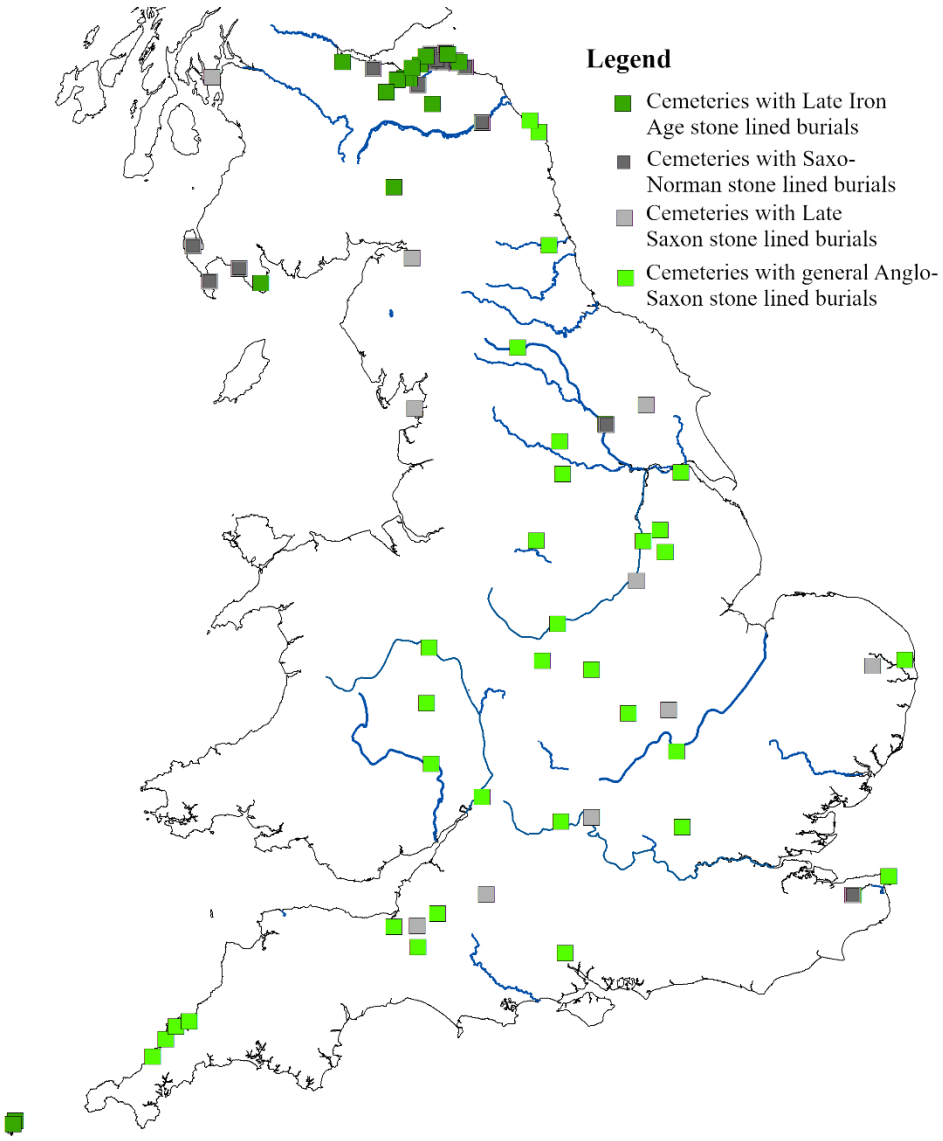


Figure 52: Stone-lined burials by period

Stone-lined graves have existed in multiple forms across the British Isles from the Bronze Age onwards. In the Romano-British period, stone-lined cists followed the vein of oolitic limestone and Lias group limestone and shales up the centre of England.[93] Within this survey, the stone-lined burial type is seen in Scotland and Somerset, Dorset, and Cornwall, areas of sandstone and mudstone bedrock, not limestone, continually from the Late Iron Age forward (Figure 52). [94]

This type has several variations according to the extent of the lining of the grave, the type of stone used (slab, mortared stone, or occasionally tile) and whether and how the stones are propped up or held together. Within archaeological literature, categorization of graves with stones in them has varied quite widely, from 'packed' to 'stone-built' to 'built' to 'mortared cist' and even 'sarcophagi,' to examples of all of the above being lumped under the heading of 'cist.' In her work on Winchester, Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle divides all graves at Old and New Minsters into sixteen types, four of which (#4, #13, #16, #17) classify stone linings.[95] The stone-lined burials in this survey fall into the categories of long-cist or lintel burials based on the areas of the grave which are lined with stone, but are treated as one body since there has been scholarly discussion as to whether the British lintel grave form is really a separate form from the long-cist.[96] The general 'long cist' is parallel sided, constructed with a stone

[93] Based upon comparisons of O'Brien's distribution map with British Geological Survey viewer: O'Brien, *Post-Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England*.
[94] Based on British Geographic Survey maps; O'Brien, *Post-Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England*, 11; O'Brien, 'Burial Practices in Ireland,' 66.
[95] B. Kjølbye-Biddle, *Winchester: The People,* Chapter 10: #4: Coffins with stone packing outside the coffin (mainly of flints and never massive) called 'graves w/ flint or tile outside the coffin'; #13: Graves in some way built: trace of mortar survived but sometimes mortared foundation called 'built graves'; #16: Graves w/ a stone cover, sometimes also w/ head and foot stones; #17: Graves built of chalk and/or limestone slabs, mortared together, called 'mortared cist-graves.' Unfortunately, Dr. Kjølbye-Biddle's chapters on stone-lined graves at Winchester were unavailable for consultation.
[96] 'The reason for the latter is twofold: first there does not seem to be any major typological difference between the two; the lack of cap-stones on excavation does not imply there were none at the time of construction. Secondly, the term lintel grave has not previously been applied widely in

below ('basal' stone), stone lining on the sides, stone covering, and the body extended (Figure 53).[97] In Cornwall, archaeologists have broadened this classification to include not only parallel-sided graves, but also those tapering at one end (coffin-shaped) (Figure 53).[98] The 'lintel' grave does not have a basal stone, but instead lies directly on the earth, and is more narrow and tapered, with overlapping covering slabs.[99]

Though present in 31% of all minster cemeteries and 28% of all field cemeteries, the use of stone-lined graves appears to shift between cemetery types over time (Figure 54: Stone-lined burials by cemetery type). Both earlier (pre-AD800) and undatable stone-lined graves tend overwhelmingly to be in field rather than church- or minster-associated cemeteries, particularly in south-east Scotland (Figure 55: Distribution over period and cemetery type of stone-lined burials). In the mid-Anglo-Saxon period, stone-lined graves are most common in minster cemeteries, and in the late Saxon period, they are found overwhelmingly in non-minster church cemeteries (Figure 55: Distribution over period and cemetery type of stone-lined burials).

Scotland': Etheridge, *Some Aspects of Early Medieval Burial Practice*, 13. See also T.G. Cowie, 'Excavations at the Catstane, Midlothian 1977,' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries Scotland* 109 (1977-1979), 166-201 at 172-6, and A.S. Henshall, 'Long Cist Cemetery at Parkburn Sand Pit, Lasswade, Midlothian' *PSAS* 89 (1955-6), 278-281 (Appendix 2: Scottish Long Cist cemeteries) at 254-6; lintels with planks as at Whithorn: Hill, *Whithorn and St. Ninian*, 72.
The 'long-cist' stands in opposition to the early Iron Age 'short-cist' grave, where the body is crouched rather than extended, prevalent from the third century BC to the third century AD in the British west and southern Scotland, and found in some Bronze Age cemeteries: L. Alcock, 'Burials and Cemeteries in Scotland,' in N. Edwards and A. Lane (eds.), *The Early Church in Wales and the West* (Oxford, 1992), 125-29; O'Brien, *Post-Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England*, 11.

[97] O'Brien, 'Burial Practices in Ireland,' 62-72.

[98] P. Manning and P. Stead, 'Excavation of an Early Christian cemetery at Althea Library, Padstow,' *Cornish Archaeology* 26 (1987), 80-107 at 90.

[99] E. O'Brien, 'Pagan or Christian? Burial in Ireland,' 135-155; While the excavator does not term them 'lintel' graves in the report, graves of this type in England are described as present at St. Endellion, Cornwall: P. Trudgian, 'Excavation of a burial ground at St. Endellion, Cornwall,' *Cornish Archaeology* 26 (1987), 145-146.



Figure 53: Rectangular stone-lined grave (Grave 4, covering removed) from Mawgan Porth, Cornwall (From Bruce-Mitford, Mawgan Porth, 68).

Table 7: Stone-lined-cist burials, c. 700-1066

Stone-lined Cist Burials, c.700-1066				
Site	**County**	**Number of burials**	**Dates (C14 is IntCal13, 1σ)**	**Minster/ Church/ Field**
Chapelhall, Innellan	Argyll and Bute, Scotland	9	calAD 894–1036	C
Elstow Abbey	Bedfordshire	270	8th century, "ending about 1080"	M
Addinston	Berwickshire, Scotland	22	500-1100 (Scottish Late Iron Age)	F
The Hirsel	Berwickshire, Scotland	6	c. 850-1300 AD	C
Cat Stane, Edinburgh Airport, Edinburgh	City of Edinburgh	52	calAD 425-569 (1sig) and calAD 600-719 (58.4%)	C
Althea Library, Padstow, North Cornwall	Cornwall and Isles of Scilly	17	c. 660-980 AD	M
East Porth, Tresco, Isles of Scilly	Cornwall and Isles of Scilly	1	6th century and after	C
Mawgan Porth, Pydar, Restormel, Cornwall	Cornwall and Isles of Scilly	24	Early Medieval	C
Merther Uny, Wendron, Gweek, Kerrier, Cornwall	Cornwall and Isles of Scilly HER		Before/ through 12th c. (11th/12th c.?)	F
St. Endellion, North Cornwall	Cornwall and Isles of Scilly	23	5th-6th or 9th-11th centuries	M

Stone-lined Cist Burials, c.700-1066				
Site	**County**	**Number of burials**	**Dates (C14 is IntCal13, 1σ)**	**Minster/ Church/ Field**
St. Nicholas's Priory Tresco, Isles of Scilly	Cornwall and Isles of Scilly	3	Early Medieval	C
St. Piran's, Perranzabuloe, Carrick, Cornwall **BEING EXCAVATED THIS YEAR**	Cornwall and Isles of Scilly	12	8th-9th century	M
Hartlepool	Hartlepool	146	c. 650-900	M
Carlisle Cathedral, Carlisle	Cumbria	80	10th-11th century	M
St. Wystan's Churchyard, Repton	Derbyshire	463	7th-12th centuries	M
Stanlow burial mound	Derbyshire	1	7th-8th century	F
Barhobble	Dumfries & Galloway, Scotland	134	calAD 902-1160	C
Challoch, Wigtown	Dumfries and Galloway, Scotland	?	Early Medieval	F
Terally, Kirkmaiden/Wigtown	Dumfries and Galloway, Scotland	13	Late Iron Age/ Early Medieval	F
Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway, Scotland	145	c. 500-1100 AD	M
Auldhame, East Lothian	East Lothian, Scotland	242	640-1100 AD	M
Windy Mains, Humbie	East Lothian, Scotland	100	Early Medieval	F
Camptoun/ Greystanes Field, Athelstaneford, East Lothian	East Lothian, Scotland	13	Early Medieval	F
Craig's Quarry	East Lothian, Scotland	4	Early Medieval	F
Dryburn Bridge	East Lothian, Scotland	4	Early Medieval	F
Drylawhill, East Linton	East Lothian, Scotland	10	Early Medieval	F
East Fortune Sanatorium	East Lothian, Scotland	6	Early Medieval	C
Four Winds Longniddry	East Lothian, Scotland	28	calAD 410-540, calAD 615-670	F
Gullane Golf Course	East Lothian, Scotland	6	Early Medieval	F
Halhill Farm, Dunbar	East Lothian, Scotland	36	Early Medieval	F
Kirkhill Braes, Dunbar, East Lothian	East Lothian, Scotland	12	5th-9th centuries	C
Longcraigs, Dunbar	East Lothian, Scotland	1	Early Medieval	F
Prestonpans	East Lothian, Scotland	5	5th-9th centuries	F
Scoughall Farm	East Lothian, Scotland	1	Late Iron Age/ Early Medieval	F
St. Mary de Lode, Gloucester	Gloucestershire	12	calAD 890-1030	M
Romsey Abbey	Southampton	20	c. 775-1100 AD	M
St. Guthlac Hereford, Castle Green	Herefordshire	54	Simple burials 630-770; charcoal 840-100; 68.2% 678-779; 95.4 651-901	M
Northdown, Broadstairs and St. Peters, Thanet	Kent	388	6th-8th centuries	F

Stone-lined Cist Burials, c.700-1066				
Site	**County**	**Number of burials**	**Dates (C14 is IntCal13, 1σ)**	**Minster/ Church/ Field**
St Pancras, Canterbury	Kent	3	7th-8th; Human remains from Jenkins under S. portico C14 890-970; coin 720-740	M
St. Patrick's, Heysham	Lancashire	88	8th century forward; calAD 960-1185	C
Chapel Road, Fillingham	Lincolnshire	18	967-1016 (58.1%); 984-1034 (1σ)	C
Main Street, Torksey Medical Centre, West Lindsey	Lincolnshire	12	9th-12th centuries	C
St. Paul-in-the-Bail, Lincoln, Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	20	4th-12th centuries	M
71-77 Leadenhall St., 32-40 Mitre St. London	London	42	?Late Saxon	F
Cousland, Windmill	Midlothian, Scotland	3	Late Iron Age/ Early Medieval	F
Dryden Mains	Midlothian, Scotland	5	Late Iron Age/ Early Medieval	F
Newton, Midlothian/ "Thorneybank"	Midlothian, Scotland	115	380-800?	F
Parkburn	Midlothian, Scotland	118	Early Medieval	F
Penicuik	Midlothian, Scotland	1	Late Iron Age/ Early Medieval	F
Burgh Castle, Great Yarmouth	Norfolk	103	7th-10th c.; Primary phase C14 to 654-880	M
St. Chad's Church, Barrow-upon-Humber	North Lincolnshire	87	9th-12th centuries	M
4 Cathedral Close/ Minster Road, Ripon, Harrogate	North Yorkshire	5	7th-11th c.	M
Dixon Keld, Masham	North Yorkshire	57	c. 670-1011 AD	F
Wharram Percy	North Yorkshire	177	10th-12th c.	C
Brixworth	Northamptonshire	33	calAD 996-1192 (2σ)	C
Raunds Furnells	Northamptonshire	363	900-1000	C
Bamburgh, Bowl Hole	County Durham	130	c. 642-776 AD (per C14)	F
Lindisfarne Priory	Northumberland	4	c. 634 AD forward	M
Newark Castle	Nottinghamshire	53	c. 950-1070 AD	C
All Saints' Church, Oxford	Oxfordshire	16	10th-11th c.	C
Bampton, West Oxfordshire	Oxfordshire	32	calAD 761-881, calAD 892-975, calAD 991-1020	M
Christ Church College, Oxford	Oxfordshire	47	8th-12th centuries; one C14 AD734-825]	M

Stone-lined Cist Burials, c.700-1066				
Site	**County**	**Number of burials**	**Dates (C14 is IntCal13, 1σ)**	**Minster/ Church/ Field**
St. Aldate's, Oxford	Oxfordshire	19	calAD 750-900; c. 850-1000 AD	M
Rectangular Enclosure "E2" at Bromfield, reused as inhumation cemetery	Shropshire	31	7th-10th c.	M
Shrewsbury Abbey Chapter House	Shropshire	4+	Anglo-Saxon'	C
Beckery Chapel and Cemetery, Glastonbury	Somerset	63	pre-dating chapels; C14 date of 730 +/-80 (662-973 at 95.4)	M
Muchelney Abbey	Somerset	5	c. 650-1060 AD	M
Shapwick Church Field, Somerset	Somerset	1	c. 900-1150 AD	C
Wells Cathedral	Somerset	223	c. 650-1100 AD	M
Wembdon Hill, Sedgemoor	Somerset	22	calAD 647-902, calAD 876-1046	F
St. Editha's Church, Tamworth	Staffordshire	2	Saxon?	C
Avonglen Quarry, Polmont	Stirlingshire, Scotland	7	? 'early medieval'	F
The Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Tyne and Wear	83	Saxon to 1080	M
Wakefield Cathedral	West Yorkshire	10	9th c. to 1220	M
Trowbridge	Wiltshire	162	950-1139	C
Dixon Lane, York	Yorkshire	13	late 10th/ early 11th c. (C14 and stratigraphy)	F
York Minster	Yorkshire	109	AD 696-997 (B37) AD 717-742/754-1021 (B40) AD 819-837/856-1164 (B106) AD 819-1218 (B107) 3 dates AD 783 & 1122, 891-1218 (B38) 3 dates final sample AD 779 & 1158 (B38)	M

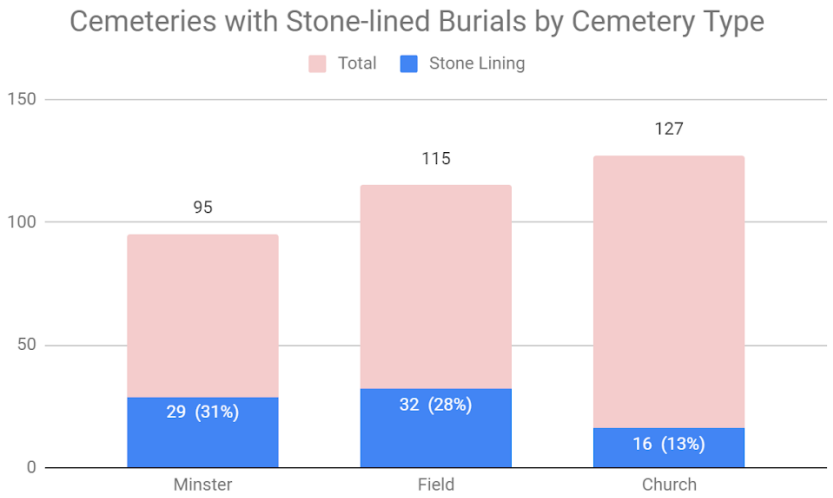


Figure 54: Stone-lined burials by cemetery type

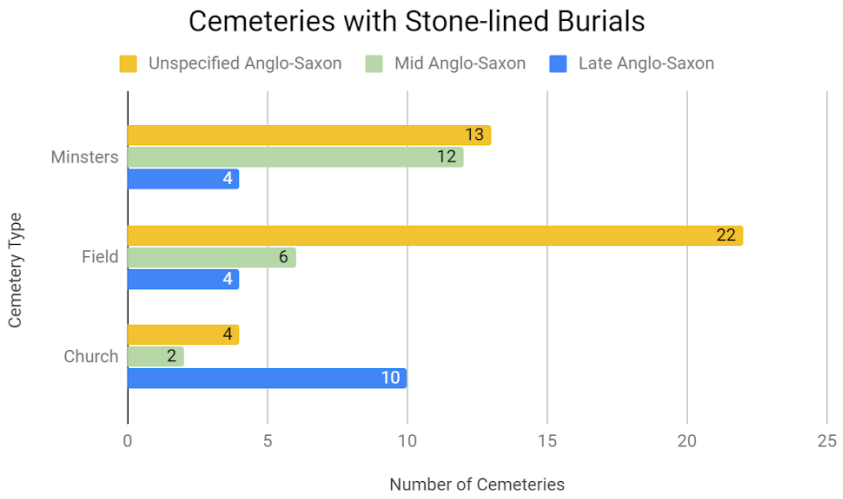


Figure 55: Distribution over period and cemetery type of stone-lined burials

Discussion

The use of stone-lined cists delineates the body from the walls of the grave cut, and protects it, however loosely, from the soil above and from accidental disturbance of the grave by future grave-diggers. The origin of this practice is contested, however. The earliest examples in both the West and the North potentially originate in the Roman and sub-Roman period.

Fraser suggests that long-cist burials may have been fuelled by a Romanizing impulse.[100] He situates the use of stone linings in Late Iron Age graves within the larger third-century shift in burial practice from cremation to extended lined burial across the Roman Empire, hypothesizing that as the British tribes in these areas had prolonged exposure to Roman soldiers in the third and fourth century, the existing short cist was adapted to emulate Roman, Christian forms of coffin burial.[101]

The 'Christian' aspect of stone-lined burial is debatable in south-eastern Scottish examples, however. In the north-east, evidence suggests that the British Church did not survive into the Anglo-Saxon period, but was re-established in the sixth and seventh centuries by the Irish Church from Iona.[102] However, in the south-west and west, still part of the Irish Sea region and traditions with a surviving British church mentioned by Gildas, Patrick, and Augustine, long-cist burial practice appears to have continued as a form associated exclusively with churches and Christianity.[103] Perhaps continuing to use this form of burial was as obvious to the British of Western England as the very continuation of their Church. The regional nature of the stone-lined burial tradition in opposition to other burial types is discussed in this chapter's conclusion.

Stone-built/ Rubble graves

[100] Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland,* 37.
[101] Particularly in Merovingian graves; this general third-century shift is also discussed in A. Dierkens and P. Périn, 'Death and Burial in Gaul and Germania, 4th-8th century,' in L. Webster and M. Brown, *Transformations of the Roman World, AD 400-900* (London, 1997), 79-95, esp. 81-2.
[102] E.g. the Christianization of the Southern and Northern Pictish tribes by missions from Iona; see also the potential conflation of Finnian and Ninnian and the myth of Roman continuity at Whithorn: Hill, *Whithorn,* 14-15.
[103] Gildas, *De Excidio;* Patrick, *Confessio;* Bede, *EH* II.2.

The ‘rubble,’ ‘stone-packed,’ or ‘stone-built’ grave, which does not quite fit into the category of the ‘long’ or ‘short’ cist , consists of rough stones, sometimes chalk or flint, lining the grave, in some instances mortared together to form a shallow lining. It does not have the full coverage of a sarcophagus or coffin, nor the tall clean lining of slab-lined cists, delineates the grave nonetheless. This structure appears at Red Castle Thetford (under the incorrect designation of ‘sarcophagus’), and, perhaps, in the ‘pebble lined graves’ (cited with quartz pebbles in Daniels’ report) of Group D in Hartlepool.[104] This type is sometimes referred to as a ‘cist’ and lumped in with other burials, but upon examination of the structure is a separate type. The discovery that these types had been conflated led me to re-examine all of the stone-lined burials within this study to assign the correct classification to them, which revealed that the stone-built graves have a slightly different distribution from stone-lined graves (Figure 52, Figure 56).

Stone-built graves, unlike stone-lined graves, continue across England in this period largely without pattern or political distribution, appearing in places of high excavation/ high settlement and available stone, and avoiding the Wash (Figure 56). Their distribution suggests that the goal was a good burial with what material was to hand, rather than a specific association with a certain tradition or theology. Even examining the distribution of stone-built graves against the bedrock geology does not suggest a strong correlation (Figure 56). The bedrock types in the areas which stone-built rock are found are all sedimentary, but vary widely in toughness from chalk (softer) to limestone (harder), with many mudstones

[104] The pebbles here are the size of your head, not your palm. I believe Daniels uses the term ‘pebble’ to imply riverine origins: R. Daniels, *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool and the Foundations of English Christianity: an Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Monastery* (Cleveland, 2000), 89.

and sandstones in between which might wear in the rain, but which also cleave well into slabs rather than rubble.

Further unlike stone-lined graves, stone-built graves overwhelmingly were found in minster and church cemeteries, not field cemeteries, in all periods (Figure 57: Cemeteries with Stone-Built Burials by Cemetery Type). This peak, in church cemeteries particularly, is heavily weighted to the Late Saxon period (Figure 58).

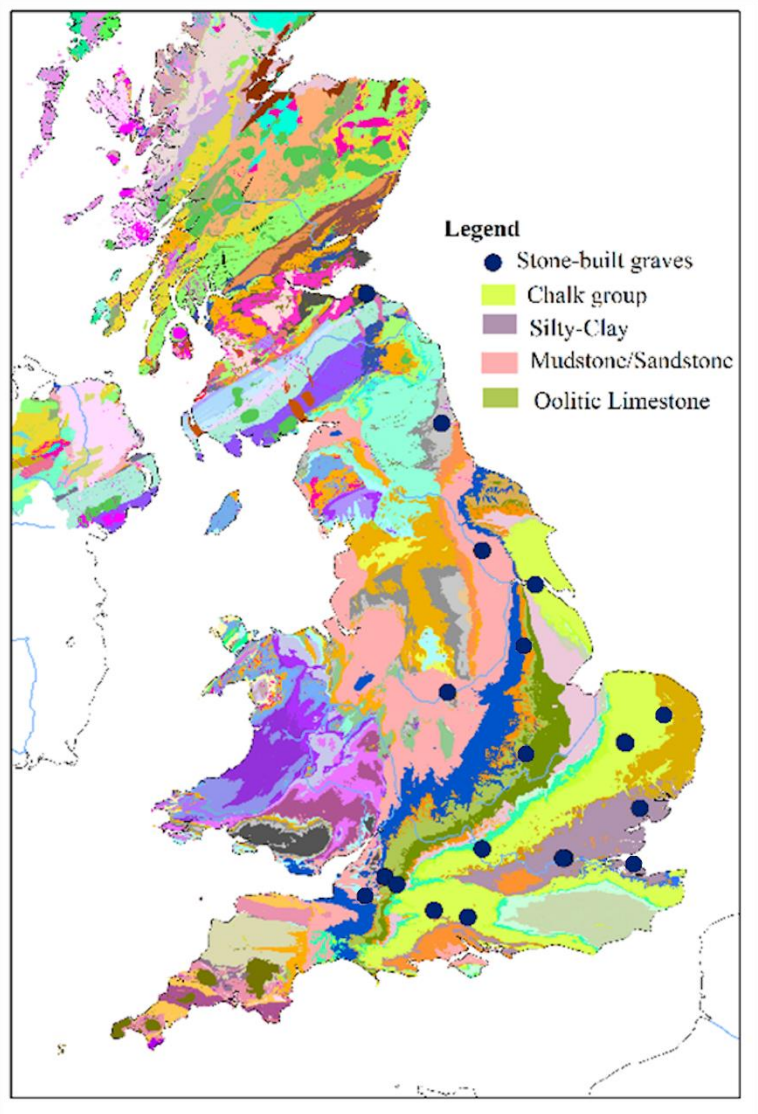


Figure 56: Stone-built graves vs. bedrock geology

Table 8: Stone-built burials, c. 700-1066

Stone-built burials, c. 700- 1066				
Site	**County**	**Number of Burials**	**Dates**	**Minster/ Field/ Church**
Bath Abbey (+ Kingston Parade & York Street)	Bath	32	calAD 750-1000; calAD 750-950; calAD 700- 900; 8th-9th c.	M
St. Wystan's Churchyard, Repton	Derbyshire	463	7th-12th century	M
Drylawhill, East Linton	East Lothian, Scotland	10	Early Medieval	F
Rivenhall	Essex	60	c. 650-900 *whole cemetery moves 10th c.	C
St. Mary's at the Walls Churchyard, Colchester	Essex	-	Late Saxon	C
Winchester, Old Minster	Hampshire	743	c. 600-1100	M
Minster-in-Sheppey, Minster-on-Sea, Swale, Kent	Kent	50	7th-9th centuries	M
St. Mary Bredin, Canterbury	Kent	4	middle to end 11th century	C
St. Mark's, Lincoln	Lincolnshire	124	10th c. earliest; church 11th century	C
71-77 Leadenhall St., 32-40 Mitre St. London	London	42	Late Saxon	F
St. Botolph Aldgate Church, London	London	17	10th-11th century	C
St. Bride's Church, London	London	7	11th century	C
St. Martin-in-the-Fields, St. Martin's Place, Westminster	London	7	Early Saxon	M
Bishop's Palace, Norwich	Norfolk	10	Late Saxon	M
Red Castle, Thetford, Breckland	Norfolk	85	'Pre-Conquest'	C
St John's de Berstrete, Timberhill, Norwich Castle Bailey	Norfolk	179	9th-12th c.	C
St. Michael's Close, Thetford, Breckland	Norfolk	99	Late Saxon	C
St. Chad's Church, Barrow-upon-Humber	North Lincolnshire	87	9th-12th century	M
Raunds Furnells	Northamptonshire	363	900-1000	C
St. Martin's Church, Wallingford, S. Oxfordshire	Oxfordshire	100	10th -14th century	C
Wells Cathedral	Somerset	223	650-1100	M
Jarrow	Tyne and Wear	169	calAD 674-1070	M
The Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Tyne and Wear	83	Saxon to 1080	M
Salt Lane Winterbourne Gunner	Wiltshire	72	450 to early 8th c.	F

Stone-built burials, c. 700- 1066				
Site	**County**	**Number of Burials**	**Dates**	**Minster/ Field/ Church**
Trowbridge	Wiltshire	164	calAD 950-1139	C
St. Helen On the Walls	York	2	1140+/-80, 1170 +/-80	C

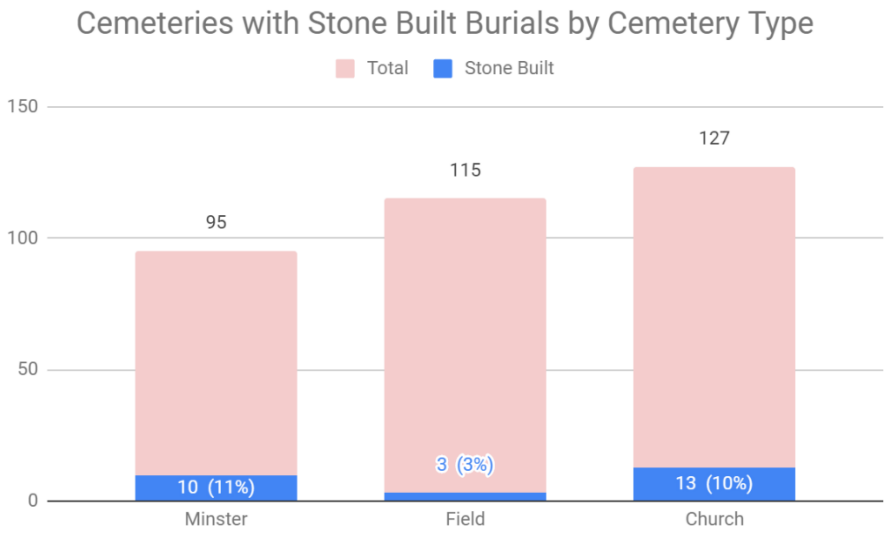


Figure 57: Cemeteries with Stone-Built Burials by Cemetery Type

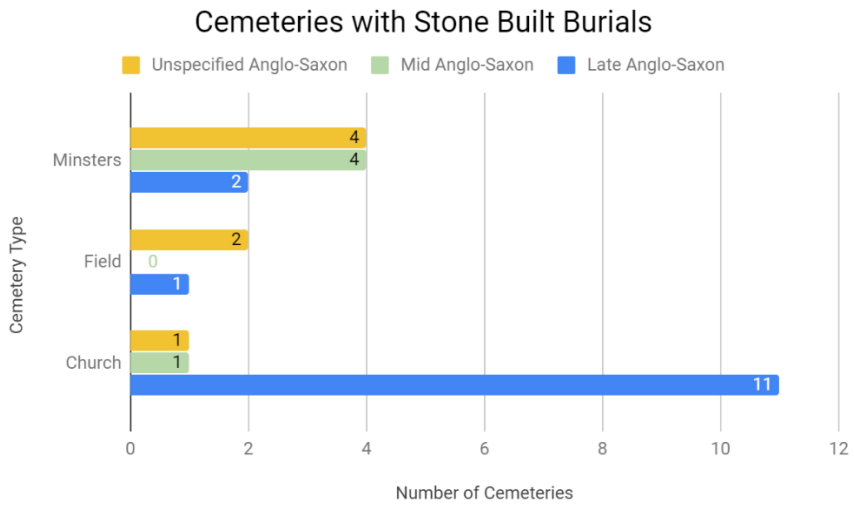


Figure 58: Distribution of Stone-Built Burials by time period and cemetery type

Discussion

Initially, the stone lining section (above) was divided by Elizabeth O'Brien's recommended separation of long-cist and lintel graves. Continued examination of the sample revealed, however, that the largest difference was not so much between the long-cist and lintel graves as between long-cist graves (encompassing lintel graves) and stone-built graves, where the lining is not of dressed stone but rather of packed rubble, occasionally mortared. The look is altogether different to that of the cists at places such as St. Endellion in Cornwall. When stone linings are categorized in this fashion, the long-cist retains its late Iron Age prominence throughout Wales, the former kingdom of Dumnonia, Bernicia, and other areas north of the Tees. Meanwhile, the stone-packed grave appears in a separate, more south-eastern group, including Waltham Abbey (Essex), Bicester (Oxon), Bampton (Oxon), Red Castle Thetford (Norfolk), and Wallingford (Oxon). The rare inclusion of mortar and the difference in quality and type of the stone (rubble rather than slabs, possible absence of stone lintelling) imply that what is labelled a 'sarcophagus' in the excavation notes at Red Castle Thetford, and, indeed, many of the eastern chalk burials, are better described as stone-built, and are a separate practice to the long-cist burial type native to the British.

Tile-Lined Burial

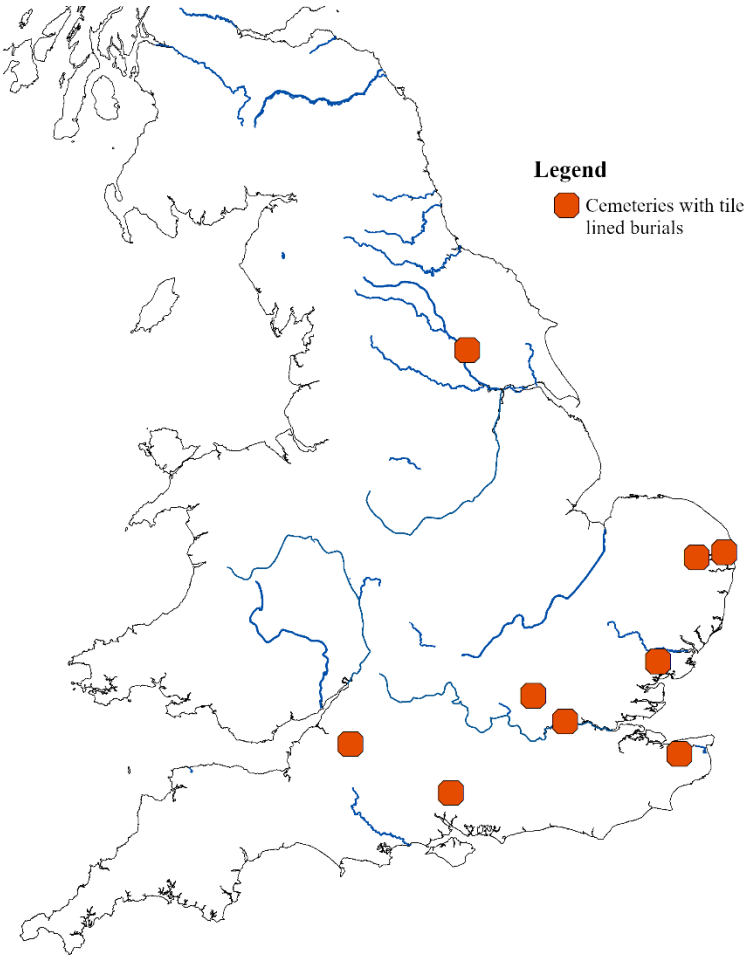


Figure 59: Tile-lined burials

The tile-lined burial type is similar in form to the stone-lined burial, but repurposes Roman tiles instead of using stone. Apart from one instance in York Minster, it appears exclusively in the south-east, in only eight cemeteries (nine including St. Nicholas Shambles, likely post-Conquest; Figure 59). Intuition would suggest that this practice was an opportunistic use of available materials, yet, the tile-covered cists are Late Saxon rather than from the earlier Anglo-Saxon periods, when most robbing of Roman materials occurred. Only a minority of the other grave uses of tiles are confirmed earlier than the tenth century (3/9: Caister-on-Sea, Minster-in-Sheppey, and Winchester), and both tile-lining and other reuse of tiles in the

grave only occurred in a fraction of areas where Roman settlements were (Figure 60, Figure 61, Table 9, Table 10). While Winchester Old Minster contains at least one tile burial which may date to the seventh century, Burgh Castle's example is not assigned to phase one or phase two of the cemetery, and possesses a non-zero chance belongs to the phase from which one burial is radiocarbon dated to calAD 892-1045 (calibrated using OxCal, curve IntCal13), and Winchester also contains tenth-century examples.[105] At Rivenhall, the examples date to the early tenth century; in London, where there was lots of Roman material to reuse, the examples at St. Bride's (eleventh-century) and at St. Nicholas Shambles (post-Survey dates) are Anglo-Norman.[106] This form's predominance, and perhaps start, in the Late Saxon period, when many other burial types were in use across the same region, implies that the use of Roman tiles in these graves was deliberate rather than opportunistic.

Table 9: Tile-lined Burials, c. 700-1066

Tile-lined Burials c. 700-1066			
Site Name	**County**	**Number of burials**	**Dates (C14 is IntCal 13)**
Bath Abbey (+ Kingston Parade & York Street)	Bath	32	750-1000; 750-950; 700-900 (C14); 8th-9th century
Bailey Chapel, Colchester Castle, Colchester	Essex	5/5	'Anglo-Saxon'
Rivenhall	Essex	2/37	Early 10th century
St. Mary's at the Walls Churchyard, Colchester	Essex	At least 2 tile-lined	'Anglo-Saxon'
Winchester, Old Minster	Hants.	7 tile-lined, incl. one with gold-braided cap	Some 7th century; some 10th century

[105] Rivenhall: Rodwell and Rodwell, *Rivenhall*, 82; Burgh Castle, Great Yarmouth: S. Johnson, *Burgh Castle Excavations by Charles Green 1958-61.* EAA Report 20 (1983), 64; Kjølbye-Biddle, *Winchester* (forthcoming).
[106] G. Milne, *St. Bride's Church, London: Archaeological Research 1952-60 and 1992-5* (London, 1997), 12.

Tile-lined Burials c. 700-1066			
St. Mary Bredin, Canterbury	Kent	1/2	Last half of 11th century
St. Bride's Church, London	London	5 tile-lined	11th century
St. Nicholas Shambles, London (past survey date)	*London*	*22 tile-lined; 5 tile on top*	*11th-12th century*
Burgh Castle, Great Yarmouth	Norfolk	2/163	1σ calAD 680-885 and calAD 892-1045

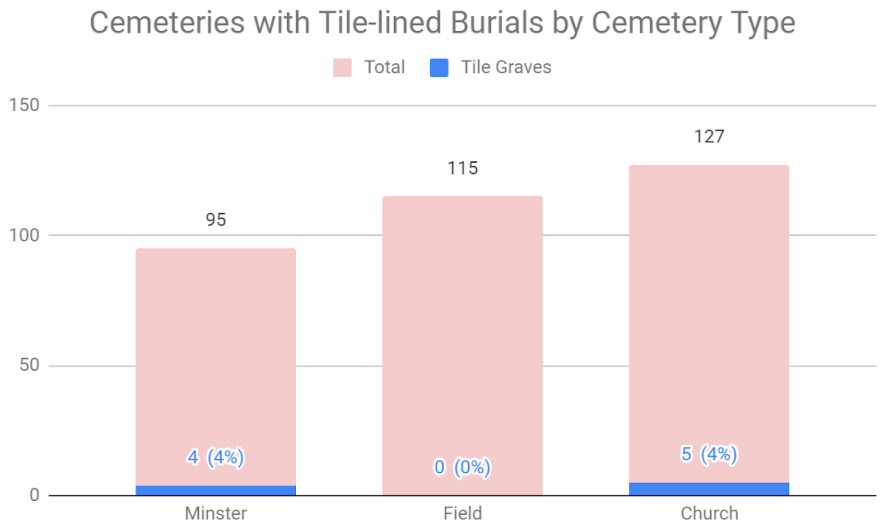


Figure 60: Percentage of tile-lined burials by cemetery type

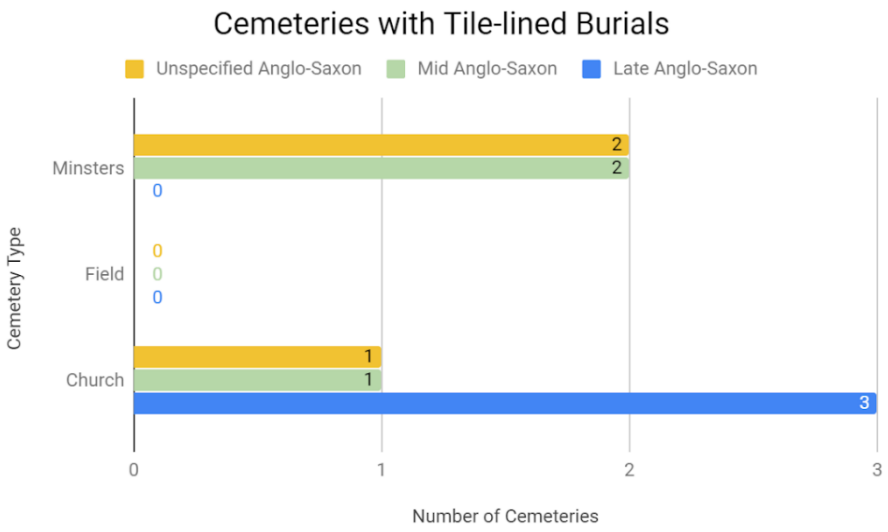


Figure 61: Cemeteries with tile-lined burials by period

Table 10: Other Tile Use, c. 700-1066

Other Roman Tiles in Graves c. 700-1066.					
Site Name	**County**	**Region**	**Number of burials**	**Dates**	**Form**
Bailey Chapel, Colchester Castle, Colchester (1964 exc.)	Essex	East Anglia	5/5	'Anglo-Saxon'	Tile head-boxes (See 'Earmuffs,' below)
Rivenhall	Essex	East Anglia	2/37	Early 10th c.	Tile head-boxes
Winchester, Old Minster	Hants.	Wessex	11	Some 7th c.; some 10th c.	Tile pillow (1 burial w/ gold-braided cap)
St. Albans Abbey, St. Albans	Herts.	East Anglia	Up to 16	10th-11th c.	Tile pillow
Minster-in-Sheppey, Minster-on-Sea, Swale	Kent	Kent	Up to 8	7th-9th c.	Tile pillow
St. Augustine's, Canterbury	Kent	Kent	1	7th x 12th c.	Tile pillow, with chalk

Other Roman Tiles in Graves c. 700-1066.					
St. Bride's Church, London	London	East Anglia	1	11th c.	Tile earmuffs; 1 on chest
St. Nicholas Shambles, London	*London*	*East Anglia*	*unclear*	*11th-12th century*	*3 with tile over body*
Burgh Castle, Great Yarmouth	Norfolk	East Anglia	1	7th x 11th century	Single tile under back
Caister-on-Sea	Norfolk	East Anglia	Up to 16	7th-8th c.	Tile and flint head-boxes

III. Conclusion

A statistical examination of the distribution of grave types within this chapter found that grave types and cemetery types appear dependent to a high degree of statistical significance, whether or not the number of coffin cemeteries is increased to include instances where it is likely, but not certain, that coffins were used (Table 11).

Table 11: Chi-squared test of the independence of grave types and variations vs. cemetery type

Chi-squared test of the independence of grave type and variation vs. cemetery type				
Variables	**χ^2 value**	**Degrees of freedom**	**p-value (right tailed)**	**Statistical significance**
Grave variation/cemetery type	6.31437	4	0.176869	Not significant
Grave type/cemetery type (including 'maybe' coffins)	33.43346	16	0.006472	Highly significant
Grave type/cemetery type (not including 'maybe' coffins)	34.89376	16	0.004109	Highly significant

The chi-squared test produced a result suggesting interdependence between grave and cemetery type, but chi-squared tests do not reveal specific associations between values (such as plank-lined graves and minster cemeteries), only dependence between variables such as grave type and cemetery type. Consequently, a Monte Carlo simulation was performed to test for significant associations between those values. The Monte Carlo simulation performs 100,000 trials using sampling with replacement, under the assumption of independence (null hypothesis).

Coffins and plank linings returned non-significant results for dependence with minsters, which coheres with their wide distribution pattern. Chest burials were positively associated

with minster cemeteries, but the interdependence was not statistically significant (p=0.15 excluding uncertain coffin burials, otherwise p=0.16). Cist burials, despite their association with churches in the south-west and Wales and the hypothesis in other studies that they had a distinctly Christian origin, were found to have a statistically significant association with field cemeteries ($p < 0.01$).[107] This does not wholly invalidate the hypothesis of a Christian meaning for stone-lined burials in Scotland and the Irish Sea during the Late Iron Age, but does suggest a transformation in its local meaning at some point, particularly in the North.

Table 12: Selected results of the Monte Carlo simulation, which tested the probability of independence between specific grave types and cemetery types

Grave type	Cemetery type	p-value	Left or right tailed?	Statistical significance
Plank lined	Minster	0.08442	Left	Misses threshold
Stone lined	Field	0.00909	Right	Highly significant
Sarcophagi	Minster	0.06243	Right	Just misses threshold for significance
Stone-Lined	Church	0.04448	Left	Significant

Sarcophagi and minsters were positively associated, suggesting a likelihood of interdependency ($p = 0.06$, just missing the threshold for statistical significance of 0.05, which is not surprising given the low numbers involved). As Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* describes sarcophagi primarily at translations for saints and for burials of extremely important people, not ordinary members of the religious community, this result is

[107] A. Thomas, *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain* (London, 1971), 48-90; Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland,* 37.

unsurprising. The intricate decoration on the sides and covering slabs of sarcophagi such as those found at St. Alkmund's, Derby, and St. Andrews, Scotland, suggests that sarcophagi were probably meant for above-ground veneration, more likely within the church than the churchyard.

The concentration of the early northern log coffin burials and cist burials, primarily north of the Humber (with a separate area in the British south west) over the period of c.400-c.900 implies the continuation of a regional culture despite any regime change. Recent scholarship has suggested that the early middle ages was a cultural continuation of the Iron Age in many parts of Britain and Ireland, and this appears to be particularly so in the northern half of Britain.[108] The reintroduction of these certain burial practices after such a long time, and their fairly quick migration to churchyards from field cemeteries, suggests that local northern people may have seen an opportunity to revitalize practices rooted in local heritage which differentiated them from the intruding 'other,' or to recast the local practices for a different audience.[109]

This regionalism of grave types does not point to one single massive area of British culture. Rather, this northern and occasionally south-western area's regional use of certain burial practices suggests that the many communities of this region embraced their local traditions and incorporated local practice into burial forms regardless of social change. They consciously resurrected these forms of burial, then deemed traditional a disused practice, possibly to evoke a shared sense of non-Anglian, non-Saxon, perhaps Roman, heritage, and

[108] Maldonado, 'Early Medieval Burial in Scotland'; M. Carver, A. Sanmark, and S. Semple (eds.), *Signals of Belief in Early England* (Oxford, 2010).
[109] R. Bradley, 'Time Regained: the creation of continuity,' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 160 (1987), 1-17; R. Bradley, 'Ritual, Time and History,' *World Archaeology* 23.2 (1991), 209-219.

to create a false continuity with the past which legitimated the continuation of separate political and ecclesiastical structures in the face of change. The use, peak, and decline of these practices matches well against periods of conflict and adaptation.

Long cist burials may have begun, as Fraser suggests, as an aspect of the Romanisation of the Miathi and Uotadini between the Forth and the Tay as part of the third- to fourth-century shift to extended burial seen across the Roman Empire.[110] However, Stephen Rippon's study of landscape in Roman and Post-Roman Britain using palaeobotanical evidence suggests that the regions of the north and north east were only moderately Romanised, and that Wales and the south-west of England, areas of intense and regular cist burial use, were not Romanized, nor were the northern uplands of Cumbria and modern Dumfriesshire.[111] This undermines Fraser's hypothesis, But this 'Roman' burial type continued and even increased in use despite the fifth-century collapse of the Roman Empire's hold in Britain.

Archaeological and historical evidence suggests a continuation of local cist burial practice in the south west and the north during the sub-Roman period, as well as a continuation of Christian practice in parts, though not all, of those cist-using regions. The continuation of British and Irish Christianity throughout the sub-Roman period is well known, evidenced by British bishops' presence at the council of Arles (AD313) and Palladius' request for help from Rome to combat the Pelagian heresy's spread (c. AD429).[112] The late sixth- to early seventh-

[110] Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland,* 37.
[111] Rippon *et al.*, *The Fields of Britannia*, 53-55.
[112] Continuation of Christian practice: see Yorke, *The Conversion of Britain,* 111. Patrick's *Confessio* also suggests that a veneer of *romanitas* remained in the fifth- to sixth-century West of England or Wales, though Gildas despairs of the British polity.

century British bishops who stood before Augustine felt they were continuing a line unbroken from the Roman Empire; the Iona-trained bishops at the AD664 Synod of Whitby expressed the same sentiment of belonging to tradition extending back to John the Apostle.[113] The reach of Christianity in sub-Roman Late Iron Age Scotland is less certain. The cemetery of Catstane in Midlothian contains an upright stone with a fifth- or sixth-century Latin inscription alongside its long cist burials.[114] Text A of *The Gododdin* suggests that members of the tribe at the time of Bernician northern expansion (sixth to seventh century) were Christian and even did penance (though the date is problematic).[115]

While many burial variations were emerging in Anglian Northumbria and southern England, in the seventh and eighth centuries the long-cist burial form spread throughout the North, from east Scotland to west, but also in inland Northumbria. That several seventh- to eighth-century long cist cemeteries appear along the borderlands with Bernicia throughout the Lothians and the Pennines may be a coincidence, or it may be a retrenching of perceived local practice; as the eighth century wore on, the Northern Picts began to use long-cist burial as the southern Picts and northern Bernicians did. The constantly disputed border in the seventh and eighth century between the Picts/Britons of southern Scotland and Anglo-Saxon Northumbria may have provided the right *frisson* for cultural retrenching on the part of the non-Angles.[116] According to Maldonado's Bayesian analysis, the peak of long-cist use

[113] Bede, *EH,* II.2, III.25.
[114] Cowie, 'Excavations at the Catstane, Midlothian 1977'; E. O'Brien, *Post-Roman Britain*, 40; On the inscription, 'In [h]oc t[u]mulo iac[i]t Vetta F. Victi,' and its date, see: A. Rutherford and J.N.G. Ritchie, 'The Catstane,' *PSAS* 105 (1972-4), 183-88 at 84.
[115] A.8 'The Men who went to Catraeth/ Gwŷr a aeth Gatraeth,' lines 72-73/ 61-63, in J.T. Koch (ed. and trans.), *The Gododdín of Aneírín: Text and context from Dark-Age North Britain* (Cardiff, 1997), 58-9. Koch suggests that this text was likely written after 850, however (p.183).
[116] C. Cessford, 'Relations between the Britons of South Scotland and Anglo-Saxon Northumbria,' in J. Hawkes, S. Mills (eds.), *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud, 1999), 150-9.

in Scotland falls between 580 and 640, the beginning of such tensions.[117] The cist-burial sites within this survey, however, fall as much outside this period as within it: 16 stone-lined cemeteries were anywhere from 350 to 700, 19 stone-lined cemeteries were of the period between 630 and 800, when Oswiu and Ecgfrith were conquering the north, 20 from 800-1066, a period of general northern instability with the former Northumbria divided into three polities (at least), and the rest could be dated anywhere in the early medieval period between 400-1200.[118] While the wide date ranges are problematic, the distribution suggests that the practice was regional, hugging the north-east coast and major rivers, spreading along sea and river channels and among existing southern Scottish trade routes but staying out of the south-east until late.

As another example, the political situation during the rise and fall of use of log burials in the north may have affected its regional popularity.[119] The swathe of modern northern England and southern Scotland was more unified religiously than politically, with both a branch of the Northumbrian kings (e.g. Aldfrith) and rulers of the southern Picts and Ald Clut paying homage to Iona, even after the Synod of Whitby. Accordingly, the use of log coffin burials only by church buildings after the mid-sixth century in Northumbria may imply that log coffin burials expressed something about power through these religious networks, whether for political purposes or not.

On the other hand, the log coffin burials in the south-east of England and those in north-western Europe echo the similarities in sixth- and seventh-century grave good burials

[117] Maldonado, 'Burial in Early Medieval Scotland: New Questions,' *Med Arch* 57 (2013), 1-34 at 6.
[118] On Northumbria's changing fortunes: Rollason, *Northumbria,* 9.
[119] 'A period of general northern instability,' Rollason, *Northumbria,* 9.

between East Anglia, Kent, and the Continent, such as at Buttermarket, Ipswich, which both contains log coffin burials and, in the form of grave goods, has evidence for the presence of individuals from Continental northern Europe, or at least their influence.[120] While there is only one example of a fifth- to seventh-century log coffin in Frisia, there are two along the Weser in the coastal region from which the Saxons were thought to migrate.[121] While not explicitly screaming 'allegiance' to the old country, or being a precise copy of the way things were done on the Continent, log coffins, like mound burials, horse burials, and other ritual inclusions of this period, may have been meant to evoke local tradition which the first generation of immigrants, or traders back and forth, may have been familiar with on the continent, and through which, by the seventh century, East Anglians would have known mainly by repute, not having spent much time there, if any.

Just as this study has shown early medieval cist burials and log-coffin burials to fall largely outside of Northumbrian Anglian territory, within this study it becomes apparent that there are inverse trends, with chest burials appearing to be particularly Deiran, localised around the Ouse and the Humber estuary, and only appearing north of the Tees at Seaham. Chest burials themselves appear by their rarity to be more prestigious, and as they overlap with the distribution of coffin burials in the north of England, they may have originated as a more impressive variant on coffin burial, condemning iron to the ground in containers likely more elaborately carved than a coffin, which itself was hardly economical.[122] The prestige associated with such a variation may explain how it spread south by the ninth century. Of

[120] C. Scull, *Early Medieval (Late 5th-Early 8th c. AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket, Ipswich, Suffolk* (Leeds, 2009), esp. the Continental-type belt-suite in Grave 1306.
[121] At Hoogebeintrin bei Ferwerd; Dingen bei Bremerhaven, Mahndorf bei Bremen: Zimmerman, *Baumsarg,* fig. 11 (Figure 41, this volume). Most of the fifth- to seventh-century examples Zimmerman found were along the Rhine and its tributaries.
[122] Alcock, 'Burials and Cemeteries in Scotland,' 125-29.

the 36 examples (30 certain, 5 maybe), all eight which are not certainly in church or minster cemeteries are from the seventh- to eighth-centuries and in the north. The fact that chest burial south of Northumbria at its greatest extent occurs only within churchyards also indicates that those who were using this practice were of a certain station to want, and to be allowed, a churchyard burial before such a thing (or the tax upon it) became mandatory, and perhaps also that the practice spread by ecclesiastical connections.[123]

It is not clear that all of these grave types are linked to expressions of regional identity, even subconsciously, but they are certainly regional. This chapter made clear that methods of preparation of the grave varied widely according to regional resources, regional tradition, and, in the spread of these regional practices over broader England over the course of the Anglo-Saxon period, the potential accretion of new practices when communities were inspired by fashionable exemplars.

[123] Devon, 11th-century; St. Oswald's, Gloucester, 10th-11th century; Winchester Old Minster, later 'generations,' and New Minster, 10th-11th century; St. Guthlac, Herefordshire, 9th-11th century; Sedgeford, Norfolk, 8th-9th centuries; Snarehill Hall, Brettenham, Norfolk, 'Late Saxon'; Staunch Meadow, Brandon, Suffolk, 8th-9th centuries; Burrow Hill, Suffolk, 8th-9th centuries; all Wessex instances undatable beyond being generally Anglo-Saxon.

Chapter 4: Adorning the Deceased and the Grave: Grave variations

I. Introduction

> *[22] 7 riht is þæt ælc man … be þam þe he wille on gehalgodum [legere] licgan oþðon husles wyrðe beon.*
>
> [22] And it is right that every man… according as he wishes to be buried in a consecrated grave or to be entitled to the sacrament.[1]

Grave variations, as described by Jo Buckberry, are elaborations upon the grave container or structure which can be used in conjunction with the different grave types (described above). These combinations are not merely one type with one variation, however; grave variations are also found grouped with each other. Grave variations include stones near the head in the form of earmuffs, pillow stones, or head supports (these three types are often conflated in reports, and so are presented in one body here), charcoal, chalk, sand, lime, or ash lining underneath or around the body, and the inclusion of goods or objects in the grave, (dare we say, 'ritually,') such as white quartz pebbles, rods or wands, and small iron knives.[2] Grave goods often go hand-in-hand with evidence that the deceased was buried clothed, though bodies may also be shrouded or clothed; these variations can be found in conjunction with any of the aforementioned types of burial.[3] Grave markers constitute another burial variation, usually placed outside (above) the grave although occasionally found within it. Archaeological reporting of grave markers is complicated by the fact that sepulchral monuments are almost never found in-situ, however. Accordingly, their presence is

[1] Wulfstan, 'The So-called 'Canons of Edgar' (Can. Ps. Edg.),' in D. Whitelock et al. (ed.), *Councils and Synods: with other documents relating to the English church. Volume I: AD 871-1204* (Oxford, 1981), 313-337 at 322.
[2] Iron knives are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.
[3] Shrouds are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

described only within the Gazetteer (volume 2), with the appropriate caveats (antiquarian discovery, not in-situ, repurposed within church, evidence of wooden rather than stone marker), and I have not made pronouncements on the large-scale intersection between grave markers and other burial types and variations. Detailed analysis of the often complex visual programme of stone markers, the sculptural schools and the networks of trade and influence which those represent, and the current state of historiography on grave markers, which all might play into the distribution of various sub-types of grave marker, would be a thesis of its own requiring far more space than this chapter could provide; these aspects are regrettably set aside for now.

II. Grave Variations: Typology and Distribution



Figure 62: Earmuffed parallel-sided burial #554 from Barton-upon-Humber (Rodwell et al., St. Peter's Barton-upon-Humber)

Earmuffs/ Pillow Stones/ Head Supports

Typology and Distribution

Earmuffs, pillow stones, and head supports are pieces of stone placed either below or to the side of the head, which imitate a cushion, keeping the head looking 'comfortable' or straight ahead post-mortem. The 'ear-muff' setting is usually two or more stones which keep the head in place (e.g. Figure 62), whereas the 'pillowstone,' as its name suggests, is placed behind the head. The classification 'head support' used in some site reports does not clearly denote which of the two types it is, and can be taken to mean either of the above 'pillowstone,' 'earmuff,' or further packing

of stones between the head and the grave cut. The idea that these might be in emulation of real cloth pillows, or used to replace them, is supported by the survival of actual pillows in graves in a few, exceptional cases, such as the discovery at Barton-upon-Humber of a waterlogged burial of the Anglo-Saxon period with a grass-stuffed pillow under the skull, the pillow itself supported by stones, and the survival of a wooden pillow (with hair still preserved) from Romsey Abbey.[4] A similar smear of charcoal under the head of two of the inhumations at Raunds Furnells may also indicate use of a decayed organic pillow.[5] The presence of these degradable head supports implies that far more non-stone pillows may have existed in places with poorer preservation, but decomposed before becoming visible in the archaeological record. Head-supports are found with most of the variety of grave types and variations, particularly with plain earth burials, cist-lined graves, with shrouds, and with clothed burials.

[4] Burial F3967: Waldron, *St. Peter's Barton-upon-Humber, Vol 2*, 27; see also W. Rodwell, C. Atkins, S. Badham and T. Waldron, *St. Peter's, Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire: a Parish Church and its* Community (Oxford, 2007-2011). Romsey: J. Cameron, T. Devièse, F. Green, 'Scientific analysis of a preserved head of hair at Romsey Abbey, UK,' *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 13 (2017), 265-271.

[5] Boddington, *Raunds Furnells,* 37; Hadley and Buckberry, 'Caring for the Dead in Late Anglo-Saxon England,' 140.

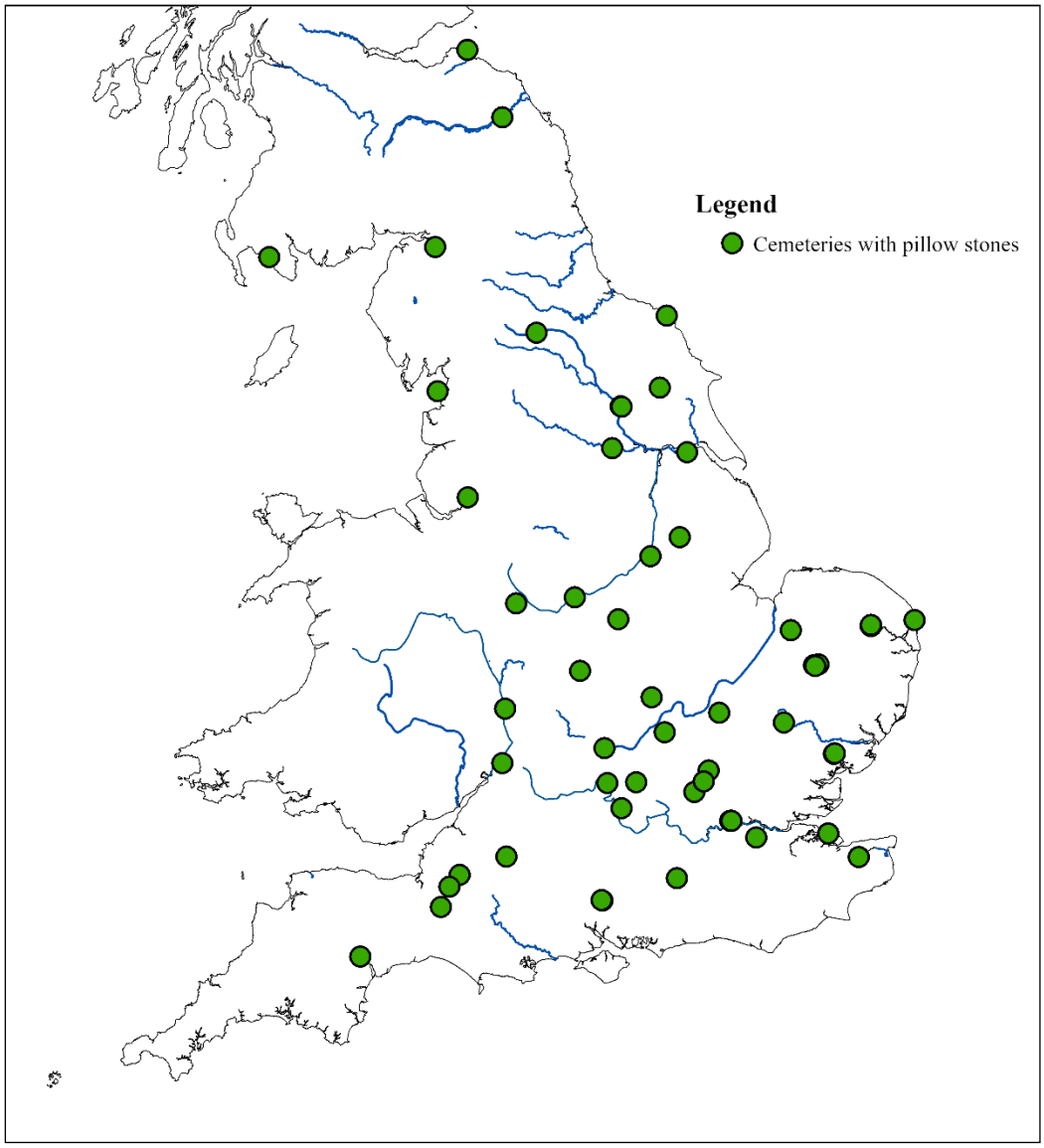


Figure 63: Pillow stone, head support, and 'earmuff' burials

Burials with head supports are spread across a very wide area of the British Isles (Figure 63). There is evidence of their use across every part of Anglo-Saxon England, as well as among the Irish and the Northern Picts.[6] There is a heavier distribution of earmuff burials in the south than in the north, but that seems to follow settlement patterns rather than hew to a particular area of political or cultural influence. Head supports do not appear frequently in surveyed cemeteries between the Tyne and the Firth of Forth, but they do appear

[6] Discussed below.

contemporaneously in early medieval church cemeteries north of the area of study, in present-day Scottish counties Ross and Cromarty, Fife, Shetland, Bute, and Orkney.[7] Geologically, they are most densely situated and closely aligned with the band of chalk crossing East Anglia and the Midlands down to Hampshire. Otherwise, however, they show no correlation with any other geological feature and are scattered quite evenly across different bedrock types. There does not seem to be any other regional factor in common among sites which contain this burial variation.

[7] Per Maldonado, *Christianity and Burial*: Ross and Cromarty: Balblair (9th-10th c.) (D. Reed, 'The excavation of a cemetery and putative chapel site at Newhall Point, Balblair, Ross & Cromarty, 1985,' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 125 (1995), 779-791), Portmahomack (M.O.H. Carver, 'An Iona of the East: The Early-Medieval Monastery at Portmahomack, Tarbat Ness,' *Medieval Archaeology* 48 (2004), 1-30); Fife: St. Andrews Kirkhill (J. Wordsworth, and P.R. Clark, 'Kirkhill,' in M.J. Rains and D.W Hall, (eds.), *Excavations in St Andrews 1980-89* (Glenrothes, 1997), 7-18); Shetland: St. Ninian's Isle (R. Barrowman*, The Chapel and Burial Ground on St Ninian's Isle, Shetland: Excavations Past and Present* (London, 2012)); Bute: St. Ninian's Point (W.G. Aitken, 'Excavation of a Chapel at St. Ninian's Point, Bute,' *Transactions of the Buteshire Natural History Society* 14 (1955), 62-76); Orkney: St. Magnus Kirk, Birsay (J.W. Barber, 'Excavations at St Magnus' Kirk, Birsay,' in C.D. Morris (ed.), *The Birsay Bay Project: Vol.2, Sites in Birsay village and on the Brough of Birsay, Orkney* (Durham, 1996), 11-31).

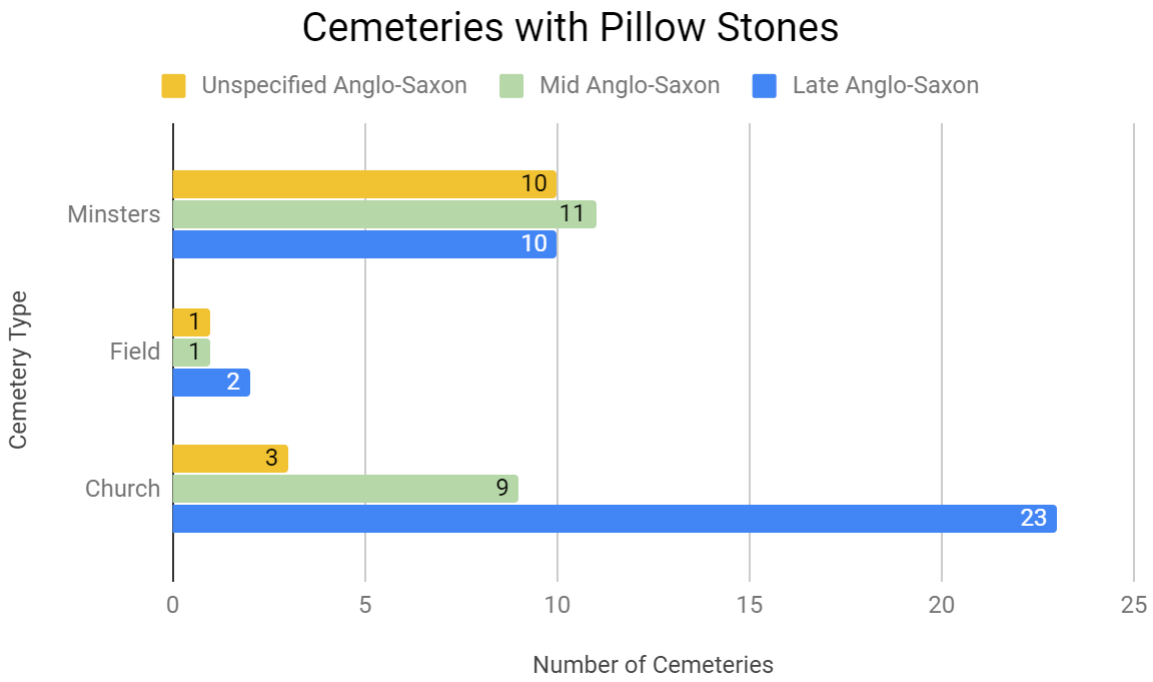


Figure 64: Cemeteries with Pillow Stones by period

Table 13: Pillow stone and head support graves, c. 700-1066

Earmuffs, Pillows Stones, and Head Support graves c. 700-1066			
Site Name	**County**	**Dates**	**Pillow Stone/Earmuff/Etc.**
Bath Abbey (+ Kingston Parade & York Street)	Bath	750-1000; 750-950; 700- 900 (C14); 8th-9th c.	Y
The Hirsel	Berwickshire, Scotland	1000-1300 (C14)	Y- many
Wing (All Saints)	Buckinghamshire	Earliest (from burial G53) = cal. AD 670-810 at 68% cal. AD 660-890 at 95%; Latest (burial G32) is 1050-1080 & 1150-1260 at 68% confidence, or 1040-1270 at 95% confidence (Holmes 2007, 13).	Y: g14- only 1
Church End, Cherry Hinton	Cambridgeshire	Late Saxon to 12th century	Several'
Gamlingay, South Cambridgeshire	Cambridgeshire	c. 650-1066	3 (G12, 83, 112); elderly F &M, 4yo
Southworth Hall Farm Cemetery and Cheshire Bronze Age Mounds, Winwick	Cheshire	pre-Conquest?	Y- 1 Stones at head 'packing' or to either side of knees
Hartlepool	County Durham	650-900	Y-8

Earmuffs, Pillows Stones, and Head Support graves c. 700-1066			
Site Name	**County**	**Dates**	**Pillow Stone/Earmuff/Etc.**
Carlisle Cathedral, Carlisle	Cumbria	9th-century strap-end; possibly 10th-11th c. (silver penny of Athelstan 924-39)	1 (SK 27); stones on either side of head
St. Wystan's Churchyard, Repton	Derbyshire	9th-11th centuries	Stones forming head niche, stone packing
Barnstaple Castle, North Devon	Devon	701-1066?	Y- G56, G37
St. Mary Major, Exeter	Devon	5th-8th c., and 11th c.?	Y-1 (cem III +charc)
Barhobble	Dumfries & Galloway, Scotland	902-1160 (+ more C14 dates)	Y - 11
Whithorn	Dumfries and Galloway, Scotland	c. 500-1100	2
Auldhame, East Lothian	East Lothian	640-1100 & later	Y-9
Bailey Chapel, Colchester Castle, Colchester	Essex	Middle Saxon	Y- tile headboxes
Rivenhall	Essex	650-900 *whole cemetery moves 10th c.	Y-22/60 rubble packed head
St. Mary's at the Walls Churchyard, Colchester	Essex	late saxon- tile	Y
St. Oswald, Glos.	Gloucestershire	850-1120; C14 (68%) 850-1050	Y - 28
Winchester, Old Minster	Hampshire	600-1100	Y- tile and stone: 11; 10 ear muffs; 13 stone pillows
St. Guthlac Hereford, Castle Green	Herefordshire	c. 730-1150	From 1960 excavations
St. Albans Abbey, Hertfordshire	Hertfordshire	Late Saxon to early Norman	Y - 16
St. Helen's Churchyard, Wheathampstead, St. Albans	Hertfordshire	Mid to Late Saxon	5 ‘flint pillows’ SK #4-8
St. Mary's Churchyard, Welwyn	Hertfordshire	7th century	5/8 burials
Minster-in-Sheppey, Minster-on-Sea, Swale, Kent	Kent	7th-9th centuries	Y - 8
St Pancras, Canterbury	Kent	7th-8th; Human remains from Jenkins under S. portico C14 890-970; coin 720-740	Y- 1 skull surrounded by large flints
St. Augustines, Canterbury	Kent	6th-	Y (1 cushion of flints?+ roman tile headrest)
St. Patrick's, Heysham	Lancashire	8th c. forward? C14 960-1185	Y- 1 headbox
Rothley "The Grange"	Leicestershire	7th-11th? 800-1050	Y- & one in mouth
Chapel Road, Fillingham	Lincolnshire	7th-11th c.	Y- four graves, 104, 107, 113, 116
Lincoln Eastern Bypass	Lincolnshire	700x900 \	Y-at least 1 headbox?

Earmuffs, Pillows Stones, and Head Support graves c. 700-1066			
Site Name	**County**	**Dates**	**Pillow Stone/Earmuff/Etc.**
St. Peter's Barton-upon-Humber	Lincolnshire	900-1100	Y
Ruxley Old Church, Bromley, London	London	c. 950-1100	Y
St. Bride's Church, London	London	11th c.?	Y - tile lined
St. Lawrence Jewry/ Guildhall	London	1046-1100 (dendro: 1046, 1066)	Y - 6
Milton Keynes Village Burials	Milton Keynes	Late Saxon to 12th century	1, G024, on sandstone piece
All Saints' Church, Barton Bendish, West Norfolk	Norfolk	Late Saxon/ 11th century	Flint next to skull, 17
Caister-on-Sea	Norfolk	C14 early 8th c.; mid	Y- flint packin around head; feature of at least 16 burials; Roman tile in 2
Market Avenue/ Rose Lane, Norwich, Norfolk	Norfolk	Late Saxon	Y
Snarehill Hall, Brettenham, Breckland	Norfolk	Late Saxon	Chalk block beside skull, 6
St John's de Berstrete, Timberhill, Norwich Castle Bailey	Norfolk	9th-12th c.	Y - 8
St. John's or St. Lawrence, Thetford, Breckland (Grammar School)	Norfolk	Late Saxon	Earmuff head support Burials 1 &2
St. Martin-at-Palace, Norwich	Norfolk	Late Saxon	SK 769: One large piece of flint overlying skull, flints at feet
St. Michael's Close, Thetford, Breckland	Norfolk	Late Saxon/Saxo-Norman (11th-12th c.)	Y- 5 pillow 2 earmuffs
St. Chad's Church, Barrow-upon-Humber	North Lincolnshire	9th-12th centuries	Y-#50
Chapel Flats, Ripley and Killinghall, Harrogate	North Yorkshire	8th c. forward	1 headbox + chest box
Riccall's Landing, Selby	North Yorkshire	C14 from 6 burials; most c. 10th -12th c; SK 4 is dated to AD 680-805 (Craig)	Y- heads under flints
Wharram Percy	North Yorkshire	10th-12th c.	Y - 2
Whitby Abbey Headland/ Abbey Farms	North Yorkshire	657-?	Y
All Saints Church, Little Billing, Northampton	Northamptonshire	Late Saxon	Y - 2
Newark Castle	Nottinghamshire	c.950-1070 (has C14: find)	Y- head boxes

Earmuffs, Pillows Stones, and Head Support graves c. 700-1066			
Site Name	**County**	**Dates**	**Pillow Stone/Earmuff/Etc.**
Christ Church College, Oxford	Oxfordshire	8th-12th c.; C14 734-825AD * calibrated by A. Bayliss	Y-1 (Grave 22)
Somerton, Cherwell	Oxfordshire	Anglo-Saxon?	Y-skulls 'protected'; head box
St. Martin's Church, Wallingford, S. Oxfordshire	Oxfordshire	10th-14th	Y-9
St. Mary's Church, Thame	Oxfordshire	11th c.?	y -earmuffs
Beckery Chapel and Cemetery, Glastonbury	Somerset	pre-dating chapels; C14 date of 730 +/-80 (662-973 at 95.4)	Y -1 headbox
Muchelney Abbey	Somerset	650-1060	Y
Wells Cathedral	Somerset	650-1100	Y- 1 earmuff
St. Bertelin's Church, Stafford	Staffordshire	9th-11th c.; c14 says 772 is possible	Y- #27
St. Botolph's (St. Mary's), Crowland Road, Haverhill, Suffolk	Suffolk	10th c forward	Y
Land at Priory Orchard, Station Road, Godalming	Surrey	9th c. burial ground?	Y-63
Jarrow	Tyne and Wear	685x1070?	Y- #70/169, # 69/16, #75/15, 70/105?
The Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Tyne and Wear	Saxon to 1080	Y
Wearmouth	Tyne and Wear	c. 680-800	Y (#64/22)
Priory Gardens, St. Mary, Coventry	Warwickshire	870-1120 AD; 700-980 & 870-1290	Y-1
Trowbridge	Wiltshire	c. 950x1139	Y 'frequent' beneath or Rubble packed head, slabs around skull (11 per.5)
Inhumation Cemetery at Staple Gardens	Winchester	Late Saxon; 9th to 11th c. c14?	Y-Flint pillow adult M
Worcester, Chapter House/ Cathedral/ College Green	Worcester	c. 900-1100	Y
Dixon Lane, York	Yorkshire	late 10th/ early 11th c. (C14 and stratigraphy)	Y-1
Kellington Church	Yorkshire	10th-11th c.	Y
Swinegate (St. Benet's), York	Yorkshire	9th-11th c.	Y-2

Though the pattern of adoption is unclear both chronologically and geographically, the most immediate attribute apparent throughout the implementation of this practice is its presence in churchyard cemeteries over field locations. The broad majority of pillowstone sites, including those North of the Firth of Forth, are associated with churches. Of all surveyed

cemeteries with 'head support' burials, 66 were associated with a church or minster and only four were not (total of 94% church associated) (Figure 65).[8] The distribution of pillow stones is split fairly evenly between minster and non-minster sites (35 church cemeteries, 31 minster cemeteries). Of the four surveyed field cemeteries with quartz stones, three were (in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire), dated either to the mid-Anglo-Saxon period or to the Anglo-Saxon period generally and the other dates to the tenth and eleventh centuries (Figure 64).[9] In his survey of late Iron Age burial practice in Scotland, Maldonado also found head support graves to be predominantly on church sites (7/8, or 87.5%, in his sample).[10]

[8] Dixon Lane, York; Fillingham, Lincs.; Riccal Landing, N. Yorks.; Staple Gardens, Winchester; Of these four, Staple Gardens, Winchester is the only one which has been excavated to an extent to be able to rule out a church having ever been on a church site, though it may have been a satellite cemetery to the minster, being only 350 meters away: R. Kipling and G. Scobie, 'Staple Gardens 1989' in *Winchester Services Newsletter* 6 (1989), 8-9; P. Ottaway, Winchester: Swithun's 'City of Happiness and Good Fortune' (Oxford, 2017), 260.

[9] Oxford Archaeology, *New Drainage Works, St. James Church, Somerton, Oxfordshire: a watching brief* (Unpublished excavation report: Oxford, 2009).

[10] In addition to the sites in the footnote above, Maldonado's sample included Barhobble, Dumfries and Galloway, and Whithorn Fey Field (also in Dumfries and Galloway): W. Cormack, 'Barhobble, Mochrum: Excavation of a forgotten medieval church site in Galloway,' *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 70 (1995), 5-106; J. McComish and D. Petts, 'Excavations at Fey Field, Whithorn: Excavations David Pollock and Amanda Clarke,' York Archaeological Trust Web Publication, Report No. AYW9 (York, August 2008).

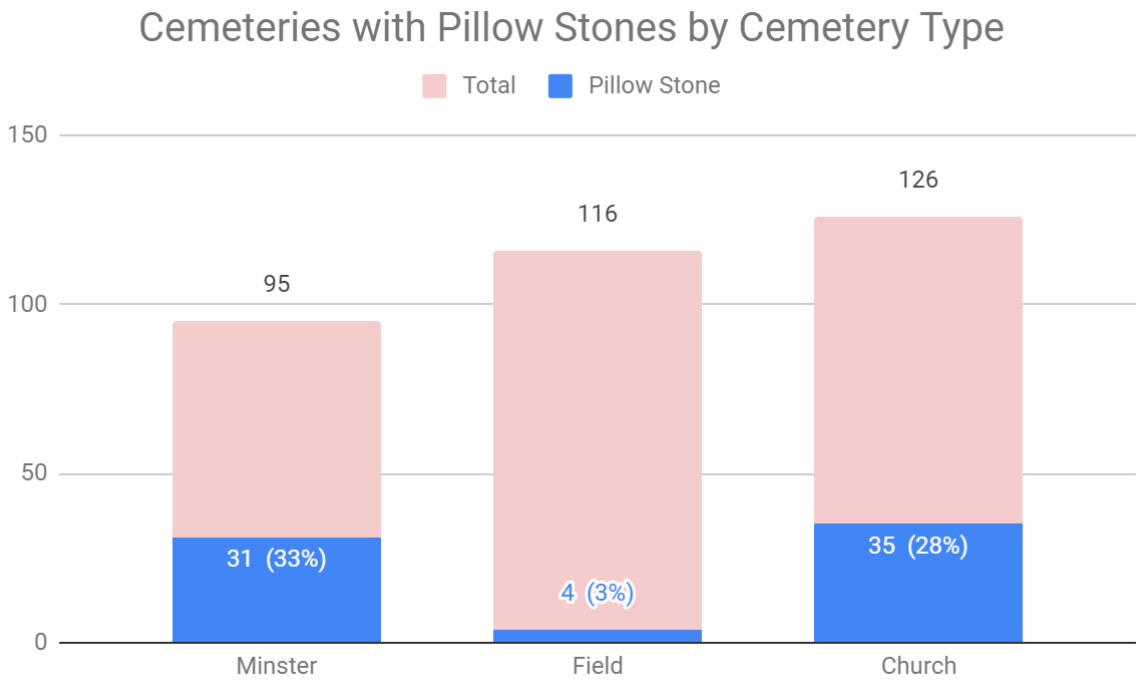


Figure 65: Distribution of pillow stones among different cemetery types

Another pattern of use occurs at Jarrow where this burial practice overwhelmingly favours women; the majority of burials with stone features belonged to adult females.[11] An example of this is burial 70/169 (?supine ?female, 50-70 years old) who had a stone behind her head, like a 'pillowstone,' and a cobble placed above her hands/ pelvis, as well as two female right-side burials with flat flagstones behind their left shoulders, burial 69/16 (35-45 years old) and burial 75/15 (16-18 years old).[12] Although the namestones at Hartlepool, which in being under the skull functioned as pillowstones, were overwhelmingly female, I have not yet examined the distribution between the sexes of this rite among the other cemeteries. Chronologically, the 'pillow stone' practice appears to have had a long lifespan across the British Isles, from the sixth century in Ireland through the twelfth century in England. The chronology of the use of pillowstones is convoluted, but points to churches increasing the

[11] Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, 180.
[12] Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, 180.

practice's popularity. The earliest pillow stones in the British Isles appear in three fifth- or sixth-century sites, not proximate to any nearby church, in County Meath in Ireland.[13] Though the total number of cemeteries with pillowstones or earmuffs in Ireland are few, the fifth- to sixth-century cemetery at Cherrywood (Co. Offaly) in Ireland has a rather high prevalence of 'earmuff' burials within the cemetery (Table 14).[14] Of fifteen well-known 'ecclesiastical cemeteries' in Ireland, only three of them have instances of ear-muffs or pillow stones, and these do not at first glance appear to be clustered by region or time period.[15] The earliest examples in Britain, however, are overwhelmingly associated with church burials, as in the Portmahomack's (Scotland), fifth- or sixth-century earliest phase.[16]

[13] The earliest instance in an Irish context that I have found is at Cherrywood, Dublin, in the fifth to sixth centuries.

[14] 76% (14/19) of skeletons with intact skulls. Cherrywood, Co. Offaly 1998 excavation (non-church): J. O'Neill, 'Excavation of Pre-Norman Structures at Cherrywood,' in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin VII* (Dublin, 2006), 66-88.

[15] Searching E. O'Brien's *Mapping Death* database returned only three more cemeteries pre-800, only one of which was ecclesiastical. Report on 15 cemeteries found in EMAP: A. O'Sullivan, F. McCormick, T. Kerr and H. Harney, 'Chapter 5: Early medieval burials and cemeteries,' in *Early Medieval Ireland: Archaeological Excavations 1930-2004, Early Medieval Archaeology Project (EMAP)* Report 2.1. (2008), 184. Mount Offaly, Co. Dublin: M. Conway, 'Mount Offaly, Cabinteely: early medieval enclosed cemetery,' in I. Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 1998: Summary Accounts of Archaeological Excavations in Ireland* (Bray, 2000), 36-7; H. A. King, '128 Burials and High Crosses at Clonmacnoise (Ireland),' in G. De Boe and F. Verhaeghe (eds.), *Death and Burial in Medieval Europe, Papers of the Medieval Europe Brugge 1997 conference, no. 4.* (Doornveld, 1997), 127-131.

[16] Carver, 'The Early-Medieval Monastery at Portmahomack', 1-30.

Table 14: Irish instances of Pillow Stone and Ear-Muff burials in early medieval church contexts

Irish Instances of 'Pillow Stones' & 'Ear-muffs' in some Ecclesiastic and Early Medieval Burials				
Name + Excavation Year	**County**	**Date**	**Head Support Type**	**Number**
Cherrywood 1998 (Non-Ecclesiastic)	Co. Offaly	5th/6th century	Ear-muffs	Appx. 14 (76% of skeletons with intact skulls)
Ninch 3 (Non-Ecclesiastic)	Co. Meath	5th-6th centuries	Ear-muffs or Pillow stones	Unstated
Balykillmore	Co. Meath	5th x 11th centuries (multiple phases)	Pillow stones	Unstated
Ardngross (Non-Ecclesiastic)	West Meath	7th-8th centuries	Ear-muffs	Unstated
Clonmacnoise 1997 South	Co. Offaly	B.26= 600-692 B.3= 691-704	Pillow stones	B.3, B.23
Clonmacnoise 1997 West	Co. Offaly	??	Pillow stones/ Ear-muffs	Unstated
St. Michael-le-Pole 2005[17]	Co. Dublin	c. 700-1200	Ear-muffs	'numerous'
Ardfert Cathedral 2007	Co. Kerry	Pre-890	Pillow stones	2/20 in Nave 1/3 in East Chapel
		late 9th- late 13th c.	Pillow stones/ Ear-muffs	12/20
Mount Offaly (Early Medieval enclosed cemetery)	Co. Dublin	'Phase 3'	Ear-muffs	4/114
		'Phase 4'	Ear-muffs	11/ 262
		'Phase 5'	Ear-muffs/ Pillow stones	33/424 ear-muffs 1/4 'head cist' burials had pillow stone (large flat quartz pebble?)
		'Phase 6'	Ear-muffs	57/225 (Adult burials)

[17] L. Simpson, 'Fifty years a-digging,' in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin XI* (Dublin, 2011), 9-112.

Besides Portmahomack, in both England and Scotland, head support burials first appear in the seventh century. In England, they became common in the eighth century, and flourish in the ninth and tenth. The cemeteries where head supports are used in England range from the seventh-century St. Mary's, Welwyn, Hertfordshire, to the c.1000-1100 cemetery at St. Martin at Palace, Norwich (Figure 67). Maldonado's assessment of Late Iron Age Scottish burial practice found that head support burials in Scotland had a floruit in the seventh century, but, as in both England and Ireland, continued in use until the end of the period (Figure 66).[18]

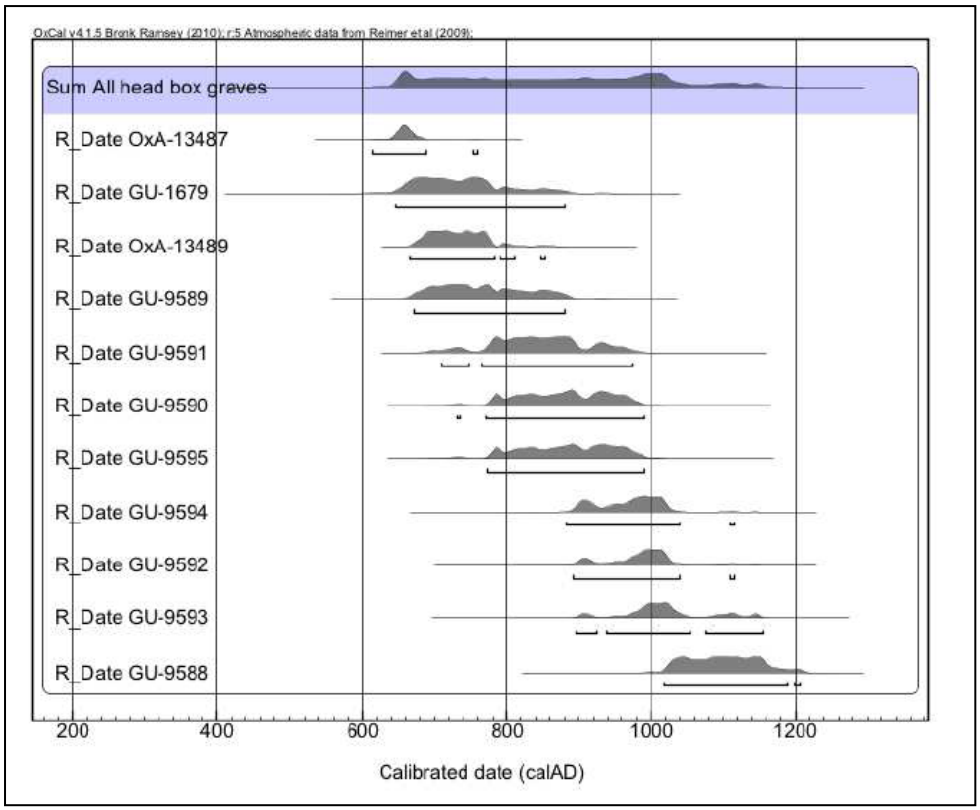


Figure 66: Calibrated dates from Scottish head-box graves, from Maldonado, Christianity and Burial, 103.

[18] Maldonado, *Christianity and Burial*, 103.

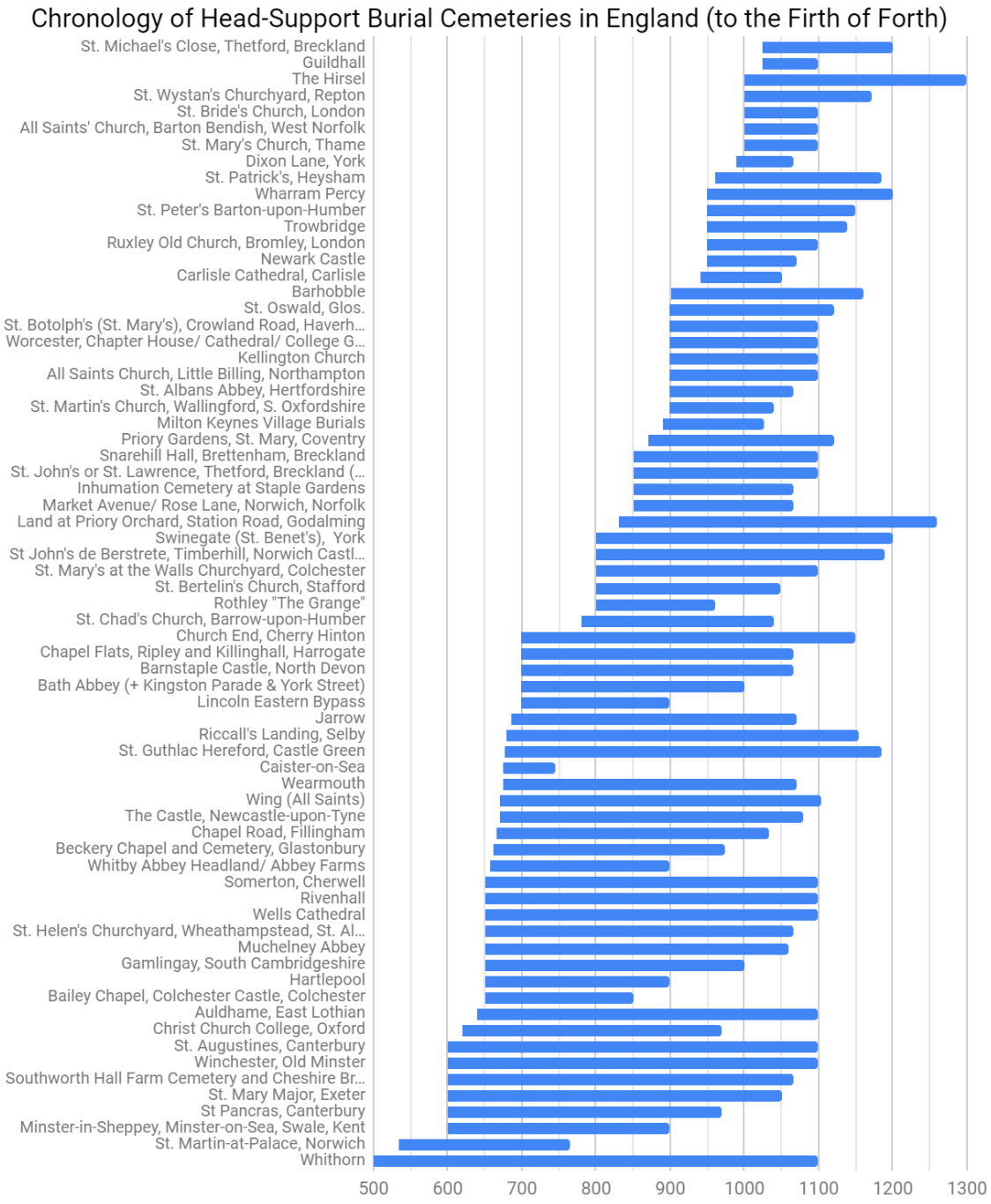


Figure 67: Cemeteries with head-support burials, by start date, over time. Cemeteries spanning from AD500xAD650 to 1100 are 'general' Anglo-Saxon or Late Iron Age sites, and it should be noted that they are either have an unclear date or (as at Whithorn) have multiple phases, not all of which might have head supports.

Discussion

Sixth- to seventh-century 'bed' burials in Anglo-Saxon Cambridgeshire point towards an origin for English head support burials in a posthumous effort to make the deceased look comfortable or to at least keep the head straight for the viewers.[19] Nevertheless, while the physical presence of cloth or straw-stuffed pillows at Barton-upon-Humber and other sites indicatethat head-support burials mimic a secular act of care throughout the early medieval period, stone head-supports were overwhelmingly used in churchyard cemeteries, implying that it possessed a now-unknown religious subtext.

Further, pillow stones' distribution among churches in Ireland and Scotland in the Patrician and Columban period and its appearance in Kent in the seventh century implies that head support burials, like shrouds, may have been an ecclesiastical import or became common as part of the adoption of Christianity. Sleeping upon a stone has both biblical significance and Irish hagiographic precedent: Jacob slept upon a stone before dreaming of the ladder to heaven, covered with angels, and Saint Columba is described as sleeping upon a stone pillow before he died.[20] I think that, in addition to illustrating St. Columba's ascetic nature to the very end, it is very likely the hagiographer wished to make the reader or listener think of Jacob's dream when retelling this anecdote about sleeping on a stone (Genesis 28:18); and, indeed, Columba's face when he had passed remained 'ruddy' with the joy of seeing an

[19] As at Edix Hil, Barrington (Cambs).

[20] Sharpe suggests in his translation of the *Life of St. Columba* that this stone pillar may resemble that which Jacob set up for Rachel: R. Sharpe (ed., trans.), *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (London, 1995), 228.

angel.[21] This ascetic emulation of Jacob may have been considered to bring the deceased closer to heaven.

Though inscribed and not *in-situ,* namestones provide a further possible analogue for the religious significance of pillowstones. Accounts of the first discovery of namestones at Hartlepool Cross Close (1833) report namestones as found under the skulls of skeletons, making them, contextually, a sort of pillowstone; the same cemetery had uninscribed pillow stones as well.[22] Although the visual program of namestones goes well beyond what a blank slate under a head tells us, using the assumption that namestones are a higher-status Bernician variation on pillowstones, a few things can be said.

Beyond the desire for the corpse to stay comfortable and appear in the grave as they did in life, it is plausible, though impossible to say with any certainty, that head supports were another aspect of arranging the body in the grave to prepare it for resurrection. Victoria Thompson recognised the importance of the perceived need for the corpse to remain 'intact' even after the grave is closed, and as we have seen, many aspects of burial practice aimed to keep the dead whole for resurrection, even though that was not technically a necessity.[23] The iconography of namestones suggests that pillowstones, beyond making the body appear rested and ready for resurrection, had eschatological overtones indicating that the deceased's soul was also thinking of Judgement Day.

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[21] '…His face continued to be ruddy, and in a wonderful degree gladdened by the vision of angels'/ '*…facies rubens et mirum in modum angelica uisione exhilarita in tantum remansit*': Adomnán of Iona, *Vita Columbae* III.23 in A. Anderson and M. Anderson (ed., trans.), *Adomnán's Life of Columba* (Oxford, 1991), 226-7.
[22] "X.Y.", "Runic Gravestones Found at Hartlepool," *Gentleman's Magazine* 102 (1833), 218-20; C. Maddern, *Raising the Dead: Early Medieval name stones in Northumbria* (Turnhout, 2013), 19.
[23] On intactness, Thompson, *Dying and Death,* 117-126.

The namestones' imagery evokes the end of all things but also new beginnings. The alpha and omega inscribed on six of the known namestones may reflect resurrection theology, as these are the apocalyptic symbols for Christ.[24] The form of inscribed crosses on namestones also practically copies the format of gospel book carpet pages which mark the start of each gospel, and thus may symbolize the start of a new heavenly life.[25] It may also imply that the inhabitant, in having read the gospels, is prepared for it. The book form and cross may also represent prayers of the living, which would help the deceased on their way to heaven, or have a talismanic function in warding off evil which might hinder the deceased's way.[26]

The Newent Slab, a highly decorated West Mercian stone found under a skull in 1912, implies a Mercian take on all of the above, combining a figural depiction of the Last Judgement with the names of the gospel-writers around the edges, and the crucifixion on the front.[27] These scenes embody the crux of Christian belief and emphasized the aforementioned preparation for resurrection. The similarities in size, shape, and design between gospel books and both namestones and the Newent Slab also implies that the namestones not only contained the above symbolism, but also allowed the gospel to be in the grave as a grave good. This calls to mind the bedside scene described in MS. Laud Misc. 482, among others, where the priest is to read to the dying and explain the concept of the Trinity and Last Judgement to ensure that they are prepared for heaven.[28]

[24] Apocalypse 1.8; Maddern, *Raising the Dead,* 146.
[25] M. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality, and the Scribe* (London, 2003), 316.
[26] Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels*, 316.
[27] G. Zarnecki, 'The Newent Funerary Tablet,' *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 72 (1953), 49-55.
[28] Thompson, *Dying and Death,* 90.

While not all of this imagery may translate directly to pillow stones, this evidence from namestones, found in the same spot in the grave as pillow stones, further evinces that, though the body is in repose, the symbolism of the pillow stone helped prepare the soul for heaven.

Charcoal Lining

Typology and Distribution

In the charcoal burial variation, the grave is lined by a layer of wood charcoal. The body or coffin was placed on top of this charcoal layer, or, less usually, underneath it. While many reports classify a grave with any charcoal in it as a charcoal burial, the classic definition requires charcoal below the body in a layer.[29] James Holloway has divided the instances of this burial variation into four types: 1) burial in which the body is laid upon a layer of charcoal, 2) burial where the layer of charcoal extends up the grave cut in addition to below the coffin, as at Winchester and York,[30] 3) instances where charcoal is both below and above the coffin (termed a 'coverlet'), and 4) burial with charcoal only above.[31] The majority of examples, however, consist of a lining of charcoal at the bottom of the grave cut, under the

[29] Holloway also points out that the 'flecked' charcoal burials might actually involve burnt grains. Holloway, 'Charcoal Burial in Early Medieval England,' 19, 22-3. More often, charcoal is noted as being in in the grave fill as an inclusion in the soil (like quartz silica, or clay), perhaps redistributed from another industrial-use area, and are not grain. These I do not believe to be, and have not noted as, charcoal burials. Ex: Addingham, West Yorkshire: M. Adams, 'Excavation of a pre-Conquest Cemetery at Addingham, West Yorkshire,' *Medieval Archaeology* 40 (1996), 151-191 at 165.
[30] M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester, 1968: 7th interim report,' in *Antiquaries Journal* 49 (1969), 295-329 at 321; D. Philips and B. Heywood, *Excavations at York Minster* (London, 1995), 87.
[31] Holloway, *Charcoal Burial*, 23.

coffin, if there is one.[32] The thickness of the charcoal varies; Kjølbye-Biddle divided the Winchester burials into charcoal sub-groups based upon their thickness, with some as little as 1-4cm and others as thick as 5-10cm.[33]

The textual evidence for the use of charcoal in burials is slim. Daniell observes that charcoal with burial is mentioned in Sulpicius Severus's *Life of St. Martin,* which was widely known in monasteries of the Anglo-Saxon period.[34] Holloway faithfully traced instances of '*col'* in place names, but found very little aside from references to coal as a comparison for colour.[35]

In Kjølbye-Biddle's survey of charcoal use across England, the ninth-century charcoal burials at Winchester were the earliest example of the practice.[36] Holloway's survey finds a range of dates centring on the ninth through the eleventh centuries.[37] My own survey has found this range to be correct but, as shown below, I have further narrowed down the chronological peak of use, particularly as pertains to geographical distribution.

Charcoal burials are usually combined with either a plain dug grave or a coffin grave type, but can be found, more rarely, with slab-lined burials. They have also been paired with head supports and willow wands.[38]

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[32] B. Kjølbye-Biddle, 'The disposal of the Winchester dead over 2000 years,' in S.R. Bassett (ed.), *Death in Towns* (Leicester, 1992), 210-47 at 228-9.
[33] Kjølbye-Biddle, *Winchester* (forthcoming).
[34] C. Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066-1550* (London, 1997), 158; A. Roberts (ed. and trans.), *The Works of Sulpitius Severus* (Oxford, 1894), 23; Holloway, *Charcoal Burial,* 257.
[35] Holloway, *Charcoal Burial*, 253.
[36] Kjølbye-Biddle, *Winchester* (forthcoming).
[37] J. Holloway, 'Material Symbolism and Death: Charcoal burial in later Anglo-Saxon England,' in J. Buckberry and A. Cherryson (eds.), *Burial in Later Anglo-Saxon England c. 650-1100AD* (Oxford, 2012), 83-92 at 86.
[38] Head supports at Hereford; Shoesmith, *Excavations at Castle Green*, 24. Willow wands at: Old Minster, Winchester: Kjølbye-Biddle, *Winchester* (forthcoming).

Table 15: Charcoal burial, c. 700-1066

Charcoal Burial, c. 700-1066					
Site	**County**	**Notes**	**Number (Charcoal/ Total)**	**Dates (C14 to 1σ unless noted)**	**Minster/ Field/ Church**
Bath Abbey (+ Kingston Parade & York Street)	Bath	layer below and above	9/32	calAD 776-968	M
Addinston	Berwickshire, Scotland		x/20	500-1100 (Scottish Late Iron Age)	F
Medmenham Abbey, Wycombe	Buckinghamshire	-	1/75	9th-11th centuries	M
St. Alkmund's Church, Derby	Derbyshire	-	4/7	c.700-1000	M
St. Wystan's Churchyard, Repton	Derbyshire	packed around body	1/463	7th-12th centuries (whole cemetery)	M
Barnstaple Castle, North Devon	Devon	one on a layer; a few 'handfulls' on body	x/105	8th century to Conquest? (whole cemetery)	C
Exeter Castle	Devon	-	4/8	pre-Conquest	F
St. Mary Major, Exeter	Devon	-	17/107	10th-11th centuries	M
Barhobble	Dumfries & Galloway, Scotland	packed	x/134	calAD 902-1160	M
St. Mary's House, Little Oakley, Tendring	Essex		Y- 1/1 (F54)	pre-12th c.	C
St. Oswald, Glos.	Gloucestershire	-	34/141	calAD 890-1020	M
Romsey Abbey	Southampton	layer of charcoal	6/32	calAD 890-1039 (1s); calAD 876-1020 (1s); calAD 772-902 (53.4%) 920-962 (14.8%) (1s)	M
Winchester, New Minster	Hampshire	-	23/109	10th century	M
Winchester, Old Minster	Hampshire	charcoal lining	74/743	9th century	M
Dewsall Court, Dewsall	Herefordshire		x/11	650-890 (sk 2 & 53)	M
St. Guthlac Hereford, Castle Green	Herefordshire	charcoal above in 4, below in others	13/54	calAD 940-1049 (2sig)	M

Charcoal Burial, c. 700-1066					
Site	**County**	**Notes**	**Number (Charcoal/ Total)**	**Dates (C14 to 1σ unless noted)**	**Minster/ Field/ Church**
St. Patrick's, Heysham	Lancashire		1/88	8th c. forward? C14 960-1185	C
St. Mark's, Lincoln	Lincolnshire	2 layers of charcoal	8/124	calAD 942-1038	C
St. Peter's Barton-upon-Humber	Lincolnshire	coated with clay then charcoal	1/405	early 11th century	M
Red Castle, Thetford, Breckland	Norfolk	Charcoal in mouth, and charcoal by head	2/85	"pre-Conquest"	C
Saxon Town on Primary School Grounds, Hilary Road, Thetford, Breckland	Norfolk	Child in sand lined with chalk; flints in infill	2/3	Late Saxon	F
St. Chad's Church, Barrow-upon-Humber	North Lincolnshire	on a bed	x/87	9th-12th centuries	M
Middle to Late Saxon Cemetery, Seaton Road, Harringworth	Northamptonshire	G222: spread of charcoal below burial with wood grain aligned with grave; patches above burial	x/30	Mid -Late Saxon	F
Raunds Furnells	Northamptonshire	-	x/363	900-1000	C
All Saints' Church, Oxford	Oxfordshire	layer of charcoal	1/16	calAD 1030-1169	C
Christ Church College, Oxford	Oxfordshire	(F121, F123)	2/37.	8th-12th c.; C14 734-825AD * cal by A. Bayliss	M
Christ Church Tom Quad, Oxford	Oxfordshire	layer of charcoal	2/2	8th-12th c.; C14 734-825AD * cal by A. Bayliss	M
St Frideswide, Oxford	Oxfordshire	-	2/20	calAD 735-1010 (2sig)	M
St. Aldate's, Oxford	Oxfordshire	-	8/19	c. 850-1000	M
St. Martin's Church, Wallingford, S. Oxfordshire	Oxfordshire	-	2/100	calAD 992-1156 (2sig)	C
Shrewsbury Abbey Chapter House	Shropshire	-	x/3	pre-1400/ *pre-1900??	C
Muchelney Abbey	Somerset	-	x/5	650-1060	M

Charcoal Burial, c. 700-1066					
Site	**County**	**Notes**	**Number (Charcoal/ Total)**	**Dates (C14 to 1σ unless noted)**	**Minster/ Field/ Church**
Lichfield Cathedral, Lichfield	Staffordshire	-	5/49	964-1040 (59.8%) 1s; 892-1052 (80.6%) 2s	M
St. Bertelin's Church, Stafford	Staffordshire	M- Carver thinks so		9th-11th c.; c14 says	C
Land at Priory Orchard, Station Road, Godalming	Surrey	-	x/300	calAD 993-1040 (1s)	C
Bishopstone	Sussex	-	x/32	8th-9th c.	M
Lewes	Sussex	with coffins	2/9	Late Saxon/ pre conquest	M
Chichester Cathedral	West Sussex	on a bed	2-6/'several'	8th-10th c.; "pre-norman"	M
Addingham	West Yorkshire	-	(6 flecks in fill)/88	C14: 720+/-40AD, 730+/-60AD & 810+/-80AD.	C
Trowbridge	Wiltshire	1 layer of charcoal	1/148	Late Saxon to Saxo Norman	C
Inhumation Cemetery at Staple Gardens	Winchester	charcoal layer	7/206	9th to 11th centuries	F
St. Helen On the Walls	York	under feet and ankles	1/10	c.1060-1280	C
St. Mary Bishophill Senior, York	Yorkshire	-	1/4+	Alcuin ref: community by 750; enclosed cemetery by 10th c.	C
York Minster	Yorkshire	lining under coffin	15/109	calAD 696-997 (B37) calAD 717-742 (B40) calAD 856-1164 (B106) calAD 819-1218 (B107)	M

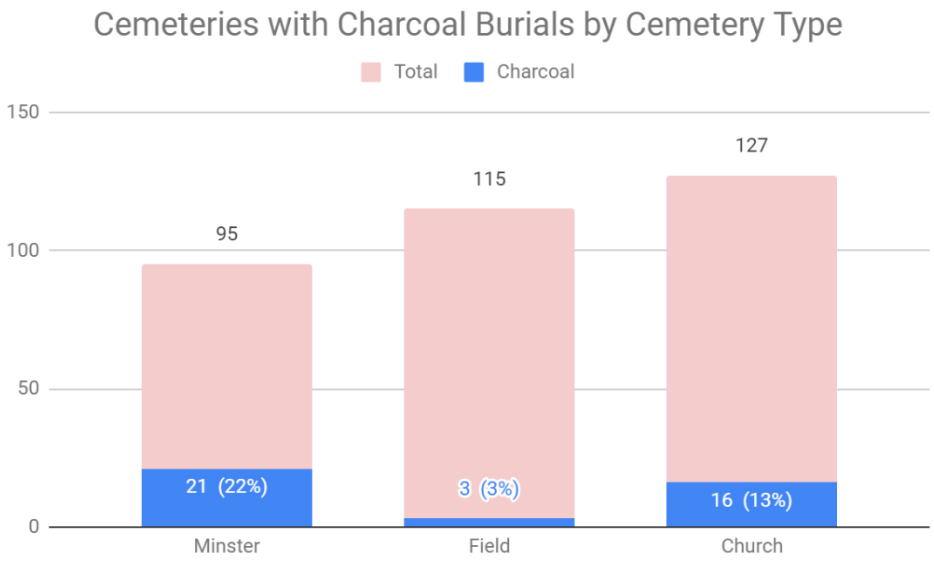


Figure 68: Percent charcoal cemeteries by type

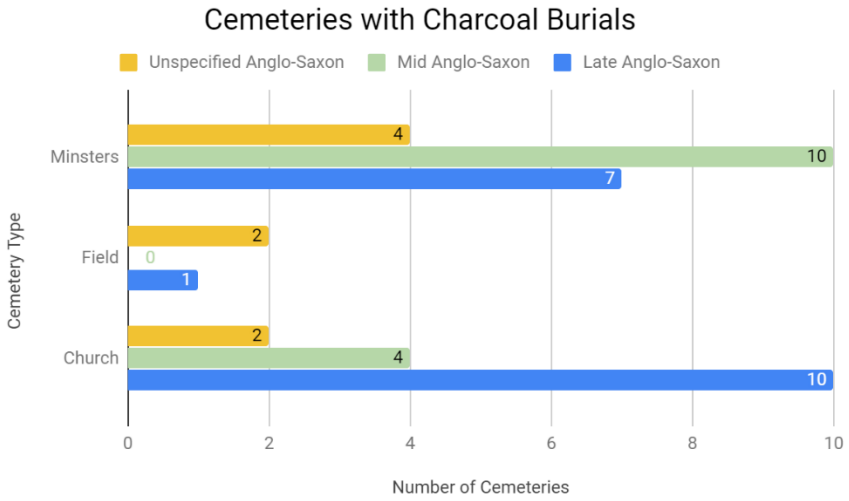


Figure 69: Charcoal cemeteries by period

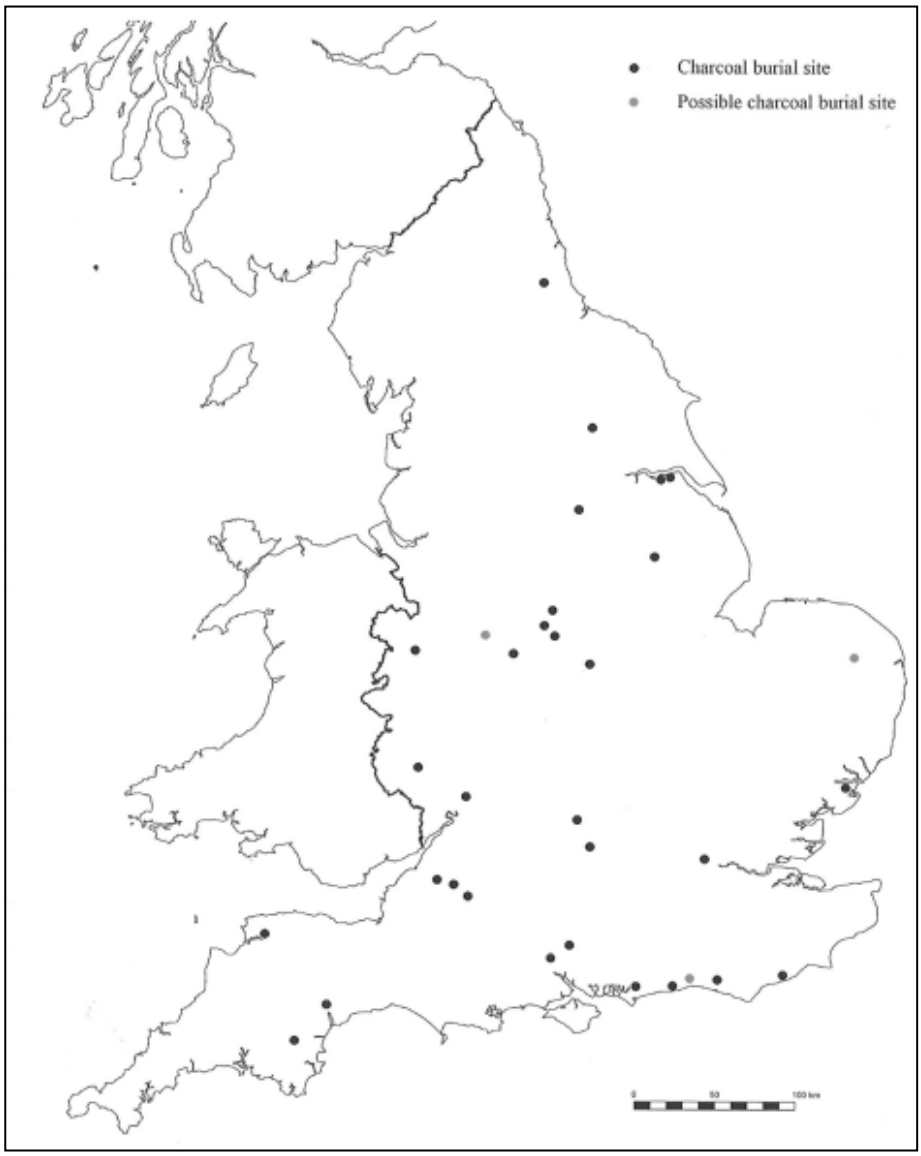


Figure 70: Charcoal and possible charcoal burial sites through the 13th century from Holloway, Charcoal Burial: a minority rite, 171

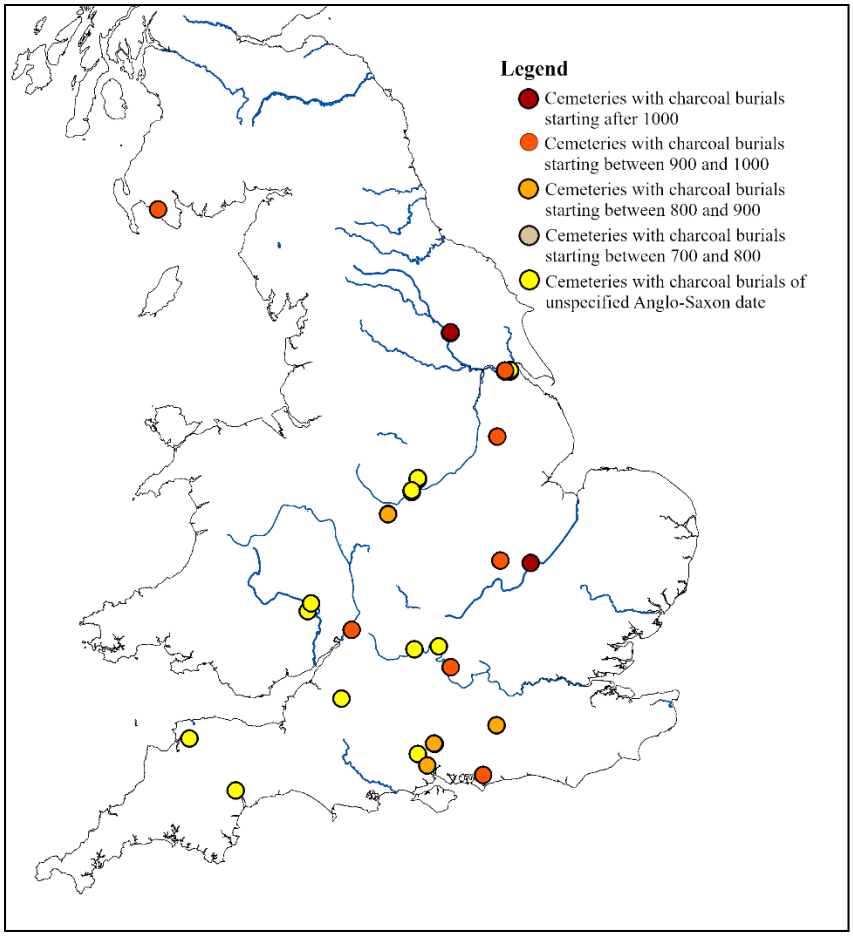


Figure 71: Map of cemeteries with charcoal lined graves in this survey

James Holloway in his 2009 Cambridge thesis broadly surveyed the geographic and chronological spread of charcoal, citing examples both before and after the Conquest as well in England and across the sea.[39] He found 38 cemeteries with charcoal burials in England, some of which I have excluded due to their antiquarian nature (e.g. Hastings, Sussex, Durham Cathedral, and Conisbrough, South Yorkshire) and others due to their falling within the post-Conquest period (e.g. Lewes, Sussex and Calke Abbey, Derbyshire)(Figure

[39] See also: Holloway, 'Material Symbolism and Death: Charcoal Burial in Later Anglo-Saxon England.' At Martin Biddle's request, I have purposefully not looked terribly closely at Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle's analysis of charcoal burials in her write up of Winchester, as he expects to publish it very soon. However, I will cite her work as presented in James Holloway's thesis, as Holloway consulted with her personally on the topic.

71).[40] I have thus omitted 16 of his cemeteries, but have found more examples within the period myself, bringing my own total to 40 with an overlap of 16 from his sample (Figure 70, Figure 71).

As can be observed on the map above, charcoal burial is common south of the Humber, with a few exceptional instances north of it (Barhobble, tenth to eleventh centuries; St. Helen-on-the-Walls, eleventh to thirteenth centuries).[41] These exceptions are all late chronologically, particularly compared to the examples in Wessex. The earliest radiocarbon-dated charcoal burial is at Oxford Christ Church/ St. Aldate's, calibrated using the IntCal13 calibration on OxCal to a possible start date in the last quarter of the eighth century.[42] The other two samples from the site have a range of calAD 801-973, however, and it is more likely that the practice originated or spread from a place such as Winchester, at which there are over 100 instances of charcoal graves.

Charcoal burial as a rite has instances and analogues in both France and Scandinavia.[43] Some burial sites in Northern France practiced charcoal burial before it became widespread in England. Nine burials dating to the seventh or eighth century in Mazerney, France had a full bed of charcoal; 58 other burials possessed indications of burnt organic material in them.[44] The majority of descriptions of this Merovingian practice indicate the burning of something

[40] In the case of Trowbridge, I excluded it from this listing because I did not find mention of charcoal within the full report: A.H. Graham and S.M. Davies, *Excavations in the Town Centre of Trowbridge, Wiltshire, 1977 and 1986-1988*, (Old Sarum, 1993).
[41] St. Peter's and St. Patrick's, Heysham (Lancs.), burial #63 (from Phase I), should also be included, as it is described as having 'a spread of charcoal over [the] grave.' It also includes a bone comb by the pelvis, of Anglo-Scandinavian type, datable to the 10th century: T.W. Potter and R.D. Andrews, 'Excavation and Survey at St. Patrick's Chapel and St. Peter's Church, Heysham, Lancashire, 1977-8,' *The Antiquaries Journa*l 74 (1994), 35-134.
[42] Burial #835, 1210 +/- 36 BP, calibrated using IntCal13 at 68.2% (1σ) to calAD 770-879.
[43] As at Lund: J. Holloway 'Charcoal Burial: A Minority Burial Rite in Early Medieval Europe,' in E.M. Murphy (ed.), *Deviant Burial in the Archaeological Record* (Oxford, 2008), 131-147 at 137-8.
[44] B. Young, *Quatre cimetières mérovingiens de l'Est de la France* (Oxford, 1984).

at the graveside rather than production of a charcoal layer, however. Though it is possible that connections with France were an aspect of the adoption of charcoal burial in England, it is unlikely. In Scandinavia, on the other hand, charcoal burial appears after the practice was already common in Anglo-Saxon England, in the eleventh century, and more often in combination with wands/switches than it does in England, raising further questions.[45] Charcoal burial does not appear to have been as prevalent in either Scandinavia or Frankia as it was in tenth-century Wessex, however.[46]

Discussion

Examining the distribution, it is apparent that charcoal burial as a practice was far more popular in the southern area of England of the ninth to eleventh centuries (and later) than it was in the North. Charcoal burial barely reached into the pre-Conquest Danelaw or Hiberno-British Cumbria at all, with the most northerly instance on the east coast being at St. Helen-on-the-Walls in Yorkshire, and no examples west of the Pennines until the tenth or eleventh century.[47] The chronology suggests that, rather than being adopted from Scandinavia, the practice was imported *to* Scandinavia from England.

[45] K. Jonsson, 'Burial Rods and Charcoal Graves: New Light on Old Burial Practices,' in *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 3 (2008), 43-73 at 58.
[46] Holloway, 'Charcoal Burial: a minority rite,' 131-8.
[47] Omitting the results from the antiquarian excavation at Fowler's 1874 excavation of the former chapter house in the Deanery Garden (built c.1135) at Durham which found seven charcoal burials below it with other graves from the late Saxon period (AD 995 at earliest) to AD 1135. Fowler identifies one of the graves with charcoal (and a stone coffin, and a layer of lime and mortar) as belonging to the 'mighty' Bishop Flambard (r.1099-1100, 1101-1128): J.T. Fowler, 'An account of excavations made on the site of the Chapter-house of Durham Cathedral in 1874,' *Archaeologia* 45 (1880), 385-404, and J.T. Fowler, 'Excavations on the site of the Chapter-House of Durham Abbey,' *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland* 2 (1883), 235-70 at 240, 244-7, in Holloway, *Charcoal Burial in Early Medieval England*, 15, 97. As discussed below, the inclusion of lime and mortar in addition to the charcoal likely confirms the supposed post-Conquest date.

Initial statistical models of the charcoal burials, produced through modelling the data of all charcoal burials with radiocarbon dates or which were tightly dated through stratigraphic means suggest that the 'hot spots' of use did appear earlier in Wessex, starting in the ninth century before fading forward in time, and down in number, in minsters in the East Midlands and to the north. Statistical analysis only reflects the data which is given to it, however, and may produce different answers depending upon how one frames the question.

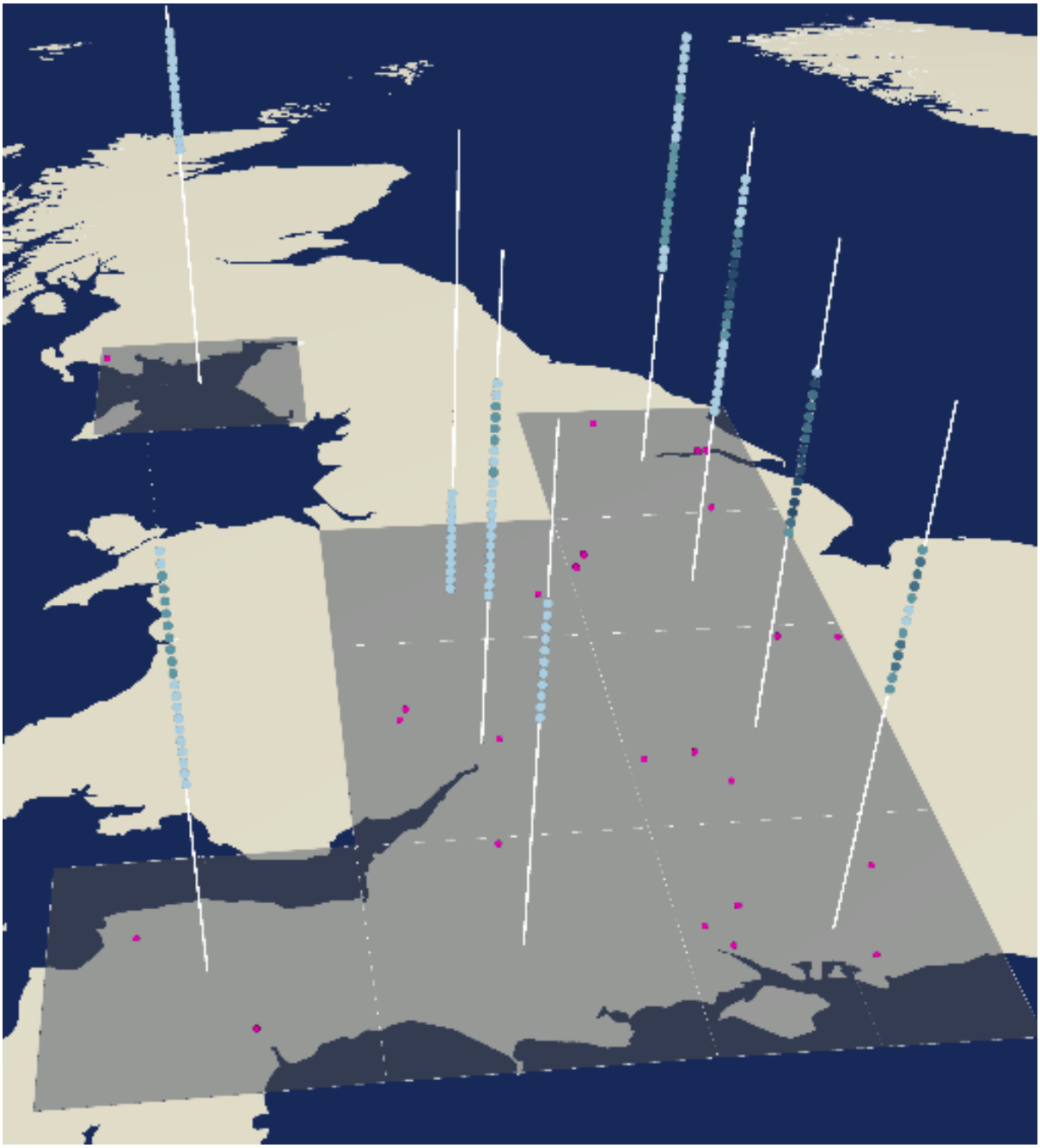


Figure 72: The distribution of charcoal burials by 100km square, through time. Time 'starts' at 400 at ground level, and extends to 1200 at the top of each rod. Each dot represents 20 years; darker blue represents a higher density of charcoal burials. Pink dots represent the specific location of charcoal burials.

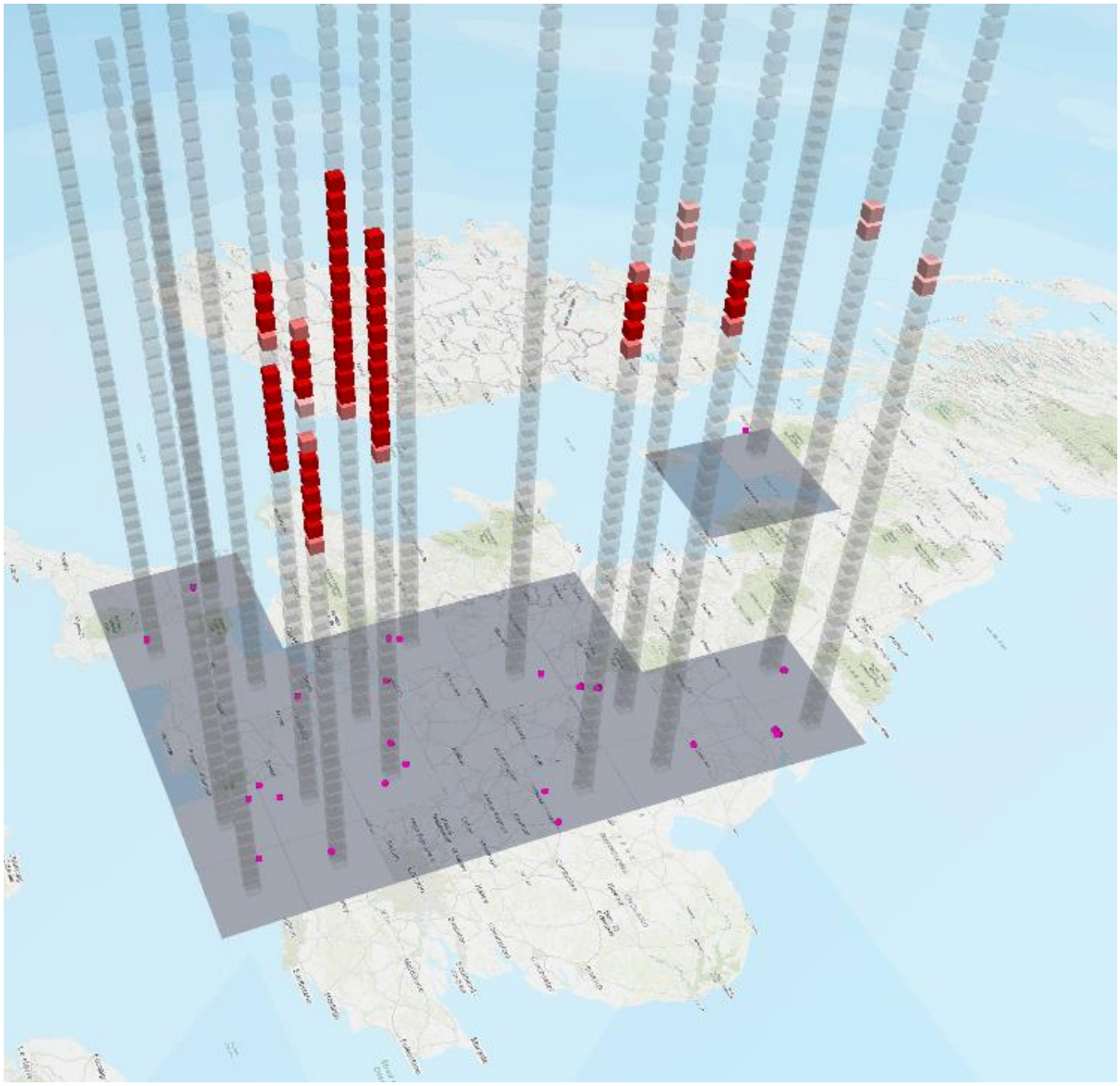


Figure 73: Space-time cube heat map of the distribution through time and space of charcoal burials, this time in 50km 'bins'; the most significant areas for charcoal burials are in red. Time extends from the bottom of the column to the top, as above.

The greater prevalence of charcoal burial at higher-status minsters than at smaller churches or field cemeteries is apparent in both Holloway's dataset and my own (Figure 68, Figure 69). This, the location of charcoal burials nearer or within the church within churchyards (see Chapter 2), the extra effort (and presumably cost) required in and the fact that charcoal burial is often combined with other burial types and variations suggests that charcoal burial may have been an indicator of a high-status burial.

In examining the space-time cubes shown in Figure 72 and Figure 73 (both produced using a form of Ripley's K-function to determine clumping through time as well as space),[48] a few things become apparent.[49] By running the k-function simulation in 50km and 100km trials, using radiocarbon dates specifically from charcoal burials wherever possible and using the *terminus post quem* and *terminus ante quem* for the contexts with charcoal burials in all other cases, we can see that there is a "hot spot" specifically in Wessex. The darker cluster (shown in red in Figure 73) goes west up to the border of Mercia at that time; Chichester has a long run (as can be seen in the bottom middle square, with a strand of darker cubes above), but it is in Surrey, Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Oxfordshire and Gloucester – the centre of the south, and in the ninth century a place of both conflict, contraction, and expansion of Wessex—that we find the real concentration of charcoal burials. The space-time cube provides an easy view of the distribution of the burials over time, which makes it clear that the northern instances of charcoal burial are significantly later and are the least significant, statistically.

Chalk Burials

Typology and Distribution

Chalk is used in burials in three forms. First, in the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period, it appears in two instances in post-holes near burials, suggesting use as a grave marker;

[48] 'Create Space Time Cube by Aggregating Points,' ArcGIS Desktop, ESRI (2017) http://pro.arcgis.com/en/pro-app/tool-reference/space-time-pattern-mining/create-space-time-cube.htm; 'Space-Time Analysis,' ArcGIS Desktop, ESRI (2017) http://pro.arcgis.com/en/pro-app/tool-reference/spatial-statistics/space-time-analysis.htm; For discussion of Ripley's K-function in archaeology, see Sayer and Wienhold, 'A GIS-Investigation of Four Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries.'

[49] See also Section 2.4.2 in this study's introductory chapter.

second, it appears in forms which closely mimic other grave variations (such as grave lining and earmuffs) but in chalk rather than limestone; third, it is found packed around areas of the body in an excessive sort of fashion more allied to use of mortar, clay, or charcoal than to stone. Of interest is that within these categories there are instances where chalk was used in locations outside of the geological region where it would be quarried with ease, as noted at post-holes at Sutton Courtenay.[50]

The second form in which chalk is found in the grave is where it merely replaces the native stone where it would be used as a slab-lined cist or as a pillow stone. At Beverley Minster, burials were lined with thin, dressed chalk slabs, emulating dressed slab-lined burials across the north.[51] At other sites, the chalk lining is kin to the average slab-lined cist, resembling the form of the long-cist, but in chalk rather than another stone. Graves 1 and 2 at Thetford Grammar School, on the other hand, had their heads propped between chalk blocks.[52] At Red Castle Thetford, chalk was used in a 'stone-built' mortared coffin (erroneously termed sarcophagus in the site report), of which other instances are made of other local stone.

The third manner is use of chalk to 'pad' the grave, slightly more conspicuous than regular stone usage within the grave, and of more interest to the present study because of the striking visual image it provides. An example of this is at Barton Bendish, Norfolk, where chalk was packed below the skull and on the feet of the enclosed skeleton.[53] In grave 297, chalk was also redeposited around the skull to form a head niche, more dramatic than

[50] H. Hamerow, *pers. comm.* January 2015.
[51] Johnson, 'Recent Excavations at Beverley Minster,' 400.
[52] Wheatley, 'Thetford Girls' Grammar School. 1957. Excavations on Mr. Pearson's Land, July 15th-July 23rd, 1957.'
[53] A. Rogerson and S.J. Ashley, *The Parish Churches of Barton Bendish: the Excavation of All Saints' and the architecture of St Andrew's and St Mary's. EAA* 32 (1987), 1-66 at 43.

either pillow stones or earmuffs. Bevis Grave has an example where the chalk is compacted around the coffin in grave 59.[54]

Unfortunately, only one of the chalk burials in this study is radiocarbon dated, limiting the ability to produce an estimated guess about the time period in which chalk burials flourished using Bayesian statistics. Even using only relative dating methods, however, it quickly becomes apparent that chalk burial is a later practice. Chalk burial is found primarily in Late Saxon graveyards, but even within mid-Saxon graveyards it occurs within the later levels of stratigraphy, implying that its popularity most likely began at the end of the mid-Saxon period (Figure 75). The earliest cemeteries in which chalk burials occur are those in which we rely on a *terminus post quem* to date the entire cemetery despite intercutting and multiple stratigraphic layers of burials.[55] Nevertheless, even when accounting for the cemetery as a whole, the use of chalk in graves does not seem to appear before the eighth century at the earliest with any force. The height of the practice appears to be in the Late Saxon period, starting in the late eighth to ninth centuries. It is apparent that even at its height, the use of chalk was uncommon in graves. Still, it is interesting that chalk was implemented more broadly, and earlier, at non-minster church sites, rather than spreading between minsters (the database returned only six non-church-associated sites) (Figure 74).

[54] D.J. Rudkin, 'Excavations at Bevis' Grave, Camp Down, Bedhampton, Hants.' Fishbourne Roman Palace Museum Report. (Unpublished Report, 2001), 19.

[55] The exception to this is the undated, antiquarian-excavated, primary-use barrow burial at Roche Court Down in Wiltshire (separate to the Anglo-Saxon execution cemetery, although the mound may have served as a focus point for the later cemetery; see next chapter); J.F. Stone, 'Saxon interments on Roche Court Down, Winterslow,' *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine* 45 (1932), 569-599 at 578. The man interred was covered by turf before his grave was piled with white chalk rubble and sealed with flint. This supports the idea of white being used as a visual feature of the grave. This area of Wiltshire is also within the Lewes Nodule Chalk Formation, proximate to the Clay-with-Flints location.

Table 16: Burials with Chalk

Burials with Chalk, c. AD 700-1066			
Site	**County**	**Dates**	**Form of Chalk**
Beverley Minster	E. Yorkshire	c. 992-1100	2/3 in Trench 2; several graves lined w/ thin dressed chalk slabs
Bevis' Grave, Bedhampton, Havant	Hampshire	7th- 9th/10th c.	G59; compacted around coffin
Winchester, Old Minster	Hampshire	600-1100	Y- mortar G536
St. Guthlac Hereford, Castle Green	Herefordshire	Simple burials 630-770; charcoal 840-100; 68.2% 678-779; 95.4 651-901	Y
St. Mark's, Lincoln	Lincolnshire	c. 900-1000	Y
71-77 Leadenhall St., 32-40 Mitre St. London	London	Late Saxon- 12th c.	'most commonly in stone and mortar lined cists'
All Saints' Church, Barton Bendish, West Norfolk	Norfolk	Late Saxon	G278- chalk lumps below skull and on feet; G297 chalk redeposited around skull to form head niche
Market Avenue/ Rose Lane, Norwich, Norfolk	Norfolk	c. 1000-1066	Y
Nelson Crescent	Norfolk	?Late Saxon	M- Chalk and flints (could be local)
North of Cathedral, Norwich	Norfolk	Late Saxon	Y-SK153 mortar-lined w/ head recess, tapering sides
Saxon Town on Primary School Grounds, Hilary Road, Thetford, Breckland	Norfolk	Late Saxon	Y- Burial 2
Snarehill Hall, Brettenham, Breckland	Norfolk	Late Saxon	Y
St. John's or St. Lawrence, Thetford, Breckland (Grammar School)	Norfolk	11th-12th c 'securely dated' late Saxon/ Saxo-Norman	Y-#1 & #2 : Head firmly wedged between blocks of chalk
St. Chad's Church, Barrow-upon-Humber	Lincolnshire	calAD 887-1157	G50= mortared floor; G51= chalk slab ossuary
Sutton Courtenay, Vale of White Horse	Oxfordshire	7th c.?	Clay 'blanket' across chest
Wells Cathedral	Somerset	650-1100	M- mortar in head crevass
Fetcham Down	Surrey	Late Saxon	'laid in chalk'
St. Helen On the Walls	York	1140+/-80, 1170 +/-80	MORTAR- G 5415, E end of church, no nails; 5316 mortar base ashlar blocks,

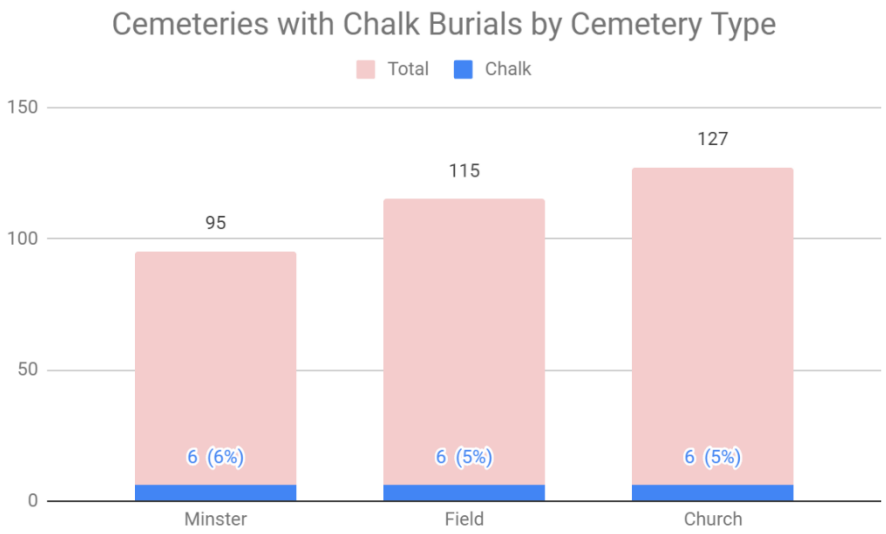


Figure 74: Percent Chalk Burials by Type

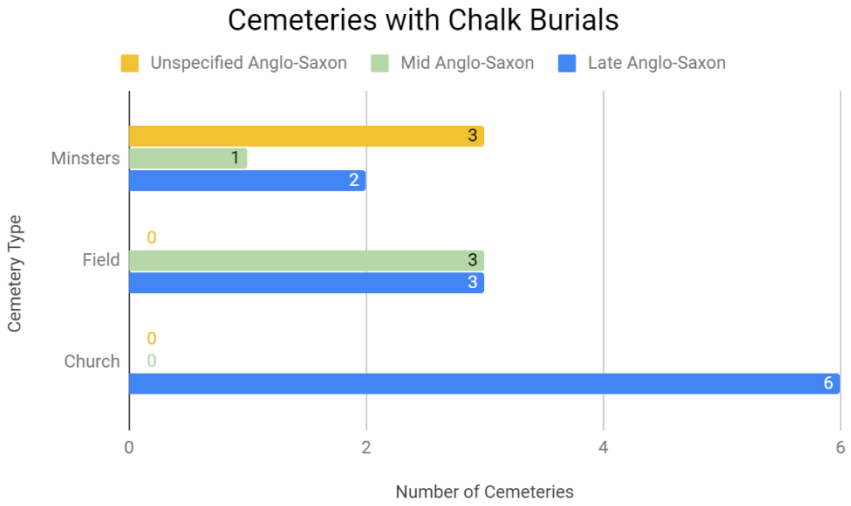


Figure 75: Chalk burials by period

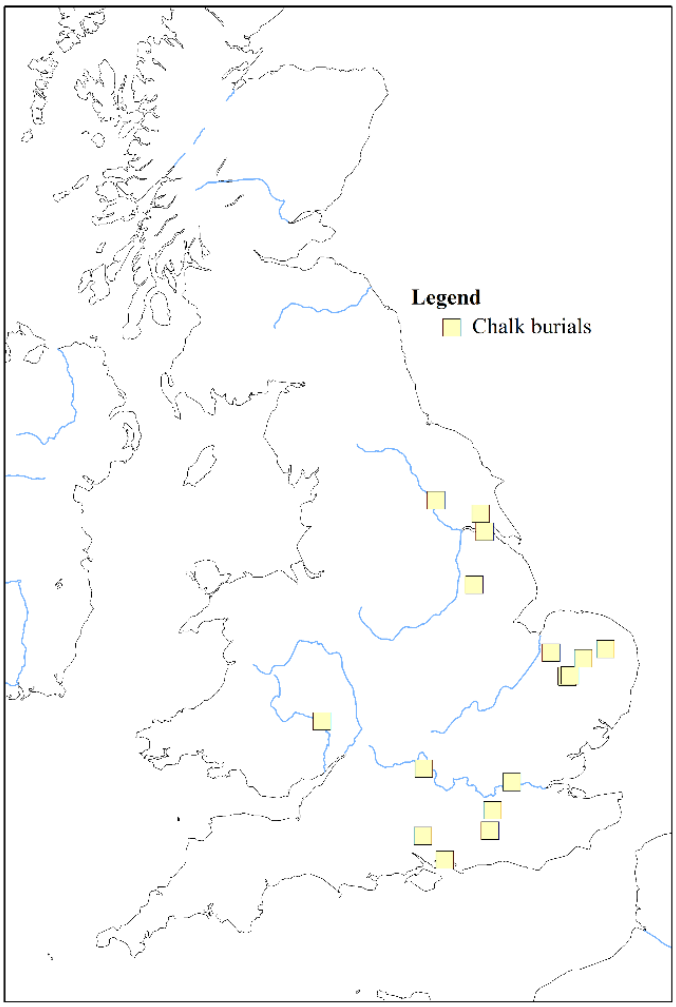


Figure 76: Chalk burials

Mapping the sites which use chalk in burial contexts has primarily shown a correspondence with the geological bedrock features (Figure 76, Figure 77). There are also, however, instances where obtaining the chalk would have been inconvenient to those burying the dead, suggesting extra effort and thus, some level of significance (Table 17).

The first form of chalk grave would be unremarkable if the two instances of it did not require the chalk to have been imported. At Sewerby, a layer of chalk blocks was associated with at least one posthole overlaying graves 41, 42 and 49.[56] This would conform with the structural usage of chalk outlined above, in rubble form as packing for foundations etc., except for the effort necessary to bring chalk to the site. This thus suggests aesthetic reasons for the utilization or repurposing of the chalk. Chalk lining presumably would have been covered by a layer of soil, but if the soil was washed away at any point, the chalk would still have rendered the grave visible, which would be useful for

[56] S. M. Hirst, *An Anglo-Saxon Inhumation Cemetery at Sewerby, East Yorkshire* (York, 1985).

people increasingly concerned (despite all sermons to the contrary) with demarking the body in the soil and possibly preserving it whole for the afterlife.[57]

Table 17: List of Sites with Chalk Burials distant to Chalk Bedrock

Burial Sites with Chalk which are at a Distance to Chalk	
Site	**Distance to nearest Geological Chalk**
St. Helen on the Walls, York	20 km
St. Guthlac, Hereford	>23 km
St. Mark's, Lincoln	25 km
Romsey Abbey	4 km
Mitre St., London	3 km

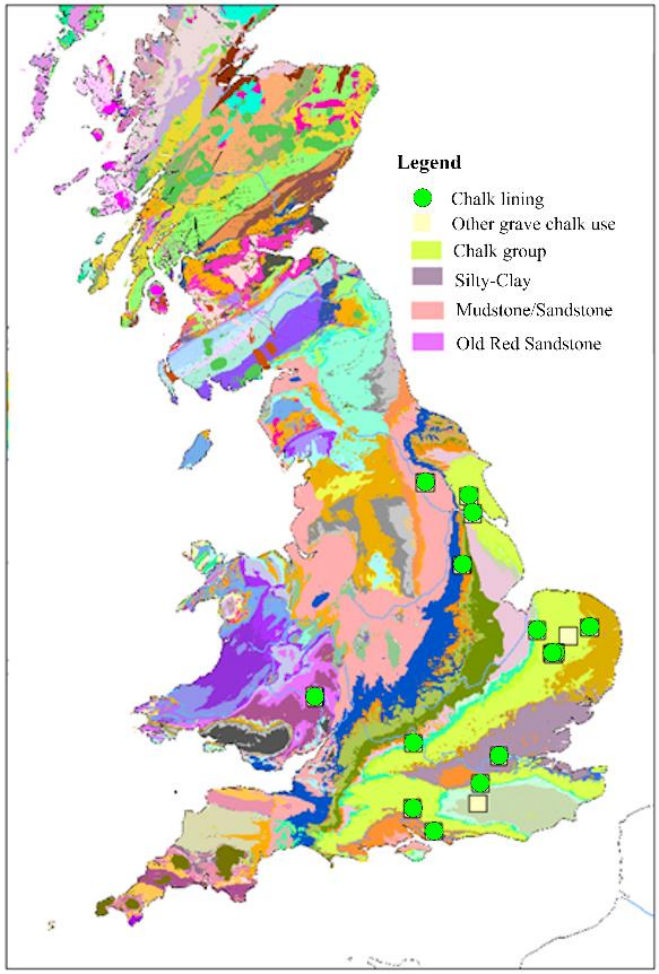


Figure 77: Chalk burials against the British Geological Survey map; lime green represents areas where chalk is the bedrock layer.

[57] The refrain summarized as 'the condition of your body on the day of resurrection doesn't matter,' which is stated in some form across the entire Anglo-Saxon period from Augustine to the Vercelli Homilies, and the concern shown nevertheless by Anglo-Saxons towards preserving the body in the grave will be discussed in a following chapter.

Discussion

The use of chalk in burials is remarkable both because of the practice's relative rarity in the Anglo-Saxon archaeological record, and because chalk was used in Anglo-Saxon England in surprisingly few contexts which survive archaeologically. Unlike other forms of limestone, most forms of chalk are limited in their usage by their softness, though its colour renders it both attractive and effective for non-structural purposes. This is, I suspect, one of the reasons it was utilized in Anglo-Saxon grave practice starting in the later eighth or early ninth century.

An exploratory survey of its use has shown that chalk was used in Anglo-Saxon England between 700 and 1066 in four ways: for small everyday objects, for building (particularly foundations), within pigments, and within burials. First, the carving of chalk into objects in this period seems to have been limited to small items. A chalk container of c. 963 in Tetney, Lincolnshire, was discovered in an excavation along with a hoard of hanging tags.[58] Chalk was used to make a spindle-whorl of early Anglo-Saxon date found as a grave good in Scott's Close, Cambs.[59] These objects are usually made of stone or clay. Both were found in areas in which chalk was plentiful and, indeed, where chalk is the primary source of stone. It should be noted that these were small and replaceable items, not necessarily designed for decades of wear which a monument is supposed to endure, which may be why chalk was considered for their composition. James Lang observes that the chalk of the East Riding is unsuited for

[58] D. M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork, 700-1100, in the British Museum* (London, 1964), 178, in J. Graham-Campbell, E. Okasha, M. Metcalf, 'A pair of inscribed Anglo-Saxon hooked tags from the Rome (Forum) 1883 hoard,' *Anglo-Saxon England* 20 (1991), 221-229 at 223.
[59] T. Woolhouse 'Saxon and Medieval Activity at Scotts Close, Hilton,' in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 99 (2010), 97-102 at 100-1.

making stone monuments, and the indexes of the Corpus make no mention of chalk, clunch, or micritic limestone as one of the stones used.[60]

Chalk, generally soft, porous, and friable, is prone to quick and excessive weathering.[61] Certain types of harder chalk, such as Melbourn Rock and Chalk Clunch, are technically usable for stone masonry, and have been used in the medieval and modern periods in local churches, particularly in Cambridgeshire.[62] Nevertheless, such chalk appears to have gone unused as dressed facing stone for buildings in the Anglo-Saxon period, though in the late medieval period it was used 'to a moderate extent' as a building stone in Norfolk (e.g. Hunstanton).[63] Taylor and Taylor's corpus of Anglo-Saxon architecture does not record any of the churches as having been built in chalk. Chalk does appear to have been used (as was 'clunch') for non-structural purposes within building, however, in areas which had chalk as a geological layer, particularly Lincolnshire and Norfolk**.** Chalk's primary structural usage pre-Conquest seems to be as rubble for foundations in churches such as Winchester.[64] 'Rammed' as a chalk floor, it appears at Medmenham and Staunch Meadow, Brandon,

[60] J.R. Senior, 'Regional Geology,' in *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture vol. 3: York and East Yorkshire* [online] Available at: http://www.ascorpus.ac.uk/vol3/geology.php [Accessed 25 Dec. 2015].
[61] M.R. Smith (ed.), *Stone: Building stone, rock fill and armourstone in construction*. Geological Society Engineering Geology Special Publication No. 16 (London, 1999), 53.
[62] Smith, *Stone,* 53.
[63] Note that the chalk of the Downlands is suited to crushing for use in chalk-walling construction, whereas chalk block was less available for masonry: M. Teasdale, *Earth Structures: A strategy for sustainable management.* Hampshire County Council publication (Winchester, no date), 5.
[64] Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester 1968', 316; Romsey Abbey also had two buildings with chalk footings to the west of the Abbey in Phase 3: I.R. Scott, *Romsey Abbey: Report on the Excavations 1973-1991* (Winchester, 1996), 19.

Norfolk.[65] At St. Peter's Holton-le-Clay, Lincolnshire, a layer of small rounded chalk fragments may have been a floor layer for a pre-Conquest church.[66]

Another application of chalk in this period was as part of pigments for book illustration paint. Despite chalk's striking whiteness, chalk appears to have been used more as a foundation for other colours than as a pigment.[67] Analysis of British Library manuscripts suggests that, while use of white on parchment was rare, use of chalk as the primary source for the white pigment (as opposed to lead) was even rarer. Only the Lindisfarne Gospels and a couple of other European manuscripts in Clarke's study used chalk as a colorant for white paint, whereas the other manuscripts Clarke looks at turn to lead for white colouring.[68] Anglo-Saxon plaster painting uses white limewash (as at Gloucester).[69] This split described

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[65] Medmenham: 'Medmenham,' *Society for Medieval Archaeology Newsletter* 31 (2001), 20; Staunch Meadow: R.D. Carr, A. Tester, and P. Murphy, 'The Middle Saxon Settlement at Staunch Meadow, Brandon,' *Antiquity* 62 (1988), 371-377 at 372.

[66] J. Sills, 'St. Peter's Church, Holton-le-Clay, Lincolnshire,' 29.

[67] M. Clarke, 'Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Pigments,' *Studies in Conservation* 49 (2004), 231-244 at 232, notes 12, 14. Clarke notes that there is no text written by an Anglo-Saxon author in which pigment-making is described, and thus cites recipes outside England; M. Clarke, *The Art of All Colours: Mediaeval Recipe Books for Painters and Illuminators*, (London, 2001). A recipe Clarke found in Bald's Leechbook suggests that the usual base for a paint was egg white. White is very unusual in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts prior to the eleventh century (ex. BL Royal 1 E.vi (late 9th c.)) and thus its inclusion on the Lindisfarne Gospels is remarkable; Clarke, 'Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Pigments,' 240.

[68] K.L. Brown and R.J.H. Clark, 'The Lindisfarne Gospels and two other 8th century Anglo-Saxon/Insular manuscripts: pigment identification by Raman microscopy,' *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy* 35 (2004), 4-12; K.L. Brown and R.J.H. Clark, 'Analysis of key Anglo-Saxon manuscripts (8th-11th centuries) in the British Library: pigment identification by Raman microscopy,' *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy* 35 (2004), 181-189; K. Brown, M.P. Brown, and D. Jacobs, 'Analysis of the pigments used in the Lindisfarne Gospels,' in M.P. Brown (ed.), *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (London, 2003), Appendix 1, 430-451. Clarke also detected calcium-containing mineral via XRF in the Barberini Gospels: Clarke, 'Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Pigments.' Richard Gameson has recently done further work on pigment usage in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, which I will cite when published.

[69] A. Roy (ed.), *Artists' Pigments: a handbook of their history and characteristics, Vol. 2* (Oxford, 1993), 203-226. The only Anglo-Saxon wall painting known to survive *in situ* is that at Nether Wallop, of Christ in Majesty, but plenty more painted plaster fragments survive. All of them appear to use limewash for their whitewash, however: S. Cather, D. Park, and P. Williamson, *Early Medieval Wall Painting and Painted Sculpture in England,* BAR Brit. Ser. 216 (Oxford, 1990), iii; R. Gem and P. Tudor-Craig, 'A 'Winchester School' wall-painting at Nether Wallop, Hampshire,' *Anglo-Saxon England* IX (1981), 115-36.

above between an either visual or highly functional (though not structural) uses of chalk may have implications for the use of chalk in Anglo-Saxon burials. It is one indication that chalk, for its colour or whatever other attribute, may have been used purposefully by inhabitants of England in this period for either aesthetic or symbolic value.

In Lincolnshire and Norfolk, the convenience of chalk as local material cannot be wholly discounted. Annia Cherryson suggests that chalk may have been used in absence of local readily available stone to cover or line a grave with.[70] This may have been true of Romsey Abbey or Beverley Minster. In Norfolk and Lincolnshire, where chalk is plentiful, there is overlap between use of stone linings and chalk linings. However, chalk, dressed or as flint, was used for grave linings in locations where chalk had to be externally sourced, such as at Winchester and Mitre Street, London. This usage of chalk where other, more lasting options were available, implies that chalk may have been an aesthetic choice rather than a stopgap for when all other stone options were unavailable. Indeed, a quarter (5/20) of locations in this study had chalk burials where it would have required effort to bring chalk to the graveyard expressly for burial.[71] The reason behind its usage must thus be more than mere convenience.

Here again I return to aesthetics. It is striking that chalk, as charcoal, is often used in quantity. At Bevis Grave (G59) chalk was compacted around the coffin which must have produced a rather different effect to the closing of the grave than mere dirt. The visual programme of a swathe of white in the grave, or possibly of the whiteness serving partly as a grave marker is further supported by examples at Sewerby, where there may be an

[70] A. Cherryson, 'Disturbing the Dead,' 133.
[71] These are: St. Mark's, Lincoln (minster), St. Guthlac, Hereford (minster), Romsey Abbey, Southampton (minster), London (field), Bevis Grave, Hampshire (field).

instance of chalk as a grave marker. At Barton Bendish, Norfolk, G 297, chalk was redeposited around the skull in enough quantity to produce a head niche. At Red Castle Thetford, several graves were in chalk 'sarcophagi' which, rather than being containers for the body, appear to rather have been stone-built and set around the body once it was already in the grave, such that grave RCB46 had the footstone of its 'sarcophagus' resting on top of its feet. This suggests a visual purpose rather than an objective of protecting the body against the grave soil.[72]

The fact that three out of five uses of chalk outside of chalk-prevalent areas are at important minsters further supports the idea that chalk's importance may have been connected to its visual impact, and implies that chalk may have been preferred for high-status burials. This makes sense especially when the effort to obtain chalk at a distance is taken into consideration.

Other Grave Linings: Yellow Sand, Ash, and clay lining underneath or around the body

Typology and Distribution

At the very end of the late Anglo-Saxon period, other grave linings besides charcoal were found at the bottom of a grave (Table 18). Yellow sand appears at Winchester in three graves.[73] A grave at All Saints in Oxford has ash lining.[74] The three graves which contain

[72] G.M. Knocker and C. Wells, 'Excavations at Red Castle, Thetford,' *Norfolk Archaeology,* XXXIV Pt II (1967), 119-186.
[73] Kjølbye-Biddle, *Winchester* (forthcoming).
[74] B. Durham, 'All Saints Church,' in A. Dodd (ed.), *Oxford before the University* (Oxford, 2003), 152-163.

yellow sand at Winchester occur at the end of the ninth century and the end of the tenth century, in phases termed Generation 10 (c.870-90) and Generation 17 (c. 970-980).[75]

The combinations with which yellow sand is found suggest a great amount of effort accompanied the production of these graves which were likely of high social status. At Winchester, the three graves which contained yellow sand also possessed iron bound or nailed coffins.[76] Burial G77 also contained gold braid, suggesting not only high status, but also that the burial was clothed rather than shrouded.

Perhaps the next least-used variation in this study, clay within the coffin only occurs at Barton-upon-Humber.*77* This variation is formed by liquidous clay (usually blue-grey) poured over the deceased body, usually in a coffin. As the graves in which it is used all date to Barton-upon-Humber Phase E (c. AD 950s-1150), it is theoretically plausible that this form dates from the early Norman period rather than to the Anglo-Saxon, particularly since there are no comparable sites in the Anglo-Saxon period but the practice is present post-Conquest. It is linked in several cases to coffin burials.

Table 18: Other Grave Linings found in this survey, c. 700-1066

Other Grave Linings, c. 700-1066				
Site	**County**	**Region**	**Date**	**Type**
All Saints, Oxford	Oxfordshire	Wessex	calAD 1030-1169 (1σ)	Ash
Godalming	Surrey	Wessex	calAD 892-1014 (2σ)	Ash 'halo' around heads
Winchester	Hampshire	Wessex	c. AD 870-90, 970-80	Yellow Sand

[75] Kjølbye-Biddle, *Winchester* (forthcoming)
[76] B. Kjølbye-Biddle, 'The disposal of the Winchester dead.'
[77] Waldron, *St. Peter's Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire: Vol 2*, 27.

St. Peter's, Barton-upon-Humber	Lincolnshire	Mercia/ Danelaw	c. AD 950-1150 (Phase E)	Clay, poured over charcoal in coffin

As these other grave linings have, within the limits of my survey, only produced unique examples, very little can be said about their geographic spread. It does suggest, however, that as ash, lime, and yellow sand are more popular as grave linings post-Conquest, that they may have been mis-assigned in their chronological labels.[78] Each of the cemeteries wherein this practice occurs are in ranges from either the ninth or tenth century (generations from Winchester) or the late eleventh century (Barton-upon-Humber) into the thirteenth, and none of the graves themselves is very firmly dated by radiocarbon or stratigraphy to the pre-Conquest period, which begs the question of why they have been designated as pre-Conquest in the first place. Another possibility, though unlikely except in the case of Winchester (which seems to be in the habit of proving the exception), is that these represent the earliest examples of their type.

All of these linings could be interpreted as ways to make the grave stand out from the surrounding soil, or to purify the grave (through ash) or express grief (as in the tradition of wearing sackcloth and ashes) or to seal in whatever was within the coffin (as in poured clay). In Numbers, the laws of Aaron regarding purification after contact with dead men or creatures instruct that 'for an unclean person they shall take some of the ashes of the burnt [offering]', and add it with running water to be sprinkled using hyssop to purify whatever

[78] For their post-Conquest appearances and distribution, see: R. Gilchrist, *Requiem: the Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain* (London, 2005).

was unclean.[79] Sulpicius Severus describes St. Martin of Tours as wishing to be been buried upon a layer of ash, but it is unclear whether the burial at All Saints meant to emulate this.[80]

White Quartz Pebbles

Typology and Distribution

White pebbles,[81] usually quartz stones of a white or a milky to clear colour, are included in, placed upon, or line the edges of graves, and are used in the British Isles with perhaps ritual intent from the Neolithic period onwards (Figure 78). These occur as a grave variation in three ways: first, they can appear included in the grave by the body, placed by the hand, head, legs or feet, as at Barnstaple; secondly, they can edge the graves, as at Group D from Church Walk in Hartlepool; or thirdly, they can appear as a large spread layer, as at Whithorn.[82] The latter use (spread layer) may point to the origin of the practice before the early medieval period, as layers of quartz stone were used in the construction of cairns in the Iron Age, and before that in quantity in Neolithic barrows such as at Newgrange.[83]

[79] Numbers 19:17.
[80] A. Roberts (ed. and trans.), *The Works of Sulpitius Severus* (Oxford, 1894), 23.
[81] A note for readers: As mentioned above, 'pebbles' here are not consistently what one would normally term a 'pebble' (usually gravel sized, or perhaps only as big as the palm of your hand but still small enough to skip across a lake).
[82] Found clustered around bodies' heads and chests: T.J. Miles, 'The Excavation of a Saxon Cemetery and Part of the Norman Castle at North Walk, Barnstaple,' *Proceedings of the Devon Archaeological Society* 44 (1986), 59-68 at 66; Only two of the burials from Hartlepool Church Walk Group D were fully excavated: based upon stone protruding from the layer surface the excavator believed that were 6 further graves of this type. The whole group was both spatially separate as well as delimited with a kerb of stones at the top of the grave in the shape of the grave cut. A picture from the excavation reveals that the riverine stones lining the grave start at about the size of one's fist: R. Daniels, *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool*, 89; Hill, *Whithorn,* 37.
[83] Maldonado, *Christianity and burial,* 122; Newgrange: M.J. O'Kelley and C. O'Kelly, *Newgrange, Archaeology, Art and Legend* (London, 1982).



Figure 78: Typical white quartz

Quartz stones are used in burials attached to minster churches as well as lesser churches and cemeteries which (as far as we know) were unattached to any church at all, which is possibly significant given the scattered use of quartz stones in pre-Saxon burial contexts. (Figure 80, Figure 81) As a burial variation, white quartz pebbles are almost always combined with another grave type. In some cases, as at Whithorn Cemetery 2, they are combined in a layer over log burials.[84] (Figure 79) They are also combined with long cists, as at May Island and Lindisfarne.[85] The placement of quartz pebbles around the head begins to predominate examples in the eighth century and appears in instances of the practice further north.[86]

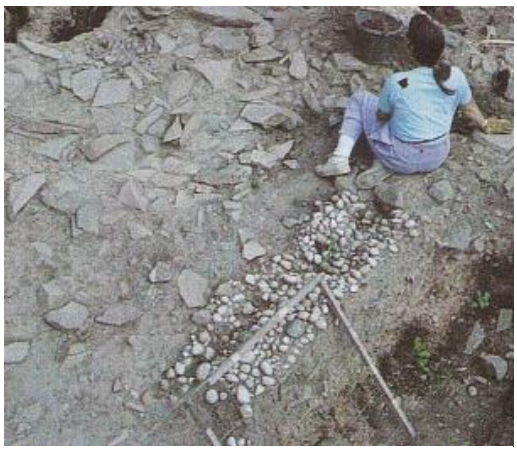


Figure 79: Layer of white quartz pebbles over a grave at Whithorn; Hill, Whithorn.

The chronology of the use of quartz pebbles in graves is somewhat confused. (Figure 83) Quartz pebbles were used as an aspect of burial practice both before the period under study and beyond the borders of Anglo-Saxon England. Quartz pebbles appear in Ireland at reused *fertae,* Bronze

[84] Hill, *Whithorn,* 73.
[85] Yeoman, 'Investigations on the May Island,' 227-244; D. Petts, pers. comm. (2017).
[86] Graves 35 & 43; Miles, 'North Walk, Barnstaple', 66.

Age burial monuments, in burials of the fourth to sixth centuries AD,[87] and in church-related contexts on the surface of the burial horizon in two graves dated between the fifth and ninth centuries in Skeam (Co. Cork), on the chest of a body dated to the seventh century in Inishkea (Co. Mayo) and lining two graves on Illaugnloughan Island (Co. Cork) from c. 640-715.[88] In Britain, they appear in barrow burials of the early Anglo-Saxon period in Derbyshire, and were even included in some early Anglo-Saxon cremation burials, as in urn 21 at the sixth-century cemetery at Sancton, Yorkshire.[89] In Northumbria and in Scotland south of the Firth of Forth, white quartz pebbles appear to have been used from the sixth through the tenth centuries.[90]

[87] E.g. Cross (Co. Galway), and Holdenstown 1 (Co. Kilkenny): E. O'Brien, *Mapping Death* (forthcoming).

[88] F. Henry, 'Remains of the Early Christian Period on Inishkea North, Co. Mayo', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 75.3 (1945), 127-155; C. Cotter, 'Skeam West, County Cork,' *Excavations 1990* (1991); G. Scally, 'High Island,' *Excavations 1997* (1998), 210; J. White Marshall & C. Walsh, *Illaunloughan: An Early Medieval Monastery in County Kerry* (Dublin, 2005).

[89] Derbyshire HER: Carder Low Round Barrow had c.80 quartz pebbles in the excavation trench; antiquarian excavations at Kenslow Knoll Bowl barrow (MDR 1554) reported quartz pebbles in a Romano-British/?Anglo-Saxon rock-cut grave in the barrow which also contained a penannular brooch. Christopher Loveluck cites the use of quartz pebbles in barrow burials of the early to mid-Anglo-Saxon period as found in antiquarian excavations at Alsop-in-the-Dale, Musden 4 and Wredon Hill: T. Bateman, 'Benty Grange near Monyash,' in T. Bateman (ed.), *Ten Years' Diggings in Celtic and Saxon Grave Hills in the Counties of Derby, Stafford, and York* (Buxton, 1861) 28–33; C. Loveluck, 'Acculturation, Migration, and Exchange: the formation of an Anglo-Saxon society in the English Peak District, 400-700 AD,' in J. Bintliff and H. Hamerow, *Europe Between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.* BAR Int. Ser. 617 (Oxford, 1995), 84-98 at 85; A. Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones* (Oxford, 1981), 77.

[90] Burials with quartz pebble layers on the Isle of May, for instance, have been radiocarbon dated as early as calAD 409-651 (2σ) and as late as calAD 690-983 (2σ): P. Yeoman, 'Investigations on the May Island and other Early Medieval Churches and Monasteries in Scotland,' in N. Edwards (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Early Medieval Celtic Churches* (Leeds, 2009), 227-244. White quartz pebbles within burial-grounds can be traced to the Neolithic period in Ireland and Argyll, but do not show any continuity of use to the medieval period: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) *Argyll: An inventory of the Ancient Monuments* (Edinburgh, 1975), 57, no. 78; A. Mitchell, 'On white pebbles in connection with Pagan and Christian burials, a seeming survival of an ancient burial custom,' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 18 (1884), 286-291.

Among the Irish ecclesiastical sites, quartz pebbles are deposited unevenly within phases, only occurring at one or two graves, and not in the same manner. Irish sites, monastic and otherwise, are split between the same three variations of quartz use (singles, cobbles, spread) as mentioned above in British sites.[91] This implies that at the period under discussion, quartz pebble use was not a uniform burial practice held in common across Irish monasteries. Though also found at Drumeeny (Kille Enan), Saul, and Ballynacraig, quartz stones seem to appear more frequently in later levels (as at Reask and Tipperary).[92] This lack of uniformity may indicate early experimentation to determine practice, or may imply that the practice was acquired later and adapted again from British, Northumbrian, Welsh or Scottish contacts, rather than one given from Ireland to the newly minted Christians of Bernicia and Deira.

Table 19: Table of burials containing white quartz stones, c.700-1066

Cemeteries with Burials containing White Quartz Stones, c. AD 700-1066				
Site	**County**	**Total number of burials**	**Dates**	**Minster/ Field/ Church**
The Hirsel	Berwickshire, Scotland	6 Early Medieval	calAD 609-693, calAD 775-1047 (2σ)	C
Mawgan Porth, Pydar, Restormel, Cornwall	Cornwall and Isles of Scilly HER	24	Early Medieval	C
Hartlepool	Hartlepool	146	c. 650-900 AD	M
Kirkefield Stables, Hart Village, County Durham	County Durham	9	7th-10th c.	C
Barnstaple Castle, North Devon	Devon	105	8th-11th centuries	C

[91] Inishkea: an 'egg shaped pebble' on the body: F. Henry, 'Remains of the Early Christian Period on Inishkea North, Co. Mayo,' *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 75.3 (1945), 127-155 at 135; Skeam West: the surface of the burial horizon was covered: C. Cotter, 'Skeam West, County Cork,' *Excavations 1990* (1991).

[92] A. Hamlin, *The Archaeology of Early Christianity in the North of Ireland.* Oxford: Archaeopress. BAR British Series 460 (Oxford, 2008), 93; T. Fanning, 'Excavation of an Early Christian Cemetery and Settlement at Reask, County Kerry,' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C:* 81C (1981), 67-172; T. Ó Carragáin, 'Toureern, Tipperary/ Cluain Aird Mo-Becóc,' *Excavations 2007* (2008).

Cemeteries with Burials containing White Quartz Stones, c. AD 700-1066				
Site	**County**	**Total number of burials**	**Dates**	**Minster/ Field/ Church**
Ardwall Island	Dumfries & Galloway, Scotland	31	c. 490-1100 AD	C
Barhobble	Dumfries & Galloway, Scotland	134	calAD 902-1160	M
Whithorn	Dumfries & Galloway, Scotland	145	c. 500- 800 AD	M
Auldhame, East Lothian	East Lothian, Scotland	242	c. 640-1100 AD	M
Chapel Road, Fillingham	Lincolnshire	18	7th-11th centuries	C
St. Peter's Barton-upon-Humber	Lincolnshire	399	c. 900-1100 AD	M
Whitby Abbey Headland/ Abbey Farms	North Yorkshire	144	657-?900 AD	M
Lindisfarne Priory	Northumberland	4	634 to ?	M
Old Vicarage/ Eastbury Farm, Carhampton	Somerset	5+	calAD 1057-1300[1]	F
Woodlands, Adwick-le-Street, Doncaster	South Yorkshire	37	7th-10th centuries	F
Lichfield Cathedral, Lichfield	Staffordshire	49 (from 1978)	calAD 679-901 and calAD 892-1052	M
Wearmouth	Tyne and Wear	168	c. 680-800 AD	M
Kellington Church	Yorkshire	800	mid-10th-11th centuries	C

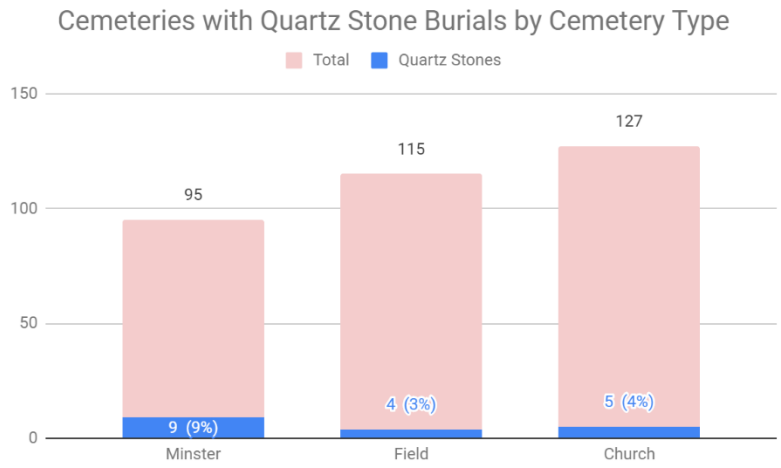


Figure 80: Percent quartz stone burials by cemetery type

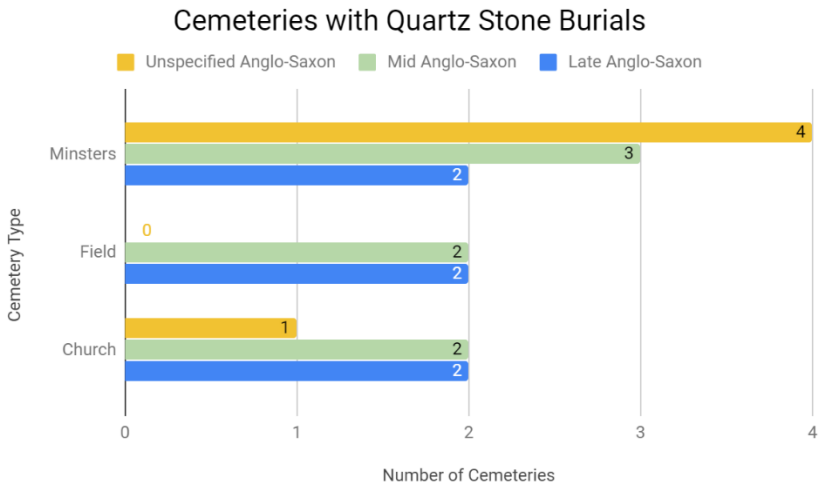


Figure 81: Quartz Stone cemeteries by period

There appears to be very little regional patterning of white quartz, besides there being a complete lack of evidence of this practice in the south-east. During their *floruit* in graves of the seventh to ninth centuries, quartz stones appear in some, but not all, of the subkingdoms which paid Northumbria tribute at points between AD 670 and 850 (Deira, Alt Clut, Goddodin; Lindsey and Mercia were lost by the 670s).[93] The majority of quartz stone burials in surveyed cemeteries were used along the south-west coast, in coastal Scotland, and in Northumbria east of the Pennines, with almost every instance being on a major waterway (Figure 82).[94]

Irish Instances of Quartz Stones in Early Medieval Cemeteries				
Name	**County**	**Dates**	**Type**	**Connection to St. Columba**
Skeam West, Co. Cork	Co. Cork	calAD 430-770; calAD 550-855	On surface of burial horizon	N
Inishkea North	Co. Mayo	7th- century	1 'large egg-shaped pebble' on chest	St. Columcille's Church

[93] Rollason, *Northumbria.*

[94] While minsters were typically founded upon waterways, there are many which are upon smaller tributaries more inland which do not have evidence of quartz stone use.

Illoughnloughan Island	Co. Kerry	calAD 640-715	Grave lined with quartz	Relig Oran
High Island (Ardoileán)	Co. Galway	calAD 980-1022	Placed on body points: between legs, on elbows, ankles	N- Clonmacnoise connection
Toureen, / Cluain Aird Mo-Becóc	Co. Tipperary	Same orientation as Romanesque church	Single pebble on pelvis (26 graves)	Connected to a St. Beccan, but unclear whether the one of Iona, the cousin of Arnane, abbot of Iona, or a third.
Cross	Co. Galway	5^{th}-7^{th} c.	In grave	Unclear
Holdenstown	Co. Kilkenny	5^{th}-7^{th} c.	In grave	Unclear

Scottish (out of survey area) Instances of Quartz Stones in Early Medieval Cemeteries				
Name	**County**	**Dates**	**Type**	**Church-related?**
May Island	Fife	5^{th}-7^{th} c. (Group 1) 7^{th}-10^{th} c. (Group 2)	In grave	Y
Iona	Argyll and Bute	5^{th}- 8^{th} c.	In grave	Y
Isle of Mull, Baliscate Chapel (Coille Creag A'chait)	Argyll and Bute	calAD 646-672, through 8th century		Y

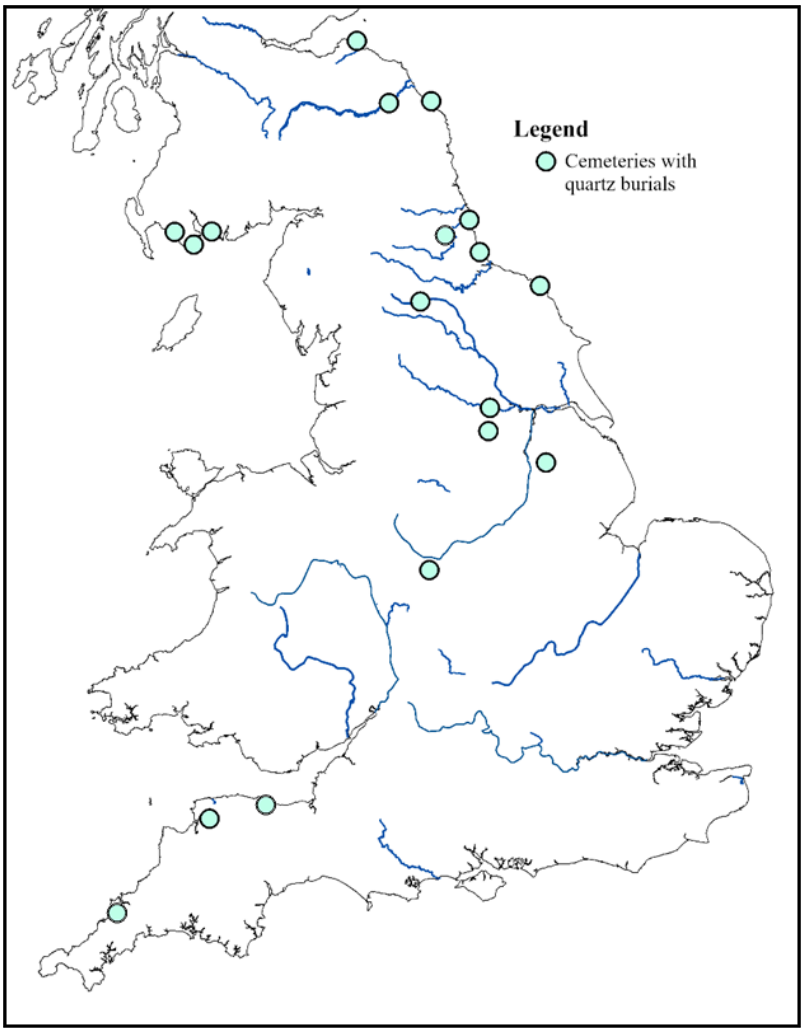


Figure 82: Distribution of cemeteries containing quartz stone burials

Interestingly, in south-east England where white quartz stones are absent, there was briefly a competing regional practice: clear rock crystal balls included in graves of seventh-century Kent and East Anglia. These are quartz, but clear instead of white, and Owen-Crocker notes that the presence of these 'crystal balls' was not uncommon between the knees in female burials at Chessel Down, Bifons, Lyminge, and Sarre in fifth- to seventh- century Kent.[95] These instances in female burials appears to have ceased in the South-East after 700,

[95] G. Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2004), 93.

although a white quartz pebble was placed between the knees in two of the eighth- to eleventh-century graves at Barnstaple in Devon.[96]

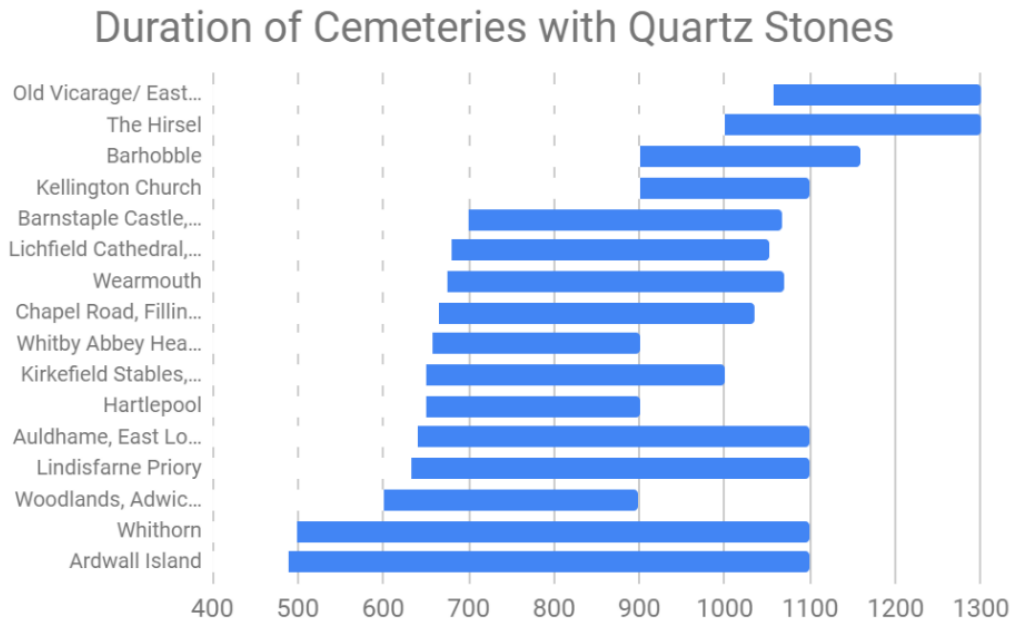


Figure 83: Duration of Quartz Stone-containing Cemeteries

Discussion

The motivation behind the placement of white stones within and upon graves was likely multifaceted. Like many grave types and variations, there is no contemporary written documentation of the use of white stones in graves at all. But from the literary references to white stones in other contexts (both chronologically and physically) and their distribution in other religious contexts, it appears that white stones may have been included in burials both because of the healing properties attributed to them, the sacredness of the colour white in the insular church, and because of various ways in which water-rolled white stones may have indicated the bearer as being one of the heavenly elect. Revelations II.17 states

[96] As mentioned above, this is not how it is placed at the majority of burials at this site.

that the chosen will be given a white stone at the end of time, the citation of which might have been used to justify white stones' role as ritual objects.[97]

Healing may have been a use of white quartz which followed the bearer into the grave**.** In England, the earliest reference to a curing stone is an allusion in the Umbrensis version of the *Penitential of Theodore* (AD700x730)*,* which states, 'One who is possessed of a demon may have stones and herbs, without the use of incantation,' implying that any existing folk tradition involving stones might continue so long as incantations were not said, though not providing evidence itself of such a folk tradition existing in England.[98] The most explicit Anglo-Saxon reference to the healing properties of white stones occurs in the ninth- or tenth-century Bald's Leechbook, in two places. The first is the letter from the Patriarch of Jerusalem (II.64), which says 'the white stone is powerful against stitch, and against flying venom, and against all strange calamities: thou shalt shave it into water and drink a good mickle… the stones are all very good to drink of against all strange uncouth things.'[99] Meaney hypothesizes that this white stone is quartz, as the book mentions 'fire struck out of the stone,' and quartz is piezoelectric.[100] The recipe, which we are told was sent to King Alfred during the reign of Elias III (r. AD 879-907), is Levantine, but white quartz stones were likely available to the copyist. The stones' riverine origins made them local and affordable,

[97] Rev. II.17, 'He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will *give him a white stone*, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it': cited in Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones,* 91.
[98] The Umbrensis text of *The Penitential of Theodore* (700x730AD)*,* II.10.5 in J.T. McNeill, H.M. Gamer, (eds. and trans.), *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: a translation of the principal 'libri poenitentiales' and selections from related documents* (New York, 1938), 207: For information on the circulation and origins of the various versions of the Penitential of Theodore, see also R. Flechner, 'The Making of the Canons of Theodore,' *Peritia* 17-8 (2003), 121-143, esp. 125; B. Yorke, *The Conversion of Britain: Religion, Politics, and Society 600-800* (Cambridge, 2006), 232.
[99] II.64 in T.O. Cockayne (ed. and trans.), *Leechdoms, Wortcunnings, and Starcraft of Early England* (Cambridge, 1865)*,* 288-291.
[100] A. Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones,* 93.

unlike some ingredients in the Patriarch's other recipes, and could be usefully recommended to the patients of whoever read this leechbook or other places where the recipe was copied.[101] The second instance in Bald's Leechbook suggests that the white stone be used 'for all strange griefs.'[102] That white stones Adomnán's seventh-century *Life of Columba* (set in sixth-century Scotland and Ireland), also implies that white stones might possess healing properties, although in that text the white stone only gains its power to cure illness through Columba's blessing, and may be a reference to Revelations (above), and the redemptive power of Christian belief.[103] In the north and west of England and in Scotland, white stones continued to be used within folk-medicine well past the middle ages, being used to cure cattle as recently as the nineteenth century.[104]

Another feature which may point toward the meaning of white stones in the grave is the association of the colour white in this period with sanctity and goodness. Colour terms referring to light and dark are believed to be the first developed in any given culture, and there are many words for white within Old English, as well as cross-usage between the

[101] See L. Voigts, 'Anglo-Saxon Plant Remedies and the Anglo-Saxons,' *Isis,* 70.2 (1979), 250-268 at 260; Asser's life of Alfred suggests that Elias sent the ingredients as gifts along with the letters to Alfred, a thoughtful gesture as Saint Willibald in the eighth century found balsam (one of them) so expensive that he proudly recounts smuggling it out of Tyre back to the north: 'The Travels of Willibald, A.D. 721-727, Written from his own Recital by a Nun of Heidenheim,' in T. Wright (ed.), *Early Travels in Palestine* (London, 1848), 21.

[102] II.290.9 in Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunnings, and Starcraft of Early England.* Cockayne's translation suggests 'lapis Alabastri' as an aside within the translation, but those words are not part of the Anglo-Saxon text, which reads 'se hwita stan wið eallum uncuþum brocum.'

[103] II.33 in A.O. Anderson and M.O. Anderson, *Adomnán's Life of Columba* (Oxford, 1991), 142-3: 'signate…hunc candidum lapidem, per quem dominus in hoc gentili populo multas egrotorum perficiet sanitas'/ 'Mark this white stone. Through it the Lord will work many cures among the sick of this pagan people.'

[104] A.D. Rees, 'Notes on the significance of white stones in Celtic archaeology and folk-lore with reference to recent excavations at Ffynnon Degla, Denbighshire,' *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 8 (1935-7), 87-90 at 89.

words for 'white' and 'bright.'[105] Synonyms for 'white' and 'bright' are used very frequently in Anglo-Saxon religious poetry, where they are often associated with God, holiness, and goodness.[106] White is the colour prescribed for certain ecclesiastical garments; Warren notes it was the festal colour at Iona, worn in memory of Columbanus.[107] White is also the only colour listed in the early Irish Canons to be used for vestments worn at oblation, whereas later medieval tracts list seven colours.[108] The stones may also be an indicator of status of 'white' martyrdom (*bánmartrae*), the bloodless martyrdom of pilgrimage 'when he separates for sake of God from everything he loves,' pursued in early medieval monastic Ireland alongside 'blue' martyrdom (*glasmartrae*; extreme penance).[109] Pilgrimage was also a popular choice made by many early Anglo-Saxon monks,[110] and the marker of a pilgrim to

[105] *Beorht, lēoht, hwīt, scir, blanc, blāc:* J. Baker, *The Colour and Composition of Early Anglo-Saxon Copper Jewellery* (Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Durham, 2013), 120; See also: A. Jones and R. Bradley, 'The Significance of Colour in European Archaeology,' *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 9.1 (1999), 112-4; J. Gage, A. Jones, R. Bradley, K. Spence, E.J.W. Barber, and P.S.C. Taçon, 'What meaning had colour in early societies?', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 9.1 (1999), 109-26.
[106] Baker, *The Colour and Composition*, 120.
[107] Adomnán, *Life of St. Columba* III.12, action prescribed by St. Columba on the day following the reception of the news of the death of Bishop Columbanus; in Sharpe's translation, the name is rendered as St. Colmán moccu Loigse 'the Bishop': Adomnán of Iona, *Life of St. Columba*, R. Sharpe (ed., trans.), (London, 1995), 215. Reference instead to Columbanus in P.E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Woodbridge, 1987 reprint of Oxford, 1881), 106, 124-6.
[108] The 15th-century '*An Leabhar Breac'* lists seven colours for vestments: yellow, blue, white, green, red, black, and purple: C. Rolfe, *The Ancient Use of Liturgical* Colours (Oxford, 1879), Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, 125. In other parts of Europe four colours were in use regularly until the use of colours was codified at the 1570 Council of Trent, at which point six were brought universally into use.
[109] *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus,* II, 247, lns. 1-6: '*issí in bánmartre du duini-u intain scaras ar Dea fri cach réet caris, cé rucésa áini nú laubir n-oco.'* On pilgrimage instead of just chastity for the white martyrdom: R. Flower, *The Irish Tradition* (Oxford, 1947), 18; C. Stancliffe, 'Red, White and Blue martyrdom,' in D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick, and D. Dumville (eds.), *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge, 1982), 21-46 at 23, 35, 38-39.
[110] And kings: C. Stancliffe, 'Kings who Opted Out,' in P. Wormwald (ed.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 1983), 163-166.

Santiago de Compostela was a white scallop shell, found in this survey only at St. Martin's, Wallingford.[111]

This connection between whiteness and the church is emphasized by the (unfortunately undated) use of white pebbles on graves, altars, and around inscribed stones and crosses on sacred sites around coastal Ireland, Scotland, and northern England. On the Isle of Man, quartz stones appear in great quantities on graves, especially on the south side of churches as at Lag ny Keilley, Patrick (up to 600 within the keeill) and Lonan Old Church (hundreds associated with lintel graves and the well).[112] This use of white stone is replicated in the gatherings of white quartzite rock around undated *ceallúnach,* cemeteries for unbaptised children, at Gallarus, Ballywiheen, and Valentia Island (Co. Kerry).[113] These are often oriented around monumental stonework such as ogham stones (Valentia) or inscribed cross stones, which may have been considered to provide the equivalent of burial *ad sanctos* despite being barred from a church cemetery. This visual of white rock may have provided the equivalent of a blessing, as in case of 'eaves-drip' burials discussed in chapter two, that mourners were attempting to confer holiness to unbaptized children.

Ryan Lash has also recently proposed that water-rolled quartz stones may represent surrendering to God, and to divine will, in the same way that Irish monks (famously, Saint Brendan) went to sea and put their outcome, both in terms of peril faced and place landed,

[111] Usually appearing in post-Conquest cemeteries: found in twelfth-century contexts at the Isle of May, The Hirsel, Aberdeen, Winchester and Durham cathedral cemeteries. H. James and P. Yeoman *et al., Excavations at St. Ethernan's Monastery, Isle of May, Fife 1992-7* (Perth, 2008); R. Cramp, B. Burke, *The Hirsel Excavations* (London, 2014).
[112] L.S. Garrad**, '**Archaeology and Tradition of some Prehistoric and Early Christian Religious Practices in the Isle of Man,' *Proceedings of the Isle of Man Natural History and Archaeological Society* 10.1 (1989)*,* 79-104 at 88.
[113] Fanning, 'Early Christian Cemetery and Settlement at Reask,' 140.

in the hands of God.[114] The Irish examples also increase the possibility that white stones may represent pilgrimage, as the stones are buffeted and smoothed by water, travelling down rivers and along the coast, in the same way that the *peregrinatio* wandered and were 'transformed spiritually by the will of God.'[115] White pebbles may also have been used as part of lay involvement in processions around shrines. Just as white pebbles were mounded on the grave on the Isle of Mull, *leachta* platforms on Inishark were covered with water-rolled quartz pebbles, possibly as part of the circuit around the island performed on feast days and other occasions.[116]

Given that their history of use within the British Isles starts in the Neolithic period, there is a case to be made that quartz stones would have had an instantly recognizable connotation within the grave in Anglo-Saxon England. Loveluck suggests that their presence in early barrows in Derbyshire represents a last surge of expression of British cultural identity in the face of incoming Saxon political power.[117] Tok Thompson, not referring to Anglo-Saxon burials at all, uses Irish and Welsh myth to build a case for early medieval British/Celtic belief in quartz stones possessing mystic or amuletic power.[118] When archaeologists refer to certain instances of quartz stones as 'crystal balls,' they perhaps wittingly provide connotation which alludes to a belief in quartz stones' possible ability to cross worlds and see the unseen.[119] Such transcendence is highly appropriate for the transformative passage

[114] R. Lash, 'Pebbles and *Peregrinatio*: The Taskscape of Medieval Devotion on Inishark Island, Ireland,' *Medieval Archaeology* (2018), 83-104 at 97-8.
[115] Lash, 'Pebbles and *Peregrinatio*,' 84.
[116] R. Lash *et al., Isle of Mull* (2018).
[117] Loveluck, 'Acculturation, Migration and Exchange,' 84.
[118] T. Thompson, 'Clocha Geala/ Clocha Uaisle: White Quartz in Irish Tradition,' *Béaloideas* 73 (2005), 111-133.
[119] Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones,* 88.

between life and death. Although quartz is a very common mineral and is fairly easily obtained from alluvial deposits and riverbanks, when bright or clear it was used in high-status objects even within the church.[120] Darville argues that the early church used the symbolism of white pebbles as a means of bridging an ideological gap between the Christian faith and pre-existing belief systems.[121] The practice seems more common in Deira than Bernicia, although between the late-seventh and ninth centuries the two kingdoms were united under the banner of Northumbria. Like chest burial, however, quartz stones in burial are more visible as a ritual inclusion. If we accept Loveluck's hypothesis that the resurgence in use of quartz pebbles in fifth-century Derbyshire was due to the stress which the incoming Anglo-Saxons placed culturally upon the British population, then the political and religious upheavals of the seventh century would perhaps justify white quartz pebbles' return of use in burial rites.

The co-mingling of local spiritual tradition and Christianity is a common result of the adoption of Christianity in any location: the co-opting of use of quartz crystals in the church thus added no threat of paganism, but rather had the potential to add layers of richness of meaning. Since Augustine's qualification on how one is allowed to take herbs in his *On Christian Doctrine*, Christianity has compromised on the use of external items to cure ills.[122] The Penitential of Cummean, cited in the Umbrensis version of the *Penitential of Theodore,* clearly borrows this equivocation in its prescription for the use of stones and herbs upon

[120] They were, for example, made into intaglios in Carolingian France, and used in the later medieval period to adorn book bindings and contain relics, and to make drinking vessels; a tenth-century Carolingian example of a book cover which uses rock-crystal as part of its adornment is at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, object 528-1893.
[121] T. Darville, 'White on Blonde: Quartz Pebbles and the use of Quartz at Neolithic Monuments in the Isle of Man and Beyond,' in A. Jones and G. MacGregor (eds.), *Colouring the Past* (Oxford, 2002), 73-91 at 85.
[122] Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine,* II.xxix.45, 65

someone possessed by the Devil.[123] With potentially strong folkloric ties to British culture, then, it is no surprise that the practice of interring the dead with quartz crystals continued to survive in the British North and in Ireland after the Christianization (as in the further transformative state after conversion) of the Anglo-Saxons. The polyvalence of white stones does suggest that their deposition in graves was votive or ritual in nature, marking belief rather than social status. However, the distribution of this practice indicates that while it might not have been used to indicate cultural ties at the grave side, the use of white stones in graves was regionally limited, and culturally co-occurred with church rather than lay practice.

Willow and Hazel Rods/Wands

Typology and Distribution

Burial 'rods' or 'wands' are long switches found either singly or in multiples within, and occasionally on top of or below, high-status burials of the later Anglo-Saxon period. Due to their organic nature, they are usually only observed in water-logged contexts, such as at Winchester and St. Peter's Barton-upon-Humber.[124] The five examples found in this survey are all of fairly late date, ranging from the tenth century (Barton-Upon-Humber) to the mid- to late eleventh century (Guildhall, London).[125]

[123] Umbrensis text of *The Penitential of Theodore,* II.10.5. This is one of the canons which draws upon the penitential of Cummean.
[124] Waldron, *St. Peter's Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire: Vol 2,'* 27.
[125] N. Bateman, 'The Early-11th to mid-12th-century graveyard at Guildhall, City of London,' in G. De Boe & F. Verhaeghe (eds.), *Death and Burial in Medieval Europe* (Zellik, 1997), 115-120.

These 'rods' appear to be switches rather than staffs; being under 16mm in diameter, they would not support any weight. Surviving pre-Conquest examples are predominantly made of willow, as at Beverley (E. Yorks.), St. Peter's Barton-upon-Humber (Lincs.), Winchester Old Minster (Hamps.), and Guildhall (London, possibly post-Conquest). The only confirmed instance of the use of hazel switches found within this survey is at Lichfield. The majority of hazel examples, such as at Hulton and Hull, are post-Conquest.

These burial rods are almost always paired with other grave types or variations. Guildhall's rod burials were all buried in thin coffins, and some also had pillow stones; the burial at Beverley was paired with a plank above it, with a bead found in the region of the deceased's hands.[126] At Lichfield Cathedral, the hazel rod burial found in the south aisle was also a charcoal burial.[127]

Table 20: Willow and Hazel Rods/wands in burial contexts, c.700-1100

Willow and Hazel Rods/Wands in burial contexts, c. 700-1100				
Site	**County**	**Region**	**Possible Burial Dates**	**Material**
Old Minster, Winchester	Hampshire	Wessex	900x1100	Willow
St. Peter's, Barton-upon-Humber	Lincolnshire	Danelaw	900x1100	Willow
Lichfield Cathedral	Staffordshire	Mercia	?9th x12th century	Hazel/ Poplar
Guildhall, London	London	Contested Danelaw/ Mercia	Late 11th century to post Conquest	Willow and Hazel
Beverley Minster	East Riding of Yorkshire	Northumbria/ Danelaw	*Terminus ante quem* of the 12th century	Willow

[126] Bateman, 'Guildhall,' 118; M. Johnson, 'New Light on the Development of Beverley Minster,' *East Riding Archaeology* 166 (2013), 31-50 at 36.
[127] W. Rodwell, 'Lichfield Cathedral: Interim Report on Archaeological Excavations in the South Quire Aisle and the Consistory Court.' Lichfield Cathedral Library. (Unpublished Report, 1992), 11.

Willow and hazel wands are preserved only in exceptional soil conditions. This fact impacts their preservation and perceived distribution, but the practice ought to be discussed despite this low pre-Conquest sample size. Though the examples are wide-flung, there are aspects in common between the cemeteries containing burial rods in the region of the Humber, Mercia, Winchester and London. Taking into account burial rods' post-AD900 dates, the most suggestive commonality is that they appear in areas associated with Danish leadership and settlement.[128]

[128] The links to the Danelaw are evident; connections to Winchester and London are discussed below.



Figure 84: Distribution of willow/ hazel wands

Discussion

There are two aspects of burial rods to be reckoned with: their origins and their significance. Burial rods/wands are one of the latest grave variations in this survey, and can almost be considered post-Conquest given that their probable period of use extends across the imaginary AD1066 line in each cemetery except Winchester. Their distribution is sparse across England in the pre-Conquest period (Figure 84), but there are instances of hazel and willow rods being used intensively in a select bundle of Danish cemeteries before 1066, preceding examples in Norway (late eleventh century) and Sweden (thirteenth century),

with a level of popularity within those cemeteries unmatched in pre-Conquest England.[129] The factor in common between the Danelaw examples and those in London and Winchester is their exposure to Danish settlers. The English instances occur in what would have been the Danelaw at the time (aside from Winchester), or in the late tenth to early eleventh century around the reign of Cnut, strongly indicating that the practice was imported from Scandinavia. Though Winchester was far from the Danelaw, it was a city of significance politically and economically, whose plethora of grave types and variations suggest that it was a centre for people of all walks of life and from all across England, and was patronised by Cnut when he came into power and was his burial place.[130] The area surrounding the Guildhall Cemetery in London also shows indicators of Scandinavian settlement: excavators found both bone trial pieces in a sunken-floored building, and bulwark-style building which is particular to Scandinavia and not found elsewhere in England.[131] Cnut also had a palace in London, not far from the site.[132] But what inspired the imported Danish practice?

Contemporaneously, there are several concurrent traditions of wooden or iron staff-like objects in Viking-Age burials. Jonsson cautions that the slender rods in Swedish burials should not be confused with the sturdier carved wooden wands which Neil Price, among

[129] Four cemeteries in 10th-century Sweden in Lund, which was historically Danish: St. Stefan, Kattesund, St. Gregory, and Cemetery of the Holy Trinity. See: Jonsson, 'Burial Rods and Charcoal Graves,' 43-73.

[130] Gilchrist and Sloane, *Requiem*, 173. Cnut himself chose to be buried in Winchester, which may suggest a very loose reason why late-Scandinavian, Christian-period burial practice was being used in this part of England. After consolidating his power in the early eleventh century, Cnut himself heavily adapted English custom, but the possibility cannot be ruled out.

[131] I. Riddler, pers. comm. in Bateman, 'Guildhall,' 120; D. Goodburn, 'Beyond the Post-hole: notes on stratigraphy and timber buildings from a London perspective,' in E. Shepherd (ed.), *Interpreting Stratigraphy* 5 (1995), 43-52.

[132] A. Vince, *Saxon London* (London, 1991), 57; T. Dyson and J. Schofield, 'Saxon London,' in J. Haslam (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England* (Chichester, 1984), 285-313 at 296.

other scholars, hypothesizes may have been used for sorcery.[133] These wands for *seiðr,* Norse ritual magic linked to Freya and Odinn, appear in eastern Viking-controlled Ireland and parts of Norway at this period in time.[134] Those are different again to the iron rods, 500-1000mm long, which have been identified as 'divination rods' belonging to *völur*/ ritual specialists. These divination rods have also been found in well-furnished burials, particularly female, of ninth-to-tenth-century western Norway and Sweden.[135] The overlap in practice, however, is a striking coincidence: a tradition of including shamanistic staffs in burials exists contemporaneously, and a little earlier, in a geographic area with plentiful cultural contacts with Anglo-Saxon England.

In England, these rods may initially have had a less mystical and more experiential symbolism. In his examination of medieval burial practice, Daniell compares these burial rods to 'meteyards,' using a term for measuring sticks found in fifteenth- to sixteenth-century literature, and suggests that they are symbols of office.[136] While these slim wands are a far distance from croziers, Wulfstan's 'Bishop's Duties' do say that one of the responsibilities of a bishop is to make sure that no *metegyrd* is longer than another.[137] As John Blair has recently discovered that Anglo-Saxon towns may have been planned on a

[133] Jonsson, 'Burial Rods and Charcoal Graves,' 47; N. Price, *The Viking Way: Religion and War in Late Iron Age Scandinavia* (Uppsala, 2002), 175-81.
[134] Brunning, 'A 'Divination Staff'; quote from the 11th-century Leofric charm in CCCC MS 41, as cited above. On *seiðr,* see Price, *The Viking Way*, 175-81, discussed further in Chapter 5: The Body: Commemorating and Interacting with the Dead.
[135] At Myklebostad, Gausel, and Hopperstad, Norway, and in Jägerbacken, Aska, and Birka in Sweden; S. Brunning, 'A 'Divination Staff' from Viking-Age Norway at the British Museum,' *Acta Archaeologica* 87 (2016), 193-200 at 198.
[136] Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England,* 166.
[137] '[12] And riht is þæt ne beo ænig metegyrd lengre þonne oðer, ac [beon] be þæs scriftes gemete ealle gescyfte.' Wulfstan, 'The Bishop's Duties,' in Whitelock, *Councils and Synods I*, 417-422 at 421; edited from Bod. MS Junius 121, fos. 13v-15.

portable 'perch' unit, these 'meteyards' also might be indicators of social status as a builder.[138] As a comparison, Blair cites the seventh-century grave at Yeavering of a ritual specialist buried with what resembles a Roman *groma* and would also suggest that builders were interested in showcasing their careers even into the grave;, an early repudiation, perhaps, of 'you can't take it with you'.[139] A measuring rod may also have been used in preparing the grave, which may have been portrayed, along with a spade, in the Old English Hexateuch's illustration of the burial of Abraham (Figure 104; below, Chapter 5).[140]

These are interesting propositions, but none explain burial wands' exclusive appearance in church and minster cemeteries. A possible explanation may lie in an early eleventh-century charm, 'Sið galdor,' from the margins of an Old English translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History,* contained in a manuscript given to Exeter by Bishop Leofric (r. AD1050-71).[141] Included in the marginalia with other leechdoms , homilies, and mass prayers, this charm implies that staves could channel protective power:

I protect myself with this rod, and commend myself to the grace of God,	Ic mē on þisse gyrde beluce, and on godes helde bebēode
Against the grievous stitch, against the dire stroke of disease,	wið þane sara stice, wið þane sara slege,
Against the grewsome horror,	wið ðane grymman gryre,
Against the frightful terror loathsome to all men,	wið ðane micelan egsan,
Against all evil, too, that may invade this land.	þe bið ēghwām lāð,
A victory-charm I chant, a victory-rod I bear:	and wið eal þæt lāð, þe intō land fare. (5)
Word victory and work victory. May they potent be…	Sygegealdor ic begale, sigegyrd ic mē wege,
	wordsige and worcsige. Sē mē dēge…
…But may the Almighty guard me, and the Son and Holy Ghost …	…ac gehæle mē ælmihtig and sunu and frōfregāst, (10) …

[138] J. Blair, 'Grid Planning in Anglo-Saxon Settlements: The short perch and the four-perch model', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 18 (Oxford, 2013), 18-61.
[139] Grave AX: B. Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering: an Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London, 1977) in Blair, 'Grid Planning in Anglo-Saxon Settlements,' 23.
[140] *BL Cotton Claudius B.iv, f.40r.*
[141] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, CCCC MS 41, pp.350-353. Discussed in Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones*, 18.

(p.351) … And also thousands of the angels I invoke to succour me against all fiends. May they strengthen me and cherish me and preserve me in life's course, Wholly protect and control me, Guiding my actions; may I have hope of glory, Hand over head, [and reach the] choir of saints…	… and ēac þusend þira engla (18) clipige ic mē to are wið eallum fēondum. Hi mē ferion and friþion and mīne fore nerion, eal mē gehealdon, mē gewealdon, worces stīrende; sī mē wuldres hyht, hand ofer hēafod, hāligra rōf…
(p.352)… My shield be John, transfigured with glory, the Seraph of Journeys. Forth I wander, friends I shall find…	… scyld lohannes, wuldre gewlitegod wega Serafhin. Forð ic gefare, frīnd ic gemēte... (29)
…Victory's God I now beseech, and the favour of the Lord For a happy journey, for a mild and gentle Wafting from these shores: since the [savage] winds, I know, [beget] The whirling waters. Then, ever preserved Against all | (p.353) fiends, may I meet with friends, That I may dwell in the Almighty's sheltering care, Guarded from the loathsome fiend who seeks my life, Established in the glory of the angels, and in the bliss of the kingdom of Heaven…	…Bidde ic nū sigeres god, godes miltse, (31) siðfæt gōdne, smyltne and lihtne wind weroþum. Windas gefrān, circinde wæter. Simble gehǣlede wið eallum | fēondum. Frēond ic gemēte wið, þæt ic on þæs almihtian, on his frið wunian mōte, belocen wiþ þām lāþan, sē mē lȳfes ēht, on engla blǣd gestaþelod, and innan hālre hand heofna rīces blǣd…(39) [142]

This charm hints at twin aspects of the rod's protection which, when combined with prayer, would all be good reason to include rods in the grave, and emphasize a very Christian worldview. Firstly, the rod, as embodiment of the charm and a traditional pilgrim's accessory, offers protection against physical harm, and accompanies the bearer on the journey of life, protecting him from evil, failure, and fiends. Secondly, the rod, in protecting the bearer from sin in his physical and metaphysical journeys, aids the bearer in his quest to the gentle shores of heaven. Finally, though not connected directly with a staff itself, the charm, and its placement in its manuscript, suggest the importance of friendship, which may

[142] 'Sið Galdor,' in F. Grendon (ed. and trans.), 'The Anglo-Saxon Charms,' in *The Journal of American Folklore* 22.84 (1909), 105-237 at 176-7.

bear on the presence of these rods in the grave. Though literal pilgrimage and the charm are both mentioned by Meaney and Gilchrist as different things the rods may symbolise, neither connects the two, nor closely examines the charm beyond noting the charm's protective nature and its use in religious communities.[143]

The first lines of the charm invoke protection against physical peril, disease, and evil, using an object traditionally used in journeying. This parallels the imagery of Psalm 23 (22), mentioned by Gilchrist: 'Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for you are with me; your rod and your staff, they comfort me.'[144] Pilgrimage was popular throughout Anglo-Saxon England—Wulfstan of Winchester describes the crowding of visiting pilgrims and lay people at Winchester in the late 990s, including the provision that pilgrims had to walk barefoot for least three miles—and at least by the fourteenth century, a roundwood staff was an essential part of their kit and representative of their pilgrim's status.[145]

In a closer reading of the text, however, it becomes apparent that the charm and staff are meant not only to protect the bearer on his physical journey, but also to propel him or her towards heaven. This 'Journey Spell' can be construed as a 'lorica,' an invocation which, in the manner of a leather breastplate, provides spiritual armor of sanctity through a hymn

[143] R. Gilchrist, 'Magic for the Dead? The Archaeology of Magic in Later Medieval Burials,' *Medieval Archaeology* 52 (2008), 119-159 at 126 and 128; Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones,* 18.
[144] Gilchrist, *Requiem,* 175.
[145] Though the aspects of Swithun's life in the metrical life are considered to largely fiction, the portrayal of the celebration of the cult is likely true. Wulfstan of Winchester, *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno* i. 5, in M. Lapidge (ed.), *The Cult of St. Swithun.* Winchester Studies 4.ii (Oxford, 2003). Pilgrim's staff: Gilchrist, *Requiem,* 175.

begging saintly protection.[146] In light of this, the rod in the grave can be seen as a ritual object embodying that lorica.[147] Marion Amies suggests that when the speaker has 'heard tell of winds, and crashing water,' the supplicant is not only thinking of the allegory of a beating wind as an aspect of sin through life (as in Gregory's exposition on Job 13.25), but also that the supplicant, beaten by those winds, is mindful of the coming day of judgement.[148] Amies interprets this as a sign that this charm grants protection against the 'storms of sin on man's journey through life,' which stand in opposition to Ælfric's analogies in his homilies comparing heaven to a peaceful shore, mentioned in line 33.[149] Though well beyond this survey's time, there is a fifteenth-century model for the notion that the staff indicates the deceased's journey to heaven: the Augustinian canon John Mirk said in his *Festial* that a meteyard, broken, was included in the grave 'in token that [the deceased] goeth to his long home'—i.e. Paradise.[150] The very substance of the rods included in the grave also signify eternal life, as Rodwell and Rodwell have noticed that willow and hazel trees, the two woods used, become effectively eternal when coppiced.[151]

Katrin Rupp, in her analysis of the Journey Charm, describes the place allocated to it in the manuscript as 'arbitrary.'[152] But the end of the Journey Charm, on page 353 in the

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[146] L. Arnovick, *Written Reliquaries: The Resonance of Orality in Medieval English Texts* (Amsterdam, 2006), 117.
[147] Gilchrist, *Requiem,* 174.
[148] M. Amies, 'The Journey Charm: A *Lorica* for Life's Journey,' *Neophilologus* 67 (1983), 448-62 at 449.
[149] Amies, 'The Journey Charm,' 449; Ælfric referring to John 21: '*Seo sæ getacnað þas andwerdan woruld, and þæt strand getacnode ða ecan staðolfæstnysse þæs towerdan lifes.'* 'The sea betokens this present world, and the strand betokened the eternal stability of the life to come.' Ælfric, 'Feria IV in Hebdomade Pascae,' in Thorpe, *Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, II, 288-294 at 288-9.
[150] C. Daniell, T. Erbe, *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies* (London, 1905), 295.
[151] Rodwell and Rodwell, 'St. Peter's Church, Barton-on-Humber' (1982), 312.
[152] K. Rupp, 'The Anxiety of Writing: a reading of the Old English Journey Charm,' *Oral Tradition* 23.2 (2008), 255-266 at 263.

manuscript, runs above and alongside the beginning of chapter 30 in book four of the Old English *Ecclesiastical History,* and the charm's final call to 'meet with friends' established 'in the bliss of heaven' (lns 35, 39), runs alongside the text of St. Cuthbert meeting his friend Herebriht for the final time, asking Herebriht to express his desires or needs as Cuthbert's 'time of release and departure is very nigh.'[153] While not the primary object of the charm, the Journey Spell twice calls to find the speaker's friends as a result of the journey, in the bliss of heaven as well as on Earth (lns. 29 and 35). The charm which begins with a rod ends with friendship and heavenly bliss, near a text where both friends head to heaven, together. Maria Cinthio, looking at the number of multiple wands in some graves in Lund, hypothesised that these rods were carried in a procession of the corpse to the grave, and then deposited by the next of kin, which would explain the multiples on top of the body (placed on top by next of kin) or underneath the coffin (placed in the grave before the body).[154] While the high majority of Anglo-Saxon examples of this burial variation have only single rods in their graves, it is not impossible that friendship was tied up in the meaning of the rod, and in its helping the deceased on their journey towards heaven.

The distribution, chronology, and analogues thus suggest that wands in graves combined Scandinavian shamanistic tradition and Anglo-Saxon Christian symbolism to create a multivalent burial practice which centred on the journey towards salvation. Though of Danish origin, burial wands likely flourished in the church yards of eleventh-century England because the burial tradition of a willow or hazel staff slotted in with the established Anglo-

[153] 'Forðon ic cuðlice wat þæt seo tid minre tolysnesse 7 minre forðfore is swiðe neah.' Old English Bede, Book IV.30, in p.372.
[154] M. Cinthio, *De första stadsborna: Medeltida graver och människor i Lund* (Stockholm, 2002), 86-7; Gilchrist, 'Magic for the Dead?' 128.

Saxon religious iconography which connected staves to both the traveler's source of protection, and the pilgrim's journey to the afterlife.

Shrouded Body

Typology and Distribution

The shroud is the only burial type where the archaeological evidence we have for it is almost all circumstantial, supported by literary attestations. Only one whole shroud has survived from archaeological excavations—the remarkable example at Quernmore— although textile fragments are occasionally found which might be remnants of shrouds, such as those found in the skulls at Snarehill Hall, Brettenham.[155] Yet there is circumstantial evidence for the use of shrouds which can be used to deduce instances where shrouds very likely may have been present. One circumstantial indicator might be the presence of a pin in the grave fill, as in the Abbey Land Farms cemetery at Whitby Abbey.[156] A single bone pin in Grave 53 at Nazeingbury has been taken as evidence for a shroud burial, but need not necessarily have been one, as veils were standard dress for women in this period.[157] Shrouds could just have easily been tucked or sewn closed rather than pinned, however, leaving no material trace in

[155] J. Glover, 'The Conservation of Medieval and Later Shrouds from Burials in North-West England,' in S.A. O'Connor, M. Brooks (eds.), *Archaeological Textiles: proceedings... April 1988* (London, 1990), 49-59; D. Whitmore, 'A Late Saxon and Medieval Cemetery: Excavations at Snarehill Hall, Brettenham, 2001', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 46 (2010), 71-83 at 77. Fragments of St. Cuthbert's secondary wrappings also survive. Occasionally archaeologists can find an imprint of or preserved fabric itself within corrosion of some other metal object in the grave, but skulls may be. As the above presentation of typologies ought to have suggested, however, at this period metal within the grave grows increasingly rare.

[156] K. Buxton, 'Whitby Abbey: Southern Anglian Enclosure,' CfA Report 2001 (Unpublished Report, 2001), 32.

[157] Huggins, 'Excavations… at Essex,' 52.

the soil.[158] That Anglo-Saxons sewed closed their shrouds seems particularly likely given the paucity of pins in grave fills and the similar paucity of nails for coffins, which suggest that the Anglo-Saxons valued their iron and conserved it where they could.

But shroud use may be identified in archaeological contexts despite the lack of pins through use of the principles of archaeothanatology, which propose careful examination of the manner in which the body decomposes and evaluation of the position of the skeleton post-decomposition.[159] Duday noticed that verticalization of the clavicles is only observed in a very narrow coffin or shroud.[160] A parallel-sided skeleton, with legs together and arms close to its side, may indicate the use of a shroud. The shroud would have held the arms, legs, and ribs close together as the body decomposed, leading to the 'parallel-sided' position.[161] This positioning has been used by Rosemary Cramp to identify potentially shrouded burials at Jarrow.[162] More simply, a narrow and short grave cut may indicate that a shrouded body was placed in it, but I find this to be more negative proof of a large coffin than positive proof of a shroud. Rees suggests that use of shrouds may also be determined in the grave through observing whether the chin lies tight against the chest, but this has been found to be an inconsistent method of determination.[163] Boddington also has found a strong correlation between parallel-sided burials and internal bone tumble (defined as where 'the bones had moved out of the volume of the trunk, either to overlie the skeletal frame or to rest between the legs') at Raunds Furnells, but this classification has not been as reliable in the

[158] The exceptional pieces of fabric which survive are almost always impressed upon or preserved within metal corrosion. Usually in the case of clothes the fabric decays completely, and a metal brooch or buckle is the only remnant which is visible archaeologically.
[159] Duday, *The Archaeology of the Dead*.
[160] Duday, *The Archaeology of the Dead,* 45.
[161] Boddington, *Raunds Furnells*, 36-7.
[162] Cramp, Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites, vol 1., 180.
[163] Rees, 'Thornybank, Midlothian,' 328.

indication of shrouded burials outside of Raunds' sample.[164] Since classifying the use of a shroud is so determinate on careful examination of bone tumble and bone position, the assignation of shrouds from skeletal evidence within archaeological reports is understandably biased towards more modern excavations.

Despite Boddington's influential use of archaeothanatology to categorize coffins and shrouds in his 1996 publication of Raunds Furnells, the shrouded body is still only irregularly, and hesitantly, reported within cemetery sites. Archaeothanatological review of images and drawings from excavation reports (where they survive) would likely find more examples.[165] Where shrouds have been identified, there does not appear to have been any particular limit to their geographic distribution; a tucked chin suggesting shrouded burial in Thornybank, Midlothian, is one of the earliest and most northern instances within this survey, though not the most Northern during the period in question.[166] The sample indicates that shrouds were used primarily in ecclesiastical sites throughout England, at a rate of 2:1 (Figure 85, Figure 86, Figure 87), and some of the 'field' samples may in fact be church cemeteries whose church has not been found yet, which would further tip the sample in favour of church distribution. Shrouds were combined with most grave types and grave variations. Parallel-sided bodies occur in both coffins and long-cists, and are often paired with earmuffs and charcoal.

[164] A. Boddington, *Raunds Furnells*, 36-7.
[165] Reviewing images from cemeteries in this fashion requires access to the entire excavation archive rather than just a report. Emma Green at the University of Sheffield is commencing study in this area, using an archaeothanatological approach in her PhD to re-examine report images and determine whether a small sample of cemeteries show use of shrouds or coffins, having already examined photos of inhumations at Sedgeford, Norfolk.
[166] This honour belongs to excavated monasteries north of the Firth of Forth such as Inchmarnock.

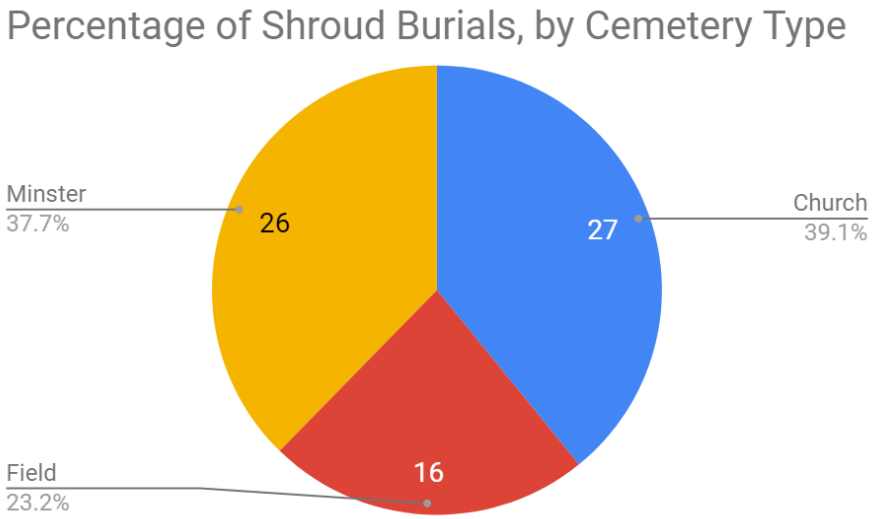


Figure 85: Distribution of shroud burials among cemetery types.

Table 21: Sites with pins or skeletal-positioning evidence suggesting shroud burial

Sites with pins or skeletal-positioning evidence suggesting shroud burial			
Site Name	**County**	**Dates**	**Minster/ Field/ Church**
Bath Abbey (+ Kingston Parade & York Street)	Bath	750-1000; 750-950; 700- 900 (C14); 8th-9th c.	M
Medmenham Abbey, Wycombe	Buckinghamshire	Mid Saxon to pre-Conquest	M
Wing (All Saints)	Bucks.	c. 750-1100	C
Church End, Cherry Hinton	Cambridgeshire	Late A-S; assumed 850-1150, but NOT earliest grave, which is 1σ calAD 668-992, and 2σ 772-902	C
Gamlingay, South Cambridgeshire	Cambridgeshire	Anglo-Saxon	C
St. Piran's, Perranzabuloe, Carrick, Cornwall	Cornwall and Isles of Scilly HER	8th-9th c.	M
Flower Field, Seaham, Seaham	County Durham	6th-9th c.; C14 AD660-880; 8th-11th c. AD (chest burial)	F
Kirkefield Stables, Hart Village, County Durham	County Durham	7th-10th c.	C
St. Wystan's Churchyard, Repton	Derbyshire	7th-12th c.	M
Auldhame, East Lothian	East Lothian	640-1100 & later	M
Beverley Minster	East Riding of Yorkshire	pre 12th c.	M
Nazeingbury	Essex	7th-9th c.; calAD 560-720 and AD 760-920	M
Winchester, Old Minster	Hampshire	600-1100	M
St. Augustines, Canterbury	Kent	Anglo-Saxon	M

Sites with pins or skeletal-positioning evidence suggesting shroud burial			
Site Name	**County**	**Dates**	**Minster/ Field/ Church**
Jubilee Tower Car Park, Hare Appletree Fell, Quernmore	Lancashire	7th c.?	F
St. Patrick's, Heysham	Lancashire	8th c. forward? C14 calAD 960-1185	C
Chapel Road, Fillingham	Lincolnshire	7th-11th c.	F
Lincoln Eastern Bypass	Lincolnshire	8th-10th c.	C
Little Carlton, Lincs.	Lincolnshire	7th c.?; C14 calAD 650-710	M
St. Peter's Barton-upon-Humber	Lincolnshire	c. 900-1100	M
St. Peter's Church, Holton-le-Clay	Lincolnshire	9th-11th c.	C
Upper Thames Street, Bull Wharf Lane, Queenhithe, London	London	c. 690-890	F
Newton, Midlothian/ "Thorneybank"	Midlothian, Scotland	c. 380-800?	F
Milton Keynes Village Burials	Milton Keynes	Late Saxon to 12th c.	#N/A
All Saints' Church, Barton Bendish, West Norfolk	Norfolk	Late Saxon/ 11th c.?	C
Boneyard, Sedgeford, West Norfolk	Norfolk	Mid to Late Saxon; calAD 662-881 & calAD 689-887 (1σ); pottery indicates occupation c. AD 700-750 to 950-1000	C
Burgh Castle, Great Yarmouth	Norfolk	7th -10th c.	M
Farmer's Ave, Norwich Castle Bailey Cemetery 3 (777N)	Norfolk	late 9th-11th c.	F
Red Castle, Thetford, Breckland	Norfolk	pre-Conquest	C
Snarehill Hall, Brettenham, Breckland	Norfolk	Late Saxon	C
St John's de Berstrete, Timberhill, Norwich Castle Bailey	Norfolk	9th-12th c.	C
St. Mary's Priory Walsingham	Norfolk	650-980, provisionally; more likely 10th-11th c.?	C
St. Michael's Close, Thetford, Breckland	Norfolk	Late Saxon/Saxo-Norman (11th-12th c.)	C
Church View, Whitton	North Lincolnshire	6th-10th c.	C
St. Chad's Church, Barrow-upon-Humber	North Lincolnshire	9th-12th c.	M
Dixon Keld, Masham	North Yorkshire	9th-10th c.	F
St. Oswald's Church, Thornton Steward-Sowden Beck Water Pipeline, Richmondshire	North Yorkshire	7th-9th; AD 660-810 (G 066) AD 680-900 (G 059) AD 810-1020 (G 069)	F
Wharram Percy	North Yorkshire	10th-12th c.	C
Whitby Abbey Headland/ Abbey Farms	N. Yorkshire	7th-9th c.	M
Great Houghton, Northamptonshire (Assoc with St. Mary's)	Northamptonshire	68.2% 646-711(55.8%); 746-764 (12.4%) 95.4% 608-772	M
Middle to Late Saxon Cemetery, Seaton Road, Harringworth	Northamptonshire	Mid -Late Saxon	F
Raunds Furnells	Northamptonshire	900-1000	C
Christ Church College, Oxford	Oxfordshire	8th-12th c.; C14 734-825AD * cal by A. Bayliss	M

Sites with pins or skeletal-positioning evidence suggesting shroud burial			
Site Name	**County**	**Dates**	**Minster/ Field/ Church**
Muchelney Abbey	Somerset	Anglo-Saxon	M
Old Vicarage/ Eastbury Farm, Carhampton	Somerset	1057-1300	F
Wells Cathedral	Somerset	650-1100	M
Wembdon Hill, Sedgemoor	Somerset	7th-11th c.; calAD 647-902	F
Woodlands, Adwick-le-Street, Doncaster	South Yorkshire	6th-10th c; dated to 9th c. on grave goods	F
North End of Golden Grove, Southampton	Southampton	mid-Saxon	C
Six Dials, Southampton	Southampton	9th c.?	C
SOU 13, Southampton	Southampton	8th and 9th c.	C
St. Mary's Stadium, Southampton	Southampton	650-950 for later burial (650-720 (early-- too early)	F
St. Bertelin's Church, Stafford	Staffordshire	9th-11th c.; c14 says 772 is possible	C
Bishopsmill School, Norton	Stockton-on-Tees	EARLY to late	F
Barbers Point, Friston, Suffolk Coastal	Suffolk	6th-9th c.	C
Chequer Meadow/ Staunch Meadow, Brandon, Forest Heath	Suffolk	Mid Saxon: 570-1420	M
Clare Castle, Clare, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk	Suffolk	late Saxon/ Saxo-Norman	C
Shepperton near Sheepwalk	Surrey	pre-1000; coin of Offa	F
Bishopstone	Sussex	8th-9th c.	M
Lyminster, St. Mary Magdalene's Church	Sussex	to 1100	M
Jarrow	Tyne and Wear	7th-10th c.	M
The Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Tyne and Wear	Saxon to 1080	M
Wearmouth	Tyne and Wear	674 x1080	M
St. John's Priory, Pontefract -Booths ?(NGR is St. Clements)	West Yorkshire	591-771 (sk267, ph1); 550-710 (sk519, ph 1); 830-1220 (sk 548, ph 2)	C
Wakefield Cathedral	West Yorkshire	9th c. to AD 1220	M
Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Aldbourne	Wiltshire	7th to early 8th c.	F
Trowbridge	Wiltshire	c. 950-1139	C
Inhumation Cemetery at Staple Gardens	Winchester	Late Saxon; 9th to 11th c.	C
Swinegate (St. Benet's), York	Yorkshire	9th-11th c.	C

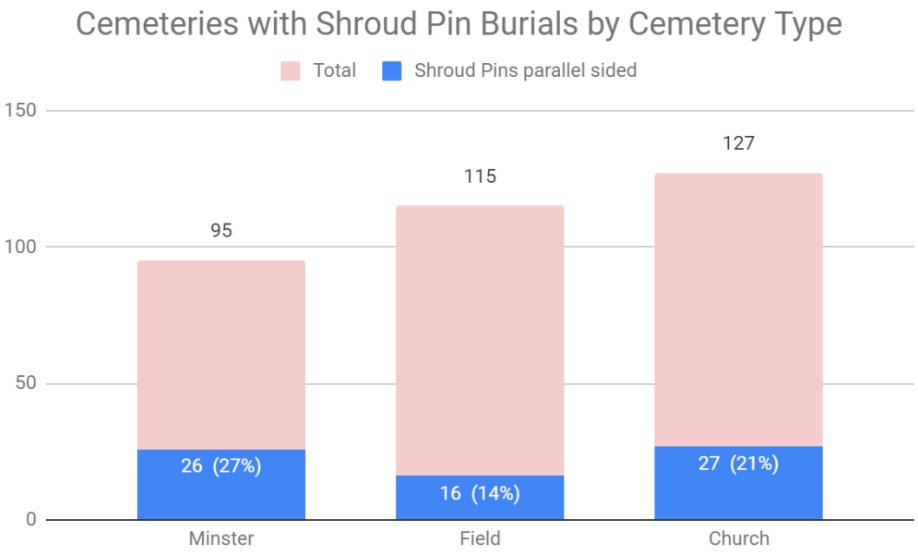


Figure 86: Percentage of shroud burials by cemetery type

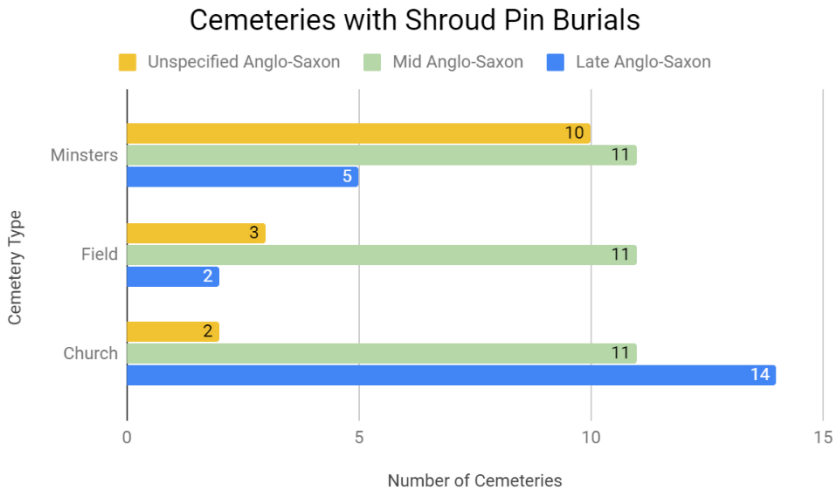


Figure 87: Shroud Burials by period

Discussion

Though there is difficulty in stating definitively that a shrouded burial is present in a grave, the use of shrouds in Anglo-Saxon England is attested through contemporary literature.[167] Bede describes Cuthbert as being wrapped *in sindonis*, and Guthlac is described by Felix as

[167] Discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

being '*in sindone involvat*.'[168] Both use the root *sindon,* which was also used to describe the burial of Jesus.[169] It is possible, though it cannot be proven, that the use of shrouds may have gained popularity among the population through artistic imagery in monasteries in conjunction to aural descriptions of shrouds through scripture readings. The winding of Jesus' body in a shroud after the crucifixion was featured on a panel on the tenth-century Cross of the Scriptures at Clonmacnoise.[170] It is possible to imagine a similar illustration having a place among the scenes of the Gospels and the Apocalypse which Bede describes as hanging on the walls at Jarrow, or at other monasteries, spreading the word and linking the idea of resurrection with the shroud's use.[171]

Clothed Body

Distribution

Clothed burial represents a continuation of practice from the Early Anglo-Saxon period into the period of the survey, and is traditionally placed in opposition to the newly introduced seventh-century practice of shrouding the burial. As with shrouds, hardly any remnants of clothing survive *in situ* in graves, save fragments preserved by being near metal (such as pins or buckles) which has corroded and preserved the organic material, or imprints of it. Unlike shrouded burials, however, there is no single agreed-upon method of determining whether a burial was clothed based upon excavated bone position.[172] Because of the nature of

[168] *Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert (AVSC)* IV.13, *Bede's Prose Life of Saint Cuthbert,* 37, in B. Colgrave (ed. and trans.), *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert* (Cambridge, 1985); *Felix's Life of St. Guthlac,* (ed. and trans. B. Colgrave), 18-19.
[169] Luke 23:53.
[170] O'Brien, 'Pagan or Christian? Burial in Ireland,' 146.
[171] *Historia Abbatum,* in C. Grocock and I. Wood (eds., trans.), *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Oxford 2013), 21-76 at 36-7.
[172] Boddington, *Raunds Furnells.*

Anglo-Saxon dress, we are able to tell on a limited scale whether bodies were buried clothed based upon the presence of pins, buckles, and belt hangers within the grave.[173] However, there is not an equal break between evidence of clothed-burials from metal objects and the archaeothanatological evidence of shrouded burial, as can be seen by the example of Raunds Furnells. Within Raunds Furnells, thought to date to the mid tenth century, parallel-sided burials composed 45% of the burial population of which position could be determined, suggesting that about half of the graves contained shrouded burials.[174] Yet there is not a large assemblage of buckles and pins to account for the 55% of burials which are not parallel-sided. Given the emphasis placed by early Anglo-Saxons on the visual tableau of the body in the grave, it seems quite unlikely that the dead would have been interred naked, meaning that there must be a mass of as-yet-unidentified evidence which indicates the presence of either many more shrouded or many more clothed burials than we can presently account for. [175] Some of this disparity might be explained by a monastic rule in the Constitutions of Lanfranc, just outside the study period, which suggests sewing up a monk in his own robes as a suitable alternative to shrouding, fully covering the body as if in a shroud and placed in a similar narrow form.[176]

[173] Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*.
[174] Boddington, *Raunds Furnells,* 37.
[175] Here I refer to the 'Tableau' idea, that the body and positioning of items within the grave formed a display where the objects became signs through which social messages about the deceased, and his or her social identity or persona, were projected to the viewers at the funeral. Popularized by G. Halsall, 'Burial Writes: Graves, "texts" and time in early Merovingian northern Gaul,' in J. Jarnut and M. Wemhoff (eds.), *Erinnerungskultur im Bestattungsritual: Archäologisch-Historisches Forum* (Munich, 2003), 61-74 at 68; Pader, *Symbolism, Social Relations, and the Interpretation of Mortuary Remains*.
[176] Constitutions of Lanfranc (1070x1089), section 112: 'The cowl shall be sewn together from arm to arm, and round the legs likewise. The night shoes shall be joined together with thread.'/ 'Cuculla hinc et inde consuatur, et circa crura similiter; nocturnales alter ateri filo connectatur. Taliter paratum corpus feretro imponatur, et pallio cooperiatur.' D. Knowles (ed., trans.) and C. Brooke (ed.), *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc* (Oxford, 2002), 182-3.

Clothed burial can be combined with any burial type of grave type or variation. In contradiction to the oft-repeated idea that clothed burial is a pagan practice which, with grave goods, fades out of use after the Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons, the practice endures through the whole period under study, from the eighth century through to the Conquest, making a particular resurgence in the ninth and tenth centuries in a period of Scandinavian immigration.[177] Field cemeteries only slightly outpace church and minster cemeteries for accompanied burials (Figure 88). A rather stunning instance of this is in the graves at Carlisle Cathedral, of which one contains a fragment of woven gold wire, hypothesized to be from a Scandinavian cap, and others contain buckles and strap-ends with ninth-century animal ornament and ninth- to tenth-century ring-and-dot decoration.[178]

[177] D. Hadley, 'Burying the socially and physically distinctive in later Anglo-Saxon England,' in J. Buckberry and A. Cherryson, *Burial in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2010), 103-115.
[178] G. Keevil, 'Early Medieval Finds from Carlisle Cathedral,' *CBA Church Bulletin* 26 (1989), 16-18 at 16.

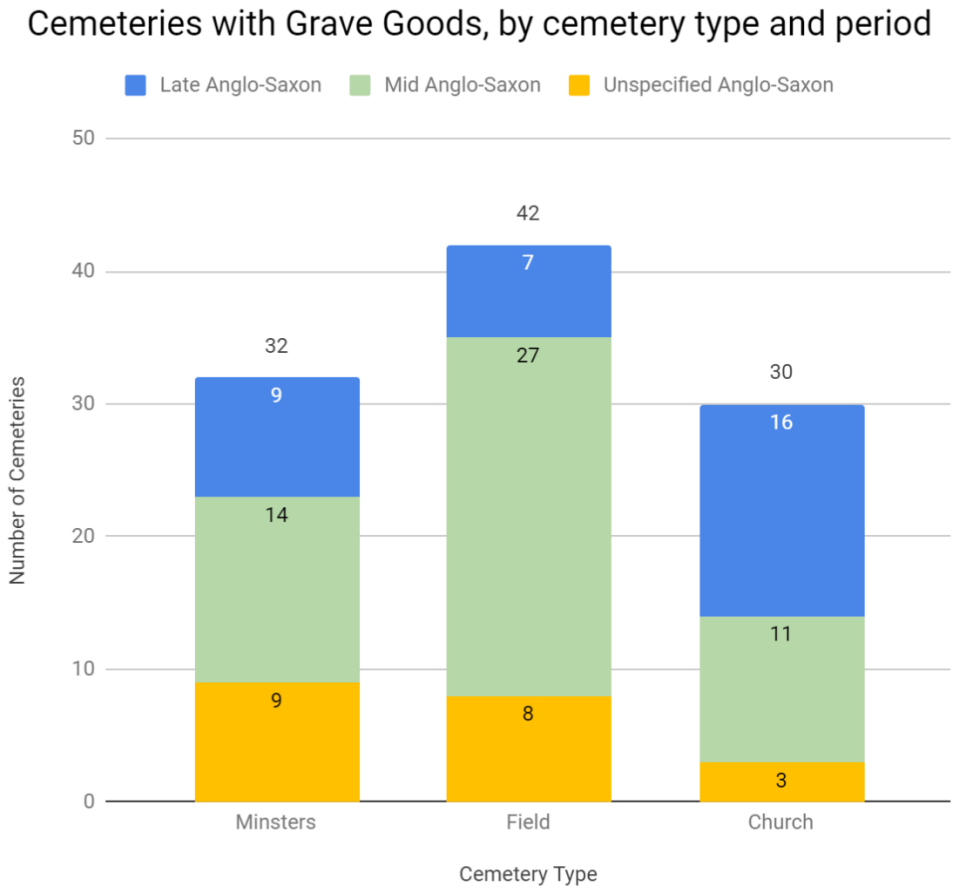


Figure 88: Cemeteries in this survey with grave goods, by cemetery type and period

Table 22: Sites with evidence of clothed burials

Selection of Cemeteries with Evidence of Clothed Burials, c. AD 700-1066						
Site Name	**County**	**Region**	**# of graves**	**Dates**	**Minster/ Field/ Church**	**Grave Goods indicating Clothed Burial**
Northdown Broadstairs & St. Peters, Thanet	Kent	Kent	388	6th-8th c.	X	Brooch
Buttermarket Ipswich	Suffolk	Sussex	19	calAD 595-640, 610-635, 680-775; latest 8th c.	X	Group 7 shield boss, seax, sword, spearheads; 5 graves w/ Female jewellery; 3 glass beads with infant 4 on uncoffined prone burial; 2 coin graves; buckle, prongs, awl, knife
Milfield South	Northum.	Northumbria	45	7th-8th c.	X	2 burials: knife, ring, knife, and strap end
Bevis' Grave, Bedhampton	Hants.	Wessex	88	7th-9th /10th c.	X	20, mainly knives and buckles
Enclosure 'E2' at Bromfield	Shrops.	Wessex	21	7th-10th c.	X	Scaramsax knife, iron buckle
Bamburgh, Bowl Hole	County Durham	Northumbria	130	G133: calAD 650-780 93.8%	X	Grave 103 (calAD560-760 2σ) had iron buckle & knife
Inhumation Cemetery at Lower Brook Street, Winchester	Wincs. City	Wessex	5	c. AD 650-750; necklace of mid-7th to mid- 8th c.	X	Grave 23 produced necklace (probably 2 necklaces) of gold, garnet, & silver pendants, + gold & silver wire rings, beads
Red Castle, Thetford, Breckland	Norfolk	East Anglia	60	Anglo-Saxon	X	Iron buckle with child RCB12
Gamlingay, South Cambs.	Cambs.	Mercia	116	AD650 ->	X	'Two sparse dress fittings and a hone'; two iron blades; copper alloy hairpin
Great Hale, North Kesteven	Lincs.	Lindsey	5	calAD 655-765	X	Small iron buckles
St. Michael's, Workington	Cumbria	Northumbria/ Cumbria	100	Phase 1: 690-900; Phase 2; 10th -11th c.	M	Strap with ring-end decoration, belt buckle, whetstone, iron knife, sickle
Salt Lake Winterbourne Gunner	Wilts.	Wessex	72	early 8th c.	X	Encrusted bronze saucer brooch, amber bead, iron pin
Carlisle Cathedral, Carlisle	Cumbria	Northumbria	41	9th-c. strap end; 10th-11th c. (*t.a.q.* silver penny of Athelstan 924x939)	X	Buckles, strap-ends, silver lace hook, pins, beads, iron knives, bone objects, silver-capped buckles, pendants whetstone, woven gold wire (of Scandinavian cap?)
The Hillings, St. Neots	Cambs.	Mercia	40	St. Neots Pottery 750-1150	X	Iron buckle

Cumwhitton, Cumbria	Cumbria	Northumbria/ Cumbria		10th c.	X	Brooches, sword, buckle sets; decorated drinking horn, a seax with a silver-inlaid horn handle, a locking wooden box containing implements associated with textiles, and a unique group of decorated, tinned copper-alloy buckles and strap ends.
St. Albans Abbey, Herts.	Herts.	Mercia	16	9th/ 10th c. to early Norman	M	Copper alloy garter hook of late Anglo-Saxon type
Church End, Cherry Hinton	Cambs.	Mercia	507	?	X	4 iron buckles (G140, 141, 209, 269)

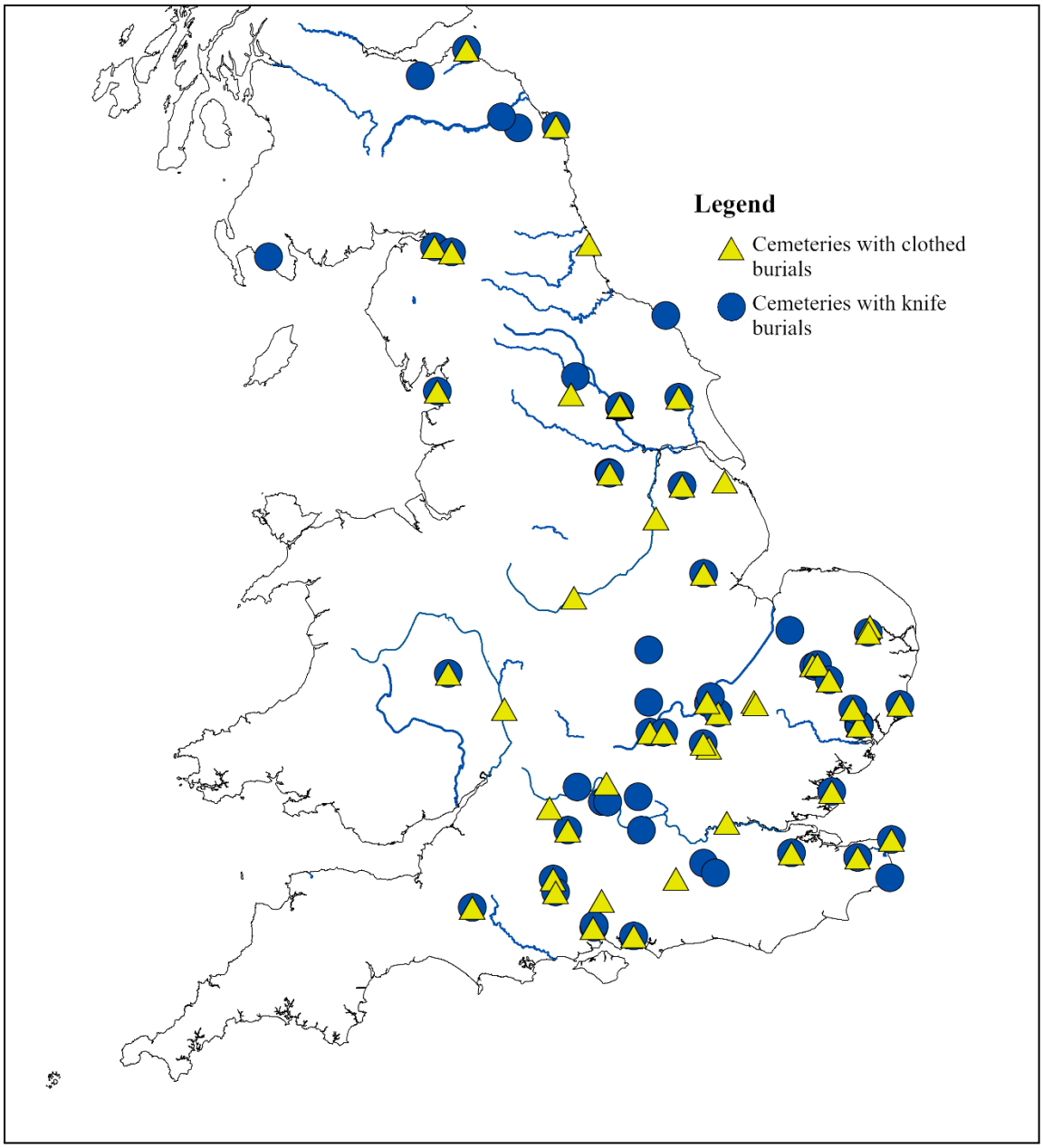


Figure 89: Burials with knives vs. burials with other signs of having been clothed, c.700-1066

The sites which have clothed burials can be divided into three types which include chronological and geographic criteria: 1) those of the sixth to eighth century (e.g.

Northdown, Kent; Buttermarket, Suffolk; Bevis' Grave Hampshire, Bromfield, Shropshire; Lower Brook Street, Winchester; Winterbourne, Wiltshire, Bamburgh, Co. Durham; Milfield South, Northumberland) 2) those of the ninth to eleventh centuries (Workington, Cumbria; Carlisle Cathedral, Cumbria, St. Neots, Cambridgeshire; Cumwhitton, Cumbria; St. Albans Abbey, Hertfordshire), and 3) those whose dating is unspecified and which might have operated in any point in the Anglo-Saxon period. The majority of clothed burials in this period appear first in areas of the initial Anglian settlement, such as East Anglia, then in areas of Viking settlement, such as Carlisle and Cumwhitton. This is, however, likely more reflective of the survival of elements of different styles of dress than of this burial type's actual prevalence. The number of cemeteries which contain parallel-sided graves (for shrouds) and/or buckles, knives, pins or brooches (for clothes) in this period does not even constitute half of the total grave sites of the mid- to Late Saxon period excavated after 1950, nor do coffins or shrouds make up the deficit. This raises doubts whether, even with further archaeological advancement, we can ever know with confidence the most basic question of whether the bulk of Anglo-Saxon burials were burial or shrouded.

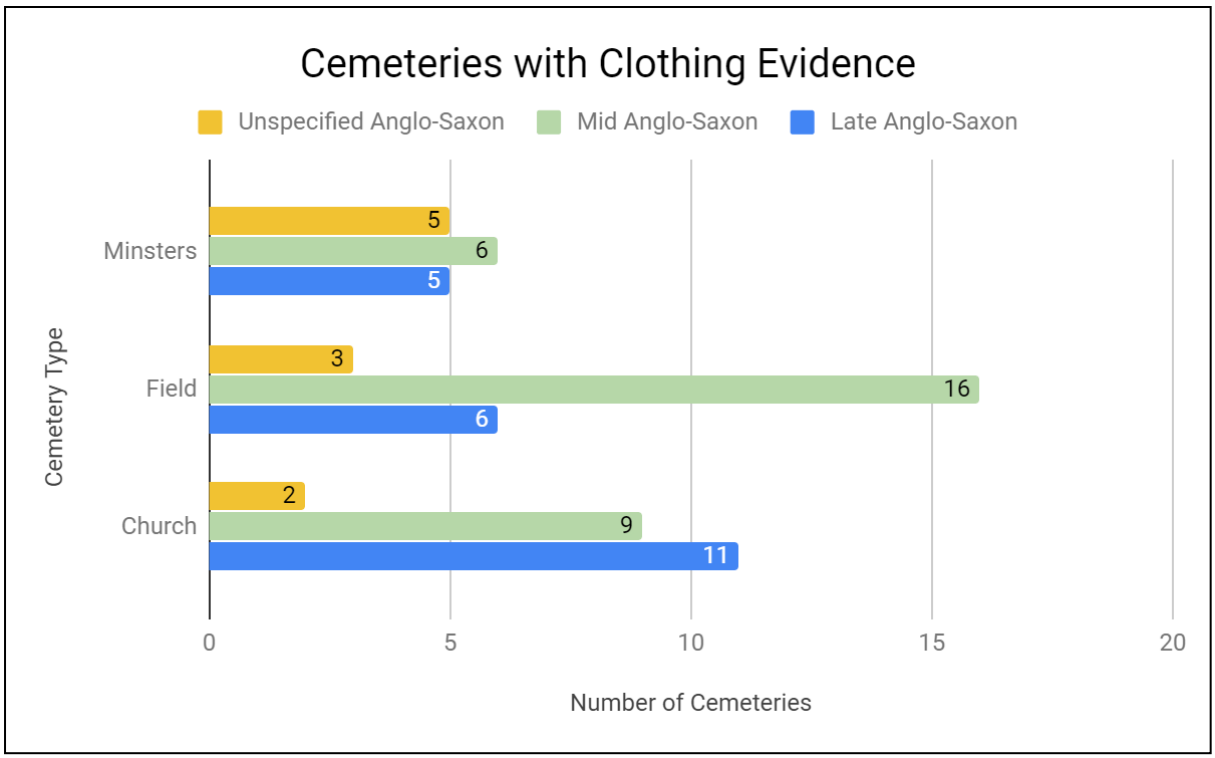


Figure 90: Cemeteries with physical evidence for clothing (e.g. strap-ends, buckles), by time and type.

Discussion

As mentioned above, clothed burials are present throughout the period, but when conjoined with grave goods, they cluster around two time periods (Figure 90). The first of these is from the late seventh century through the eighth century in the south (Wessex, East Anglia, and Kent), in the form of buckles, knives, and, in the seventh century, brooches and jewellery. The second is in the late ninth to early tenth century in Cumbria and other areas either raided or colonised by Viking. There is not a clean chronological divide, however (Figure 91). There are few fully fledged 'Viking' burials which contain, as at Cumwhitton, the full kit of spears, knives, animal products, and jewellery.[179] Although Jane Kershaw found

[179] J. Richards, 'The Case of the Missing Vikings: Scandinavian Burial in the Danelaw,' in S. Lucy and A. Reynolds, *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales* (London, 2002), 156-70.

that Scandinavian jewellery was spread in high numbers across the Danelaw, and had a strong market, very few paired brooches made it into this survey.[180] However, some associated finds, such as the antler comb, clothing accessories and silver-copped whetstone at Carlisle Cathedral, are comparable to those in contemporary ninth-century Viking burials on the Isle of Man and in the Western Isles, and confirm Norse trade, if not presence.[181]

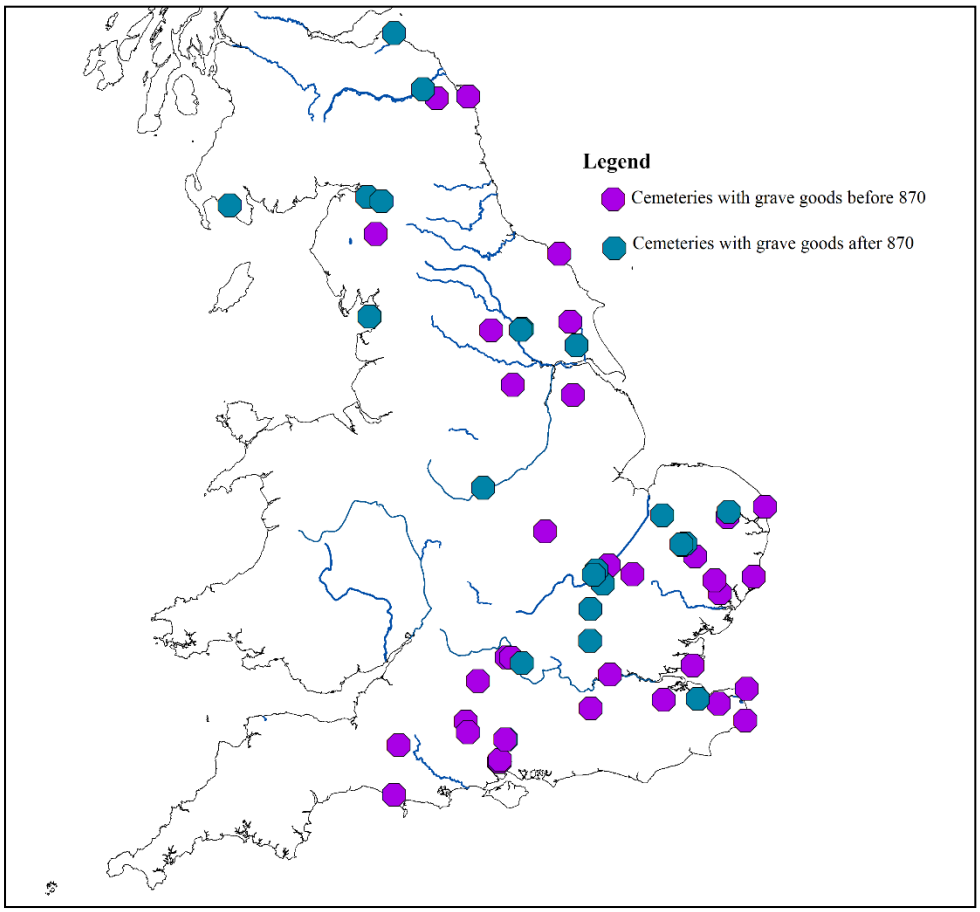


Figure 91: Cemeteries with grave goods before and after the first Viking incursions

[180] J. Kershaw, *Viking Identities: Scandinavian Jewellery in England* (Oxford, 2013), 216.
[181] Carlisle Cathedral: McCarthy *et al*., 'A Post-Roman Sequence at Carlisle Cathedral,' 221-2; Cumwhitton: C. Paterson *et al.*, *Shadows in the Sand: Excavation of a Viking-Age Cemetery at Cumwhitton*; and St. Michael's, Workington: Oxford Archaeology, *An Early Medieval Cemetery at St. Michael Church, Workington,* http://oxfordarchaeology.com/earlymedieval/st-michaels. Accessed June 10, 2014.

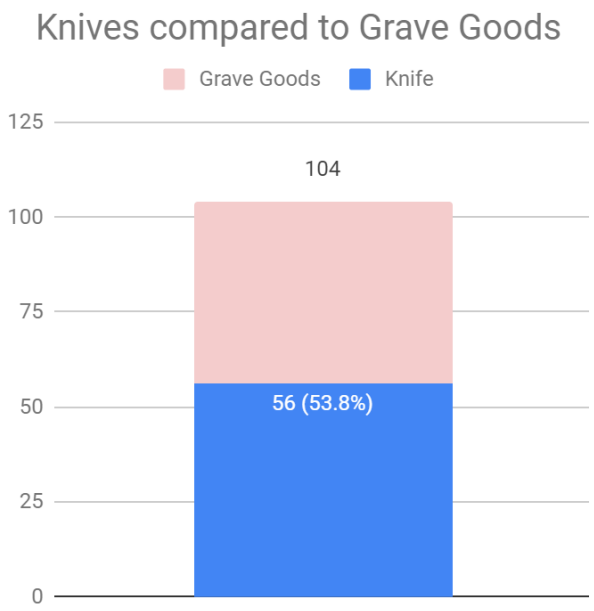


Figure 92: Percentage of 'grave goods' cemeteries (total 104) with knives

The earliest eighth-century examples are a clear continuation of, or development from, 'Final Phase' burial practice, although in some instances (as at Buttermarket, Ipswich), the presence of 'Final Phase' burials heavily indicates that the surrounding burials were also pre-700. Apart from jewellery and other personal items, knives continue to be used in graves throughout the eighth to eleventh centuries, making up half of all grave-good burials (Figure 92). While the knives accompanying clothed 'Viking' burials are also part of a burial suite of furnishings in the 'Germanic' style prevalent in England throughout the seventh century, the knives, sans accoutrements, of the ninth through eleventh centuries not only contribute to the differentiating diversification of grave inclusions during the late Saxon period (discussed below), but also hold potential apotropaic significance, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

III: Conclusion

This chapter has shown that while there is great diversity in grave variations across the surveyed four centuries, the dispersal of these variations across cemeteries is not random. Unlike grave types, which appear to have been primarily regionally based, the evidence of this study suggests that most grave variations, though broadly distributed, were spread through community networks. The most obvious of these networks were coastal and monastic along the east coast and around the Irish Sea, and networks centred upon Danish emigration and immigration. Other variations appear to be rooted in local tradition or societal transformations which have been observed in other studies as affecting other forms of material culture.

Networks of Communities

In contrast to how grave types such as chest burials appear to be regionally focused, grave variations, like quartz stones, appear to have spread through networks. While examples of quartz stone inclusions vary from mid-seventh-century Derbyshire barrow burials to twelfth-century Irish churchyards, both their geographical distribution and their allocation among cemetery types indicates an inclination towards, and potential distribution of the practice through, Northern monastic networks. As mentioned above, quartz stone use seems to begin in the churchyards of northern England, Western Scotland, and Ireland near-contemporaneously. What looks like a simultaneous implementation in measurable archaeological timescales surely was not simultaneous within time as perceived on the scale of a human life. The short time frame does indicate that a complex network of exchange was at work, however. As within this study white quartz stones appear almost entirely in church-associated cemeteries, and most often with minsters, including the Isle of May in

Scotland and Llanloughan, Wales, out of this survey's reach, the evidence strongly suggests that this network was monastic.

The chronology does not indicate whether the significance of white pebbles originated in Ireland or England—Neolithic use of it occurs in both countries—but interactions and exchange between the Ionan group in the seventh and eighth centuries certainly could have aided its spread. The areas of quartz use contain pseudo-historic connections between Columba of Iona and Aedán of Dalriada, suggesting a link between Iona, Ireland, and mainland Scotland.[182] And, of course, the tale of Egbert 'the Englishman' and Cólman of Lindisfarne show that the sites at which quartz pebbles were found in County Mayo, Inishkea, and England, had a connection through the migration of monks as much as migration of ideas.[183] It is very suggestive that through Northumbria across Scotland and Southern Ireland, many places where Cólman worked (and left after 664) and Egbert moved have white stones within their graves, whereas places within the network of Mercian and Wilfrid's Deiran monasteries do not.[184]

The other major network of exchange occurs contemporaneously with the establishment of Danish Viking estates in the south. Charcoal burials are the earliest of these possibly-exchanged burial forms, appearing perhaps as early as the ninth-century in Wessex, though only exploding in popularity after the tenth century.[185] The use of burial rods was also potentially brought to England along with the freshly Christianised Danish Vikings, as the

[182] Adomnán, *Life of Columba* 107a, in Anderson and Anderson, *Adomnán's Life of Columba.*
[183] Cólman in Bede, *EH,* IV.4; see also the monasteries granted by Dalriada on Iona, Tiree, and Garvellachs: M.R. Niecke and H.B. Duncan, 'Dalriada: the establishment and maintenance of an early historic kingdom in North Britain,' in S.T. Driscoll and M.R. Nieke (eds.), *Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1988), 6-21 at 11.
[184] D. Rollason, to counter: 'Monastic organization is equally resistant to being assigned to specific influences and equally diagnostic of an eclectic culture' in Rollason, *Northumbria,* 134.
[185] See above.

first examples date to around the time of Cnut and thereafter appear largely along the north and on the east coast, particularly after the Conquest. Other grave linings only catch a foothold after the Conquest, spreading among the new Norman establishments, suggesting not only variation in order to distinguish the dead in rank, but also perhaps expressing different spiritual anxieties. Multiple burial variations continued to be used in combination till the end of this period and into the Anglo-Norman period, and, through networks of both political and religious communication, expanded in use geographically far beyond where they started. Viking sets of grave goods

Eschatology and folk belief

A chi-squared test returned insufficient evidence for dependence between grave variations, generally, and cemetery type.[186] Nevertheless, the regularity with which certain grave variations were used among church and minster cemeteries over field cemeteries suggests that a subset of burial variations were inspired by Christian scripture and prompted by eschatological thought. These burial variations (white stones, pillow stones, burial wands, and shrouds) are found most often within graveyards associated with churches (minster or not).

Looking at three variations within the grave in this survey, one can observe three overlapping forms of eschatologically-minded precautions. These grave variations appear to have spread through the religious communities that served as the interface between lay populations, their folk beliefs, and the 'great tradition' of Christianity: white stones,

[186] See Chapter 3 Conclusion, above.

signifying the martyrdom of pilgrimage or the 'name on a white stone' of the elect, head supports, suggesting the dreaming of angels and gospel-books indicating preparation for Judgement Day, and hazel wands, signifying eternal life, a protective *lorica* to get there, and the friends with whom one would reunite on the other side. Priests' instructions for last unction, found in MS Laud 482 among others, commanded them in particular to teach the dying about the Trinity and Last Judgement in case they were unfamiliar with the concepts, though clearly the ill and their family had enough knowledge of Christian practice to understand that calling for a priest at the time of illness was important.[187] Those instructions are one of many indications that, though Christianity was broadly accepted among the insular population, the theology was not necessarily wholly understood outside of elite or coenobitic circles. In this context, these burial practices can be understood as reflecting the folk culture's 'Little Tradition,' which is unable to be fully understood without the context of the 'Great Tradition,' whose knowledge is held by ritual specialists from outside the community.[188] Given the absence of church laws dictating burial form, the impetus for these transformations of biblical verse into physical practice was likely community-driven rather than externally enforced. Quartz stones, for example, clearly participated in a tradition of unknown antiquity and carried significance developed in part from now-lost local belief, judging by their pre-historic use. Their use upon *leachta* and within burials, however, must have derived from the augmentation of its meaning through the classical and biblical works copied by monks, who syncretised quartz' folk function with a larger Biblical tradition and, in so doing, created new ritual uses for it.

[187] Thompson, *Dying and Death,* 90.
[188] R. Redfield, 'The Social Organisation of Tradition,' *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 15.1 (1955), 13-21, at 14-15.

In summary, while local availability of materials and fashion do account for a portion of variety within the distribution of burial types and variations, chronological examination of the use of differing burial variations in Anglo-Saxon England and their regional nature reveals that the implementation of certain grave types rise and fall with the spread and contraction of certain communities. The three groups of grave good burials -- As Chris Scull has observed in sixth- to eighth-century burials, social identities and regional variations in material culture can represent 'elements of distinction within a broader framework of cultural affiliations.'[189] This study supports that finding and suggests how both identity and anxiety about reaching the afterlife and about earthly social change might have manifested itself within the space of the grave, and have been a motivator of this material transformation of practice.

[189] C. Scull, 'Approaches to material culture and social dynamics of the Migration Period in eastern England,' in J. Bintliffe and H. Hamerow (eds.), *Europe between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: recent archaeological and historical research in western and southern Europe*. BAR Int. Ser. 617 (Oxford, 1995), 71-83.

Chapter 5: The Body: Commemorating and Interacting with the Dead

I. Introduction: Ritual and personal choices

Many of the grave types and variations discussed in the previous two chapters reflected a continuation of regional custom, practices adhering to or informed by local tradition, but other choices were dictated by the survivors' desire to make the deceased comfortable in the grave, to express piety, or to display the deceased's social status. These practices were recognisably made within a combined framework of church influence and local identity. With the local clergy performing their own more-or-less set (though not uniform) rite for the funeral, however, beyond grave furnishing, what actual choices could family and friends make about the treatment of the body itself?

This chapter discusses these choices concerning the treatment of the body in preparation for the grave by analysing the database's evidence for graveside practice in the light of written and visual sources and anthropological analogues. First, it briefly considers the aspects of the funeral and internment which were structured by the church. Second, it demonstrates how survivors' preparation of the body for burial and decisions about what accompanied the deceased to the grave expressed the deceased's social persona even without grave goods, and how some pious practices, like shrouding, may have been more ostentatious than has traditionally been thought. Third, it explores, beyond existing research, the tension between caring for the ill and safeguarding the living against the spiritual and physical threats posed by the dead, and reveals that, even though precautions were taken, these dangerous dead were still included in later Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

Adhering to Local Rites and Practices: Religious

It is 920 in Canterbury. A man in religious orders there, Oswulf, is on his deathbed in his cell. Yesterday he called his brothers to come to him so that he might distribute what little he owns: a napkin, some incense. Seeing him slip into a sort of delirium this morning, the novice watching him runs to tell the abbot of Oswulf's deterioration, and one of the ordained brothers comes immediately. The archbishop is out; the priest, instead, places his hands on Oswulf's head, with a prayer, and then holy water is sprinkled over Oswulf and the whole of his room while the other brothers who have heard the news come to the room and pray. The priest brings out the oil and anoints him, first making the sign of the cross on his chest, then dabbing the oil on Oswulf's eyelids, between his shoulder blades, on his nose, lips, chest, hands, then the crown of his head. Finally, he dabs Oswulf's feet while one of the deacons prepares the Eucharist; a brother puts socks on Oswulf's feet, seemingly to prevent the oil rubbing off elsewhere. Communion is given, 'for communion is to him the defender and assistant in the resurrection of the just, and it will rouse him again.'[1] As Oswulf slips into unconsciousness, the story of the Passion is read to him by his friend, the deacon, while the rest of the brothers return to their tasks and perform the daily office. When Oswulf dies, he will immediately be lifted by his brothers and placed on a *cilicium*, a rough cloth made from goat's hair. The brothers will sing the seven penitential psalms, and the litany will be read over him. He will then be taken out of his room to be washed, and prayers will be spoken over him while this is done; his body will be covered and placed on a bier and processed into the church with antiphons and responses until the group draw near to the church; then they sing the psalms again. Oswulf will lay, covered, in front of the altar; mass will be said, and

[1] N. Orchard (ed.), *The Leofric Missal* v.2 (London, 2002), section 2198.

prayers. The brothers will stand by the bier after the mass, while the priest says a prayer, then they sing: *Kyrie eleison, Christi eleison, Kyrie eleison*. The bier is lifted by the brothers and they carry it—and him—outside to a grave, which may have already been prepared, singing antiphons. After he is lowered, and buried, the priest performing the service exhorts his brothers to pray for Oswulf; they disperse.[2]

For the brothers, whether emotionally close to him or not, their say in the *ordos* and funeral for Oswulf is very limited. Although there is an element of improvisation in any musical, and thus liturgical, performance, the choices are largely out of their hands, following whichever burial office and prayer selections that the abbot or bishop is familiar with from his own experience or chooses from his missals or manuals, either inherited or produced.[3] Depending on the size of the library, there may have been many options to choose from: Lanfranc, commenting on his collection at Canterbury, praised the diversity of 'our own books of episcopal *ordines,* of which we have many from different parts of the world.'[4] Liturgical books were commissioned specifically by priests, abbots, and bishops, and their form and content reflected both the material which their scribe could access and the knowledge and desires of the commissioner. The Leofric Missal, from whose 'A' text the above recreation is taken, is an excellent example of this customisation. Believed to have

[2] *Leofric Missal*, Author A; Orchard, *Leofric Missal* v.2, sections 2507-2544, 2198-2241.
[3] Although not much music survives from this period, melody played a part in the *ordo* as well as in the secular wakes after the funeral (discussed below), and naturally no two performances, even of the same readings and antiphons, would be the same, particularly as modern musicology is coming around to the idea that rites were not performed entirely by rote. W. Flynn, 'Approaches to Early Medieval Music and Rites,' in H. Gittos and S. Hamilton (eds.), *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation* (Surrey, 2015), 57-71 at 61; see also M. Bradford Bedinfield, 'Ritual and Drama in Anglo-Saxon England: the Dangers of the Diachronic Perspective,' in H. Gittos and M. Bradford Bedinfield (eds.), *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church* (London, 2005), 291-317.
[4] H. Clover and M. Gibson (eds., trans.), *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury* (Oxford, 1979), 86-7; H. Gittos, 'Sources for the Liturgy of Canterbury Cathedral,' in A. Bovey (ed.), *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Canterbury* (Leeds, 2013), 41-58.

been commissioned by Archbishop Plegmund,[5] it is a unique combination of a Gallican framework, prayers from the north of Italy, the Gelasian rite (composed in the eighth century in eastern France), and popular additions to the liturgy by Benedict of the monastery of Aniane (composed c.817).[6] Plegmund's successor to the archbishopric, Athelm, might have chosen to use this sacramentary, or have commissioned new material to be attached to another liturgical codex for his personal use, or, more likely, might have brought his own preferred liturgical books with him, which might have contained slightly different prayers or instructions. New material, including a rubric, was added to the Leofric Missal itself by subsequent bishops.[7] A celebrant might also default to speaking a different version of the rite in a way he had already memorized, thus also removing final say in the content of the ordo as performed, prayers or otherwise, from the brothers under his care.[8] So, what different versions of this rite—or other rites—were used in the burial of monks or ordinary people in the period before the Leofric Missal, where our evidence is extremely limited? And to what extent, and in what manner, were laypeople granted autonomy to determine aspects of the funerary rituals of their deceased kinsmen, throughout this period?

[5] Archbishop Plegmund r. AD890-923; Orchard, *Leofric Missal* v.1, 1. The Leofric Missal is the earliest surviving liturgical book known to have been used in Anglo-Saxon England which contains a burial office (written, in Nicholas Orchard's assessment, in Canterbury by a Lotharingian scribe); within the Leofric Missal the burial office is demarked by the heading *Ordo in agenda mortuorum,* and at the end, poetically, an instruction to *finit commendatio animae,* but the office is also referred to as *ordo defunctorum* or *ordo exsequiarum* in other texts.

[6] Orchard, *Leofric Missal v.1,* 63-4, 311-2; E. Bishop, 'On the Origin of the Prymer,' *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford, 1918), 211-238.

[7] Scribes B and C: Orchard, *The Leofric Missal.*

[8] As Alcuin, in *De Laude Dei* (c.790), implies Northumbrian communities did for the daily offices which, of course, are more frequent than the burial *ordo.* D. Bullough, *Alcuin, Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden, 2004), 184-5.

Sources

As demonstrated by the last two chapters, the potential variations of burial practice by location and time period are numerous. The scarcity of sources describing the body between the last rites and the grave, however, makes recreating the actual burial rites practised before the ninth century difficult. Like much of the surviving evidence from Anglo-Saxon England, the written descriptions of burials are divided sharply both chronologically and regionally between the largely hagiographical Northumbrian texts of the seventh and eighth centuries and the varied manuscripts that come almost exclusively from Wessex from the tenth century onwards, which contain liturgy, homilies, monastic rules, guild rules, vernacular poetry, and later saints' lives.

Along with the scarcity of sources for the funeral, the liturgical books which survive indicate that various minsters, whose occupants were likely responsible for the pastoral care of the surrounding areas before the rise of estate churches in the tenth century, combined their liturgical books obtained from a variety of different places and sources with their own annotations and local variations, now lost to us. Though the Stowe Missal, an eighth-century liturgical book from Ireland, draws on diptychs of the old Visigothic mass combined with the Gallican rite, it also contains a unique hymn for the breaking of the bread which substitutes the original text.[9] It also was revised shortly after its completion by its Irish author to bring it even more in line with Gallican practice, possibly after receiving a new source, suggesting a combination of local innovation and a concurrent desire to imitate new standards from

[9] N. O'Donoghue, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland* (Notre Dame, IN, 2011), chapter 2; E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, 165-7.

the continent.[10] It is likely that Anglo-Saxon texts were a similar mélange of local and foreign practice. Wilfrid is said to have brought his books from Rome itself; Benedict Biscop brought volumes from Gaul as well as Rome, and created his monastic rules from a combination of several examples he saw along the way.[11] The presence of the Gelasian rite in so many Anglo-Saxon liturgical books of this period confirms liturgical borrowing from Gaul, the English church's connections to which are well-documented in the letters of Alcuin, hagiographies, and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.[12] While we have eleventh-century evidence of a local rite in the Red Book of Darley, which was likely used by a parish priest in the area of Sherborne, the liturgical manuscripts most likely used by local priests were *libelli,* unbound liturgical collections originally not designed for parish churches, and most probably copied from second-hand books which were difficult to use in their codex form.[13] Otherwise, priests most likely performed the rites from memory, likely leaving an imprint on the wording or form of the ritual itself.[14] But regardless of the form of the prayers and services themselves, the kin of the deceased still may have asserted their right to perform local customs, interacting with the body, commemorating it after burial, and protecting themselves from it should the need arise.

[10] N. O'Donoghue, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland* (Notre Dame, IN, 2011), chapter 2; T. O'Neill, 'Quills, Inks and Vellums,' in B. Cunningham and S. Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Treasures of the Royal Irish Academy Library* (Dublin, 2009), 45-9; E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, 165-7.
[11] *Historia Abbatum*, in C.W. Grocock and I.N. Wood (eds.), *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Oxford, 2013); Stephen's *Life of St. Wilfrid,* in D. Farmer (ed.), *Age of Bede* (London, 1998).
[12] C. Chase (ed.), *Two Alcuin Letter-books* (Toronto, 1975).
[13] H. Gittos, 'Is There Any Evidence for the Liturgy of Parish Churches in Late Anglo-Saxon England? The Red Book of Darley and the Status of Old English,' in F. Tinti (ed.), *Pastoral Care in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2005), 63-82 at 64 and 67.
[14] O'Donoghue, *Eucharist in pre-Norman Ireland,* 41.

II. The Dead at Church and at Home: celebrating and controlling the dead

> 'The body then shall be turned to the strongest and foulest stench, and his eyes shall then be sealed up, and his mouth and his nostrils shall be closed, and then with difficulty will the dead man be kept in proximity to any living man.'[15]

While the faithful dead may have been remembered fondly, there remained an aspect of disgust about the dead body, which led to it being treated with slightly more caution than the touching memorials to the deceased would suggest. In most saints' lives, the body was, of course, a relic: it carried holy power and ought to have been touched, the dirt which covered it was mingled with water and drunk, the clothes which touched it applied as healing salve to burns and wounds and disabilities.[16] But the sweet, floral smell of saintly bodies was worth noting by hagiographers precisely because it was in contrast to—or an optimistic take upon—the cloying, sickly scent of the average sinner's decaying corpse.

Yet even the good dead retained some menace to the living. In Anglo-Saxon England, the dead appear to have been considered pollutive in two ways: first, in the way in which a dead body posed a threat to the ritual purity of priests, sanctified areas, and the Host; second, in the possibly pre-Christian idea that the lingering presence of the dead in the places where

[15] Blickling Homily 5, 'Fifth Sunday in Lent,': 'Se lichoma þonne on þone heardestan stene 7 on þone fulostan bið gecyrred, 7 his eagen þonne beoþ betynde, 7 his muþ 7 his næsþyrlo beoþ belocene, 7 he þonne se deada by úneaþe ælcom men on neaweste to hæbbenne.' In Morris (ed., trans.), *Blickling Homilies,* 30-1.

[16] A biblical example is 2 Kings 13:20-21, when the bones of the prophet Elisha were touched to a dead man's body, and the man came back to life. In the Anglo-Saxon hagiographies, many miracles occur at a reliquary containing bones or the body, but a distinction is always made between these miracles and those which do not involve physical remnants of the saint. In one sense, a reliquary protects the holy object from the profane, but it also protects holy remains from physical deterioration, being chipped away at, or being stolen. E.g., bits of the dust where Oswald's body (and blood) fell "came so much into use, that the earth being carried away by degrees, there remained a hole as deep as the height of a man." *HE* III.9.

they rested posed a threat to the living. In contrast to the questions which Augustine asked Gregory in the *Libellus Responsorum* regarding Anglo-Saxon (or, perhaps, British[17]) concerns about how women might pollute the ritual purity of the church*,* fears over the polluting body seems to have been imported from the continent, particularly in canonical legislation supported, in theory, by Theodore of Tarsus.

Within the ecclesiastical corpus of rules, manuals, and homilies, the body is discussed primarily in the context of its decay, as a polluted vessel and as a vessel of pollution. The surviving literature is very often descriptive, but also takes prescriptive and proscriptive forms to instruct those charged with pastoral care on how to maintain ritual purity, and how to remove the stain of sin from the body and protect their flock from the *unclean*-ness that the sinful body creates from the space around it. The twelfth-century Old English 'Soul's address to the body' is explicit about the contamination: The soul tells the body, frankly, 'The earth is pure (*clene*) ere you come to it; but you defile it with your foul carcass.'[18]

In Old English, the terms 'clean' and 'unclean' were used to describe ritual purity and impurity, and their definitions retained religious overtones: *clænlic* meant nobleness and ceremonial cleanness, and stood in occasionally for virginity.[19] Accordingly, *unclæn* conveyed not merely that one was dirty, but was used in homilies as a stand-in for the words polluted or defiled, particularly in regard to sex, with *besmitenes* being another word used to describe ritual impurity as in the quotation from Leviticus within the *Penitential of Pseudo-Egbert*, and indicating sinning more generally within the homilies of Wulfstan and

[17] R. Means, 'A Background to Augustine's Mission to Anglo-Saxon England,' *ASE* 23 (1994), 5-17.
[18] Lines 383-388, 'þe ȝet seiþ þeo soule/ soriliche to hire licame/ clene bith the eorþ eær þu to hire to cum/ ac þu heo afulest/ mid þin fule holde.' D. Moffat (ed.), *The Soul's Address to the Body: The Worcester Fragments* (East Lansing, 1987).
[19] As in the Christmas Day Homily in MS Bodley 343: 'Crist wearð akenned of þam *clene* mæden.'

Ælfric.[20] Any manner of things might make a priest unclean, and thus unfit to handle the Eucharist: eating a bird strangled in a net; eating crow meat; having 'night dreams'; speaking alone with a woman.[21] Contamination by the dead was another potential danger to priests' ritual cleanness, and required special precautions.

The Dead in Sacred Spaces

The final section of this chapter will deal mainly with the danger posed by the dead to the living, but the other threat which the dead posed was against ritual purity itself: the danger that the deceased might contaminate the Eucharist and any sanctified objects which contained, or touched, the body of Christ. As in most religions, within Christianity of the early medieval period, or at least in its ideal state as prescribed by canon law, preserving the purity of items which had been consecrated was paramount.[22]

In his *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life,* Emile Durkheim hypothesized the existence of a sacred-profane dichotomy within all religions, maintained through social order, where the sacred represented the interests of the group, and the profane involved mundane individual concerns.[23] In practice, ritual functions as a tool to create order and transition between these two states, protecting the powerful holy object from the contamination of the

[20] For example, Wulfstan's Homily on Luke on the Last Days: 'Leofan men, clæne wæs þeos eorðe on hyre frum sceafte, ac we hi habbað syððan afyledes wyðe & mid urum synnum þearle *besmitene*.' D. Bethurum (ed.), *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford, 1957), 123-7. Regarding the need for a 'clean' burial and what that might consist of, see Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England,* chapter 6.

[21] For more sins which priests ought not to do before celebrating the Eucharist, see the *Old English Penitential,* the *Scriftboc,* the *Iudicia Theodori,* the *Penitential of Theodore,* the *Capitula Theodori,* etc.

[22] Leviticus 10: 8-10. 'And the Lord also said to Aaron: … it is an everlasting precept through your generations: and that you may have knowledge to discern between the holy and unholy, between the unclean and the clean.'

[23] E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (London, 1915).

profane (usually through consecration or blessings), and protecting the quotidian from the dangerous power which the sacred can wield. A side-story within the late tenth-century *Life of St. Oswald* illustrates this danger posed by the sacred to the unprepared, where an unfortunate mouse nibbled a portion of consecrated host as Oswald was distributing it at communion, and, after some 'greedy mouthfuls,' promptly perished.[24] An extension of the sacred/profane dichotomy is that between the pure and the polluted, proposed by anthropologists as early as the nineteenth century, but best known through Mary Douglas's *Purity and Danger*.[25] The pure can interact with the world of the holy and sacred; the polluted cannot and ought not, at everyone's peril. In the time between death and burial, the body remains in a dangerous liminal state: the funeral, consigning the body to the ground and entreating God to accept the departed soul in to the 'bosom of Abraham,' is a rite of transition, sending both soul and body away from the land of the living.[26]

The first proscriptions protecting the sacred from the pollution of the dead, whether good or bad in life, appear to be an extension of existing rules against defiling or squandering the host (for instance, by vomiting it).[27] To give the host to someone who was deceased both polluted the host and was wasteful, as the viaticum could not be used posthumously to aid

[24] Byrhtferth (d.992), *Life of St. Oswald,* V.3*:* M. Lapidge (ed., trans.), *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St. Oswald and St. Ecgwine* (Oxford, 2009), 152-3. This is considered to have been a miracle, displaying perhaps the strength of Oswald's spiritual power as much as functioning as a warning against letting animals eat the Eucharist; allowing them to do so is outlawed in the *Iudicia* of Theodore, I.7.7, I.12.8: *Iudicia Theodori* in P.W. Finsterwalder (ed.), *Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Überlieferungsformen* (Weimar, 1929), 299, 306.

[25] M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London, 1966).

[26] On the liminal state of the corpse and rites of transition: A. Van Gennep, *Rites of Passage* (Chicago, 1960)*;* E. Leach, *Culture and Communication: the logic by which symbols are connected* (Cambridge, 1976), 68.

[27] For twenty-eight different ways to contaminate the host, and the appropriate penance for doing each, see *The Penitential of Cummean,* Chapter XI, numbers 1-28; McNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, 114-116; see also the *Penitential of Theodore,* Book 1, I.9, and 'Another Penitential Ascribed to Bede', VIII.1-8, in McNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance,* 184 and 234-5.

the soul to the Christian afterlife.[28] This canon against exposing the Host to the dead also prohibited celebrating it in the presence of the dead, a prohibition on funeral masses which was not to last. The altar cloth, another sanctified item which would be touching the chalice and host, was also not to be wrapped around the dead.[29] The sixth-century Synod of Auxerre (AD 561-605) repeated the interdict on giving communion to the dead, particularly forbidding burying the dead with it, a ruling which was then repeated in the *Canons of Patrick,* composed in Ireland most probably in the seventh century.[30] As with most sources of this period, the question is whether this injunction was blindly repeated by copyists who thought it worth repeating for tradition's sake, even though they did not see it in use in their lives or religious houses, whether it was copied and repeated because the bishops abhorred the practice and they wished to correct the few who persisted in its use, or whether the practice was ingrained, and Levitical approaches to the purity of the host were wholly aspirational. The description of Cuthbert's first burial in the anonymous *Life of St. Cuthbert* (c. AD699x705)*,* with the communion wafer (lit: *oblata*) placed upon his breast for burial, even though he would be lying in the church rather than in the ground, begs the question of whether it was common practice for all priests to be interred with the host at Lindisfarne and its church network, whether burying the host with not only priests but

[28] The Council of Hippo, AD 393 forbade the custom of celebrating the Eucharist in the presence of the dead or giving the Eucharist to the dead; C. Munier, *Concilia Africae, a. 345-a. 525* (*CCSL* 149) (Turnhout, 1974), 20-21. Other objects placed in the mouth after death include a stone in the mouth, which may have more to do with protecting the living than the dead, e.g. in one burial at Rothley 'The Grange' in Leicestershire, and at four other sites: see below.

[29] Council of Clermont, AD 535, in C. De Clercq (ed.), *Concilia Galliae a. 511-a. 695* (*CCSL* 148a, Turnhout, 1963)*,* 105. One wonders if, altar-cloths being usually made of particularly fine fabric, this injunction was not put in place due to either bereaved monks or abbots and priests with a finer taste requesting to use it for their pall, or as a colorful shroud: See section 'Luxury Shrouds?' below.

[30] Canons 12 and 13 in the Diocesan Synod of Auxerre in *Concilia Galliae a. 511-a. 695* (*CCSL* 148a)*,* 267; Quoting 'Give not that which is holy to dogs,' from Matthew 7:6 in Canon 12, 'Canons of the Second Synod of Patrick,' in McNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance,* 82.

monks and maybe even laypeople was commonplace, or whether Cuthbert was receiving special treatment due to his lifetime asceticism, making him the *right* sort of body.[31] Could the obley (lit: *oblata*) have been the host before it is consecrated, providing a loophole allowing Cuthbert, and presumably others of the seventh and eighth centuries, to be interred with something akin to the host?

The wrong sort of dead body could pollute the altar even from a distance: The *Canons of Theodore* legislated an outright ban on dead persons being buried within a sanctified church, although the *Penitential of Theodore* amended that to allowing 'religious men' to be buried there, if the church had been previously consecrated.[32] If a church was to be used despite proximity to pagan burials, as was perhaps the case at the Shudy Camps cemetery in Cambridgeshire, the bodies had to be removed, 'the woodwork of [the altar] scraped and washed,' and the altar itself re-built to be resanctified.[33] Purifying the church itself is discussed below.

Concern about the ritual purity of the church

Whether old (the existing corpses of heathens) or new (a newly-murdered body in a church or churchyard), the presence of a body which had not been subject to the appropriate *ordines* or that died an unquiet death required rituals which cleansed both church and -ground of whatever ritual impurity might have been left behind by the dead body (as

[31] Anonymous *Life of St. Cuthbert,* IV.13; it is not mentioned in Bede's prose *Life*.
[32] *Canons of Theodore,* 8[98]; McNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance,* 216.
[33] *Penitential of Theodore,* II.1, 4-5, 'Of the ministry of a Church, or of its rebuilding.' The cemetery at Shudy Camps has a cluster of irregularly aligned graves followed by a separate area of orderly E-W graves, with a suggestive zone within it that looks as though it could have held a timber building, which might be illustrative of this pagan cemetery-followed-by-church sequence: Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 236-7.

described in the Penitential of Theodore, among others, and the Lanalet Pontifical, respectively).[34] In the *Libellus Responsionum* Pope Gregory advises repurposing the existing pagan temples and holy spaces, but the text names no specific method of doing so, although asperging did exist in earlier periods as a rite before cemetery consecration came into use. The concept of sanctifying the grave predates cemetery consecration both in England and the Continent, as described in Gregory of Tours' *The Glory of the Confessors* where the nuns worry that the bishop will not arrive quickly enough to sanctify the ground in which Radegund is to be buried.[35] The earliest reference to consecrated ground is King Æthelstan's law code of c.930, where burial in consecrated ground ('gehalgodum lictune') is withheld as punishment for swearing a false oath.[36] The earliest survival of this ritual itself in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts is in the Dunstan Pontifical (c. AD 959x988); from then on, Anglo-Saxon law codes, charters, and homilies refer to consecrated ground or unhallowed ground, signifying an awareness and increased value on the consecrated state.[37] This predates the Continental rituals, where there is no evidence of a rite for consecrating cemeteries before the 980s, nor Roman *ordines* for the rite.[38]

[34] Blessing for restoring a place where a murder has been, 'or another impure (*inmunda*) thing': *Lanalet Pontifical* (11th c.), f. 31b, '*Reconciliatio locis sacri ubi sanguis fuerit effuses aut homicidium perpetratum vel aliqua re inmunda*' in G.H. Doble (ed.), *Pontificale Lanaletense* (Bristol, 1937), 21; *Penitential of Theodore* II.1, 4-5.
[35] Gregory of Tours, *The Glory of the Confessors* chapter 104; R. Van Dam (ed., trans.), *The Glory of the Confessors* (Liverpool, 1988), 107; Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture and Sacred Places,* 44.
[36] II Æthelstan 26 in Liebermann (ed.), *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* v.1, 164; Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture and Sacred Places,* 44.
[37] Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places*, 45 and Gittos, 'Creating the Sacred,' 195-208.
[38] Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places*, 45, 49-50; Sacramentary of Ratoldus written for Abbot of Corbie, c. AD 972 x 986.

Injunctions to avoid pollution by the dead are implied in the *Life of Columba,* confirmed in the ninth-century writings of the Céile Dé, and similarly warned against in Anglo-Norman England by Archbishop Lanfranc, all sources chronologically and geographically adjacent to, though not representative of, the mid-late Anglo-Saxon period. The restrictions originate in Leviticus 21:1, which prohibited the priest from incurring 'an uncleanness at the death of his citizens.' In Adomnán's *Life of Columba,* Columba excuses himself from the moment of death when one of his monks was 'in the hour of his decease.'[39] While the diction ('nolens uidere morientem') is ambiguous, suggesting grief as much as obligation, within the ninth-century *Tallaght Discourse,* it is forbidden for a priest to be in the room at the moment of a person's death: 'even one in orders who brings the sacrament to a sick man is obliged to go out of the house at once thereafter, that the sick man not die in his presence.'[40] The consequence of staying with the dying man is pollution: a priest could not perform the mass until a bishop re-consecrated him. Familiarity with this somewhat-Levitical consequence might have spurred Lanfranc's injunction that the priest of the week 'and the other ministers who serve at the altar and handle the sacred vessels' may not wash the dead, in contrast to the Laud Misc. 482's rubric instructing a priest's continued presence at the bedside, undressing the departed modestly, closing the deceased's eyes and tying up the jaw with a strip of cloth;[41] the possibility of becoming polluted through hands which touched dead flesh and then touched food explains the interdict preventing the brethren of

[39] Book III, chapter 2, *Vita Columbae,* in A.O. Anderson and M.O. Anderson (ed. and trans.) *Adomnán's Life of Columba* (Oxford, 1991), 190-1.
[40] Section 65, *Tallaght Discourse,* in E.J. Gwynn and W.J. Purton (eds.), 'The Monastery of Tallaght' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* Section C, 29 (1911), 115-79 at 153: "Parind da*no* do tomailt la marb hi tig ceth naob is a hurcul *acht* sailmchetal 7 aurnaigti occo. Cid i*n*d f*e*r g*ra*id dobeir sac*ra*fic dond fir galir dleg*air* dó daul astig statim iar*um* ne p*re*senti illo morit*ur.* Ar diambe hi fiadnaisi ind bais istig ni*co*taldad dó oif*ren*n do denam *con*idcoisrecad epscob."
[41] Thompson, *Dying and Death,* 81-2.

the week who worked in the kitchen, cellar, and refectory, from assisting in cases of a funeral.[42] This does not stand in the way of the gentle care with which priests are told to handle the ill in the Laud Misc. 482, the Red Book of Darley's simpler instructions, or even the Lanalet Pontifical, but this injunction's inclusion in Lanfranc's reforming texts implies that overfamiliarity with the dead may have been a bizarre aspect of Anglo-Saxon practice to him, and not to be encouraged.[43] Surviving written evidence indicates that this Levitical approach to pollution, which was a central aspect of the British church from a very early period onward, became solidified in the Irish church, which may have conferred these attitudes to the Ionan network of monasteries in northern England and southern Scotland and, as is shown with the rulings in the *Penitential of Theodore,* applied to decisions regarding pastoral care in Anglo-Saxon England on a sporadic basis; unfortunately, no analogues to the rubricated Laud Misc. 482 have survived from those northern minsters.

The Layman and the Dead

Written sources only give us the barest hints about funeral customs outside the realm of church liturgy across the several centuries which encompass the Anglo-Saxon period. We certainly do not possess enough comparative material to define any possible regional variation in grave-side or post-mortem bed-side custom, given that the scant sources are divided both chronologically and regionally. In the seventh and eighth century, the only non-

[42] Section 122, 'On the Dying,' in D. Knowles (ed., trans.) and C. Brooke (ed.), *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc* (Oxford, 2002), 182-3.

[43] Although Lanfranc drew on Late Anglo-Saxon pontificals for many things, he also revised what he may have considered eccentric Anglo-Saxon practices, including trimming the number of saints worshipped at Christ Church Canterbury. He was, however, described by both Osbern and William of Malmsbury as partial to a good argument and able to be persuaded: J. Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against History: The Competing Visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury,' *Speculum* 74.2 (1999), 279-309, esp. 282, 296-7; H. Gittos, 'Sources for the Liturgy of Canterbury Cathedral in the Central Middle Ages,' in A. Bovey, *Medieval Art, Architecture, and Archaeology at Canterbury* (2013), 41-59, esp. 45-48.

monastic, non-princely example we possess of a request from a layperson regarding either a funeral or the last rites is from the Anonymous *Life of St. Cuthbert.* In it, a man whose wife is ill approaches St. Cuthbert and requests a priest to be sent back with him to her, presumably for last rites.[44] There are no other historical or hagiographic references to lay people calling for priests for this purpose in pre-AD900 English texts, although there are two references in texts to which priests might refer: first, in the *Umbrensis* version of the Penitential of Theodore, it is mandated that if a priest denies penance to the dying, he is answerable for their souls, implying that if someone's health were flagging, the priest might at least be called to the district.[45] Second, a section of the *Dialogus* of Archbishop Ecgbert of York affirms that priests and deacons ought to witness deathbed testaments for the distribution of property.[46]

The evidence for priests attending the deathbed of laypeople in the tenth and eleventh centuries is much more substantial, and even veers into the humanising and personal. The Lanalet Pontifical distinguishes between the way deathbed confession should be heard for the clergy and the layman, and even includes details as to what to wear when entering the

[44] Anonymous *Life of St. Cuthbert* II.8; Although the man, Hildmer, is hiding that his wife has been stricken by madness, St. Cuthbert sees the request as perfectly ordinary. This incident is included in Bede's *Prose Life* as well, where he clarifies that Hildmer is a reeve of King Ecgfrith; *Bede's Prose Life of St. Cuthbert,* c.16.

[45] *Penitential of Theodore,* Book I, VIII.5 in J.T. McNeill and M. Gamer (eds.), *Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (New York, 1990), 205.

[46] Presumably written by Ecgberht of York between c.735-766 AD, the answer to question 2 states that a priest or deacon is to take one or two other brothers with him when witnessing deathbed testaments 'so that the relatives of the deceased do not… contradict what is said,' drawing on Matt. 18:16 and Deut. 29.15: *Succinctus dialogue ecclesiasticae institutionis* ('*Dialogus*'), A. Haddan and W. Stubbs (eds.), *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland,* 3 vols. (Oxford, 1869-78), III.403-13. This practice would have been useful in the case of Archbishop Dunstan's claim upon the estate of Wouldham, Kent, where the ill Ælfheah declared his will to Dunstan, but Dunstan's claim to it was contested by a man who had married the widow of a former tenant; the 'history' states that three copies of the will were made, but they are not mentioned in the witnesses. 'History of the Estate of Wouldham, Kent,' XLI in A. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge, 1939), 84-87.

house.[47] There is similar rubrication in the eleventh-century manuscript Laud Misc. 482, which emphasises that the priest should attend the sickbed with humility and with gentleness.[48] MS Laud Misc. 482 describes what the priest should do at the deathbed, insisting that the confessor will bear witness to the confessions of his flock on Judgement Day, and even makes the ordinary person visible by clarifying where the anointing with oil should be different for laymen versus vowed religious, but it stops just short of describing the treatment of the body and burial rites.[49] Within his Pastoral Letter for Wulfsige c. AD998, Ælfric does list burying the dead as a duty of priests (though he does not in his homilies).[50]

In farmstead, village, or hermitage, there were several points at which both kin and community could be active in the celebration or mourning of the deceased in extra-liturgical contexts. After the priest had come and gone, there still remained the preparation of the body for burial, carrying the body to the church or to the grave, and whatever activity might occur at the grave or at the hall or home afterward.

Vigils

Within the *Life of St. Guthlac* there is one anecdote which presents a possible mid-Saxon tradition which might lie outside regular church practice: the vigil. Pega, the sister of

[47] G. Doble (ed.), *Pontifical Lanaletense* HBS 74 (1937), 131; Thompson, *Death and Dying,* 79-80.
[48] '*Mid earle eadmondnesse*' and '*mid mycelre liðnesse*': V. Thompson, 'The Pastoral Contact in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Priest and parishioner in Oxford Bodleian MS Laud Misc 482,' in F. Tinti (ed.), *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2005), 106-120 at 110.
[49] Thompson, *Dying and Death,* 78.
[50] Sections 111-13, 'Aelfric's Pastoral Letter for Wulfsige III, Bishop of Sherborne,' in D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. Brooke (eds.), *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church,* vol. 1 (Oxford, 1981), 196-226; Thompson, *Dying and Death*, 59.

Guthlac, after falling down with grief having heard the news of his death, goes to and stays by Guthlac's side for three days before burying him.[51] As this anecdote is part of a hagiography, her vigil over the body, filled with prayer as well as grief, possesses religious overtones, and so cannot be said with certainty to be a local tradition. But this vigil does not occur within contemporary saints' lives that are set in religious houses, which begs the question of whether Pega could take this extra time by rights as his blood sister, and whether Guthlac's status as a hermit largely separate to a religious community at the end of his life allowed Pega the freedom to delay the burial of his body in what might be an extension of a secular vigil.[52] Delays in burial within other saints' lives are framed as necessary due to the body being transported to the church, as with Ecgwine and Wilfrid.[53] This custom is not mentioned within the Leofric Missal, Winchester Sacramentary, or other liturgical books, but in the *Regularis Concordia* the burial office for a monk is performed at the morning mass, before the meal; if he dies in the night, there is no need for delay.[54] Lanfranc's late-eleventh-century *Constitutions* even allow that the funeral could be held at High Mass if the brother died during the vigils or before morning *alarum*; if he died in the middle of vigils, and two nocturnes could not be completed for him, sleep is postponed in

[51] Chapter L: Felix, *Life of St Guthlac,* in B. Colgrave (ed.), *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac* (Cambridge, 1956), 160-1.
[52] Bertram Colgrave also notes the unusual nature of the three-day vigil. He hypothesizes that it may have been in order to pay the saint special honour, as in 'later times' abbots were buried after three days; Colgrave, *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, 193. Early rabbinic literature prescribed three days of weeping, and mourning for the dead for seven days; though unlikely, it is possible that Pega is following this tradition. G. Rowell, *The Liturgy of Christian Burial* (London, 1977), 4.
[53] Byrhtferth, *Vita Ecgwini* IV.6 in M. Lapidge (ed.), *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: the Lives of St. Oswald and St. Ecgwine* (Oxford, 2009); *Life of Wilfrid,* Chapter LXVI, in B. Colgrave (ed.), *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus: Text, Translation, and Notes* (Durham, 1927), 142-3.
[54] *Regularis Concordia,* section 66 in T. Symons (ed.), *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation* (London, 1953), 65.

order to allow a complete set of vigils, but the burial office still occurs at Morning Mass.[55] In this context, Pega's long vigil is extraordinary and personal, akin to the modern women of Potamia in Greece insisting upon the children who pre-deceased them staying an extra night under the family roof before being buried, despite the funeral supposed to occur between twelve and twenty-four hours after death.[56]

Carrying the Body

The act of carrying the body to the church was another opportunity for those close to the deceased to seize agency in the funeral rites for their loved one. While the journey from the monastic cell to the church may have been short, those who mourned the dead sought to participate in this aspect of the funeral by choice as much as out of necessity.

Hildmar's wife may or may not have had a selection of kin to carry her to church or cemetery, but a man of power such as Wilfrid certainly did. In descriptions of the dead who had belonged to religious houses, fellow members of the religious house or even those from outside the community performed this service. The number of monks who might have attended this initial procession appears to have varied widely; in one of the early lives of St. Dunstan, all monks who were able came out from the monastery to fetch the body back to it; only the abbot and a pupil stayed behind.[57] The *Life of Wilfrid* by Stephen is broadly contemporary with Bede's *Life of Saint Cuthbert,*[58] and has a very complete description of

[55] Lanfranc, *Constitutions,* in D. Knowles and C. Brooke (eds.), *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*. Revised edition (Oxford, 2002), 126-128.
[56] L. Danforth, *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece* (Princeton, 1982), 13, 39.
[57] Version B, 18.2: M. Winterbottom and M. Lapidge (eds.) *The Early Lives of St. Dunstan* (Oxford, 2012), 58-9.
[58] W. Goffart, *Narrators of Barbarian History, AD 550-800* (Princeton, 1988); C. Stancliffe, *Bede, Wilfrid, and the Irish* (Jarrow, 2003).

not one, but two processions as Wilfrid is carried within Oundle and then is taken the 150 miles to Ripon. The chapters on Wilfrid's death and funeral describe an influx of abbots from other, perhaps dependent, monasteries arriving to help with the funeral, who not only expressed intent to aid in the transport of Wilfrid to the church and thence north to Ripon, but brought the chariots to do so with them, and who even took part in the washing of Wilfrid's body.[59] Their intent to participate in all aspects of the funeral preparation, with the permission of the abbot of Oundle, suggests that participation was not merely an act of necessity, as might be implied by tenth-century confraternity agreements, but might be an honour as well as a sign of grief and affection towards the deceased.

Yet the sheer number of abbots who came–and the fact that they were alerted early enough to arrive fairly promptly—is evocative of the reciprocity in commemorative prayer between monasteries, as detailed in the ninth-century Durham *Liber Vitae* and the later New Minster *Liber Vitae*, as well as in confraternity agreements in many Continental liturgical codices.[60] It is not completely impossible that this reciprocity of prayer and mass may even have extended into the reciprocity of attending, and donating more than masses to, the funerals of significant members of fellow confraternal religious houses. In Wilfrid's case, the

[59] Carts, or 'light horse-drawn vehicle' to carry Wilfrid's body and to join in the procession: literally, '*in curru*': *Life of Wilfrid,* Chapter LXVI, in B. Colgrave (ed.), *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus: Text, Translation, and Notes* (Durham, 1927), 142-3.

[60] From the seventh and eighth centuries no confraternity agreements between religious houses survive, nor necrologies from the Continent, but Bede's request in his prologue to his prose *Life of St. Cuthbert* suggests that Anglo-Saxon monasteries were participating in these even before the ninth century. Three *libri vitae* survive in England, of which the *Durham Liber Vitae* is the earliest, but there are several Continental exemplars which contain Anglo-Saxon names, the earliest of which, such as the book of San Salvatore/Santa Giulia in Brescia, date to the ninth century: S. Keynes, 'Anglo-Saxon Entries in the Liber Vitae of Brescia,' in D. Rollason *et al.* (eds.), *The Durham Liber Vitae and its Context* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2004), 107-19; E. Bishop, 'Some Ancient Benedictine Confraternity Books,' in E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), 349-61 at 354-5.

appearance of these abbots may have been preceded by, and partly dependent upon, a pre-existing monastic confraternity agreement.

Mentions of the dying and dead in seventh- and eighth-century hagiography do not usually specify who would be involved in carrying the body in the case of the funeral of a layperson such as Hildmar's wife—the immediate family or fellow villagers, perhaps. Outside monastic settings, the body may have been carried by the secular family or guild, as suggested in the agreement of the Cambridge Thegn's Guild, whose membership conferred, among other things, the 'arrangements for the fetching of a sick or deceased member from outside the district.'[61] Within the tenth-century statutes of the Abbotsbury guild, more members were to rush to fetch the body when dead than when he was alive.[62] This clause suggests that while fifteen men could handle the sick member and his belongings, once he was dead, the procession was meant not merely as a mode of transport, but as a funerary display; the statutes dictate that thirty men should bring the dead to the burying ground he desired, regardless of distance, and 'as many as can ride to or send to' were to attend the corpse if the man died nearby. The manner of bearing the body to the church and to the grave was another opportunity to express the deceased's social status; various texts have used the terms cart (for a regular monk; seventh century),[63] 'chariot' (for Wilfrid, seventh century), and bier to describe the transport. This would have created quite the procession, and one

[61] B. Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Anglicum aevi Saxonici: A Collection of English Charters from the Reign of King Æthelberht of Kent, AD 605 to that of William the Conqueror* (London 1865), 605-17.
[62] 'If anyone is sick within 60 miles, we shall find 15 men to fetch him; if he is dead, 30 shall bring him to the place he desired in his life': / '7 gyf he forðfaren sy xxx. 7 þa hine gebringon to þære stowe þe to gyrnde on his life.' From 'Orky's Guild at Abbotsbury,' in 'Anglo-Saxon Guilds,' in Thorpe, *Diplomatorium*, 607.
[63] Bede's prose *Vita Sancti Cuthberti,* Chapter 34.

which involved both the survivors of the deceased and the clergy.[64] Such a numerous in-person attendance by a guild on the way to the church would provide dramatic effect, and numerous prayers to help the deceased on their way to heaven, which would only be strengthened by a procession which stopped at various shrines or holy places on the way to the church, or in it. These circuits are best known from Irish examples, such as the processions between *leachta* on Inishmurray, where the faithful perambulate, celebrating at each station, around which burials clustered. This spiritual pilgrimage rendered in miniature has an Anglo-Saxon analogue in processions of the body to the shrines within churches, or between churches in the same ritual landscape during the period after the mass and before burial, as described in Worcester F.173.

Danger from the departed

Though the deceased was washed and removed from the household, and secular commemoration which reflected his or her social persona begun alongside the prayers and masses for his soul, there appear to have been additional practices which an ordinary person could perform to cleanse the house of whatever pollution the dead left behind and to protect 'the health of the living,' just as in monastic contexts.[65]

[64] T. Ó Carragáin, 'The Saint and the Sacred Centre: the early medieval pilgrimage landscape of Inishmurray,' in N. Edwards, *The Archaeology of the Early Medieval Celtic Churches* (London, 2009), 207-226 at esp. 211-216; Worcester F.173, fo. 21r: 'Post heo portetur corpus defunoti ad alias circumstantes ecclesias cum antiphonis et psalmis atque ad singulas ponatur ecclesiae. et oratione dominioa cantata dicatur a sacerdote.' F. Turner, 'THE CHURCHES AT WINCHESTER IN THE EARLY ELEVENTH CENTURY,' Journey of Theological Studies (1916), 65-8 at 66) See also Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places,* 141-3.

[65]

Traditional anthropological interpretation suggests that the corpse was considered to remain in a liminal state, one which amplified its existing, sinful condition until the funeral rites, such as the *ordo exsequiarum* performed on its behalf, would provide it with a new 'stable' form and identity for veneration.[66] This amplification of the body's existing spiritual state also explains, in a counterpoint, why the ordinary bathwater of living saints did not appear to have any particular ability, but the water in which a deceased saint was bathed was recorded in hagiographies as being suffused with healing power: the dead body still polluted everything it touched, but the saintly body exuded saintly pollution.[67]

Returning to the twelfth-century 'Soul and Body' fragments, the poet expresses that the friends of the dead are apprehensive and anxious about touching the body of the newly departed: 'They do not want to put his head straight with their hands; it seems to them that their hands will become very foul if they handle the dead.'[68] These do not appear to be Levitical concerns about liturgical purity, but rather fears about avoiding whatever ill miasma which the dead produced. The 'Soul and Body' fragments also describe how eager the deceased man's family is to have his body out of the house; the mourning is evident, but has much less verse time than the effort which the family expends thoroughly clearing up after the body. 'The Soul's Address' states that not only are the floor and platform cleaned after his removal, but the walls are also asperged with *'holwatere'*; the bedstraw is not

[66] M. Bloch and J. Parry, 'Introduction: death and the regeneration of life' in M. Bloch and J. Parry (eds.), *Death and the Regeneration of Life* (Cambridge, 1992), 1-44 at 22-6.
[67] As examples, the water which touched Wilfrid's body as well as the water which touched Oswald's. This saintly-body pollution also applies for soil, as when Bishop Pehthelm relates that the healing power of the spot where Haedde died resulted in 'constant removal of the sacred soil.' *HE* V.18; Byrhtferth, *Vita Oswaldi* chapter 18, in M. Lapidge (ed., trans.), *The Lives of St. Oswald and St. Ecgwine* (Oxford, 2009).
[68] *The Soul's Address*, Fragment A, lines 37-40: 'nulleþ heo mid honden his heafo driht wenden; heom þuncheþ þe thore honden swu þe beoþafuled gif heo hondleþ þene deade.'

merely removed, but taken outside to be burnt; the survivors 'bless themselves eagerly to protect themselves' against the corpse.[69] Indeed, in the Penitential of Theodore, when discussing the re-consecration and rebuilding of churches the writer also offers that 'as often as they wish, those who dwell in houses may sprinkle them with holy water,' allowing the same ritual purification which occurs in the churchyard to occur in the home.[70] This co-mingling of ordinary and sacred cleaning methods is echoed in the much later *Islendingasögur, Eyrbyggja Saga,* where the undead haunt the hall and sickness plagues the village as a consequence of a kinsman ignoring his dying relative's advice to burn her bedding, as she had been struck by a bad omen before her demise.[71] The illnesses and deaths do not cease until the kinsman burns the bedding, calls a judge, who, holding trial against the ghosts, rules that the ghosts have overstayed their welcome—and they are happy to depart as soon as the burning is done—and finally has a priest sprinkle holy water and bear 'holy things' throughout the house (very similarly to the ritual for consecration of cemeteries as well as the Lanalet Pontifical's rite to purify a place of murder).[72] These examples significantly intermingle pre-existing tradition and belief with newer Christian practice to protect the home against whatever bad things emanate from the lingering presence of the dead.

[69] Moffat, *The Soul's Address,* Fragment D, lines 10-14; Thompson, *Death and Dying,* 103. Like the use of iron to cure maladies of the blood (see below), this ritual cleaning would, of course, practically protect the living from the diseases of the dead as well as spiritually evict the pollution of the dead from the house.
[70] *Penitential of Theodore,* Book Two, I.11, in McNeill and Gamer (eds.), *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, 199-200.
[71] Being rained on by blood that will neither dry nor be washed off is a pretty clear sign that things are about to go wrong: *Eyrbyggja Saga,* chapter 51: P. Schach, L. Hollander, *Eyrbyggja Saga* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1977).
[72] *Ibid.,* chapter 55.

Penitential admonitions against burning grains are particularly interesting as they appear to address one of these pre-existing, perhaps traditional, secular solutions for ridding the area surrounding the dead body of its elements harmful to the living, and may, judging by the archaeological evidence, have been a pre-Christian rite of transition on its own. The earliest surviving written indication of the existence of Anglo-Saxon practices which protected the living from the dead, four centuries before 'Soul and Body,' is in the eighth-century *Umbrensis* recension of the Penitential of Theodore, where the burning of grains for the health of the living 'where the dead are' is forbidden under the heading 'De cultoribus idolorum.'[73] This proscription continues to be copied in the eleventh-century *Scriftboc*, Pseudo-Cummean Penitential, and Canons of Theodore, though we cannot know if it was copied due to continuance of practice, or for the sake of thoroughness in the penitentials.[74] A detail which brings this practice from the 'heathen' abstract to the realm of local belief in ritual pollution is that specification that the burning of grains might be done to benefit the health of 'the house' as well as living men. This suggests less of a grave-side burnt offering and more of a sage-burning or censer-type purification around the death bed or where the body had lain in state, similar to the asperging mentioned above. Archaeological evidence for this is impossible to procure, given that the presence of the hearth in the house (where

[73] *U,* XV.3 in Finsterwalder (ed.), *Die Canones Theodori,* 310: '*Qui ardere facit grana ubi mortuus est homo pro sanitate viventium et domus V annos peniteat.'* See below for possible archaeological examples.

[74] The *Scriftboc* was based heavily upon the Penitentials of Theodore, and thus the repetition of Theodore's edict cannot be said to indicate a continuation of practice: *Scriftboc*: 16.03.01: 'Whoever burns grain in a place where a man died in order to give health to living men and to the house, he is to fast five years.' Canon of Theodore: B 78.01.03 'Whoever burns corn for the health of the living where dead men are buried must fast for seven years.' A. Frantzen, *The Anglo-Saxon Penitentials: A Cultural Database.* http://www.anglo-saxon.net/penance/index.php. Accessed 7 July 2015; Pseudo-Cummean Penitential, VII.15, in F.W.H. Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche nebst einer rechtsgeschichtlichen Einleitung* (Halle, 1851), 460-93.

the grains or grass might be burnt for this or for other reasons) provides a logical other source of charcoal spreads found through excavation.

The initial description of 'where the dead are' may also imply the grave-side. This is not conclusive. Nevertheless, a few seventh- to tenth-century burials within this survey showed evidence of burnt material, not natural to the soil, scattered on top of the grave fill, in the stratigraphy suggesting scattering on top of a coffin, or in a post hole.[75] An instance occurring at the turn of the eighth-century is found at at Hicknoll Slait, Compton Pauncefoot in Somerset, where each grave contained a small amount of charcoal, recovered from the fill in flot.[76] Grave 2 was cut by a pit which contained a higher percentage of charcoal that suggested a small fire in use for a short period of time, either for graveside feasting or burning of grasses.[77] At Addingham, West Yorkshire, flecks of charcoal which may have been burnt grains were found in six out of 80 graves in its eighth- to tenth-century church-associated cemetery, deemed upon examination by James Holloway to not be charcoal burials, as widely categorised in other studies, but more likely to represent a practice of scattered burnt grain.[78] One of many peculiar burial forms at Cherry Hinton, Cambridgeshire, used at some point within the same time period as Addingham, includes a black, tar-like matrix of leaves and narrow grasses – grains– within grave 95.[79] The rareness with which environmental material survives complicates drawing a conclusion based upon

[75] Although the post-hole may be a sign of grave-side feasting rather than purifying; see below.
[76] The sample material retrieved through flotation and filtration. J. Davey, 'Hicknoll Slait 2001,' in R. Tabor, *South Cadbury Environs Project: Interim fieldwork report, 1998 – 2001.* South Cadbury Environs Project. (Unpublished Interim Report, 2002), 80-99 at 95.
[77] *Ibid.*
[78] Adams, 'A pre-Conquest Cemetery at Addingham,' 165.
[79] Grave 95 dated calAD 772-902 (53.4%) or calAD 920-962 (14.8%) at 1σ likelihood: Radiocarbon date calibration performed for this survey using IntCal13 atmospheric curve on OxCal 4.3.2. 'Cherry Hinton: An Archaeological Assessment and Updated Project Design for the Publication of Excavations at Church End, Cherry Hinton, Cambridgeshire, 1999.' Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust (Unpublished report: Hertford, 2000).

this sample, particularly as small amounts of burnt material in the grave fill may have gone archaeologically unreported, and was certainly untested, during digs prior to the mid-1990s; not every excavation has the money or resources to perform the flotation process which rescues such small grain samples. These three examples of grains at the grave are evocative, but lack enough commonality to point to a single widespread practice, though variation in regional practice always remains a possible explanation.

Feasts

At the opposite end of the spectrum to Pega's prayerful vigil are references to graveside feasting and post-funeral wakes filled with food and drink. The other explanation for the presence of grains and grasses mentioned above, as well as animal bones found in proximity to the grave, is ritual graveside feasting or sacrifice. There is enough evidence to suggest ritual graveside feasting or sacrifice in the early Anglo-Saxon period, but there is very little evidence for it after the eighth century.[80] While there are not many references to grave-side feasting within surviving mid-Anglo-Saxon sources, prohibition of merrymaking around the grave, an established early-Christian practice, is legislated in contemporary Continental texts.[81] In the later Anglo-Saxon period such an all-night wake, filled with 'eating and

[80] For seventh-century examples: C. Lee, *Feasting the Dead: Food and Drink in Anglo-Saxon Burial Rituals* (Woodbridge, 2007), 88, 89, 92-3. There is particular evidence of ritual deposits at Yeavering, evidence of feasting at Castledyke South, ritual deposits of food above many bodies (perhaps on top of the coffins) at Spong Hill, and animal bones within the fill of the grave at Great Chesterford: B. Hope Taylor, *Yeavering: an Anglo-British centre of early Northumbria* (London 1977), 53; G. Drinkall, M. Foreman, M. Welch, *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Castledyke South, Barton-on-Humber* (Sheffield, 1988); C. Hills, K. Penn, and R. Rickett (eds.), *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham, Part III* (Dereham, Norfolk, 1984), 7; V. Evison, *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Great Chesterford, Essex* (York, 1994).

[81] While there are some archaeological remains in Gaul of interment of food along with bodies, the Continental ecclesiastical legislation may have been referring to the early Christian continuation of the Roman practice of holding a feast over the grave itself: *Siliernum* took place at the grave of the dead in pagan and early Christian Rome; A further feast where libation was poured over the grave was held on the ninth day after the funeral, which is probably what Gregory is referring to when he

drinking as well as singing and laughing,' 'beer-drinking,' sporting, and jesting is mentioned disparagingly in both Ælfric's *Life of St. Swithun* and Ælfric's letter to Wulfsige, and outlawed in the later *Canons of Edgar*.[82] The men mentioned in Ælfric's *Life of St. Swithun* making jokes while keeping vigil (*wacodon*) over a corpse 'as is customary' are laymen; they bear the offending youth home to his bed in the middle of the miracle, and return home with their kinsmen at the end of it, from either the cemetery or the home of the deceased where the feast was set. The *Liber Eliensis,* though anachronistic, records that the monks of Ely were able to steal the body of Bishop Eadnoth the Younger, who had been martyred while fighting against Cnut, while those guarding his body on his funeral procession back to

instructs the not-fully-Christianized people of Hessia to 'Reject absolutely… sacrifices to the dead': 'XXXIII [43]: Letter of Gregory III to the nobility and people of Hesse and Thuringia,' in Emerton (ed.), *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, 47-49 at 48; Hincmar of Rheims, *Capitola Synodica, PL 125* (1879), 776; Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones* I, 242; Letter of Boniface to Gregory II. In the *Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum* (in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex Vat. Pal. Lat 577)*,* thought to be from around the time of Boniface; tempting chapter headings of religious errors include 'Of sacrilege at the graves of the dead,' and 'Of sacrilege over the departed, that is, *dadsisas*,' possibly referring to *'dapes,'* feasts, or to *'sisas,'* funeral dirges, for the '*dod,'* dead. 'An Eighth-Century List of Superstitions,' in McNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, 419-20.

[82] Canons of Edgar, 28: '*7 riht is þæt man æt cyricwæccan swyðe dreoh sy, 7 georne gebidde, 7 ænig gedrync ne ænig unnytt ðær ne dreoge*.' Whitelock, *Councils and Synods I,* 324.

'Some men most wrongfully drink all through the night at dead men's corpses ('*sume men eac drincað æt deadra manna lice ofer ealle þa niht'*)…No beer-drinking (*gebeorscipe*) is proper at the corpse, but rather holy prayers,' Ælfric of Winchester, 'Life of St. Swithun,' in M. Lapidge (ed.), *The Cult of St. Swithun.* Winchester Studies 4.ii (Oxford, 2003), 590- 610 at 600-603;
§111-113 in Ælfric's Pastoral Letter for Wulfsige III (993x c.995) in Whitelock, *Councils and Synods I*, 191-226 at 218: '*Ge ne scylan fægnigan forðfarenra manna, ne þæt lic gesecan buton eow mann lað þærto. Þænne ge þærto gelaðode syn, þonne forbeode ge þa hæðenan sangas þæra læwedra [p.304] manna 7 heora hludan cheahchetunga. Ne ge sylfe ne eton ne ne drincon, þær þæt lic inne lið, þe læs þe ge syndon efenlæce þæs hæðenscypes þe hy þær begað.'* 'You shall not be glad about men's decease… you are… to forbid the heathen songs of the laymen and their loud laughter. Nor are you yourselves to eat or drink in the place where the corpse lies, lest you are imitators of the heathenism which they practice there.' Ælfric's letter to Wulfsige of Sherborne, in B. Fehr (ed.), *Die Hirtenbriefe Aelfrics. Bibliothek Angelsächsischer Prosa* 9 (Hamburg, 1914), 267; Lee, *Feasting the Dead,* 126. See also Ælfric's 'Homily on the Prayer of Moses,' in W. Skeat (ed.), *Aelfric's Lives of Saints*, vol. 1 (London, 1881), 288: '*Nu doð menn swaþeah dyslice foroft, þæt hi willað wacian and woodlice drincan binnan Godes huse and bysmorlice plegan*.'

Ramsey got too drunk—an possible indicator of the average solemnity in such circumstances.[83]

The practice of a post-burial feast at the wake away from the graveyard, within the control of the family and not connected to religious rite, appears to have continued after this period, however. References to (and condemnation of) drunkenness at feasts appear in both early and late hagiographies, penitentials, and law codes, and this occasionally extended to festivities both around the grave and after the funeral.[84]

In Adomnán's *Life of Columba,* contemporary with the mid-Anglo-Saxon written sources, Columba foresees the imminent death of a penitent thief and sends him gifts of six measures of grain and 'a fat beast;' they are used at the man's funeral feast.[85] Irish sources attest to the widespread nature of the post-burial feast, but without condemning it—indeed, the surviving law codes are concerned with establishing the expansiveness of the feast by social class rather than with prohibiting it.[86]

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[83] Though also meant to be an indictment of the monks of Ramsey; *Liber Eliensis* II.71, in J. Fairweather (ed.), *Liber Eliensis: A History of the Isle of Ely from the Seventh Century to the Twelfth, compiled by a Monk of Ely in the Twelfth Century, Woodbridge* (Woodbridge, 2005), 169.

[84] In the letters of Bede and Boniface, general clerical drunkenness is disparaged, but these comments do not refer to funereal memorial feasts, although the immoderate drinking certainly may have extended to them; Bede, 'Bede's Letter to Ecgberht,' in C. Plummer (ed.), *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896) I, 405–23; Boniface, 'Boniface to Cuthbert,' in E. Emerton (ed.), *The Letters of Saint Boniface* (New York, 2000), 114-119 at 119.

[85] Adomnán i.41, A. Anderson and M. Anderson (eds.), *Adomnán's Life of Columba* (London, 1991), 296-7.

[86] A separate tradition of funeral feasting is enshrined in seventh-century Irish law, with passages in the *Senchas Már, Anfuigell, Bretha Comaithchesa,* and *Marriage Disputes* suggesting that not only was a funeral feast held after a death, but that presence at said feast was obligatory for clients in service to a lord, and that there were dues that the clients had to pay to provide that food and drink for the lord's death-feast. Both the law-text *Anfuigell* and the *Di dligiud Raith* indicate that this feast was to be held after a month, with other dues (the cow on the fifth day, the seven loaves on the seventh day) given beforehand: *Anfuigell* in D. Binchey (ed.), *Corpus iuris Hibernici* (*CIH*) iii.984.26-7; vi. 2162.38-9; *Di Dligiud Raith ⁊ Somaín la Flaith* in the *Senchas Már,* in *CIH* ii.434.28-31/ 918.1ff, 1904.17:18; On the *Comaithmet anma*: *Bretha Comaithchesa* in *CIH* i.204.18; F. Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988), 30, 271; Marriage Disputes §35, in F. Kelly (ed.), *Marriage Disputes: a*

The provisions for the feasts may have been left to the survivors, but especially in the later Anglo-Saxon period the expense of such a feast seems to have dictated that the deceased set aside money for it before death, either through investment in a guild, in which money would be pooled to be used for soul-scots, masses, and, probably, funeral costs, or through allotment of funds from their estate within their will, whether in spoken or written contract.[87] Such an allocation is described in the will of Wægan, a remarkable fragmentary document found on a fly-leaf on a copy of Bede's Commentary on Luke in Cambridge Pembroke MS 83.[88] This eleventh- or early-twelfth-century will describes provisions to be set aside for two funeral feasts, the second only marginally less ostentatious than the first, and includes the amount of money necessary to provide fuel for the cooking of the food as well as the food itself.[89] Had Hildmar's wife died, might he have held a feast in her honor after her interment?

III. Outfitting the body: spiritual aspirations and earthly statements

The above section provided an overview of what a tenth- to eleventh-century religious burial might have been like based on surviving southern English written sources, as well as

fragmentary Old Irish law-text (Dublin, 2014), 48-9 and 118-121; E. O'Brien, *Mapping Death* (forthcoming), Chapter 6. From what survives of late Saxon texts, the financial responsibility for the feast, though it was not legislated, also fell upon the family of the deceased who may have set aside money for the purpose (see below).

[87] As at the guild at Exeter, where, in addition to masses or psalters, at a funeral each member was responsible for bringing five pence; in Abbotsbury, it was one penny: Thorpe, 'Anglo-Saxon Guilds,' 607, 614.

[88] Cambridge Pembroke MS 83, fol vi; 'Fragment of a will from Bury St Edmunds,' in A. Robertson (ed.) *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge, 1939), 252.

[89] In the first funeral, five ores are set aside for fuel, and money adding up to either 12 ores and 10 pence (per IV Æthelræd's conversion rate) or 11 ores and 14 pence (per Domesday Book's rate) for food and drink; the second funerary feast is to cost 11 and a half ores in total; Relative value system per H. Munro Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions* (Cambridge, 1905), 24-5.

surveying the sparse evidence throughout the Anglo-Saxon period which indicated ways that the bereaved may have had an active hand in the funeral and in cleaning up after the dead body. The most intimate of these methods of interacting with the body, requiring extended contact and traditionally associated with Christian faith, is shrouding, with its theologically penitent subtext, and the supposed breadth with which it was implemented after Christian conversion. But as has been suggested, despite the penitential overtones in the liturgical sources, there is a larger physical funeral kit which is missing from the modern narrative of a widespread, post-conversion, ascetic shift in burial practice—a kit which contains multiple indicators of earthly identity in spite of the shroud's theologically penitent subtext. I propose that shrouds were not merely a replacement for showier clothed burial, nor exclusively an intimate cover for the body, but rather were used as part of a greater burial suite which may have been as embellished as the better-known seventh-century furnished burials. Multiple pictorial, archaeological, and even documentary sources imply that a shroud used alone might have been unusual rather than the new status quo for a 'fully' Christian England. Shrouds are rare even when considering circumstantial rather than material evidence for their use, and when found, their archaeological context in this period often indicates that they were used by people of a higher social status. Considering the archaeology in conjunction with written and pictorial sources, the evidence suggests that shrouds were definitely an indicator of wishing to belong to the 'family of the church,' as John Blair says,[90] but also that they were quite probably used as an indicator of culture and wealth.

[90] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 240.

The Penitent Christian

Burials transitioned in form from including golden brooches and sets of knives, embroidered headbands and strings of amber beads, to sober, plain graves with a wrap of white, rough cloth wound about the pious, humble Saxon Christian: that was how the post-Conversion changes in burial practices were perceived several years ago. Work of the last twenty years has nearly extinguished the promulgation of this false dichotomy: evidence shows that the bejewelled ladies with enamelled crosses and strings of amethyst in the 'pagan' clothed period were probably high-status Christians, and the variety of burial forms beyond 'plain,' discussed in the last chapter, has become well known. But the imagery of the shroud as a common, everyday, penitential choice persists. The shroud in this period, known from contemporary writing but nearly invisible archaeologically, endures in scholarly literature as the perceived default burial practice for all good Christian folk, rich or poor, and it is assumed that they entered said grave naked except for that shroud, laden with imagery of Lazarus, the promise of rebirth, and penitential humility.

Two of the above assumptions about shrouds are true in this period. In Northern Europe, the shroud is a particularly Christian object.[91] Its use in England (and Wales) coincides with the presence of Christianity, including in the sub-Roman period, and its absence with the times before Christianity's presence.[92] The story of Lazarus was well-preached, with Lazarus appearing in several homilies which survive to us.[93] 'Lazarising' was even used as a verb to mean winding a shroud in contemporary Continental texts, although it does not appear in

[91] In the Levant at the time of Jesus, shrouds were the traditionally Jewish burial covering.
[92] As noted in the inscribed epitaph at Llanlleonfel, Brecon, Wales: 'Silent in the shroud, Iorweth and Ruallaun'; Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society,* 65.
[93] Ælfric's Sermon on the Octave of Pentecost; Ælfric's Sermon on the First Sunday After Easter.

the *Dictionary of Latin from British Sources*.[94] The textual evidence proves incontrovertibly that, had they listened to the sermons, Anglo-Saxons would have been familiar with the inseparability of the imagery of the shroud, Lazarus, and rebirth, prefiguring the resurrection of all bodies at the end of days.[95]

The shroud is a sign of Christian belief, but the humble and penitential character which the shroud nominally possessed, especially in the face of contrasting seventh-century princely burials and even everyday seventh-century burials with weapon kits, workboxes, and brooches, seems to have been eroded by other priorities when put into practice. Even staying aware of the disparity in distribution of evidence over the period in question, there nevertheless is enough written and physical evidence to say that both in the mid- and late Saxon period shrouds were only one aspect of a burial tradition surrounding the body which still included clothes, and, further, that among the elite who used them shrouds may have acted in a manner which drew attention to the body and the identity of the person in it in such a way as to invalidate the anonymizing aspect.

Luxury Shrouds?

Central to this assertion that shrouds may have meant penitence and Christian faith to the viewer, yet still have been visually charged to represent the deceased's position and buck the shroud's anonymizing aspect, is the understanding that, while some shrouds were white

[94] In the Sacramentary of Fulda (c. 975) and the Sacramentary of Arezzo (10th-11th c.). Sacramentary of Fulda: '*Tunc lavatur corpus et lazarizatur feretroque componitur*': *Sacramentarium Fuldense Saeculi X*, G. *Richter* and A. Schonfelder (eds.), (*Fulda*, 1912), 302; C. Treffort, *L'Eglise Carolingienne et la Mort* (Lyon, 1996), 67-70.

[95] As in Ælfric's sermon on the first Sunday after Easter: 'Then shall the teacher unbind him from the eternal punishment, as the apostles bodily unbound Lazarus.'

and coarse, almost none of the surviving depictions of shrouds fit those qualities (Figure 93). Cuthbert specifically saves the fabric given to him by Abbess Verca because it is too fine for him to wear in life; ascetic Guthlac was unwilling to cover his body with a linen vestment while alive, but was willing to wear the shroud which Abbess Ecgburh sent him once dead.[96] There surely was coarser fabric available, but these men allowed, and, indeed, requested the use of fine fabrics which suited their ecclesiastical stations—and, as was pointed out earlier, their wishes were tempered by what their survivors and cult-builders thought was appropriate, as well.[97] These men, understandably, chose sentiment and, upon translation, majesty over asceticism.



Figure 93: Joseph being carried to Canaan; note the priest holding a maniple with golden fringes (London, BL Cotton Claudius B.iv, f. 72v)

The remarkable illustrations in the Old English Hexateuch (BL Cotton Claudius B.iv) further point to the likelihood that shrouds, for all of their obscuration of features, could also be

[96] *Bede's Prose Life of St. Cuthbert*, Chapter 37: B. Colgrave (ed., trans.), *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert* (Cambridge, 1982); Felix's *Life of St. Guthlac,* Chapter 50: B. Colgrave (ed., trans.), *Felix's Life of St. Guthlac* (Cambridge, 1956), 156-7.

[97] Cuthbert's dying wish to be buried on Inner Farne, for instance, is ignored.

richly coloured and meant to be seen. The Old English Hexateuch is remarkable for many reasons, first of which being that it illustrates exactly, and only, what the text says—when there is a battle of five kings versus four kings, for instance, and the text accidentally omits five of them, the illustrator draws only those four kings instead of nine total (leaving only two kings to split the remaining kingdom at the end of the battle).[98] This indicates that, rather than explicitly copying images from an existing manuscript, the illustrator's drawings showed contemporary and local interpretations of the words on the page, even if he had visual models in mind. As a result, the few images such as the Death of Moses which are laid out similarly to other exempla still vary considerably in dress and detail.[99] Secondly, because the artist was illustrating a unique text rather than copying the images and format of an existing codex, he has the freedom to produce an almost excessive amount of images in Genesis—and a large portion of them show the patriarchs, dead. All of them are shrouded, but the illustrator does not draw them in white wrappings, time and again, despite the availability of white pigment in the eleventh-century:[100] there are three different varieties of shrouds, each with vibrant, differing colours which speak to the importance of the people they are enshrouding. Adam is wrapped in a blue blanket with drapery; Rachel is wrapped in perhaps a long strip of fabric, but in red.[101] Cain is pictured in the process of being enveloped in his dark green, curtain-like shroud by his kin.[102] It is true that these are not ascetics or saints; these are patriarchs, and are not bound by the same penitential imagery.

[98] London, BL Cotton Claudius B.iv, f.24v, illustrating Genesis 14 with an error peculiar to the manuscript: C.R. Dodwell and P. Clemoes, *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch: British Museum Cotton Claudius B.IV* (Copenhagen, 1974), 71.
[99] *Ibid.*, f.139v; discussed below.
[100] M. Clarke, 'Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Pigments,' in *Studies in Conservation* 49 (2004), 231-244 at 232.
[101] BL Cotton Claudius, B.iv, f.10v; f.52r.
[102] *Ibid*., f.114v.

Nonetheless, the richness of the colour astounds, calling to mind both the surviving pieces of fabric from the Mucking, Essex excavations, and the chastisement of various letters and homilies railing against the use of luxurious fabrics in religious houses.[103]



Figure 94: 12th-13th c. tablet-woven seal tag from Durham: P. Walton-Rogers, 91; The Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral; Soukmak pattern from St. Cuthbert's gold-braided dalmatic, after G. Crowfoot 1956: Walton-Rodgers, p.95

Even more sumptuous is the shroud which the Hexateuch illustrator paints around Jacob on his bier.[104] Jacob's family receives permission from Pharaoh to bring his body back to Canaan,[105] and his body is embalmed and wrapped, then travels in a long procession towards his homeland—but here, the illustrator paints an exceptionally fine patterned fabric in blue and black, which looks as though it could have been woven by an Anglo-Saxon woman in the neighbouring religious house (or by many of them in a grübenhaus) (Figure 106). The repeating, alternating pattern could be achieved through tabby weaves, but for such an important person it could also have been created through soumak, where thread is wrapped around the back set of threads on the loom to create a pattern, as seen in the fragment from Sutton Hoo Mound 14, or on St. Cuthbert's dalmatic (Figure 94).[106] The

[103] Potential of archaeological remnants of a colored shroud raised by E. Crowfoot, 'Mucking: textile fragments from grave goods,' Ancient Monument Laboratory Report 1672 (Unpublished Report, 1974), 1-7; Bede, *Letter to Ecgbert.*
[104] London, BL Cotton Claudius B.iv, f.72v; illustrating Genesis 50:25.
[105] Genesis 49:29-30, 50:1-14.
[106] P. Walton Rogers, *Cloth and Clothing in Early Anglo-Saxon England, AD 450-700* (York, 2007), 91-6; G. Crowfoot, 'The Braids: the tablet-woven braids,' in C.F. Battiscombe (ed.), *The Relics of St. Cuthbert* (Oxford, 1956), 433-452.

pattern could also be compared with that on the furnishings of King Edward's bier depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry; though looking towards heaven, it reflects earthly status, and the prestige of the wearer (Figure 97, Figure 96).[107] Gail Owen Crocker suggests that the deathbed/shrouding of Edward scene in the Tapestry is based upon that of Mahalalel in the Hexateuch, and there is similarity in posture and the exposure of the face before being wrapped (Figure 96, Figure 95).[108] But if the Bayeux designer imitated Mahalalel's shrouding scene because of Mahalalel's reputation for piety, and sought to frame Edward in the same manner, it perhaps shows that sumptuousness of fabric—both Mahalalel's and Edward's shrouds were a deep blue—was no obstacle to a penitential lifestyle in Canterbury, at least.[109]

[107] Bayeux Tapestry Scene 28: Procession of the shrouded body of Edward on a bier. Francis Wormald argues that the Tapestry was made in St. Augustine's, like the Old English Hexateuch, based upon similarities in style with the illuminations: F. Wormald, 'Style and Design,' in F.M. Stenton (ed.), *The Bayeux Tapestry* (London, 1965), 25-36 at 32.
[108] G. Owen-Crocker, 'Reading the Bayeux Tapestry through Canterbury Eyes,' in G. Owen-Crocker, *The Bayeux Tapestry: Collected Papers* (Farnham, 2012), 255.
[109] On 'Mahalalel' being interpreted as 'praiser of God,' see I. Gollanncz, *The Cædmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblican Poetry, Junius XI in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1927), xliii.



Figure 95: Malaleel being shrouded (London, BL Cotton Claudius B.iv, f.11r)



Figure 97: Procession of the Shrouded body of King Edward (National Archives, by permission of the City of Bayeux)



Figure 96: The shrouding of King Edward, Bayeux Tapestry; the blue is difficult to see, but one can

In his sermon for the First Sunday after Easter, Ælfric establishes the metaphor that the cloth stands for sin, which Christ removes as his disciples had unbound Lazarus.[110] Unfastening the shroud is used as a metaphor for the release from sins through confession.[111] But when he admonishes his listeners that 'it is usual that the dead man is wound in cloth, but the cloth will not rise more quickly than the man' this passage could also be read as an equal admonition about the uselessness of the finery of said cloth in a burial. In the Blickling Homilies, the anonymous author (writing from Lincoln) clarifies that when all rise and 'go forth to the doom in such form as they previously adorned themselves,' what matters is not adornment with 'gold nor with sumptuous (purple) garments'—which we do have evidence of in graves—but with good deeds.[112] What could the brocaded fabric fragments found in a burial at Worcester Cathedral be to Ælfric but a precious garment which 'no man heeds…save for vain pride, verily that he may through his splendour be accounted for before other men'?[113]

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[110] Ælfric, 'First Sunday After Easter,' in B. Thorpe, *Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The first Part* vol. 1 (London, 1844), 234-5; S. Mui, 'Life after Death,' 154; Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England,* 59.

[111] 'Every sinful man who conceals his sins, lies dead in the sepulchre; but if he confess his sins through stimulation, then he goes from the sepulchre, as Lazarus did, when Christ bade him arise.' Ælfric, 'First Sunday After Easter,' in Thorpe (ed.) *Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church I*, 234-5; S. Mui, 'Life after Death,' 154.

[112] Homily VII, 'Easter Day': 'Ealle hie sceolan þonne arisan, 7 forþgán to þam dome, on swylcum heowe swa hie ær hie sylfe gefrætwodan. Næs na mid golde ne mid godwebbenum hræglum, ac mid godum dædum 7 halgum we sceolan beon gefrætwode…' In Morris (ed., trans.), *Blickling Homilies,* 48-9. The futility of fine burial in gold and purple cloth is mentioned again in Blickling Homily 10, 'The End of this World is Near:' 'Nu þu might her geseon moldan dæl 7 wyrmes láfe, þær þu ær gesawe godweb mid golde gefagod.' Gold thread is found in contexts without grave goods at St. Wystan's, Repton, St. Mary Major, Exeter, to the left side of a displaced skull at Wearmouth, twice at York Minster, at Torksey in West Lindsey, as well as at Worcester (below).

[113] Ælfric, B. Thorpe (ed., trans.), *Aelfric's Catholic Homilies v.1*, XXIII; P. Barker, A. Cubberley, E. Crowfoot, and C. Radford, 'Two Burials under the Refectory of Worcester Cathedral,' *Medieval Archaeology* 18 (1974), 146-51; N. Baker and R.A. Holt, *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church* (Gloucester, 2004), 146-7.

A Complete suite? Cilicii to Coffins

A potentially luxurious shroud was only one aspect of the larger funeral suite, which was almost certainly more common than what archaeologically survives. As Wickham-Crowley notes, prehistorians have observed in water-logged situations that textiles outnumber hard materials by a ratio of almost 4 to 1.[114] Worse, wool and linen are preserved in different soil conditions, as protein fibre lasts better in certain acidic, water-logged soils, whereas cellulose-based linen prefers other anaerobic conditions, so the likelihood of both fibres surviving archaeologically in a single grave are next to nothing.[115] Yet sculpture, art, image, and archaeology attest to a suite of burial furnishings being used at once with the shroud, rather than the shroud being a penitential object used by itself. A person might be shrouded, then enrobed, placed in a coffin, then the coffin draped in a fine cloth, placed on a bier and taken to the church. The relation between objects appears to be flexible: shroud around the body, with clothes and robes over or vice-versa, the shroud being rarely of ascetic hair cloth, more often of linen, quite possibly coloured, and in either case potentially embroidered. Next, the body might go in a coffin, either box-form or log, as at Quernmore, Lancashire. A knife might be included next to the shrouded body; thirteen sites within this survey contain both knife-graves and shrouded graves, and a combination of the two cannot be ruled out.[116] Or, as with Cuthbert, other personal effects which were deemed of ritual or

[114] K.M. Wickham-Crowley, 'Buried Truths: Shrouds, Cults, and Female Production in Anglo-Saxon England,' in C. Karkov and H. Damico, *Aedificia Nova: studies in honor of Rosemary Cramp* (Kalamazoo, 2008), 300-324 at 301.
[115] F. Lennard, 'Conservation of Archaeological Textiles,' in G. Owen-Crocker, E. Coatsworth, M. Hayward (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Medieval Dress and Textiles in the British Isles c. 450-1450*, (Boston, 2012), 144.
[116] Eden Roc, Bay Hill, St. Margarets at Cliffe (Kent) (7th- mid 8th c.); Barbers Point, Friston, Suffolk Coastal (7th-late 9th c.); Woodlands, Adwick-le-Street, Doncaster (S. Yorks.) (7th-10th c.); St.

personal significance, such as the portable altar and pectoral cross, might be placed on top of or beside the body.[117] The whole might be covered with a drapery for the procession and the body's display in the church, giving the deceased a final splash of finery and prestige in the eyes of his compatriots.

The idea of the *cilicium* being in wide usage is attractive from an ideal, penitential point of view. *Cilicium*, more commonly called 'haircloth' or 'sackcloth', is woven with goat hair, itchy and uncomfortable, with only two or three threads per millimetre, giving it a rough texture. It is used in Biblical contexts for mourning (Isaiah 3:24; around the loins in Judith 8:6 and 10:2), in monastic contexts for self-punishment, and certainly participates in a discourse of repentance, penitence, and abstinence. Bede associates the *cilicium* as a fabric with humility and penitence in *De Tabernaculo,* quoting Psalm 35:13 (34:13) as his source.[118] In the high and later Middle Ages *cilicii* are found regularly in monastic burials, surviving in archaeological contexts which imply that, had *cilicii* been an essential part of the wrapping of the monk, as proposed by Victoria Thompson and Sian Mui,[119] we would be seeing more of them in the lower layers of Thetford Priory, Worcester Cathedral, and Winchester. Yet the absence of evidence, and a closer reading of the earlier texts, suggests that in this

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Augustine's, Canterbury (Kent); Great Houghton (Northants.) (mid 6th- mid-8th c.), Aldbourne (Wilts.) (mid-7th- early 8th c.); Whitby Abbey Headland/Abbey Farms (N. Yorks.) (mid 6th-?); SOU 13, Southampton (Hants.) (8th-9th c.); Snarehill Hall, Brettenham (Norfolk) (Late Saxon); Milton Keynes Village Burials (late 9th- early 11th c.); Gamlingay (Cambs.) (10th c.); All Saints' Church, Barton Bendish (Norfolk) (11th c.); Auldhame (East Lothian) (7th-11th c.); Lyminster, St. Mary Magdalene (Sussex) (pre-Conquest).

[117] E. O'Brien, *Post-Roman Britain*, 60; Reginald of Durham's *Libellus* which describes the opening of Cuthbert's tomb in the late 12th century lists many non-clothing items as included in Cuthbert's coffin, although by that point it had become a highly abnormal assemblage.

[118] Bede, *De Tabernaculo*, II.3 in A. Holder (ed.), *Bede: On the Tabernacle* (Liverpool, 1994), 56; P. Walton-Rogers, 'Cilicium,' in G. Owen-Crocker *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Dress*, 125.

[119] Thompson, *Dying and Death,* 81; S. Mui, 'Life after Death,' 150-156.

period *cilicium* was widely used as part of the deathbed ritual for the dying, but only rarely--perhaps even more rarely than shrouds--transferred to the burial as part of the interment.

In both Oxford Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 482 and almost every text of the burial office from England from the early tenth century forward (e.g. the *Leofric Missal*, author A), the *cilicium* is mentioned as part of the ritual of preparing the body for interment; indeed, in Laud 482, there is even a ritual for blessing it.[120] Described as a blanket, not using verbs such as '*circumdare*' or '*inuoluere*' as are often used in context with '*sindone*', the deceased is moved from the bed to the cloth *after* death in these manuscripts, and a cross of ashes drawn upon him. Before rigor mortis sets in, they cover his eyes and, if the jaw is slack, use a strip of cloth to tie it up to the head. But after several different prayers, anthems, and psalms, they wash the body and there is no mention of the *cilicium* again; the bier takes its place. At this point, the body is likely either shrouded, as Ælfric says is usual in one of his homilies, or, as is stated in the *Regularis Concordia*, Ælfric's *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, and Lanfranc's *Constitutions,* was sewn up into the deceased's clothes, 'if it is not too burdensome.'[121] Yet nowhere does the *cilicium* take its place as a wrapping in the grave which will shield the body from sin in death as well as prevent the sins of vanity in life.

[120] Thompson, *Dying and Death,* 77.

[121] This is a frustrating aside: we now question whether Aelfric is a reliable narrator when he says, 'it is usual that the dead man is wound in cloth.' (Ælfric, 'Sermon for the Laity for the Recitation on the Octave of Pentecost,' Pope (ed.), *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies* (1967), 433-434.) Having been brought up under Æthelwold's teachings at Winchester, where the *Regularis Concordia* was written to supplement the Benedictine Rule followed there, it is interesting that Ælfric states that shrouding is the default treatment of the body in his Catholic Homilies, only to reiterate Æthelwold's position on the monk's body being dressed in his clothes after death in the *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham.* A logical conclusion is that while he was at Cerne, from c.987 until he was posted as abbot of Eynsham in 1005, the abbot under which he lived, or the abbey, practiced shrouding as opposed to sewing a monk into his clothes, and the practices in the text of his homilies shifted to suit the audience accordingly. Another alternative is a combination of dressed dead being wrapped, discussed below.

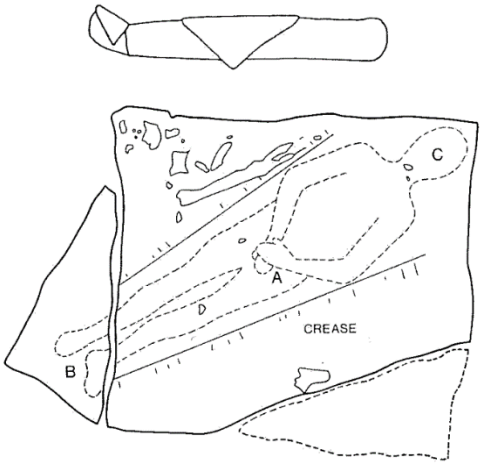


Figure 98: The Quernmore shroud, in profile as removed from the log coffin and unwrapped. Position of body, toenails (B), and hair (C); per Lancaster City Museum.

Ironically, the best and only surviving example of a complete, rather than fragmentary, shroud from Anglo-Saxon England might actually be an example of a *cilicium* used in burial. The Quernmore shroud, found with one of the few surviving early medieval log coffins and most likely made between the mid-seventh and mid-ninth century, is actually a large square of fabric placed diagonally in the coffin under the body, with a triangle cut off of one of the sides and used to wrap the feet (Figure 98).[122] While the plain weave sounds appropriate for a linen shroud, the surviving fabric itself is a coarse, hairy, irregularly-spun wool yarn with a z-twist, similarly to how the goat-hair yarn in *cilicii* are plied in a z or s twist.[123] If, by its fabric, its shape, and its wrapping style, we might consider the Quernmore shroud actually to be a *cilicium*, then that leaves us with no examples of a proper, unadorned, penitential shroud from Anglo-Saxon England. An argument that it is a shroud placed directly against the body could be made by the fact that the extra triangle covering the feet was confirmed to be directly against the skin by the presence of preserved toenails which survived though all of the bones and flesh were gone. In both early and late sources,

[122] From the Jubilee Tower, Quernmore, Lancashire excavation. Radiocarbon dated at 68.2% (1σ) probability; see Gazetteer entry for full analysis of the radiocarbon dates.
[123] J.M. Glover, 'The Conservation of Medieval and Later Shrouds from Burials in North-West England,' in S.A. O'Connor, M. Brooks (eds.), *Archaeological Textiles: proceedings... April 1988* (London, 1990), 49-59; M.L. Ryder, 'Report to Curator of Lancaster City Museum,' ARC Animal Breeding Research Organisation (Unpublished report, 1973).

including the early-eighth-century prose Lives of St. Cuthbert and the *Regularis Concordia*, the deceased are buried in their shoes.[124] Even in The Red Book of Darley, the dying, after being anointed with oil on hands and feet, retain the gloves and socks for either eight days or, if they die before then, through and after death.[125] Yet no additional fabric was found betwixt the toenails and the shroud, leading to the deduction that the deceased was naked: either a point for it being a shroud, or a point for the *cilicium* having wrapped seventh- or eighth-century ascetics as part of the *ordines* for the sick, and remaining his wrapping even after the start of the *ordo exsequiarum* and after being washed. Either way, it is simultaneously a conflicting piece of evidence against the description of shrouded or clothed burial in hagiographies, wills, and monastic rules, and the only physical evidence that more ascetic options for wrapping the body were in use before the eleventh-century.



Figure 99: Cain being shrouded: BL Cotton Claud. B.iv, f.14.

[124] T. Symons (ed., trans.), *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation/ Regularis Concordia* (London, 1953).
[125] Perhaps to prevent the washing off of the consecrated oil: Also in Oxford, Bodleian Laud Misc. 482: Thompson, *Death and Dying,* 78-9.

The Quernmore shroud also raises the question of what form of winding, to an occupant of England in the early medieval period, would actually qualify as a 'shroud' in part of the burial suite. Having looked at so many sources, both the form and the position of the shroud now seem up for question. Cuthbert's *sindon* is described by Reginald as being wrapped around his limbs, but is possible that Cain is depicted on folio 11r in the Old English Hexateuch as being shrouded with a blanket (Figure 99). [126] Though he has attendants as in all of the other Old English Hexateuch's post-deathbed-depictions, here his relative is holding two bunches of draped fabric and enveloping the body using a large blanket, suggesting a similar end-shrouding process to the 9 by 3.5 cubit length of fabric described as enclosing St. Cuthbert and all his other coverings (though below the thick three-ply cloth) in the *Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti*.[127] In the subsequent frame, the shrouding-blanket colour matches the completed-shroud colour, suggesting that the object surrounding the body is the same fabric.[128] While draped blankets are also visible in mourning scenes (identified by seeing two people, from the waist down, on either side of a draped blanket, seemingly looking at the contents inside; perhaps looking under a covering cloth),[129] here none of the surrounding attendants are making the traditional sign of grief,

[126] As in, with a woman present, the deceased's feet resting on her lap (as in the description of the death of Edward the Confessor in the *Anonymous* second book of the *Life of Edward* ii.11: *The Life of St. Edward who rests at Westminster,* F. Barlow, (ed., trans.), (Oxford, 1992), 118-19), and a man seeming to actively hold the body, as opposed to resting the body on a *sedulla,* as was the Gallic practice: Treffort, *L'Eglise Carolingienne*, 66.
[127] Chapter xli: 'Quibus superius, lodex novem prope cubitorum dimensionem in longitudine tenens, tres autem et semis in sui latitudine protendens, erat circumpositus.' Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti,* in James Raine (ed.)*, Reginaldi monachi dunelmensis Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti virtutibus quae novellis patratae sunt temporibus* (London, 1835), 88.
[128] By contrast, Noah is buried in a different coloured, differently textured cloth than he appears with a few scenes before in the story of his sons covering up his nakedness: Genesis 9:18-29.
[129] As in the Old English Hexateuch, f.71r and f.71v.

with hands over their faces; they are focused on the task at hand, suggesting that the activity underway is, indeed, shrouding.

Evidence for burial with clothing and shrouds



Figure 100: Jared, being shrouded; note the repetitive fold which suggests a winding-cloth, and the creases around the arm which depict a sleeve; BL Cotton Claud. B.iv, f.11v.

Some accounts across the long Anglo-Saxon period suggest that shrouds would go under the clothes, closest to the body (e.g. Cuthbert in his 698AD translation), while others suggest that shrouding could occur above the garbing of the corpse. The Quernmore shroud's loosely-folded blanket shape in conjunction with the indication of nakedness underneath conflicts with potential surviving archaeological examples of shrouding, being tightly wrapped so that the clavicles become vertical, though not necessarily with the written evidence. Early Anglo-Saxon archaeological evidence suggests that blankets or shrouds could be found on the exterior of clothing, which was placed on the cleaned body of the

deceased first. Sue Harrington has found evidence for layering of textiles--clothes and blankets--in late sixth and seventh century Kent; there is also possible evidence of blankets being placed over early Anglo-Saxon graves at Winterbourne Gunner, Wiltshire.[130] These examples are in the context of being preserved by contact with metal, however, and we unfortunately do not have other surviving examples after the ninth century even though brooches, buckles and strap-ends are still occasionally included in the grave. Yet the Old English Hexateuch depicts Jared in repose being shrouded, with his Anglo-Saxon-style bunched sleeves, whose wrinkled appearance is common in Anglo-Saxon art, clearly visible (Figure 100).[131] The two descriptions of the initial burial of St. Cuthbert are also unambiguous about his being clothed despite Cuthbert's stated desire to be buried wound in Abbess Verca's *sindone,* though there is also a certain ambiguity which the description of the translation of St. Cuthbert in 698 raises as to whether Cuthbert is in underclothes or has a shroud directly against his skin. According to Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert,* at the opening of Cuthbert's tomb in 698AD the monks took away the outer garments ('*extremam… indumentorum'*), but did not touch the layers closest to his skin—presumably, but not explicitly, underclothes such as a shift, but also possibly any bandage or wrapping intended to aid in his preservation.[132]

Reginald of Durham echoes Bede's verbiage almost exactly, at the opening of Cuthbert's tomb in 1105 the monks re-clothed him but did not look under the Dalmatic to touch the layers closest to his skin—presumably, but not explicitly, any underclothes and any bandage

[130] S. Harrington, 'Soft Furnished Burial: An Assessment of the Role of Textiles in Early Anglo-Saxon Inhumations, with Particular Reference to East Kent,' *ASSAH* 14 (2007), 110-16; E. Crowfoot, 'Appendix III: Textile remains,' *Wiltshire Archaeology and History* 108 (1964), 108.
[131] BL Cotton Claud. B.iv, f. 11v; G. Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, 159-161.
[132] Bede's *Life of St Cuthbert,* XLII, pages 292-293; *'Vestimento sacerdotali indutus…in sindone cerata curatus*': *Vita Cuthberti Anonymo* IV.13.

or wrapping near his skin which he might have been bound in at his translation, though also possibly the fine robes in which he was clad at his 698 elevation which, by that date, would be very delicate and might be stuck against that innermost layer.[133] Reginald called *this,* the most interior thing against the skin of the limbs, the winding sheet of Verca, over which Cuthbert was then clothed with alb, amice, mitre, gold fillet, stole and fanon, tunic, dalmatic, robes of silk, and shoes.

But both the anonymous author of the *Life of St. Cuthbert* and Bede describe Cuthbert, at his initial 687 burial, being 'robed in his priestly garments' before being enfolded in either a waxed shroud (Anonymous *Life*) or straight in his coffin.[134] The waxed shroud going over the layer of Cuthbert's mass vestments at his first interment suggests that being covered in a form of shroud while clothed might be an actual practice throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, not merely than artistic license on the part of the illustrator of the Hexateuch. Symeon of Durham also mentions a linen cloth dipped in wax (cenocloth) being wrapped around the coffin, presumably to make it more air-tight; could shrouds, particularly waxed ones which would have repelled moisture, have been used as an additional layer to protect the clothed body from the dirt which was soon to surround it?[135]

By the tenth and eleventh century, the hagiographical sources seem more divided as to whether the appropriate burial treatment for a monk or a religious person was to be placed in their clothing or shrouded, but even being buried in ecclesiastical robes provided

[133] Chapter XLI: 'Caro ipsius interius lini sindone subtuissima undique circumvoluta est, cujus integumento nullius alterius generis operimentum interius est.' Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti*, ed. Raine, 86-7; ed. and trans. Pace, 109.
[134] *Vita Cuthberti Anonymo* IV.13.
[135] Symeon of Durham, *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* I, in David Rollason (ed.), *Symeon of Durham: Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis, ecclesie = Tract on the origins and progress of this the Church of Durham* (Oxford, 2000).

opportunities to display status, either aspirational for a future translation or earthly. Ælfric, as has already been noted, wrote contradictorily at two varying points in his life that members of a religious house are expected to be shrouded, then that they should be clothed.[136] In the tenth-century Vercelli Homily IX, the dead man is described as being 'given the worst part of all his wealth,' that is, someone sews him into his garment.[137] While being buried in clothing might have been more economical for an average farmer than being wrapped in a special winding-cloth, particularly of linen, the clothes which various saints are buried in, or which are buried with them, were likely designed to highlight rather than obfuscate their high status. Byrhtferth reports that Oswald was washed by an anonymous monk and then 'dressed in the new clothes which he had kept for several years for the funeral ceremony.'[138] Though his death and burial took place after the Conquest, St. Wulfstan III (of Worcester), is also described as clothed at his funeral, 'decked in the episcopal robes, without any covering' on a bier before the altar.[139] While these may have been humble, our sources for comparison, which survived the ages because of their remarkable quality, are for abbess and saint alike. The only surviving Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical vestments still on English soil are the sumptuous robes given to Cuthbert for his AD698 translation—the best available in the monastery, though the monks had likely been preparing for this for some time: a cream dalmatic, the now-lost purple silk with a

[136] Ælfric, 'Sermon for the Laity for the Recitation on the Octave of Pentecost, Pope (ed.), *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, 433-434; *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham,* ch. 67.
[137] Vercelli Homily IX, Lines 101-6, translated by Victoria Thompson: Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*), 52.
[138] 'Lauerunt deinde dilectissimum corpus Osuualdi fratres, et induerunt uestibus nouis quas aput se plurimis habebat annis ad officium funeris.' Byrhtferth, *Vita Oswaldi*, V.18: M. Lapidge (ed., trans.), *Byrthferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St. Oswald and St. Ecgwine* (Oxford, 2009), 194-5.
[139] 'Iacebatque corpus in libitina ante altare, pontificalibus insignibus ornatum, carens operimento,' William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* IV.148.4-5 in M. Winterbottom, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops* (Oxford, 2007), 148.

cross ornament repeated, or the 'Nature Goddess' Byzantine robe, which Battiscombe and Flanagan believe to be the most likely candidate for the 'new garment' provided when the body was transferred.[140] Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical robes commissioned for use by the living, not only deposition with the dead, survive in the ninth-century Maaseik Embroideries. This rare set of surviving Anglo-Saxon embroideries give an idea of how episcopal robes might have given a very powerful visual statement about position and influence (Figure 101).[141] This was certainly the finery which Ælfric said was to be avoided. While simpler in some respects, even the burial garment of Abbess Balthild, preserved in the abbey at Chelles when she was translated in the late seventh century, is finely embroidered in gold in possible imitation of cross-necklaces found in late seventh-century women's' graves, reflecting her high-status station in both the secular and religious worlds, as former queen and abbess (Figure 102).[142] Such examples confirm an early medieval impulse to reflect status in burial, even of the highly religious, but do not rule out the probability of shrouds being used to reflect earthly status as well.

[140] C. Battiscombe, *The Relics of St. Cuthbert* (Dean, 1956), 10-11; H. Granger-Taylor hypothesizes that the cream (termed 'amber' by Raine) weft-patterned silk and braids are the remains of a late-ninth or early-tenth-century dalmiatic: H. Granger-Taylor, 'The Weft-Patterned Silks and their Braid: The Remains of an Anglo-Saxon Dalmatic of c.800?', in G. Bonner, D. Rollason, and C. Stancliffe (eds), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), 303-327 at 305, 324-7.
[141] M. Budny, D. Tweddle, 'The Maaseik Embroideries,' *Anglo-Saxon England* 13 (Cambridge, 1984), 65-97; E. Coatsworth, 'Maaseik textiles,' in Owen-Crocker (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Medieval Dress,* 354-7.
[142] B. Yorke, ''The Weight of Necklaces': Some Insights into the Wearing of Women's Jewellery from Middle Saxon Written Sources.,' in S. Brookes *et al.* (eds.)*, Studies in Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology: Papers in Honour of Martin G. Welch* (Oxford, 2011), 106-111. See the Desborough Necklace (British Museum object 1876,0504.1) for comparison.



Figure 101: One of the panels of the Maaseik embroidery; image from Belgian Art Links and Tools online.



Figure 102: Abbess Balthild's burial garment. Courtesy of the Musee Municipal Alfred-Bonno, Chelles.



Figure 103: London, BL Harley MS 603, f.28r (first half of the 11th c., Canterbury). A shrouded body is lowered into a coffin, illustrating Psalm 48 ('Audite haec omnes Gentes'). Illustrations in the Harley MS are modelled upon the Utrecht Psalter (9th c., near Metz), however the Utrecht drawings have square coffins rather than trapezoidal.

Evidence for coffins



Figure 104: The burial of Abraham; BL Cotton Claudius B.iv, f.40r.

The potential richness in decoration of the shroud, indicating the station of the deceased in procession even if those local had not already heard the news, is possibly matched by the decoration of the coffin, as was discussed in Chapter Three (*Figure 103*). The expense of a coffin, which is rarer in the north of England than in the south, might in such a region be an

indicator of conspicuous consumption alongside the interment of such rich fabrics as the three robes embroidered with complex imagery of a nature goddess and a nobleman at the hunt (admittedly extraordinary due to being made for Cuthbert's cult).



Figure 105: Detail from full-page illustration of the death of Moses; BL Cotton Claudius B.iv, f.139v.

While the archaeological evidence is somewhat ambiguous, both textual and pictorial depictions of Anglo-Saxon burial from the eighth through the eleventh century imply that shrouds were frequently used in addition to a coffin in among people of high prestige (abbots, bishops, kings). Both the Harley Psalter and the Old English Hexateuch depict shrouded bodies in coffins as well as sans container. In the Old English Hexateuch, the relatives of Abraham are depicted standing around his shrouded body, a brown rectangle surrounding his shroud, holding spades (Figure 104).[143] The one on the left is holding a stick, perhaps a metegyrd stick to judge the depth of the grave, or to help lower the coffin; this surely is a depiction of the process of burial.[144] The convincing nature of this scene is

[143] London, BL Cotton Claud. B.iv, f.40r.
[144] On metegyrds: Chapter 4, above; J. Blair, 'Grid-planning in Anglo-Saxon Settlements: the short perch and the four-perch module,' *ASSAH* 18 (2013), 18-61, at 19.

emphasized in light of the changes which the illustrator makes to his depiction of the Death of Moses, which is one of the few pages modelled upon a previous illustrated exemplar. The closest surviving imitation which Dodwell could find is in the late ninth-century Carolingian Bible of San Paolo Fuori de Mura, and the differences are striking.[145] Instead of the angel flying in and touching Moses, half exposed by a blanket but still in his robes, as in the San Paolo Bible, in the Old English Hexateuch Moses is fully shrouded, and fully supine, at the top of the mountain; completely dead, not in the process of ascending. The angel, hunched, knees bent with flexed elbows and both hands under the shrouded body, appears to be pulling Moses *out* of the coffin, whose edge one can just see as a linear strip of brown at the top of the shroud (Figure 105).[146] This posture can also be seen on the relatives in the depiction of the burial of Abraham, though they are putting him in rather than pulling out. Cuthbert, Guthlac, Wilfrid, Æthelthryth: if mention is made in their hagiographies of the circumstances of their burial, it is also usually noted that these early saints were buried in a coffin as well as a shroud. The coffin, as we have seen with St. Cuthbert, may have helped in the preservation of saintly bodies. As Victoria Thompson has discussed, the coffin serves a protective purpose to the body, delaying contact with the unclean dirt and worms which will aid its decomposition.[147] The expense of a coffin[148] and the effort which went into its decorative schemes suggest that the coffin also played a role in projecting and protecting the deceased's status. Archaeologically, around half of the burials which were noted as 'shrouded' in the dataset also showed signs of the presence of coffins.

[145] Rome, San Paolo fuori le Mura, Bible, f.49v.
[146] London, BL Cotton Claud. B.iv, f.139v.
[147] Thompson, *Dying and Death,*
[148] See Coffins (Wooden) in Chapter 3, above, p. 135.



Figure 106: Jacob's body being brought to Canaan; BL Cotton Claud. B.iv, f.71r.

The decoration of the tombs of saints in silks and silk-shot satins embroidered with gold is attested to in records of gifts of palls by abbesses, archbishops, and kings, for the glory of the saints.[149] These draperies, however, must have had a simpler, more accessible analogue for lesser men and women. Æthelwulf's *De Abbatibus* describes a tomb covered in linen;[150] in Wægan's will, dating to the eleventh or early twelfth century, he asks that 5 ores be paid for his coffin and 21 pence for his bier covering —both quite expensive, an indicator that the image and perception of the deceased on the way to the tomb counted.[151] That Wulfstan was recorded as bedecked only in his episcopal robes 'without any covering' both signifies the majesty of the robes and also that, in absence of finer fabric, perhaps the covering was to be expected.[152] The Old English Hexateuch provides an illustration of a pallcloth in the story of Jacob's body on a bier being returned to his homeland: a rich blue fabric bordered

[149] E.g. The gifts of Archbishop Lull of Mainz to the relics of Bede, and Queen Emma to the tombs of saints at Ely: C.R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art: A new perspective* (Manchester, 1982), 141, 145, 165.
[150] A. Campbell (ed., trans.), *De Abbatibus* (Oxford, 1967), lns. 739-41.
[151] 'Fragment of a Will from Bury St Edmunds,' Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters,* 252-3. Depending on the area and period, the exchange rate was either 16 pence to an ore (per *IV Law of Æthelræd)* or 20 pence to an ore *(per Domesday Book)*, making the coffin between 4 and 5 times more expensive than the pall; within the economy of the will itself, the pall is worth a little more than a whole pig (17p). Relative value system per Munro Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, 24-5.
[152] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* iv.148, 4.

with gold.[153] Previous, and subsequent, panels show his body enshrouded, so clearly the display was meant to go together. Though the cover might not be placed within the tomb in an act of conspicuous consumption, with a raised tomb it could be placed on top of it. Such is suggested by the Kirkdale grave cover, a unique sculpture which is carved with interlace on the top but has a tasselled and fringed edge carved in relief on the sides.[154] The tasselled grave cover is a skeuomorph, surely at one time painted brilliantly, with the permanence of the cover in stone heightening its impact.[155] Such a cover, painted on stone, or of woven wool tapestry or silk does not appear to be considered incompatible in the sources with also being interred in a shroud. A pall, then, could have been the final, if impermanent, cap which rounded out the textile-laden furnished burial suite, which, combined with the shroud and the coffin, conveyed to the mourners one last signal about the deceased's life before he or she was consigned to the ground.

A churchyard bias?

In examining the distribution of shrouds as well as the surviving literary and historical descriptions of interments, it becomes apparent that shrouds, far from being the default, were an active choice. In the survey performed with this thesis, shrouds were found in only 41% of cemeteries with suitable bone survival to indicate a shrouded position without

[153] London, BL Cotton Claud. B.iv, f.71r.
[154] 'Kirkdale' in J. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), 163-166, illustration 564.
[155] M. Boulton, 'Embroidered Stones: considering the symbolism of Anglo-Saxon skeuomorphs and the Kirkdale grave-slab,' in M. Boulton, J. Hawkes, and M. Herman (eds.), *The Art, Literature, and Material Culture of the Medieval World* (Dublin, 2015), 198-216, at 204.

surviving textile or pins; 16% overall.[156] Even within those cemeteries, however, the evidence of bone position suggests that the average person was not tightly wound *in sindone,* even in presumably monastic contexts where it was either the religious members being buried or the lay population more actively ministered to than those farther in the countryside. In St. Chad, Barrow-upon-Humber, only two of the eighty-seven burials were shrouded; at Jarrow, only two out of one-hundred and sixty-nine, and at Wearmouth, only six out of one-hundred and sixty-seven (4%). Smaller cemeteries have similarly smaller numbers: one out of twenty-two (5%) at Wembdon Hill, Somerset, one out of nineteen at both Dixon Keld, Yorkshire and St. Peter's Holton-le-Clay, Lincolnshire (5%). Of those sites, 65% (51/79) were associated with either a church or a minster.

With the caveat that new archaeothanatological review of the skeletal positions might change these numbers, these proportions imply that shrouding in the proper wound-in-a-strip-of-cloth manner might have been much rarer than the traditional narrative of the adaptation of simple, 'Christian' burial after the conversion would suggest. Within this survey, shrouded burials occur in church-associated cemeteries more than field cemeteries at a ratio of 4:1. The use of shrouds in church cemeteries proportionally outnumbering that of cemeteries not in the immediate district of a church might suggest that shrouding was only adopted where there was active preaching to advocate for it over clothed burial. But the combination of that church-and-minster cemetery bias and the rarity with which evidence exists for shrouds even within these cemeteries would indicate that shroud use

[156] This sample consists of cemeteries within the database where the bones were in good enough condition to determine pathology. The total percent of shrouds found in this database, as mentioned in the last chapter, is 16. How to identify shrouds through observation of the skeleton in-situ was discussed in Chapter 4.

might have signalled more than just penitential sentiment, something specific within the burial display such as belonging to the kin-group of the church.

All of this points to a much more complicated burial practice surrounding the body than previously assumed, even where shrouds are involved, bringing our attention farther and farther from the penitential mindset suggested by Bede into something which more closely reflected the station, affiliation, and available finances of the person involved. The religious affiliation incorporates the penitential meaning, but such affiliation makes a statement as much as it expresses humility and repentance. While the Anglo-Saxon church never explicitly dictated how its population should be buried, the archaeological evidence suggests that shrouding was possibly a practice more used by the religious elite than the average Christian farmer. Further, despite the narrative that conspicuous consumption died with the cultural adaptation of Christian customs in England, the use of cloth in burials, both with shrouds, clothes, and other soft fittings suggests a disjunct between ideal and reality, where the penitential white shroud, which could be 'a body rendered white by baptism and then refulgent with the glory of incorruptibility' instead becomes a signifier of both connection to the church and earthly identity and prestige.[157]

IV. Iron Knives: Tools for the living/ Tools against the dead

Thus far, I have discussed which performed parts of the funeral were within the control of those who mourned the dead, and proposed that, despite the archaeological tendency to ascribe the use of shrouds to saints and laypeople alike where there is absence of evidence

[157] Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis* I, 2:18, in F. Wallis (ed., trans.) *Commentary on Revelations* (Liverpool, 2013), 121.

for other practices, and the historical tendency to assume that shrouds signified a simple burial without indication of horizontal or vertical social status, the graveside tableau remained a significant aspect of the way in which people in the mid- and late Anglo-Saxon period cared for the dead, and honoured who the dead had been in life. An aspect of this was the continuation of the use of finery in funerals, from rich fabrics to limited inclusion of grave goods. Apart from the occasional comb and Scandinavian-style kits, knives were one of the few non-clothing objects which continued to be included in the burial suite throughout this period. Just as the use of shrouds was multi-vocal, expressing both earthly association and spiritual aspirations, I will argue that the inclusion of knives within mid- and late Anglo-Saxon period interments also served multiple purposes for the living and the dead, not only commemorating who the deceased was in life, but protecting the living from the danger which the deceased might pose after death.

Frequency and Distribution

While iron knives were a common component of the burial tableau in earlier Anglo-Saxon England, even appearing occasionally within cremated graves, the frequency of their inclusion in the grave drops somewhat precipitously after the end of the eighth century.[158] John Hines and Alex Bayliss, in their Bayesian study of the chronology of conversion-period Anglo-Saxon grave goods, placed the end of grave good assemblages, including those with

[158] Howard Williams argues that knives were not cremated for various ritual reasons, but they are occasionally placed in the urn after the cremation process, and there are instances of these knives having been subjected to the heat of the funeral pyre: H. Williams, 'Keeping the Dead at Arm's Length: memory, weaponry, and mortuary technology,' *Journal of Archaeological Science* 5.2 (2005), 254-75; S. Glasswell, *The Earliest English: living and dying in early Anglo-Saxon England* (Stroud, 2002), 51.

knives, at around AD670.[159] There is a positive bias towards the discovery of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries over late ones generally, as their material components are often found by metal detectorists, and excavators are more likely to notice metal objects before friable bones. Accordingly, the placement of knives within later burials should have had the same positive effect upon their increased discovery. Instead, however, archaeological evidence for knives in burials is limited and points to a decrease in their interment until the eleventh century, at which point the distribution of areas in which they are used shifts, suggesting a change in practice, a change in the people who were practising the rite, or, perhaps, a change in knives' symbolic meaning to those who interred their dead with them.

Knives appear to have been primarily placed within burials in the 'Anglian' areas of the east coast and south of England, extending within the earlier periods (AD500x900) into what would become Wessex, but not what was then Dumnonia. While knives are particularly numerous in cemeteries in Kent and East Anglia, their use also extended all the way north to Bamburgh, where one of the knife burials returned a radiocarbon date of calAD 608-620, at one sigma, suggesting that the use of knives in this earlier period is more broadly cultural than regional.[160]

The data in this survey suggest that the resurgence of knives in Late Saxon (c. AD850-1000) graves is slightly over-advertised: 62% (32/53) of datable cemeteries with knife burials are used during AD700-800, whereas only 25% (13/53) of the cemeteries with knife burials date

[159] Although Blakelock, in her study on the composition of knives, would argue that we ought not to date knives, nor use them to date contexts, based upon their shape or typologies at all: E. Blakelock, 'The Early Medieval Cutting Edge of Technology: An archaeometallurgical, technological and social study of the manufacture and use of Anglo-Saxon and Viking iron knives, and their contribution to the early medieval iron economy' (Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Bradford, 2011), 192.
[160] Grave 103: OxA-9433.

from between AD800-1000.[161] 11% (6/53) of the knife burials date from exclusively within the Saxo-Norman period, dated here with the probability of either occurring wholly in the eleventh century or starting between AD1000 and 1066 and continuing up to or into the early twelfth century.

The area of distribution of knives used in burials also shrinks, despite the fact that knives were an essential part of everyday life and have been found in settlements in this period across all of the area of study (compare Figure 107, Figure 108, Figure 109, Figure 110).[162] Though sparse, distribution of these knife burials does continues up the east coast of England and southern Scotland, but there are no closely-dated examples in the ninth to eleventh centuries from Kent, Wessex, or the West Midlands. In the late tenth century and eleventh century, the distribution pattern for cemeteries with knife burials shifts abruptly in the north from the east to the west, with a smattering of Scandinavian burials clothed and equipped with kits of grave goods. The remainder of the cemeteries with knives in this period do not even always match up with cemeteries containing clothed burials, leaving room for interpretation of their secondary meaning (see also Figure 89, Chapter 3). Was it the form of dress that changed, or the meaning of the interment of knives?

[161] This includes knife burials from the seventh century in cemeteries which are active from AD700 forward, such as Bamburgh, as this survey begins at AD700. The total number of knife cemeteries within the database is 57; 4 of those are undatable to anything narrower than the general Anglo-Saxon period and thus are excluded within this statistic.

[162] N. Sykes, 'Deer, Land, Knives and Halls: Social change in early medieval England,' *The Antiquaries Journal* 90 (2010), 175-93; A. Knox, 'The Subtle Knife: Using Domestic Objects to Access the Middle Anglo-Saxon Worldview,' *Archaeological Journal* 173.2 (2016), 245-263.

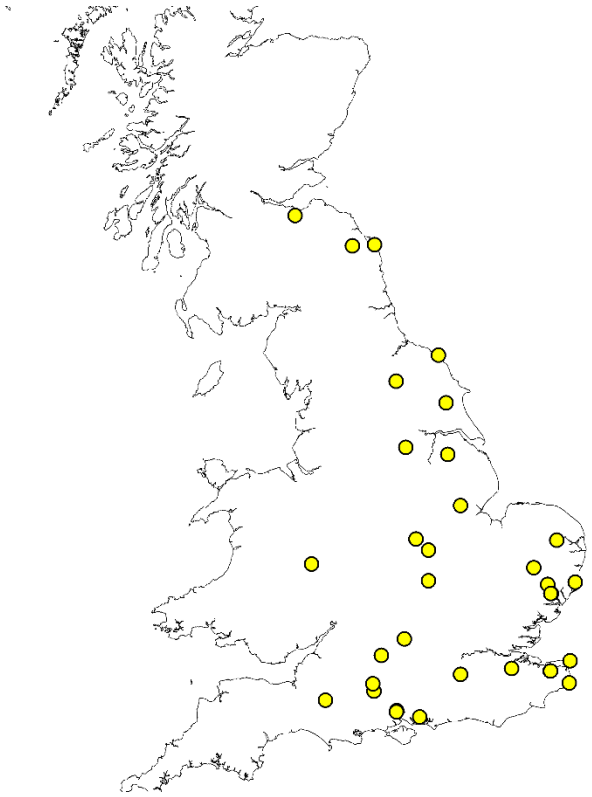


Figure 107: Distribution of knife burials in cemeteries active between AD700x800.



Figure 108: Knife burials in cemeteries active AD800x1000



Figure 109: Knife burials in Saxo-Norman cemeteries (active between AD1000x1100)

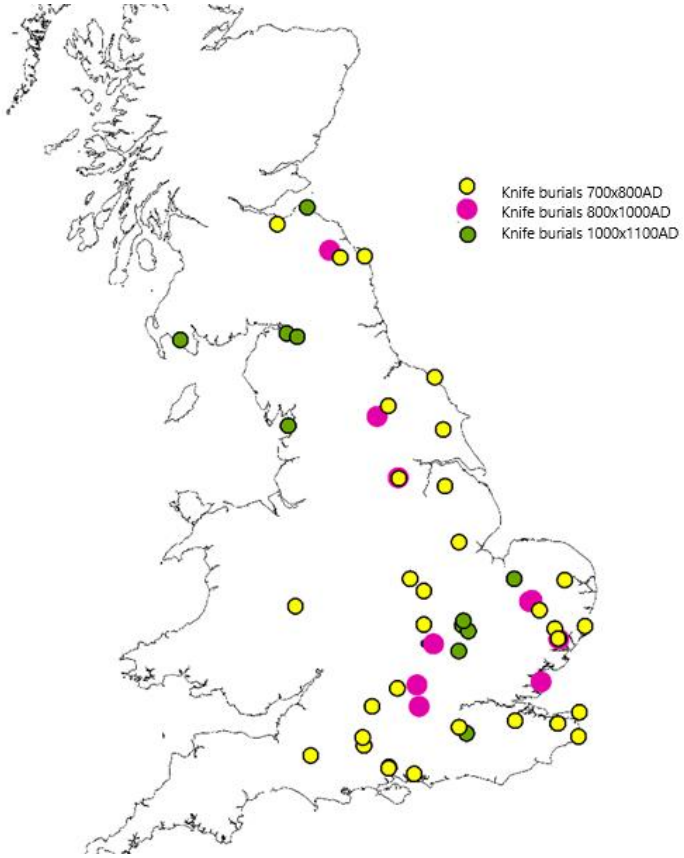


Figure 110: All knife burials within survey

Reflecting the Living: Knives as symbols

The multivalent quality of knives' symbolism in early Anglo-Saxon burials has been brilliantly covered by a range of scholars, most significantly Heinrich Härke and Nick Stoodley. Stoodley's *The Spindle and Spear* outlined the differences in the use of knives in male and female burials within the early Saxon burial 'kit,' along with his conclusion that the different grave assemblages indicated difference in sex.[163] Härke, on the other hand, discovered a correlation between knife length, age at death, and biological sex, suggesting that social guidelines dictated who received and was buried with what equipment, especially in the

[163] N. Stoodley, *The Spindle and the Spear: a critical enquiry into the construction and meaning of gender in the early Anglo-Saxon burial rite.* BAR Brit. Ser. 288 (Oxford, 1999), 136.

latter seventh-century 'final phase' burials.[164] The weapons buried with the dead were thus multi-vocal symbols of the deceased's social persona, communicating their gender, age, social status, and possibly ethnicity.[165] Blakelock also discovered that the type and quality of alloy in knives buried with the deceased in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries varied, and that different types correlated with different ages, sexes, and, likely, social status, with cheap, plain Type 0 iron knives more often buried with individuals under 15 years old, and Type 2 knives, with better alloys and associated with craft activities, deposited with older women over 30 and men aged 15-30, and type 4 and 5 knives, the best, buried with higher-investment burials.[166]

Patterns of knife inclusion that suggest an obvious connection between knife form and social persona do not extend into the ninth century, however, although the knife's general significance to Anglo-Saxons has been examined in recent scholarship. Howard Williams has suggested that the knife in this period stands for personhood, and that this was part of knives' gender-neutral characteristic. Even if this view took into account the number of slaves in Anglo-Saxon England, who might not qualify as full persons allowed to be buried with a knife, it does not cohere with the paucity of knives in mid Saxon and later cemeteries.[167] Naomi Sykes, on the other hand, concludes in her examination of knives, deer bones, and their contexts at halls and minsters, that knives symbolised the

[164] H. Härke, 'Knives in Early Saxon Burials: blade length and age at death,' *Medieval Archaeology* 33 (1989), 144-148; H. Härke, 'Changing symbols in a changing society: the Anglo-Saxon weapon burial rite in the seventh century,' in M. Carver (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo: the seventh century in north-western Europe* (Woodbridge, 1992), 149-165.
[165] Härke, 'Knives in Early Saxon Burials'; H. Williams, *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain* (Cambridge, 2006); D. Sayer and H. Williams (eds.), *Mortuary Practices and Social Identities in the Middle Ages: Essays in burial archaeology in honour of Heinrich Härke* (Exeter, 2009).
[166] In her sample of graves from Twyford (Berks.), Empingham (Rutland), and Collingbourne Ducis (Wilts.) early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries: Blakelock, *The Early Medieval Cutting Edge of Technology,* 265-6.
[167] Williams, 'Keeping the Dead at Arm's Length,' 269.

redistribution process central to Anglo-Saxon society, as they were used to cut foodstuffs, and thus were a sign to the viewer of power and authority.[168] This interpretation is compatible with the relatively low percentage of knives found in graves within the middle and later Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in my database while offering another perspective on how the inclusion of knives might reflect not only the deceased's social persona, but also how the deceased might have interacted with their possessions within the Anglo-Saxon culture system.

Thirty-five out of the fifty-six cemeteries in this survey containing knife burials also contained clothing remains; thirty-one of those cemeteries with clothed and knife burials also contained additional grave good burials, though the grave goods were not universally coincident with the knife burials. In many of the cemeteries which contained more than one knife burial, only a few of the burials even contained evidence of clothing, and fewer still contained grave goods. This applied regardless of the sex of the person interred. The only clear exceptions were the Viking-style burials in Cumbria at the end of the tenth century, namely Cumwhitton, Carlisle Cathedral, and St. Michael's Workington.

Defence Against the Dark Arts: Iron, Magic, and the Undead

As shown above, knives retained some of the same social and gendered meaning in the later Anglo-Saxon period that they possessed in the early Anglo-Saxon period. Limited written and archaeological evidence suggests that at points within the Anglo-Saxon period iron may also have been perceived to possess properties which would channel magic, and could protect against magical elements. The presence of iron in the grave for apotropaic purposes

[168] Sykes, 'Deer, Land, Knives and Halls,' 182.

is well-attested within Classical Italy and Roman Britain; beyond the early Saxon period, there are certain signs that interment of knives and sharp iron with the dead, as well as belief in the reality of revenants necessitating that protection, continued into the Anglo-Norman period.

Despite the diachronic nature of this survey, folklore which might have pointed to belief in the undead and the apotropaic use of iron, amulets, potions, and rituals to ward off magic is, like many aspects of Anglo-Saxon life, ill-recorded. Much of what we can suppose about folkloric practice is inferred, either from analogy with the practices, folklore, laws and writings of contemporary, though geographically distant, cultures in contact, such as the Continental Germanic peoples and the Norse, or from local but anachronistic texts such as those of Walter Map, William of Newburgh and William of Malmesbury which might preserve older beliefs. We can also draw upon some classical sources, such as Pliny, whose works we know were in circulation among contemporary religious houses, and whose authoritative observations on history and nature might have influenced the beliefs of those who had heard, read, or been taught the material.

While extraordinary properties are sometimes attributed to iron, these powers are often contradictory. In various early texts, iron is said to protect against magic and possess qualities which pollute the sacred. In the Old Testament, the altar which Moses instructs the Israelites to build for God's sacrifices must also be built with no iron tool working the stones; Joshua, after his success at the city of Ai, builds his altar to God following the same anti-ferrous conditions.[169] The apotropaic significance which nails possessed in Classical Greece

[169] Deuteronomy 27:5, 8:30-31

and Rome is well-recorded in written sources and suggested by the frequency of nails excavated in funerary contexts, with single nails possessing deliberately twisted tips being found in both Greek and Roman cremations and inhumations.[170] Both Pliny the Elder and Columella recommend the act of driving nails into surfaces to defend against ill-intentioned powers; an imaginary circle of iron on a body preserves against enchantment.[171]

Classical herbariums and lapidaries copied in late Anglo-Saxon England ascribe what, to us, are 'supernatural' qualities to iron, alongside its natural ones, although the extent to which these copied classical sources influenced or reflected local belief is debatable. Pliny's *Natural History* is among those copied volumes.[172] In the second-century Herbal of Pseudo-Apuleius, preserved in a few Late Saxon and Anglo-Norman manuscripts, the reader is instructed not to cut some plants with iron; some of these plants, such as bishopswort/ betony, are used in salves against elves and 'night visitors' in other leechbooks.[173] The recommendation against using iron in these cases may have a more scientific than symbolic reason, however: in some instances, such as with burdock root, it shows awareness of chemical reactions, as burdock root when cut with an iron knife quickly blackens.[174] This knowledge may have strengthened the perception in Anglo-Saxon England of iron as otherworldly, or have been interpreted as purely incidental information.

According to Pliny, iron which has been in contact with the dead is even more powerful; an iron nail from a tomb, driven into a lintel 'secures from fantastical illusions,' and, in a

[170] S. Villa, 'Nails for the Dead: A polysemic account of an ancient funerary practice,' in R. Gordon and M. Francisco, *Magical Practice in the Latin West: Papers from the International Conference Held at the University of Zaragoza, 30 Sept.-1 Oct. 2005* (Leiden, 2010), 427-456.
[171] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 28.44; Columella, *De Re Rustica* 8.5.12.
[172] V. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1992), 321.
[173] Herbarium of Pseudo-Apuleius in Cockayne, *Leechdoms, vol. 1,* 71; Cockayne, *Leechdoms, vol. 1,* 318-319; Leechbook III.lxi, in *Leechdoms, vol. 2.*
[174] M. Cameron, 'Anglo-Saxon Medicine and Magic,' *ASE* 17 (1988), 191-215 at 211.

homeopathic remedy, being pricked physically with a weapon which has wounded a man prevents 'sudden pricks or stitches'—an ailment which has been classified as of magical origin as it is often cited within Anglo-Saxon leechbooks alongside elves.[175] This all suggests that belief in the apotropaic power of iron, listed alongside remedies which appear to employ iron's natural qualities, might have been widespread.[176]

There are a very few indications that Anglo-Saxon smiths may have been considered supernatural within early England, possibly for their ability to create and work with iron, as is suggested by the prominence of the story of Weland.[177] The invocation of the six smiths in the charm entitled 'with Faerstice' ('for a sudden stitch'), who 'hammered out a little knife of iron, very wonderously,' also implies that there was power in the act of making iron, one which, when the iron is dipped in water, made the water fortified.[178] Pliny prescribes fortified water, but only for pedestrian maladies, not against a stitch, which suggests that this is a local, rather than Roman, cure.[179] While there is no Anglo-Saxon equivalent, a medieval Irish prayer ascribed to Saint Patrick asked for protection through virtue 'against the spells of women, smiths, and druids,' lumping smiths, with their transformative

[175] Other recipes for a 'sudden stitch' call for white stones, another item included in the grave, as mentioned above (Chapter 4). Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 28.44; in Bostock's translation, any weapon which has 'wounded a man' suffices; Philemon Holland's translation asserts that the weapon must have killed someone: J. Bostock (ed., trans.), *Pliny the Elder: The Natural History* (London, 1855); P. Holland (AD1552-1637), *Pliny's Natural History, in Thirty-Seven Books* (London, 1847-9).
[176] S. Black, 'Romano-British Burial Customs and Religious Beliefs in South-East England,' *Archaeological Journal* 143 (1986), 201-39; D. Dungworth, 'Mystifying Roman Nails: *clavus annalis, defixiones* and *minkisi,'* in C. Forsey, J. Hawthorne, and R. Watcher (eds.), *TRAC 97: Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference* (Oxford, 1998), 148-59.
[177] D. Hinton, 'Anglo-Saxon Smiths and Myths,' *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library Manchester* 80.1 (1998), 3–21.
[178] BL MS Harley 585: edited in Cockayne, *Leechdoms.*
[179] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 28:44.

capabilities, in with other magic users, and suggesting that the manipulation of iron might have been perceived as semi-magical.[180]

The ambiguity inherent in apotropaic magic is suggested by the tenth-century charter granting Wulfstan Ucca a property forfeited by an unnamed widow, who used iron to 'prick' Wulfstan's father, presumably with magic; the offending item, perhaps a stabbed effigy, was taken from her closet.[181] Contemporaneously, outside of England, iron wands were included in graves and found in settlement sites both at Viking sites in Dublin and, in greater numbers, from Sweden and Norway.[182] Neil Price has proposed that these iron and bronze wands, termed *seidstafr,* may have been used for a form of magic linked with Odin and Freya, called *seiðr*.[183] In these two instances, iron channels magic rather than keeping it away. Iron's efficacy against darker magic is similarly ambiguous in William of Malmesbury's tale of the Witch of Berkeley. When, in his *De Gestis Regum Anglorum,* a woman addicted to sorcery asked her children to bury her alive in a coffin fastened with iron and lead and weighted with a stone bound in iron chains, so that she might remove herself from the influence of the devil, the devil is not dissuaded by the iron, and, indeed, rides in on a horse covered in iron hooks.[184] The iron in this tale, quickly broken, seems to be used for its strength rather than apotropaic purposes.

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[180] '*Tochuiriur etrum indíu inna hule neurtasa.../Fri brichta ban ocus goband ocus druád…,'* B.G. Scott, *Early Irish Ironworking* (Ulster, 1991), 186.
[181] Æthelwold of Worcester to Wulfstan Ucca: 'The estate at Ailsworth had been forfeited by a widow and her son because they drove an iron pin into Wulfstan's father, Ælfsige; and it was discovered, and they took the deadly thing from her closet.' S 1377 (963x975), Robinson no. 37.
[182] S.H. Harrison and R. O' Floinn, *Viking Graves and Grave Goods in Ireland: The Vikings in Ireland and beyond* (Dublin, 2014), 206-7; Brunning, 'A 'Divination Staff,''193-200.
[183] Price, *The Viking Way,* 175-204.
[184] J. Giles (ed.), *William of Malmesbury's Chronicle of the Kings of England* (London, 1847), 230-2.

The Restless Dead

Scholars have recently discussed the possibility that the Anglo-Saxons not only believed in Christian life after death, but also believed in the 'undead,' despite church warnings against such thoughts.[185] The saintly dead speaking from beyond the grave in response to prayer arrived in spirit, advising and 'polluting' in holy ways; but the wicked or heathen physical dead in mounds and barrows were construed as dangerous.[186] Both archeological and written evidence suggests that people in mid- to Late Anglo-Saxon England sought to control these dangerous dead through treatment of the body in the grave.

References to the undead do not abound in Anglo-Saxon texts, but they do survive. The ecclesiastical written tradition confirms that later Anglo-Saxon churchmen were concerned about continuing practice in necromancy—not only speaking to the dead to know the future (as divination seemed another frequent crime), but raising them. 'Necromancy' is one of the several proposed answers to Exeter *Riddle 4,* where the object of the riddle hints that it had been bound, as, perhaps, an undead thrall would have been to his magician master.[187] Wulfstan bans necromancy in his law codes for Æthelstan and Cnut, but it is uncertain whether this was a rote inclusion, or an extension of his battle against paganism and folk practices generally, as in his *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos.*[188] Ælfric bans raising the dead outright,

[185] S. Semple, *The Perception of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013), especially Chapter 3; J. Blair, 'The Dangerous Dead in Early Medieval England,' in S. Baxter, C. Karkov, J.L. Nelson and D. Pelteret (eds.), *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald* (Farnham, 2009), 539-559.

[186] S. Semple, 'A fear of the past: the place of the prehistoric burial mound in the ideology of middle and later Anglo-Saxon England,' *World Archaeology* 30 (1998), 109-126.

[187] D.K. Fry, 'Exeter Book Riddle Solutions,' *Old English* Newsletter 15.1 (1981), 22-33 at 23; M. Cavell, *Weaving Words and Binding Bodies: The Poetics of Human Experience in Old English Literature* (Toronto, 2016), 80, 160, 162.

[188] Laws referring to 'they who secretly compass death': Laws of Edward and Guthrum (late tenth-century), #6.7; IV Æthelred (AD 1008) (Robertson 1925, p.49), #7; II Cnut, #4a; Note that II Æthelstan (c.924x939) #6 does not apply, as it is about magic killing the living rather than raising the dead.

specifically citing the devil taking the form of the dead at *byrgels,* which he associates with witches and necromancers, and crossroads.[189] The apocryphal story of Jamnes and Mambres, the magicians (named in II Timothy) who worked for the Pharaoh against Moses in Exodus, was known in late Anglo-Saxon England, and one version of it, the *Marvels of the East,* portrays Mambres as a necromancer, who uses his magic to bring his brother Jamnes back to life from Hell. [190]

Anglo-Norman references to strange beings active at night may also refer to the unquiet dead, though they are not clear about what threat these visitors pose to the living, nor whether their form is ephemeral or physical. Like modern vampires and ghosts, the antagonists in William of Newburgh's four stories of the restless dead are all nocturnal: the 'Ghost of Anant,' 'Buckingham Ghost,' and 'Hounds Priest' all terrorize former lovers at

[189] Ælfric, *Catholic Homilies* II, XIV, p.142, line 157; *Supp.* II, XXIX, p. 706, line 119; V. Thompson, *Death and Dying,* 106. Victoria Thompson has traced *byrgel* as having a negative association and being possibly connected to funeral pyres, although the term *byrgel* is used in charter bounds (see Reynolds, *Anglo-Saxon Deviant Burial Customs,* and Semple's, 'A fear of the past,' and *The Perception of the Prehistoric*), implying a more permanent structure. *Byrgel* in charter bounds: S 43 (AD 775), S 413 (AD 931), S 414 (AD 931), S 438 (AD 937) '*hæþanne byrgelse'*. See also **A.** Meaney, 'Aelfric and Idolatry,' *Journal of Religious History* 13 (1984), 119-28 at 131.

[190] Jamnes suitably warns Mambres about his sins. Jamnes and Mambres appear in the late eleventh-century *Marvels of the East*, the illustrated *Hexateuch,* the Old English translation of Orosius's *Historiae aduersus paganos,* and Ælfric's sermon 'On Auguries.' II Timothy 3:8; London BL Cotton Tiberius B.v; illustration of Exodus 7: 9-12, 16-19 (83r), and Exodus 8:19; *Hexateuch* in London, BL Cotton Claudius B.iv; edited edition of the *Hexateuch* in C.R. Dodwell and P. Clemoes (eds.), *The Old English illustrated Hexateuch*; also K. Zangemeister (ed.), *Pauli Orosii historiarum aduersum paganos libri vii,* Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 5 (Vienna 1894), 54-9. In Ælfric's 'On Auguries' and the translation of *Historiae aduersus paganos,* this necromancy episode does not occur, as Jamnes and Mambres perish in the Red Sea with Pharaoh: Ælfric, Homily XVII 'On Auguries,' in W. Skeat (ed.), *Ælfric's Lives of Saints,* I, 365-383 at 372-3; Skeat translates 'oððæt he adranc on ðære deopan sæ' as 'until *he* was drowned in the deep sea,' however; Orosius, *Historiae aduersum paganos,* I.vii, (ff. 19-20), lines 16-22: J. Bately (ed.), *The Old English Orosius* (Oxford, 1980), 26. For more on the Greek origin of Jamnes and Mambres and their appearance in Old English literature, see F.M. Biggs and T.N. Hall, 'Traditions concerning Jamnes and Mambres in Anglo-Saxon England,' *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1996), 69-89.

night; the 'Berwick Ghost' terrorizes the town.[191] These later nocturnal menaces may be analogous to the *nihtgengan,* 'night visitors,' mentioned within tenth-century leechbooks in descriptions of a salve which will also work against 'elfin kind.' The need for a salve implies that both are malicious, and supernatural.[192] Russell suggests that these 'night visitors' should be interpreted as spirits.[193] Cockayne translates the '*uncuþum sidsan*' mentioned in a recipe in Bald's Leechbook as 'strange visitor'; he does not gloss this translation, but his word choice may be based upon the analogous passages mentioned above, featuring a salve against elves and night visitors and suggesting the supernatural.[194] This is the only record of the word *sidsan* in the Old English corpus, however, and *sidsan* most closely relates to the Icelandic *siða*, to work a charm, or *seiðr*, a spell—the aforementioned magic linked with Odin and Freya, and associated iron *seidstafr* in the grave.[195] Accordingly, while the menace in the *Leechbook* '*uncuþum sidsan*' passage is the same as that of the 'night visitors,' I believe that the object that the salve protects against is different—a spell, sorcerer, or necromancer, rather than the ghostly, demonic, or undead result of said spell.

The contemporary laws against necromancy and these *Leechbook* recipes suggest belief in the undead, but it is not until the late twelfth century that the term *sanguisuga* – bloodsucker– is used to describe a person, suggesting the presence of vampirism.[196] The

[191] William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, V.24, in *Brepols' Library of Latin Texts. Series B*. (Turnhout, 2014): 'Ghost of Anant,' V.24, 4-7; 'Buckingham Ghost,' V.22; 'Hounds Priest,' V.24, 1-3; 'Berwick Ghost,' V.23.
[192] Leechbook III.lxi; Leechbook III.liv.
[193] J. Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1972), 96.
[194] Leechbook II.lxv.5; Cockayne, *Leechdoms,* 297. 'Uncuþum' defined as (1) unknown, strange, but also (4) hostile, unfriendly: 'Uncuþum,' J. Bosworth and T. Toller (eds.,) *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary based upon the Manuscript Collections of the late Joseph Bosworth* (Oxford, 1954), 1094.
[195] 'Sidesa,' Bosworth and Toller, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary,* 871; Price, *The Viking Way*, 175-204.
[196] Referring to the 'Ghost of Anant': William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, V.24: 'Nor were the youths frightened, being incited by wrath, and they inflicted the wound to the dead body; from which so much blood flowed forth unremittingly that they understood he had been *the blood-*

sanguisuga, the earliest mention of the undead sucking blood in England in William of Newburgh's tale of the 'Ghost of Anant,' clearly has connections with other, later descriptions of vampires, the methods used to eradicate those vampires, and the peculiar and unusual burial rites which are unaccounted for in Anglo-Saxon England suggest that a diachronic approach is not entirely inappropriate in hypothesizing whether a fear of the undead existed in later Anglo-Saxon England.

Settling the Undead: Methods and Practice

As John Blair has demonstrated, there is a significant body of circumstantial evidence that suggests that sharp iron was deployed in Early Saxon graves in a manner indicative of apotropaic use, specifically against the undead.[197] Since the publication of Blair's 2009 article, archaeologists have increasingly observed the presence of single iron nails in graves at Romano-British and early Saxon cemeteries, such as at Twyford, near Winchester (fifth to late seventh centuries), and St. Mary's Stadium cemetery I, Southampton (seventh century), which might indicate a purposeful ritual deposit. Of the 53 mid to Late Anglo-Saxon sites which contain knives in this study, eleven present possible apotropaic uses of iron, in a total of fourteen graves.[198] These graves display a variety of knife positioning, although within some cemeteries there is internal consistency in placement. In a regular assemblage, the

sucker of many'; 'Sanguisuga' is a word used, rarely, to refer to a leech; 'blood-sucker' is the literal translation.

[197] Blair, 'The Dangerous Dead in Early Medieval England,' 549.

[198] Iron over pelvis and in mouth: Aldbourne, Wilts.; Appleford, Oxon.; Barber's Point, Suff.; St. Martin's Wharram Percy, N. Yorks.; The Hirsel, Coldstream, Berwickshire. Others: Little Paxton, Cambs. (7^{th}-11^{th} c.) (in armpit); Station Road, Gamlingay, Cambs. (7^{th}-9^{th} c.) (bent iron shaft left of head); Paddock Hill, Thwing, E. Yorks. (late 10^{th} c.) (knife under leg in chest burial); Barhobble, Mochrum, Galloway (knife inserted into side of grave, plus three fragments).

position of a knife in a grave usually mimics how it was worn in life: by the left or right side of the waist, facing towards the feet; occasionally, it might be pointing slightly inward or outward from the body, due to decomposition of the body or its jostling during transport to the grave (if the body were lowered into the grave within its coffin). Within sixth- and seventh-century graves, and the Scandinavian-style burials of the late-ninth- through early-eleventh centuries, the knife was also sometimes placed near the head or the feet as part of a larger burial tableaux of objects, as in grave 13 at the late seventh-century cemetery at Aldbourne, where a knife on a belt was found to the north of the skeletal remains.[199] Depending upon the cemetery, however, placement appears to have been as varied as iron near the teeth, knives with the tip facing toward the armpit, iron by the shoulder, and iron being stabbed in a long bone; three have iron placed on the pelvis (Table 24).[200]

Blair notes that some similarities exist between the treatment of corpses in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries c. AD 550-700 and the modern method of slaying vampires in Eastern Europe, such as the presence of iron in the grave.[201] While there are no written accounts before the eleventh century of defeating the undead in England, later sources from Germanic, Scandinavian, and Slavic regions are somewhat more forthcoming and offer analogous solutions to the Saxo-Norman sources. Although it must be cautioned that they are deeply anachronistic, the actions described within these sources for putting down revenants and vampires temptingly correspond to unusual grave practices seen in the ninth- to eleventh-century cemeteries within this survey.

[199] N. Stoodley, A. Boylston, J. McKinley, 'An Early Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Aldbourne, Wiltshire,' *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 105 (2012), 58-95 at 73.
[200] Which long bone, exactly, is unstated in the report.
[201] Blair, 'The Dangerous Dead in Early Medieval England,' 549.

Muffling

For one, the Slavic vampires are often defeated within the grave by being 'fed' something that will take them an inordinate amount of time to chew through, putting a stone in its mouth, 'fill[ing] his throat with earth,' or having a pebble or coin put under the tongue of the dead.[202] This oral fixation is a major feature of the description of William of Newburgh's 'Ghost of Anant;' his face is swollen with blood, and his burial shroud shredded, presumably from having chewed through it.[203] Objects in the mouth appear more frequently in Late Saxon/ Saxo-Norman cemeteries, such as St. Martin's Wharram Percy (N. Yorks.), St. Nicholas Shambles (London), and the Hirsel (Berwickshire) (Table 23). St. Martin's Wharram Percy and The Hirsel each contained a skeleton with iron in its mouth, perhaps doubling down on preventative measures by invoking iron's apotropaic powers by using a nail (St. Martin's) and an unidentified iron object (Hirsel).

Seventeenth-century German folklore had a similar tradition about corpses who chewed compulsively, the solution being to either force the jaw against the skull, using earth or stone, or tie the throat 'closed' with a handkerchief to prevent the dead eating themselves or others; placing the person prone 'so that it would gnaw into the ground' was another solution.[204] Archaeological evidence of kerchiefs obviously deteriorates quickly in the ground; the few Anglo-Saxon remnants of cloth around the jaw or cervical vertebrae in the

[202] A. Afanas'ev, 'Poetic views of the Slavs regarding Nature,' in J. Perkowski (ed., trans.), *Vampires of the Slavs* (Cambridge, MA, 1976), 222-247 at 240.
[203] William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, V.24.
[204] Dom A. Calmet (M. Cooper, trans.), 'Vampires of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia,' in Perkowski (ed.), *Vampires of the Slavs,* 105-190 at 165; K. Moszyinski, 'Slavic Folk Culture,' in Perkowski (ed.), *Vampires of the Slavs*, 248-273 at 251.

grave are either golden fabric, or instances where a pin at the shoulder shows evidence for a veil. Prone burials are more frequently attested in Anglo-Saxon archaeology, and particularly associated with execution cemeteries in scholarly literature. These are not our concern, being already liminal; of more interest are prone burials which do occur in church and minster contexts with some frequency, suggesting something other than judicially-motivated deviant burial. In Elizabeth Craig-Atkins' survey of northern mid-Saxon burials, a quarter of her cemetery sample included prone burials, including the minsters at Wearmouth, Jarrow, and Newcastle, leading Craig-Atkins to suggest that prone burials were an infrequent, but not unusual, mid-Anglo-Saxon northern burial practice.[205] A particular example of this is at the eighth-century chapel of St. Botolph's, Frosterley, County Durham, where the only burial in the churchyard was a prone skeleton, radiocarbon dated to between the eighth and tenth centuries, south of the chapel and 'weighted' down by a large fragment of a smashed eighth-century stone cross on his back.[206]

Table 23: Objects in mouth

Site	Centuries	Description
Hicknoll Slait, Compton Pauncefoot	Late 7th c.	Sk 1 (adolescent male) had flint in mouth, knife pointing upwards at waist.
'The Grange,' Rothley, Leicstershire	7th-10th c.	Burial 5 had stone in mouth
Chapel Road, Filingham, Lincolnshire	8th-11th c.	2 skeletons with stones in mouth
Raunds Furnells	10th c.	Stone in mouth

[205] Craig, *Burial Practices in Northern England,* 173.
[206] Uncalibrated date 1114±30 BP; 779-789calAD (1.0%) or 871-1013calAD (94.4%) calibrated at 2-sigma using OxCal v.4.3.2 and the IntCal13 atmospheric curve. Archaeological Services Durham University, 'St. Botolph's Chapel, Frosterley, County Durham: Archaeological Excavation.' Report 3679. (Unpublished report, May 2015).

St. Martin's, Wharram Percy, North Yorkshire	10th -12th c	Burial NA 146 had nail in mouth and nail in long bone
St. Nicholas Shambles, London	11th-12th c.	4 skeletons with pebbles in mouth
The Hirsel, Coldstream, Berwickshire	11th-12th c.	Sk 42 had iron object between teeth

Hobbling

Another method of defeating the undead according to later folklore was to hobble them, preventing their rising by sealing the coffin, weighing them down with stones, or by mangling the corpse's legs. Again, in Slavic tradition, one of the methods of preventing someone suspected of sorcery from rising from the grave was to cut the tendons under his knees, literally preventing his physically rising.[207] Mangling of the legs is rare, but present within the surveyed sites: At the Late Saxon cemetery at Godalming, Surrey, a single inhumation (Grave 3215s) had his tibias cut through, a very unusual skeletal trauma, and at St. Martin's Wharram Percy, Burial NA146 had a nail in one of its long bones as well as its mouth, and two other skeletons had weights on their left legs in the forms of heavy stones (Table 24). Thirsk in North Yorkshire, a little earlier than this survey, also contained a child-burial with the double feature of the left leg cut through with an iron object placed in the grave as well (skeleton 5040).

Sealing the coffin and weighting the lid is precisely what occurs in the 'Witch of Berkeley' story in the *De Gestis Regum Anglorum.* There was no archaeological evidence found in this survey of this exact scenario—no chains around a coffin—but an instance of weighting down the body exists as early as the late-seventh/early-eighth-century Stanlow Burial Mound

[207] Afanas'ev, 'Poetic views of the Slavs regarding Nature,' 238.

(Derbs.), and at St. Martin's, Wharram Percy, one grave is heaped over with stones. Other examples include St. Botolph's Frosterley (above), St. Botolph's (St. Mary's), Haverhill, Suffolk (tenth-eleventh c.), and Land at Priory Orchard, Godalming (Surrey). It is unlikely, but worth mentioning, that the locked chest burials of Northumbria could also serve the purpose of keeping the dead in their place.

Table 24: Incapacitated legs/ weighted body

Site	Centuries	Description
Land at Priory Orchard, Station Road, Godalming, Surrey	9th-13th c	Grave 3215s: tibias cut through
St. Martin's, Wharram Percy, North Yorkshire	10th -12th c	One grave heaped with stones, and four bodies 'weighted with stones'; Burial NA 146 (calAD 960-1070 at 1σ[208]) had nail in mouth and nail in long bone; G746 and G760 both had weight on left legs
Stanlow Burial Mound, Derbyshire	Late 7th-8th c.	Heavy stones over body, decapitated.
St. Botolph's Frosterley, Co. Durham	9th-10th c.	Stone cross fragment placed on upper back; prone.
St Botolph's (St. Mary's) Crowland Rd, Haverhill, Suffolk	10th -11th c.	Grave F1245 had a large stone block placed directly over the chest.

Iron

The method which opened this section for quelling the undead is the utilization of iron, through its apotropaic power, within the grave. While not as common as in Romano-British graves, single nails and pieces of iron have been found within early medieval burials in this

[208] Modelled date calibrated using IntCal04 atmospheric curve and Markov Chain Monte Carlo sampling applied using OxCal 3.5: A. Bayliss *et al.,* 'Radiocarbon dating,' in S. Mays (ed.)*, Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds. Volume XI: The Churchyard* (York, 2007), 193-215.

survey spanning the whole period from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries.[209] While sharp iron included in the grave by the corpse, or knives pointed at or found in the body, is expected, examination of the placement of iron on the body produced an unexpected pattern of sharp or broken iron placed in the pelvic area (Table 25). This has not been noticed before, although Thirsk Castle, North Yorkshire, provides a sixth-century example (SK 4020: iron blade at base of pelvis).[210] Given the location on the body and the injunction by Burchard of Worms (below) that people ought to stop staking women who died in childbirth, one would expect that this placement correlated with female, or young juvenile, burials.[211] Examples of this in Anglo-Saxon literature are, unsurprisingly, absent. There is a tradition in nineteenth-century Turkey, however, of placing iron spikes not only through the neck and ankles, disabling the corpse, but also through the *pelvis,* an unintuitive area for suppression compared to the head and feet.[212]

Table 25: Iron on Pelvis

[209] As above, Footnote 198, and: Milton Keynes Western Expansion Area, Area 11, Calverton ; St. Mary Magdalene's Church, Lyminster, Sussex; Little Paxton, Huntingdonshire.
[210] MAP Archaeological Consultancy, Ltd., 'Thirsk Castle, Thirsk, North Yorkshire, SAM No. 20454: Archaeological Excavation and Watching Brief.' (Unpublished report, 1995).
[211] Burchard of Worms, *Correctar,* 180-1. Juvenile burials are difficult to sex accurately, due to the variability of the onset of puberty.
[212] D. Keyworth, *Troublesome Corpses: Vampires and Revenants from Antiquity to the Present* (Southend-on-Sea, UK, 2007), 122-3.

Site	Centuries	Description
Aldbourne, Wiltshire	mid 7th-8th c.	G7: iron nail with bent tip next to knife facing towards spine; G37: iron nail with knife facing towards head
Appleford, Vale of White Horse, Oxfordshire	7th-9th c.	SK 21 (F) had iron knife adjacent to pelvis, and small iron nail found in the same area--apotropaic? SK 25 had a broken knife in pelvic area
Barber's Point Friston, Suffolk Coastal	early 7th-9th c.	SK 6102 (Grave 6100, juvenile) had highly corroded blade above the pelvis
Land at Priory Orchard, Station Road, Godalming, Surrey	9th-13th c.	G3248s: Iron rod across pelvis; G3215: nail at right hip (and two at left shoulder)

Staking

While not specifically against the undead, the *Penitential of Egbert* prohibits the act of driving a stake through a person, and Buchard of Worms, contemporarily on the Continent, specifies in his *Correctar* that this is often done to 'transfix' in the grave both unbaptized children and mothers who die in childbirth.[213] In Saxo Grammaticus' story of the mortal career of Odin, a sorcerer who took power during Odin's exile and returned from the dead was impaled through the breast with a sharp stake by the unhappy villagers of the town he fled to after Odin's return to power: 'that was the way the people cured the problem.'[214] These stakes might have been made of iron as well as wood, as the Harley Latin-Old English

[213] *Penitential of Egbert*, IV.13; #166, 167, Burchard of Worms, *Correctar,* 180-1. Burchard's *Correctar* has an unusual collection of proscriptions against magical behaviour, including weaving magic, baking magic, and four prescriptions on cleansing the house after a death (#83, 84). The Penitential of Pseudo-Egbert is combined with other penitential and confessional material as well as rubricated *ordines* for attending the dying in Bodley Laud Misc 482, which is thought to have been a priest's handbook: Thompson, *Dying and Death,* 68-70.

[214] 'Quo malo obfusi incole egestum tumulo corpus capite spoliant, acuto pectus stipites transfigentes. Id genti remedio fuit.' Saxo, *Gesta Danorum* Book 1, chapter 7.2: Saxo Grammaticus, K. Friis-Jensen, and P. Fisher (eds.), *Gesta Danorum = the History of the Danes.* 2 vols. (Oxford, 2015), 52-55 at 54-5.

Glossary glosses *Balus,* used in Latin to mean pole/unsplit wood, or execution stake, as 'isern feotor,' an iron fetter.[215] As of yet, no archaeothanatological study has been undertaken examining merely the ribs for post-mortem disturbance (although, if such staking occurred in the first year after the unquiet corpse was buried, such disturbance might be classified as the trauma which caused the death, depending upon the state of decomposition). At The Hirsel, however, Skeleton 22 north of the church had an iron tool (Fe66) embedded in its body; it was not able to be firmly assigned by stratigraphy to any chronological stages, however, and may be a later burial.

Beheading

Capital punishment is recorded in the Anglo-Saxon period as early as the Laws of Ine, and Andrew Reynolds has found many late Saxon pictorial examples of beheading; unlike the other methods of putting down the dead, decapitation is a known, recorded practice with certain 'execution' cemeteries containing it as a majority rite, and legal reasons behind the practice which address social concerns, not the supernatural.[216] However, it also occurs not infrequently in both field and church cemeteries throughout this survey.[217] Martin Welch suggests that early Anglo-Saxon post-mortem decapitation was performed to prevent the powerful from haunting the living.[218] Yet removal of the head is also another method for disposing of the undead. Decapitating the revenant and placing its head between its thighs

[215] R. Oliphant, *The Harley Latin-Old English Glossary* (Paris, 1966).
[216] Laws of Ine, I.5 (AD 688x92); P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the twelfth century*. Vol. 1 (London, 1999), 103 n.358; A. Reynolds, *Anglo-Saxon Deviant Burial Customs* (Oxford, 2009), 27-9, 44, 76-81 and Appendix.
[217] E.g. Stanlow Burial Mound, Peak District; St. Alkmund, Derby, Derbysyhire; Thwing, East Yorkshire; Redcastle Furze, Thetford, Norfolk; Whitby Abbey Headland; Ketton, Rutland.
[218] M. Welch, *Anglo-Saxon England* (London 1992), 62.

is prescribed not only within the early modern vampire lore already mentioned, but also is the cure that places the undead to rest in the Icelandic sagas. In *Grettir's Saga*, after breaking into a mound to steal its treasure, Grettir is stopped by the mound's undead inhabitant and thrown into fierce battle. When his opponent slipped on the interred horse skeleton, he 'drew his sword Jokulsnaut, cut off the head of the howe-dweller and laid it between his thighs.'[219] The villagers of Funen in Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* also decapitate their local revenant, combining that solution with impaling the undead magician with a stake (*acuto pectus stipites transfigentes*), as mentioned in the previous section.[220] Post-mortem beheading as a method of designating the body as dangerous or sinful also occurs less apocryphally, when King Harthacnut had the corpse of Harold I exhumed from Westminster, beheaded, and thrown in either a marsh, or the Thames, in an attempt to reclassify Harold as an apostate.[221]

Each of these methods possesses analogues within not only later Slavic vampire legend, but within Anglo-Saxon burials spanning the eighth through the eleventh centuries. In Alexandra Knox's study of the use of Anglo-Saxon knives in settlements and early Anglo-Saxon graves, she concludes that knives and other material goods can be 'active participants in actions that relate to the coping strategies of a people.'[222] From the evidence above, we can further theorize that the inclusion of knives in the grave not only helped the living to cope with the grief and loss of a dear one and all that they meant through representing the deceased's

[219] Chapter 18: A. Hight (ed.), *The Saga of Grettir the Strong* (London, 1913), 44.
[220] Saxo, *Gesta Danorum* Book 1, chapter 7.2.
[221] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, AD 1040; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum,* Part III, Chapter 115.12, in Winterbottom and Thomson, 380-381; N. Marafioti, *The King's Body: Burial and Succession in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto, 2014), 150-154.
[222] A. Knox, 'The Subtle Knife,' 260.

social persona, but also offered one of many strategies to deal with the unease of the threat of the dead returning to haunt, and prey upon, the living.

V. Conclusion: Love and Fear

In this chapter we have ventured from the grave to see the point of view of the survivors of the deceased, from attendance at the sickbed to processions with the body, from cleaning the home after to being certain that something is wrong with the corpse in the grave. Although by the Conquest most people were in proximity to a church of some size, and priests were admonished to not compete to rush to the bedside of the ill so as to gain their soulscot, examination of the surviving archaeological material and liturgical and written evidence in this chapter suggests that priests, while in charge of the funeral themselves, were not the only actors within the funeral, nor the only ritual specialists. Whether there was a feast or wake, a need to wrap the dead in a shroud or necessity to quell them, should they rise, the lay community often maintained control of surrounding rituals, and sharp injunctions in penitential and other laws to eliminate the feasting and unusual forms of commemoration suggest that the priestly community, being regional and thus part of the community, often participated as well.The evidence of this study so far, however, has shown the breadth of organization which occurred as part of burial practice: internal planning and maintenance of sections and of row or family-plot structure, obtaining materials for a broad variety of regional grave types even where stone or wood was rare, the layered conspicuous display of mourners and accessories such as shrouds, coffins, and palls, both in procession and in the grave. This evidence, combined with the indications that local traditions were being maintained and riffed upon use of select polysemous ritual

inclusions, such as quartz stones and wands, was being encouraged through networks suggests the activity, at some level, of ritual specialists. The church, as discussed above, was responsible for some management of the dead body and ritual surrounding it; the priest was undoubtedly involved in last rites, exhorting the ill person to be shriven and give away their goods, he conducted the funeral service, and, it is implied, tries to model quiet modestness for the *licmenn*, or bystanders to the body, at the best, and stamp down a wake of inappropriate mourning, singing, dancing and drunkenness, as described above in Chapter 5, at the worst.[223] As both Continental and English penitentials and correspondence suggest an organised pattern of secular activity around the home at the time of the funeral, with expressed affection for the old rituals, it is not that far a stretch to see the organisation around a cemetery like Godalming, with its very peculiar placement of iron grave goods and very dense cemetery, having been conducted by a secular specialist, who knew the right thing to put in the grave if something seemed unusual and did so consistently. Geake rightly points out that the lack of conventionally furnished burials around churches in the seventh century implies a break between whatever traditional management of graveyards existed and the new practice near the church.[224] But the overall complexity paired with local, slightly-shifting homogeny, even in the eighth century, and an increasingly elaborate burial kit by the tenth century may have provided the need for a specialist's continued practice. A ritual specialist would not only aid in building the tableau, as Geake, Dickinson, and Meaney suggest, but given the extent of internal planning seen in Chapter 2, might also have helped with the structure of the graveyard, whether at a

[223] On treating the body *mid gedreoge,* especially around the *licmenn*: Thompson, *Dying and Death*, 83: Ælfric's Pastoral Letter to Wulfsige of Sherborne, above.
[224] H. Geake, 'The Control of Burial Practice in Anglo-Saxon England,' in M. Carver (ed.), *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300–1300* (York, 2003), 259-269, at 261.

churchyard or a field cemetery like Adwick-le-Street, or perhaps, as raised in Chapter 4 by the picture of Abraham's burial, involved in its care.[225]

As in many traditional societies, Anglo-Saxon England appears to have had not only a tradition of caring for the body and setting it out in a manner worthy of its social station, even after conversion, but also of using both Christian and folk rites to ensure that the dead moved safely into the 'bosom of Abraham,' and that the living remained unharmed by any illness or ritual contamination that their dead left behind. The choices which the living made to achieve these two goals in the midst of their grief are evident in the archaeological remains of the treatment of their loved ones' bodies. We have already seen the danger posed by touching the dead, or by even being present at the point of death, and that the other dangerous aspect of the dead, as mentioned above, was that they might not remain dead; that in some unknowable way, they would come back to haunt the living from the places that they rested. All the same, dangerous bodies' inclusion in the cemeteries, as opposed to outside, shows that there was a cultural impetus to keeping people included within communities.

[225] T. Dickinson: 'An Anglo-Saxon "Cunning Woman" from Bidford-on-Avon,' in M. Carver (ed.) *In Search of Cult* (Woodbridge, 1993), 45-54 at 53; Meaney, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones*.

Conclusion: Community and belief

This project originated as an attempt to understand the diversity of minster burial practice, but has instead found itself grappling with the choices behind the multiplicity of funeral practices across the mid- and late Saxon period in minsters, field cemeteries, rural churchyards, and the occasional lonely interment. By analysing this project's database using the heuristic techniques of history, archaeology, anthropology, and statistics, these last four chapters, each dealing with a separate layer of the space in which the dead moved during the burial process, have highlighted different levels of communities visible through burial practices: the family, who choose to overlap their graves to be together; the village community, which chooses to include the poor or ill and the dangerous (with sharp iron, knives, and prone) in their midst; the region, in which the community travels or trades, and share the same custom of grave types; the religious community, which, in teaching about the Day of Judgement, leads the 'little community,' which perhaps even consist of lay monks, to engage in practices which co-mingle traditional belief with biblical concepts of redemption, to indicate readiness for the apocalypse and seek prayers which may help get them there. These patterns discovered by this thesis all reveal ways in which the concerns of the living affected the practices they used to bury their loved ones, motivated by a desire to preserve and display the identity and social persona of the deceased and to aid the soul of the newly departed.

The desire to protect the body from the earth and help the soul towards heaven obviously originally encompassed far more ritual than can be seen in the archaeological record, as was mentioned in Chapter 5 in the discussion of funerary activities which took place outside the

church. Nevertheless this heavenly goal is visible in this survey through practices such as placing young children in proximity to the church, through using grave types which kept the body 'clean' and away from the soil, and through using grave variations which might have possessed spiritually purificatory meaning.

At the centre of all these burial practices and the transformation within them lay the multi-faceted expression of identity. While identity has become a fashionable topic in recent years,[1] and some scholars have seen it as just a new term for 'ethnicity,' (not readily determined from material culture), identity is more than a geo-cultural ethnic construct. Identity is relational, and how one chooses to identify oneself is neutral until faced with opposition: religious v. lay, international v. local, northern v. southern. Until faced with either something different to oneself which raises awareness of one's own attributes or allegiance—a Danish immigrant in ninth-century York, for instance—or presented with a blank slate upon which one needs to self-define, one would just be who one was. In some sense, the grave is that blank slate upon which, as the deceased no longer speak for themselves, the treatment of the dead instead testified to their priorities, station, and allegiances. I would argue that the evidence of this survey supports the idea that the aspects of their former identities which rise to the foreground at the point of burial—social persona, kin-group, local village, religious network, regional area—depending upon the political or social moment.

The desire to preserve and display the social persona of the deceased in life was expressed through multiple aspects of burial practice in this survey: through choosing a suitable space

[1] See A. Maldonado and A. Russell, 'Introduction,' in E. Pierce *et al.* (eds.), *Creating Material Worlds: the uses of identity in archaeology* (Oxford, 2016) for a summary of some of the newer works.

in the graveyard and insisting upon rows or markers so that the grave stayed visible and memorable to the community; through choosing a burial form or container which reflected the wealth, local identity or social persona of the deceased; through use of a regional grave form which, even if done without deliberation, underlines belonging to the local community; through ornamentation of the body itself including, however rarely, personal objects such as combs and knives in the grave; and through preparing the body in such a manner, where possible, that the dead might have been dressed as well or better in the grave as when alive.

The changing importance of the kin-group identity, for instance, was manifested in the changing use of space, as discussed in Chapter 2. Some field cemeteries, such as Woodlands Adwick-le-Street, were obviously for family groups and might have served three generations without much intercutting; they passed in and out of use in conjunction with the shifting settlements. Once estate churches were granted burial rights and proliferated, and minsters became, in the words of Edgar's law, 'senior,' however, both types of cemeteries allowed increased intercutting, particularly in a manner which suggested that the goal was to keep the family together in the grave as in life.[2]

Vertical and horizontal social status —the station which a person occupied or wished to be identified as within their community or outside it—could find expression in the richness of grave goods, as is considered typical in the 'conspicuous consumption' of the early Anglo-Saxon period, but that is only one of many aspects of burial practice which reflected this. Despite the general assumption that grave goods disappeared from the burial after the 'Final Phase' cemeteries, ritual inclusions of objects such as knives continued to appear

[2] As discussed in chapter 1.

throughout the period in study and both they and certain burial types still point to the roles people may have held within the community, as discussed in Chapter 5. Whether bishop or princess, a burial which contained gold thread said something to the viewer at the funeral about how the deceased wished to be perceived, especially as the written evidence suggests that bishops chose their burial garments before death.[3] Also in Chapter 5, new evidence for colour in the grave shows that even shrouds may have been one of those vehicles for expressing earthly wealth, as much as expressing a token of belonging to the community of the church, especially when combined with grave types and variations which emphasised the deceased's status within the church or community. Although it is almost impossible historically to tell the difference between adoption of a practice because it was fashionable rather than because a person felt that it reflected a crucial aspect of their identity or social persona, the availability of objects was dictated by, and thus at least reflected, a person's location and their means. The effort required to produce several grave types, such as log coffin burials in southern Scotland, also indicates a targeted demonstration of wealth and power and aspirational social status, as discussed in Chapter 3. Similarly, study of the organisation of cemeteries as described in Chapter 2 suggests that the creation of graveyards associated with estate churches allowed local prominent personages the opportunity to recreate their local social structure within a ritual space which they somewhat managed in conjunction with their local clergy. The minority practice of differing placement by grave elaboration, social status, sex, and age suggests a larger organisational hand, whether conscious or unconsciously done as part of custom, which nevertheless offers clues to how the deceased fit into their local society.

[3] C.f. Dunstan.

The trickiest by far, however, has been to construct or determine regional identity and to interrogate how much regional identity influenced material culture. All identity is fluid, and the primary identifier shifts according to mood, situation, or in response to being placed in opposition to something else. Bede defined group relationships using Classical terminology of *gens,* and divided them by language; from his evidence, the material culture shifts in seventh- and eighth-century Northumbria and southern Scotland appear to have centred around whether the kings were partial to Ireland, or Canterbury and Rome. Settlement archaeology has demonstrated that sometimes even building methods changed to and fro when a region switched hands from one cultural and political power to another.[4] It cannot be determined how much a farmer might identify himself as a member of a region under a king opposed to the Mercians, or rather see himself as a tenant who just happened to owe rent to a thegn, or even as an individual who raised sheep in part of a valley. In the early Anglo-Saxon period some places, such as Godalming or Reading, were named with the root '*-ingas,*' suggesting the people who live there were someone's 'people.' For how many generations would someone self-identify in such a manner? Can the way in which a person decided to be buried really express such sentiments? The evidence of the regional distribution of burial types, and their slow spread across centuries, suggests that said farmer, above all, would identify as part of his locality, regardless of changing political boundaries, the establishment of newer burial spaces (from field to minster or to church), or available resources.

While the ordinary person many not consciously alter their habits in the face of a period of cultural or political transition, it is well established that transformation does not happen in a

[4] J. Blair, *Building Anglo-Saxon England*.

vacuum. Society modifies traditions to satisfy rational needs, 'at the very moment they appear,' and part of the comfort of these traditions and inventions is their appeal to familiarity.[5] Major upheaval within small communities such as the changing of land ownership through war or peace-making, the Benedictine reform (in some minsters), and even small things such as the opening of new trade routes may have caused minor shifts in the message which a family wished to convey about the deceased in death, or provided exposure to new symbolic language which would then be exploited to reinforce a desired social message. Williams speaks of early Anglo-Saxons creating spaces of the dead where the living can access ancestral memory in through the landscape and objects; this study demonstrates that the curation of cemeteries in the service of connecting the dead with the living, both in the moment of the funeral and after, continues.[6] This can only be fully explored with a combination of a further study of memory, materiality, and consciousness. This thesis, however has perhaps opened a path towards viewing burial practice not as merely an expression of local practice, or of religious identity, or of social rank, but also as an expression of the way in which ordinary people processed the changes which constituted a natural part of life year-by-year and era-by-era, and how what they saw altered their own perceptions of themselves.

[5] M. Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* (New York, 1980), 182.
[6] H. Williams, *Death and Memory;* Maldonado, 'Materialising the afterlife.'

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