

**POST-ROMAN BRITAIN TO ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND:
THE BURIAL EVIDENCE REVIEWED.**

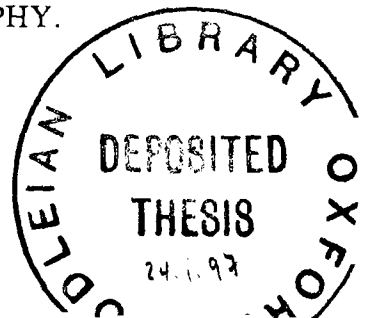
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VOLUME I : TEXT

THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

April, 1996



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THE BURIAL EVIDENCE REVIEWED.**

ABSTRACT

This thesis is the result of a decision to extend the approach used by me when examining Irish burial practices, to a review of the archaeological and documentary record for burial practices and associated phenomena in the transitional period from late/post-Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England.

The study considers burial rites; the method of disposal of physical remains, the position and orientation of bodies, and burial structures and enclosures: grave-goods are only referred to when they are pertinent to a particular line of argument.

My intention is to draw together the various aspects of burial of the Iron Age, Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon periods in order to look at the overall picture. Occasionally this may mean stating the obvious, but by noting and plotting distributions of various burial traits first in the Iron Age and Romano-British periods, and then comparing these traits with the Anglo-Saxon period some revealing results can be obtained. It was important to begin with the Iron Age since some minority practices current in the early Anglo-Saxon period had a continuous history from the pre-Roman period. They are of importance in demonstrating the continuities that existed alongside major changes.

To handle the great volume of material a computer database was compiled, into which details of post-Roman and Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were logged. The database was built around the information contained in A. Meaney's *Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (1964) updated using the short reports published annually in *Medieval*

Archaeology, together with published excavation reports and unpublished excavation notes generously provided by many people. Volume II contains a printout of a shortened version of the information contained in the database, together with an explanation of the format. When compiling bibliographical references for the database, references which have already been published in the *Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites*, that is references before 1964, are cited from that publication. References given as *Med. Arch.* with no author's name indicate the short reports published annually in that Journal. Other reports are cited individually.

Using the material in the database in conjunction with the computer programme Auto CAD it has been possible to produce original regional distribution maps for every site recorded. These are included in Volume III, and have been colour coded for ease of site-type recognition.

The quality of the information under review is extremely varied, and ranges from excellently excavated and recorded cemetery material, through hurried rescue excavations, to badly excavated and recorded material, accidental discoveries, and very inadequate records of discoveries made in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The inevitable bias of the discussion towards the well-excavated material may slightly distort the overall picture, but I believe that the results obtained have fully justified that risk

During the period 1000 to 300BC the inhabitants of Britain disposed of their dead in a manner which is invisible in an archaeological sense. At about 300BC the method of burial which emerged throughout the country was that of crouched inhumation usually oriented north-south; and practices which developed from this time and which were responsible for shaping burial rites into the Romano-British period are examined in

Chapter 1. A critical examination of cemeteries suggests conclusions about the particular Iron Age burial customs which survived into the Romano-British period, together with practices which developed in the later Romano-British period. Examples of the former include the use of square-ditched enclosures surrounding burials, chamber graves for high status burials, and the continuing rite of north-south crouched inhumation; and examples of the latter include the introduction of extended inhumation, the *post mortem* decapitation of corpses, and the use of wooden coffins.

For British Iron Age cemetery material I have drawn heavily on R. Whimster's *Burial Practices in Iron Age Britain* (1981) and other studies; and for the Romano-British period I have used R. Philpott's *Burial Practices in Roman Britain* (1991) supplemented by other works.

The influence of Britain on burial practices in Ireland during the first to fourth centuries is examined at the end of Chapter 1. This is a significant part of the total picture because of the probable influence of Irish missionaries at a later date. The thesis argues that burial practice in Ireland was influenced by Britain in the Roman period, but that the direction of influence was generally, but not entirely, reversed in the seventh century.

It can be demonstrated that burial practices established by the late fourth century in Britain remained unchanged throughout subsequent centuries in cemeteries in those parts of Britain which were not influenced by Anglo-Saxon incursions until at least the seventh century. However in some regions a complete absence of burial of any type between the Bronze Age and the seventh century, notably around the Welsh marches and the north-west and north-east of Britain, suggests that in these areas the older 'invisible' Iron Age tradition still prevailed.

Aspects of post-Roman burial examined include the use of square-ditched enclosures in north Wales and south Scotland; and possible connections between Iron Age Arras burials in Yorkshire and Scotland are discussed, together with other connections between Scotland and north Wales. Focal graves and special graves within cemeteries are also considered. There is a general lack of grave-goods in this era, but where these are present and include jewellery, this usually consists of one brooch in the shoulder area, a trait observable in the Iron Age and Romano-British period, and one which can help identify possible Britons in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

In order to place outside influences on Anglo-Saxon burial practices into perspective, especially in the seventh century, the importance of the historical background to relationships between Ireland, Anglo-Saxon England and Gaul in that period is examined in Chapter 3. This includes an examination of the influence of the Irish monks of Iona on the conversion of Northumbria, the Midlands and Essex. The presence of English clerics in Ireland and their continuing contacts with their homeland is also a factor, as is the influence of Fursa and Columbanian trained clerics from the Continent, on East Anglia. Place-names in Ireland which suggest an Anglo-Saxon presence are also considered.

References to death, burial and associated phenomena which appear in Irish and English hagiography, penitentials and canons in the seventh and eighth centuries can provide an invaluable insight into practices which prevailed during this period. With this in mind I have discussed information regarding death and burial contained in the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, a collection of canons written by two Irish clerics, one from the south of Ireland and the other from Iona in the early eighth century. This collection includes material dating to the seventh century with which the Irish missionaries in

England and English clerics residing in Ireland would have been familiar. These canons reflect attitudes to burial in ancestral burial places versus burial in ecclesiastical cemeteries, and to the emerging cult of the translation of corporeal relics. The hagiography suggests that burial in a shroud rather than in normal clothing was the practice recommended by early Irish churchmen. The language used points to deliberate imitation of Christ's burial. Other sources used deal with prehistoric burial mounds, grave robbing, the continuing use of pagan practices, mutilation of bodies such as decapitation and replacing the head in an incorrect anatomical position, funeral feasts, and sentinel warrior burials.

The main chapter in this thesis, Chapter 5, deals in detail with burial in Early Anglo-Saxon England. For the purpose of this study each territorial region is dealt with individually. Burials for each region are listed in tables included under the appropriate regional heading and are colour-coded on regional distribution maps. Details of different aspects of burial practices are outlined in the text. For example, the burial evidence suggests that the Anglo-Saxon presence in Bernicia, including such well-known sites as Yeavering, and in Elmet in the fifth, sixth and early seventh centuries was minimal. In regions with stronger Anglo-Saxon burial traditions the indigenous presence appears as a small minority, usually represented by unaccompanied crouched or extended burials, or burials accompanied by one penannular brooch.

While many indigenous people had therefore, probably adopted Anglo-Saxon dress and traditions, including burial rites, many may still have retained knowledge of some ancient traditions. In specific regions, practices attested earlier in Britain such as the use of chamber graves and decapitate burial, survived or re-emerged. The continuation of such earlier British practices within cemeteries characterised by grave-goods constitutes

an archaeological argument for an historical thesis, namely that Britons survived to an extent under Anglo-Saxon rule and that they adopted Anglo-Saxon practices such as clothed burial.

Artifacts with enamelling and sometimes millefiori, especially in Lindsey, Mercia, Middle Anglia and Wessex, demonstrate contacts with British craftsmen or workshops.

The re-use for burial purposes of prehistoric burial monuments and the construction of imitative monuments, probably as a means of legitimising claims to sovereignty by creating links with the ancestors of the indigenous population, is evident to a greater or lesser degree in all regions.

The identification of several possible seventh-century warrior sentinel burials, armed in their graves and facing towards possible aggressors in border areas, particularly in Mercia, Middle Anglia, Sussex, and Wessex, may reflect the defence of the borders of these kingdoms and the necessity for rulers to maintain control over their territory.

The large concentration of penannular ditched enclosures around burials in Kent and south-east England is addressed, and a possible source for this type of monument in Merovingian Gaul is suggested.

Possible Anglo-Saxon burials in Ireland are considered in Chapter 6. These burials are likely to represent those Anglo-Saxons who perhaps lived and died among the local secular communities rather than the clerics and nobles referred to by Bede and Aldhelm who, if they died in Ireland, would most likely have been buried at monastic cemeteries few of which are available for excavation.

By the eighth/ninth century burial rites in England had completed a full circle with the restoration of burials rites (ironically probably re-introduced by 'Celtic' missionaries) which had prevailed in the late and post-Roman period.

PREFACE

'The distinctive burial rites of different societies or cultures do not change easily. Some changes will naturally evolve over a period of time, but sudden or marked changes are more likely to be the result of overwhelmingly intrusive elements entering that culture or society. Consequently "...funerary customs might be expected to provide some of the most valuable and reliable indices of cultural continuity or change..."'.

This was the criterion used by me in 1984 when examining Irish burial practices from the first to the seventh century AD.¹ This thesis is the result of a decision to extend the same approach to a review of the archaeological and documentary record for burial practices and associated phenomena in England in the transitional period from late/post-Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England. While the review of the burial evidence is a primary aim in itself and forms the main component of this thesis, a further important aspect is a consideration of the relationships and interaction between Ireland, Britain and Gaul during the period, especially when such relationships can be shown to have influenced burial practices.

In recent years many theses, books and articles have been produced dealing with individual aspects of Iron Age, Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and burials, but my intention is to draw the strands together to look at the overall picture. Occasionally this may mean stating the obvious, but by noting and plotting distribution of various burial traits in the Iron Age and Romano-British periods, and then comparing these with similar traits in the later Anglo-Saxon period some revealing results can be

¹ E. O'Brien, 'Late Prehistoric - Early Historic Ireland: The Burial Evidence Reviewed', a thesis submitted as part of the requirement for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Irish Studies, to the Departments of Archaeology and Early Irish History, University College Dublin. (hereafter O'Brien, 'Burial Evidence')

obtained.

This study considers burial rites: the method of disposal of physical remains, the position and orientation of bodies, and burial structures and enclosures: grave-goods are only referred to when they are pertinent to a particular line of argument.

To handle the great volume of material a computer database was compiled, into which details of post-Roman and Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were logged. The database was built around the information contained in A. Meaney's *Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (1964), updated using the short reports published annually in *Medieval Archaeology*, together with published excavation reports and unpublished excavation notes generously provided by many people. Volume II contains a printout of selected information contained in the database, together with an explanation of the format.

The quality of the information is extremely varied, and ranges from excellently excavated and recorded cemetery material, through hurried rescue excavation, to badly excavated and recorded material, accidental discoveries, and very inadequate records of discoveries made in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The inevitable bias of the discussion towards the well-excavated material may slightly distort the overall picture, but I believe that the results obtained have fully justified that risk.

Using the material in the database in conjunction with the computer programme Auto CAD, it has been possible to produce original regional distribution maps for every site recorded. This procedure has also made it possible to compare distributions of distinctive burial traits or customs in different periods: it can now be seen, for instance, that the distribution of chamber graves changes little from the Iron Age to the Anglo-Saxon period, and a similar pattern in the distribution of decapitate burials in which the heads were replaced, is observable across the Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon periods.

Such results suggest that certain practices continued to be observed in some areas despite apparent changes in the cultural affinities of the population.

A further aspect of this thesis has been to examine early-medieval and later literary references to burial practices in order to fill-in the background and to try to understand the rationale behind some of these practices. While much of the early literary material used is Irish its use with relation to English burial practices can be justified on the basis of the close contacts both secular and ecclesiastical which existed between Ireland and England, especially in the seventh century.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I must first acknowledge my indebtedness and gratitude to archaeological friends and colleagues who have so generously provided me with unpublished information about their excavations, each one of which is acknowledged individually at the appropriate point in the text. Thanks are also due to Lynn Lancaster and Tyler Bell in Oxford for assistance in mastering and setting up the mapping system on Auto CAD and to James Cosgrave in Dublin for his invaluable assistance in producing the distribution maps. I am grateful to Andy Boddington for providing the basis on which to establish the database, and to Dr. Frances White for her assistance in the final production of the bibliography. I thank the Director of the National Museum of Ireland for permission to consult the sites and monuments archive, and the staff of the antiquities division for their unstinting help at all times.

I am deeply grateful to my supervisors Drs. John Blair and Thomas Charles-Edwards, Oxford, for their constant support, guidance, patience and advice throughout the gestation period of this thesis. Special thanks to my friend Dr. Helen Conrad-O Briain in Dublin whose help by reading, commenting on and discussing early drafts has been invaluable.

Finally I wish to express my gratitude to my husband Eamon for his constant support and encouragement, which has never flagged, and without which this study could not have been undertaken.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Arch. Cant.</i>	Archaeologia Cantiana
<i>Antiq.</i>	Antiquity
<i>Antiq. J.</i>	Antiquaries Journal
<i>Arch. Ael.</i>	Archaeologia Aeliana
<i>Arch. Camb.</i>	Archaeologia Cambrensis
<i>Arch. J.</i>	Archaeological Journal
<i>ASC</i>	The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle
<i>ASSAH</i>	Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History
<i>AU</i>	The Annals of Ulster (to AD 1131)
<i>B.A.R.</i>	British Archaeological Records
<i>C.B.A.</i>	Council for British Archaeology
<i>DNHAS</i>	Dorset Natural History and Archaeology Society
<i>EAA</i>	East Anglian Archaeology
<i>HE</i>	Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People
<i>Hibernensis</i>	Collectio Canonum Hibernensis
<i>I.A.P.A.</i>	Irish Association of Professional Archaeologists
<i>JBBA</i>	Journal British Archaeological Association
<i>JRSAI</i>	Journal Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
<i>Laws</i>	The Laws of the Earliest Kings
<i>Oxon.</i>	Oxoniensia
<i>PCAS</i>	Proceedings of the Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society
<i>Peritia</i>	Journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland
<i>PPS</i>	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society
<i>PRIA</i>	Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy
<i>PSANHS</i>	Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeology and Natural History Society
<i>PSAS</i>	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
<i>TAAS</i>	Transactions Anglesey Antiquarian Society
<i>TEAS</i>	Transactions Essex Archaeological Society
<i>TSAS</i>	Transactions Shropshire Archaeological Society
<i>UJA</i>	Ulster Journal of Archaeology

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CHAPTER 1

IRON AGE AND ROMANO-BRITISH BURIAL PRACTICES IN BRITAIN

One of the aims of this thesis is to add a further strand to the ongoing debate regarding the strength of the British presence in Anglo-Saxon England.¹ In order to do this it is necessary to isolate particular Iron Age and Romano-British burial practices which can be seen to have patterns in common with burials in some early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and which will become pertinent when endeavouring in Chapter 5 to identify an indigenous native presence among those buried in these cemeteries.

Iron Age burials:

Whimster,² describing the emergence of regional inhumation traditions in Britain during the late fourth or third centuries BC, comments:

‘...their one outstanding characteristic was their universal preference for burial in a crouched position with the head directed to the north... [which] would seem to denote the existence of an exceptionally powerful and influential body of common tradition...’.

This ‘common tradition’ is attributed by him to the survival of an older, hitherto invisible, method of disposal of the dead, which became visible with the introduction, or re-introduction, of interment in recognisable funerary contexts during the Iron Age in some parts of Britain.

¹ For the current state of the debate see M. Faull, ‘British Survival in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria’, in L. Laing (ed.) *Studies in Celtic Survival*, B.A.R. 37 (Oxford, 1977), pp. 1-55; S.M. Hirst, *An Anglo-Saxon Inhumation Cemetery at Sewerby East Yorkshire* (York, 1985); M. Carver, ‘Kingship and material culture in early Anglo-Saxon East Anglia’, in S. Bassett (ed.) *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester, 1991), pp. 141-158; K. Pretty, ‘Defining the Magonsaete’, *ibid.*, pp. 171-183; B. Eagles, ‘Lindsey’, *ibid.*, pp. 202-212; D. Dumville, ‘The Origins of Northumbria: some aspects of the British background’, *ibid.*, pp. 213-222; M. Gelling, ‘Why aren’t we speaking Welsh?’, *ASSAH* 6 (Oxford, 1993), pp. 51-6; A.S. Esmonde Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain* (London, 1989), pp. 188-205.

² R. Whimster, *Burial Practices in Iron Age Britain*, B.A.R. 90 (Oxford, 1981), p. 194 (hereafter Whimster, *Burials*).

It is possible that one method of disposal of the dead in the older, late Bronze Age, tradition was the deposition of bodies on purpose-built platforms, or in disused granaries on platforms mounted on four (or six)-poster foundations.¹ Parts of disarticulated human bodies are often discovered in Iron Age settlement sites: for instance, at Beckford (Hereford & Worcester) 38 deposits of disarticulated human bone were recovered together with 49 recognisable articulated burials and one cremation.² Abandonment of the dead was perhaps another option.³ A further possibility is that in some parts of Britain, the dead were cremated and their remains scattered.

TABLE 1

Iron Age burials

KEY: Column headings: cb = crouched burial; ex = extended; pr = prone; ml = multiple; cr = cremation; ch = chamber-grave; en = enclosure; gg = grave-goods; n = no grave-goods.
Column content: c = certain; a = absent; - = unrecorded; r = rectilinear; pn = penannular; cir = circular

Site location	cb	ex	pr	ml	cr	ch	en	gg	n
Beckford, Here/Worc.	c	c	-	-	a	a	r	-	c
Bradstow School, Broadstairs, Kent	c	a	-	a	a	a	a	-	c
Deal, Kent	c	c	c	-	c	a	-	c	c

¹ D.W. Harding, *The Iron Age in Lowland Britain* (London, 1974), p. 116 (hereafter Harding *Lowland*)

² For further discussion regarding disarticulated remains see G.A. Wait, *Ritual and Religion in Iron Age Britain*, B.A.R. 149, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1985), chapt. 4 (hereafter Wait, *Ritual*); information regarding the cemetery at Beckford is compiled from an unpublished paper delivered by Jan Wills entitled 'The Cemetery at Beckford', at a conference 'Burial Archaeology' at the University of Bradford, May, 1988, and an unpublished paper entitled 'Beckford, Human Skeletal Report', prepared by C.A. Roberts, Calvin Wells Laboratory, University of Bradford. Permission has kindly been granted by Dr. Roberts to refer to this material (hereafter Wills and Roberts, 'Beckford').

³ Among the Australian aborigines, for example, abandonment is one of many forms of disposal of the dead: see P. Ucko, 'Ethnography and archaeological interpretation of funerary remains', *World Archaeology* 1 (1969), p. 270.

Site location	cb	ex	pr	ml	cr	ch	en	gg	n
Dryburn Bridge, E. Lothian	c	a	-	-	a	a	-	a	c
Broxmouth, E. Lothian	c	a	-	a	a	a	a	a	c
Harlyn Bay, Cornwall	c	-	-	c	a	a	a	c	c
Trethellan Farm, Newquay	c	a	-	c	a	a	a	c	c
Makeshift-Rudston, Nth. York	c	c	c	c	a	-	r	c	c
Garton Station, N. Yorks	c	-	-	c	-	c	r pn	c	c
Kirkham, N. Yorks	c	-	c	c	-	c	r pn	c	c
Burton Fleming, N. Yorks	c	c	c	c	-	-	r pn	c	c
King Harry Lane, Verulamium	-	c	-	-	c	a	r	c	c
Snells Corner, Horndean, Herts.	c	c	-	-	-	a	-	-	-
Boysack Mills, Angus	a	c	a	a	a	a	r	c	-
Wilbury Hill, Herts.	c	a	c	-	-	a	-	-	-
Irechester, Northants	c	a	c	--	-	a	-	-	-
Beadnell, Northumbria	c	a	-	c	-	a	-	-	-
Lochend, Dunbar	c	a	-	c	-	a	-	-	a
Nth. Belton Farm, Dunbar	c	a	-	c	a	a	a	-	c
Ackergill, Caithness	c	a	a	c	a	a	a	-	-
Acharn, Morvern, Argyll	a	a	a	a	c	a	a	a	a
Plas Gogerddan, Dyfed	c	a	a	a	c	a	cir	a	c
Birdlip, Glos.	a	c	a	a	a	a	a	c	-
Camelon, Stirling	c	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	c
Lexdon, Colchester	a	a	a	a	c	c	-	c	-
Colchester,	a	a	a	a	c	c	r	c	a
Hertford Heath, Herts	a	a	a	a	c	c	r	c	-
Folly Lane, Verulamium	a	a	a	a	c	c	r	c	-
Puddle Hill, Beds.	a	c	-	-	c	-	r	c	c
Tower St. Winchester	a	a	a	a	c	-	pn	-	c
Roughground Farm, Lechlade, Oxon.	c	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	c

Crouched Inhumation

Iron Age.

Crouched burials, with the head towards the north, are found deposited in rubbish pits, enclosure ditches and hillfort ramparts, mainly in south, south-east, and occasionally north-east Britain. This method of burial which emerged in the fourth-third century BC, continued into the early first century AD. A major characteristic of this group is the general absence of grave goods, although there are some exceptions.¹ Among early examples, a crouched burial from the Iron Age levels in Deal (Kent) produced a radiocarbon determination of $ca\ 440\pm60BC$ (HAR-8444),² and one of two crouched burials at Roughground Farm, Lechlade (Glos) produced a radiocarbon date calibrated at 1 sigma to 350-40 BC (HAR-5502).³ At East Lothian in north-east Britain, crouched inhumations at two sites, Dryburn Bridge and Broxmouth Hillfort, have produced uncalibrated radiocarbon determinations between the seventh and second centuries BC.⁴ In Durotrigian territory, along the southern coast of Dorset, crouched burials in cemeteries of earth-dug graves emerged as the standard burial rite during the later first century BC,⁵ and the advent of cemeteries at about the same time may be regarded as

¹ Whimster, *Burials*, pp. 16, 191-2

² K. Parfitt, 'Excavations at Mill Hill, Deal', *Kent Archaeological Review* (Autumn - 1990), p.11, and 'Deal', *Current Archaeology*, 125 (1991), pp. 215-220 (hereafter Parfitt, 'Deal', 1990, and Parfitt, 'Deal', 1991).

³ T.G. Allen, T.C. Darvill, L.S. Green, M.U. Jones *Excavations at Roughground Farm, Lechlade, Gloucestershire: A prehistoric and Roman landscape* pp. 36, 45, 46. (hereafter Allen et al., *Roughground Farm*).

⁴ J. Close-Brooks, 'Pictish and other Burials', in J.C.P. Friell and W.G. Watson. (eds.), *Pictish Studies*, B.A.R. 125 (Oxford, 1984), pp.87-9, 108 (hereafter Close-Brooks, 'Pictish').

⁵ At Poundbury (Dorset), 67 crouched inhumation burials (including 31 children), were recorded from the Iron Age levels. D.E. Farwell, and T.I. Molleson, *The Excavations at Poundbury. The Cemeteries*. vol.2 (Dorchester, 1993), pp. 6-13 (hereafter Farwell & Molleson, *Poundbury*).

a logical step in the formalisation of the disposal of the dead.

Cemeteries with crouched burials in stone or slab-lined cist-like graves are concentrated mainly in the territory of the Domnonii in South Devon, Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly, the best recorded cemetery being that at Harlyn Bay,¹ where the majority of the burials were without grave goods. The exceptions indicated a date range during the later centuries of the pre-Roman Iron Age.

A deviation from the cist tradition in Cornwall is the site at Trethellan Farm, Newquay, where recent excavation revealed 21 unprotected dug graves containing crouched inhumation, heads north.² In every other respect the burials were similar to other Cornish examples, and are dated from the second/first centuries BC. to the first century AD. In the north-east region of Britain, cist burials with crouched and flexed inhumations in East Lothian and Berwickshire are dated from the first to the third centuries AD.³

By far the most extensive regional burial group is represented by 'Arras'-culture inhumations in Eastern Yorkshire (fig. 1), with large cemeteries distinguished by burials within square, and occasionally circular, barrow ditches. This presence of square barrows and vehicle burials indicates an intrusive La Tène cultural element, but the crouched position of the burials, with heads mainly to the north, suggests use by the indigenous population since the burial position in the region in mainland Europe where

¹ Whimster, *Burials*, pp. 60-69.

² J.A. Nowakowski, 'Trethellan Farm, Newquay', *Cornish Archaeology*, 30 (1991), pp. 210, 229 (hereafter Nowakowski, 'Trethellan').

³ B.A. Crone, 'An Iron Age Cist at North Belton Farm, Dunbar', *PSAS* 122 (1992), pp. 161-70 (hereafter Crone, 'North Belton Farm').

the La Tène culture originated was extended supine inhumation.¹ Arras-type burial first appeared in the Yorkshire region in the fourth century BC, but seems to have waned in the first century BC, except at the Makeshift-Rudston and Kirkburn cemeteries where radiocarbon determinations indicate continued use up to possibly the end of the first/early second century AD.²

TABLE 2

Romano-British burials

KEY: Column headings: cb = crouched burial; ex = extended; pr = prone; dc = decapitate; ml = multiple; cr = cremation; sl = stone-lined; ch = chamber; en = enclosure; gg = grave-goods; n = no grave-goods.
Column content: c = certain; p = possible; a = absent; - = unrecorded; r = rectilinear; pn = penannular; cir = circular.

Site location	cb	ex	pr	dc	ml	cr	sl	ch	en	gg	n
London	c	c	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-	c
Beckford, Her/Wor	c	c	-	c	-	-	-	-	r	c	c
Poundbury, Dorset	c	c	c	-	c	a	c	p	r	c	c
Trentholme Drive, York	c	c	c	p	p	a	c	a	a	c	c
Little Spittle, Ilchester	c	c	c	c	c	a	-	-	-	c	c
Townsend Close, Ilchester	c	c	-	-	-	a	-	a	-	c	c
Bathgate, Cirencester	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	-	-	c	c
Queenford Farm, Dorchester, Oxon.	c	c	c	a	c	a	a	a	r	-	c
Cannington, Som.	c	c	-	a	-	a	c	a	r cir	c	c
Castle Yard, York.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lankhills, Hants.	-	c	c	c	c	c	c	-	r	c	c
Skeleton Green, Herts	-	c	-	-	-	a	-	-	r	-	c

¹ Whimster *Burials*, pp. 96-99; I.M. Stead, *Iron Age Cemeteries in East Yorkshire* (London, 1991), p. 35 (hereafter Stead, *Cemeteries*).

² Stead, *Cemeteries*, p. 169.

Site location	cb	ex	pr	dc	ml	cr	sl	ch	en	gg	n
Stanton Harcourt, Oxon	-	c	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
Radley, Berks.	-	c	c	c	-	-	-	-	r	-	c
Cassington, Oxon.	-	c	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
Stretton-on-Fosse, Warw.	a	c	c	c	-	a	c	-	-	c	c
Bradley Hill, Som.	a	c	-	-	-	a	c	a	r	c	c
Kelvedon, Essex	a	c	-	-	-	a	-	c	pn	c	c
Shepton Mallet, Som.	a	c	c	-	-	a	-	-	r	c	c
Morton Walk, Sth. Shields	a	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	c
Dunstable, Beds.	a	c	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	c
Racecourse, Derby	-	c	c	c	-	c	-	-	-	c	c
Guilden Morden, Cambs.	-	c	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	c
Dales Rd. Ipswich	-	c	-	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
Cornwall Rd. Dorchester	-	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-	c
King Harry Lane, Hants	-	c	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	c	c
Butt Rd. Colchester	-	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	c	c
Holgate Bridge, York	-	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-
Wells Cathedral, Som.	a	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	c
Burntwood Farm, Martyr Worthy,	-	c	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-
Andover, Hants	-	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	c	-
Roughground Farm, Lechlade,	-	c	c	c	c	-	-	-	-	c	c

Romano-British

Crouched burials without grave goods, among the earliest inhumations in the Roman cemeteries around London, are dated from about AD100.¹ In the early Roman levels

¹ G. Evan and S. Pierpoint, 'Divers Coffins and the Bones of Men', *The London Archaeologist*, vol. 5, no.8, p. 206.

at Beckford (Hereford & Worcester),¹ four out of eight burials were crouched with heads to the north, and two were flexed, heads south, whereas in the later Roman levels at the same site, only one burial, out of 13, was crouched, head north, and was accompanied by hobnails and animal bone. This is the pattern which is apparent in other cemeteries: for example, all 67 inhumation burials recorded from the mid first/early second century levels at Poundbury (Dorset) were crouched or contracted, whereas in the late Roman levels only c. 12 of nearly 1400 burials were crouched.² While adults were generally in an extended position at the Romano-British cemetery at Trentholme Drive, York,³ the majority of children and adolescents were buried in crouched positions.

Crouched or flexed burials at other late Roman cemeteries can be quantified as follows: three of 42 at Little Spittle, Ilchester; three of 18 at Townsend Close, Ilchester; 36 of 45 at Bath Gate, Cirencester; three of 164 at Queenford Farm, Dorchester-on-Thames; and one (under a mound) out of 24 burials at the Southern Counties Agricultural Trading Society premises in Winchester.⁴ At Cannington (Somerset)⁵ one of three

¹ Wills and Roberts, 'Beckford'.

² Farwell and Molleson, *Poundbury* pp. 13, 32, 83.

³ L.P. Wenham, *The Romano-British Cemetery at Trentholme Drive, York* (London, 1968), p. 38 (hereafter Wenham, *York*).

⁴ A large proportion of these late Roman crouched or flexed burials were either neonates or very young children. Refs: G. Clarke, *The Roman Cemetery at Lankhills* (Oxford, 1979), table 2 (hereafter Clarke, *Lankhills*); P. Leach, *Ilchester*, vol.1, 'Excavations 1974-1975' (Bristol, 1982), pp. 88, 102 (hereafter Leach, *Ilchester*); A. McWhirr, *Romano-British Cemeteries at Cirencester* (Cirencester 1982), p.84, table 7 (hereafter McWhirr, *Bath Gate*); R.A. Chambers, 'The Late and Sub-Roman Cemetery at Queenford Farm, Dorchester-on-Thames, Oxon.', *Oxoniensia*, 52 (1987), pp. 41-63 (hereafter Chambers, 'Queenford Farm'); Clarke, *Lankhills*, pp. 6-7.

⁵ Cannington was excavated by Philip Rahtz in 1962-3. I wish to thank Ms. S. Hirst and Professor Rahtz for permission to consult and refer to their, as yet, unpublished notes and drawings (hereafter Hirst, 'Cannington'). At this site a series of radiocarbon determinations were obtained for 26 burials, which when calibrated cover the period from the second to the twelfth century, but probably centre on third/fourth to eighth/ninth century. As these have not yet been published by the excavators I shall not elaborate on laboratory numbers etc. and shall refer only to the calibrated dates at 2 sigma range.

crouched/flexed burials among a total of 524 gave a radiocarbon date (HAR-6256) which calibrated at 2 sigma to AD380-660. Crouched burials of the Roman period have been recovered in cists at Castle Yard, York (Nth. Yorks), Langton (Nth. Yorks), Wyke Regis, Weymouth (Dorset), Westonzoyland (Somerset), and Camelon (Stirlingshire); and in unprotected contexts at Malton (Nth. Yorks), Langton Road, Norton (Nth. Yorks), and Welton Wold (Humberside).¹ It is notable that all these sites lie on the fringes of Roman Britain.

It is thus clear that while the prevailing Iron Age-Early Roman rite of crouched/flexed inhumation persisted into the third/fourth century, it was by then being superseded by extended supine inhumation, especially in cemeteries near Roman centres of population. The later crouched burials just discussed might represent conservative or reactionary groups within the Romanised community, who continued to use ancient burial rites up to and beyond the fourth century.

Extended Inhumation

Iron Age

In Southern Britain, extended inhumation burial first appeared in the second-first centuries BC. At Deal (Kent)² an extended inhumation with particularly fine grave goods is dated to La Tène II, that is, the second century BC, and at the same site, a group of 28 extended inhumations are dated by brooches to the La Tène II and III period, (second and first centuries BC). In the Iron Age levels in the King Harry Lane cemetery

¹ R. Philpott, *Burial Practices in Roman Britain*, B.A.R. 219 (Oxford, 1991), pp. 56, 71, 295, 298 (hereafter Philpott, *Practices*).

² Parfitt, 'Deal', 1990, p. 11; and Parfitt, 'Deal', 1991, pp. 215-220.

at Verulamium,¹ 17 extended inhumation burials in unprotected dug graves, orientated north-south and south-north, recovered from among 454 cremation burials, all fall within the later Iron Age period, AD 1-60, with possible sporadic use after this date until perhaps the second century. Two crouched and three extended Iron Age burials in dug graves beneath Anglo-Saxon burials at Snells Corner, near Horndean (Hampshire)² demonstrate contemporaneity of crouched and extended burial practices in the immediate pre-Roman period.

The rite of extended inhumation was introduced in the later phases of the 'Arras'-culture cemeteries in East Yorkshire. At Makeshift-Rudston and at Burton-Fleming extended inhumations, orientated east-west and west-east, are dated to the first century AD.³

Extended inhumations within square ditched graves appeared on the east coast of Scotland in the first or second centuries AD, and an extended burial at Boysack Mills, (Angus)⁴ has been dated to the first/third century AD.

Romano-British

The rite of inhumation was adopted in the Roman world in the second century AD, and as a result of the ritual of laying out and waking the dead the body remained in a

¹ I.M. Stead and V. Rigby, *Verulamium The King Harry Lane Site* (London, 1989), pp. 81, 274-397; (hereafter Stead & Rigby, *King Harry Lane*).

² G.M. Knocker, 'Early Burials and an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Snell's Corner, near Horndean, Hampshire', *Hampshire Field Club and Arch. Soc.*, 19 (1955), p.124.

³ Stead, *Cemeteries*, pp. 35, 179-184; Whimster, *Burials*, p.103.

⁴ Close-Brooks, 'Pictish', pp. 91-4.

extended position for burial.¹ In Britain, while crouched or flexed inhumation continued to be used by the native, non-cremating, population, it was gradually superseded by extended inhumation, especially in cemeteries near centres of Roman influence, from about the second century. The clearest indications of this gradual change can be seen at Poundbury: crouched inhumation continued to be used in early Roman phase III, but in phase IVA (late second to early fourth century) extended inhumation had been introduced, and by phase IVB (fourth century) extended inhumation had become the predominant rite.

Orientation

Iron Age

Throughout the Iron Age the most favoured alignment for burial was north-south (head north), or south-north (head south). West-east (head west), orientation was introduced, together with extended inhumation, towards the end of the period, but did not become widespread until about the fourth century, under Roman influence.

Romano-British

TABLE 3

Burial orientation in Late Romano-British cemeteries.

Site Location	N-S	S-N	W-E	E-W
Poundbury, Dor. Site C	1	-	100	-
Poundbury, " East periph. cem.	15	35	18	3
Poundbury, " Nth. periph. cem.	7	5	8	10

¹ See J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (London, 1971), p. 44.

Site Location	N-S	S-N	W-E	E-W
Poundbury, " Late R. periph.cem.	2	5	27	-
Poundbury, " Main Late Rom.cem.	-	-	1114	-
Lankhill, Hants.	12	-	376	15
Cannington, Dorset	2	4	299	-
9 Clare St. London	1	-	1	-
43 Cornwall Rd. Dorchester, Dor.	1	1	-	-
Beckford, H & W. Late-Roman levels	12	-	-	1
St. Bartholomew's Hosp. London	-	-	19	1
Townsend Close, Ilchester, Som.	9	4	-	1
Little Spittle, Ilchester, Som.	37	2	1	-
Skeleton Green, Herts.	-	5	-	-
Bath Gate, Cirencester, Glos.	104	181	67	30
Southwark, London	-	-	1	1
Stanton Harcourt, Oxon.	26	8	-	-
Radley, Berks.	38	-	9	-
Cassington, Oxon.	18	17	7	5
Stretton-on-Fosse, Warw.	17	-	50	-
Queenford Farm, Oxon.	-	-	100	2
Bradley Hill, Som.	2	-	46	-
Kelvedon, Essex	15?	-	45	-
Shepton Mallet, Som. West cem.	7	-	-	-
" " " East cem.	6	-	-	-
" " " Central cem.	-	-	15	-
Morton Walk, Sth. Shields.	4	-	-	-
Totals	336	267	2303	69

A breakdown of a total of 2975 late Roman extended burials contained in a sample survey¹ of 21 cemeteries where orientation could be established, indicates a

¹ This survey is not intended to be an exhaustive study, the sites in the sample were chosen on the basis of available information, in order to gain an impression of orientation trends.

predominance of west-east orientated burials, that is, 11.3% had heads to the north, 9% to the south, 77.4% to the west, and 2.3% to the east. However, the picture throughout the country in general may be being distorted by the inclusion of the large organised cemeteries of Poundbury, Lankhills and Cannington. The removal of these cemeteries from the survey produces quite different results. Of a total of 917 burials, 32.4% had heads to the north, 23.8% to the south, 39.3% to the west, and 4.5% to the east, with the combined totals of N-S, and S-N burials at 56.2% outweighing the W-E total of 39.3%. This sample clearly demonstrates that while west-east burial is the majority rite in areas which have large organised Roman cemeteries, closer scrutiny of smaller cemeteries, even when these are located close to Roman administrative centres such as Cirencester, Ilchester and London, indicates that the older native alignment seems to prevail. Where N-S or S-N burials occur in the larger cemeteries, these are often peripheral to the main burial area: like the occasional instances of crouched burial, they suggest the survival of strands of older native practices even in otherwise highly Romanised areas. They may even represent resolute pagans among Christian, or nominally Christian, burials, or maybe the movement of rural people towards urban centres of population.

The almost equal proportions of those using N-S and S-N burial is a factor which should be borne in mind when examining possible Romano-British burials in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. East-west burial is a minority rite in all cemeteries in the sample. It would appear, therefore, that the generally received wisdom that west-east burial had become the statistical norm in Roman Britain by the late fourth century needs to be reassessed.

Prone burial

Deliberate prone burial is a minority rite in any society, with only a few instances ever recorded from any one cemetery. It is normally understood as an expression of disapproval, or punishment, or a means to prevent a person who was feared in life, or who suffered an unnatural death, from returning to haunt the living. Pippin the Short (died AD768) was buried prone as an act of penitence for the sins of his father.¹

Certain criteria must be observed in order to distinguish between burials which were deliberately laid prone, and those which accidentally become so.

Iron Age.

Iron Age crouched burials laid resting on their side or back, with the hands in front of the body and the knees drawn up, will not accidentally roll over onto their front. This could potentially happen to a corpse raised above the floor of the grave on a bier which subsequently decayed, causing the burial to change position, but in the burials considered here there is no evidence for this occurrence. In a crouched prone burial the head may face to one side, but often will face towards the floor of the grave. It may be taken that extended inhumations which are found facing entirely to the floor of the grave have been deliberately laid prone.

One of the two Iron-Age crouched burials at Roughground Farm, Lechlade, a male aged 30-35 years, N-S, was prone.² In the 'Arras' complex in Nth. Yorks, five crouched and two extended prone burials were recorded among a total of 208 graves at

¹ B.K. Young, 'Merovingian Funeral Rites and the Evolution of Christianity: A Study in the Historical Interpretation of Archaeological Material', Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1975.

² Allen et.al. *Roughground Farm* p. 45

Rudston: where it was possible to identify gender, these were four male, two of which were accompanied by swords dating to the first century AD, and one female. At Burton Fleming, two crouched prone burials, both female, were recorded among a total of 64 burials. At Kirkham, one N-S contracted female burial was prone. The earliest of these burials may be a crouched male at Rudston, possibly in a coffin, with a La Tène I iron brooch.

The earliest recorded Iron Age prone burials in southern Britain were in a late pre-Roman ditch context at Wilbury Hill (Herts), and in a probably post-conquest ditch context at Irechester (Northants).¹ There was one prone burial in the Iron Age cemetery of extended inhumations at Deal, (Kent).²

Romano-British.

Prone burial, while remaining a minority rite, became more pronounced in Roman Britain, and examples have been found in many cemeteries as outlined in Table 2. One of the prone burials at Lankhills, an adult of unknown gender, was buried face downward above a supine burial of a female, both apparently within the same coffin,³ and at Poundbury a female was buried prone, E-W, above a supine male, W-E, burial.⁴ An unusually large number of 33 burials were prone at the Bath Gate cemetery, Cirencester,⁵ and a prone male burial at Trentholme Drive, York, was laid above

¹ Whimster, *Burials*, p. 28.

² Parfitt, 'Deal', 1991, p. 219.

³ Clarke, *Lankhills*, pp. 70-1, (grave 335).

⁴ Farwell and Molleson, *Poundbury*, pp. 152, 226.

⁵ McWhirr, *Bath Gate*, p. 78.

another male who was supine.¹ There were two prone burials at Queenford Farm (Oxon), and three at Shepton Mallet, (Somerset).² In the late Roman cemetery at Dunstable (Beds), which contained over 100 burials, two burials were prone, and another, a female lying on her side with one hand twisted behind the back and the other over the face, may have been buried alive.³ Further prone burials of the Romano-British period, not included in Table 2 are listed by Harman⁴ and Philpott.⁵ An unusual instance at Guilden Morden (Cambs) is discussed further below p. 25.

Decapitation

Decapitated burials can be of two types: where the head is present but in an incorrect anatomical position, and where the head is absent. The second type may result from executions, the heads being displayed elsewhere for a period after death and then buried apart from the bodies, or from circumstances where people who died far from home were buried in cemeteries near to their places of death, whereas their heads (perhaps thought to contain their spirit) were taken home for burial. Such examples could also explain the occurrence of single skulls in cemeteries.⁶

The practice of placing the severed head elsewhere in the grave, usually between

¹ Wenham, *York*, p. 38.

² S. Buteux, '*Romans in Shepton Mallet*'. Excavations at Fosse Lane 1990. (Pamphlet, Birm. Univ. Field Arch. Unit, 1990).

³ C.L. Matthews, 'A Romano-British Inhumation Cemetery at Dunstable', *Bedfordshire Arch. Journal*, 15 (1981), pp. 1-73 (hereafter Matthews, 'Dunstable').

⁴ M. Harman, *et al.*, 'Burials, bodies and beheadings in Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon cemeteries', *Bulletin British Museum Natural History (Geology)*, 35 (3), 1981, table 6, and pp.184-7 (hereafter Harman, 'Beheadings').

⁵ Philpott, *Practices*, pp. 72-76, 302-304.

⁶ For further discussion of this phenomenon see below Chapter 4.

the legs, is generally considered to have emerged in the fourth century AD in Romano-British contexts. However, in the late pre-Roman the Iron Age cemetery at Harlyn Bay (Cornwall) where the burials were crouched, there were two possible decapitate burials.¹ In one the skull was positioned close to the feet, and in the other it rested on its upper surface and jaw.

Romano-British. (Fig. 2)

Seven decapitate burials were recovered at Lankhills: two were placed one above the other with their heads between their legs, while the third was a two year old child with the head outside the coffin. Where it could be observed at Lankhills these burials showed signs that the heads had been severed from the front, in other words almost certainly *post mortem*. Confirmation that heads were often severed after death, and then buried in an incorrect anatomical position, is provided by literary references to the practice.²

One of the five decapitates recorded from Poundbury was of a child of less than 12 years; another was a female who had a male skull substituted at her feet, and was accompanied by two children. Another female decapitate had the head severed from the front. Four decapitates at Little Spittle, Ilchester, included three females and one male. At Bath Gate, Cirencester, six individuals had been decapitated, but in that cemetery all the skulls had been carefully repositioned at the top of the spine, and the decapitations only became obvious during skeletal analysis by Calvin Wells. The evidence seemed to suggest that decapitation had occurred at or soon after death.³ In the early Roman level

¹ Whimster, *Burials*, p. 64.

² References to this practice, and the reasons given for its use are discussed in Chapter 4.

³ McWhirr, *Bath Gate*, pp. 108-9. Some of the heads had been removed from the rear, and others from the front. In all but one case the vertebrae had been cut through cleanly.

at Beckford (Hereford and Worcester), one male burial had its head between its knees, and in the later Roman levels, six burials had their heads in the region of their legs or feet. Six cases of decapitate females were recorded at the cemetery at Dales Road, Ipswich.¹ At Dunstable (Beds) 12 of the burials, male and female, were decapitated, with the heads usually placed between the legs or beside the feet, though in one case the head had been placed on top of the grave after burial of the torso. Another was a baby, with its skull placed on the legs, and one female had been severely mutilated with the legs cut off and placed with the feet beside the shoulders. Another decapitate female had been buried in a substantial nailed coffin.² In the late-Roman levels at Roughground Farm, Lechlade, two middle-aged females had their heads placed between their legs.³ Harman⁴ records decapitate burials from Abingdon, Bloxham, Cassington, Curbridge, Radley, Stanton Harcourt and Wroxton St. Mary, and other sites recorded by Philpott⁵ are listed with Fig. 2.

Multiple burial

Multiple burial, which involves the deliberate deposition of two or more bodies in the same grave, either simultaneously or successively, is an ancient practice observable in the archaeological record of the British Isles since the Neolithic era.⁶ The suggestion

¹ J. Reid-Moir, and G. Maynard, 'The Roman Villa at Castle Hill, Whittan, Ipswich', *Proc. Suffolk Institute of Arch. and Nat. Hist.*, 21 (1931-33).

² Matthews, 'Dunstable'.

³ Allen et al., *Roughground Farm*, pp. 101, 192-3

⁴ Harman, 'Beheadings', table 6, pp.160-1.

⁵ Philpott, *Practices*, pp. 77-89.

⁶ Seventh/eighth century documentary references to burial in the ancestral tomb are examined and discussed in Chapter 4

that multiple burial resulted from the practice of a form of 'suttee'¹ is difficult to evaluate, especially as multiple burials do not necessarily always contain one male and one female body. Furthermore, disturbance to an earlier burial in order to insert a subsequent burial into the same grave, as is often observed in double graves, rather suggests the re-use of a family grave.

Iron Age.

Examples of multiple burial in Iron Age Britain include a circular cist grave at the Harlyn Bay Cemetery (Cornwall), which on the basis of skeletal disturbance has been taken to represent a re-opened family grave². Four further graves at this site were each used for the apparently simultaneous burial of two individuals. Also in Cornwall, in the Iron Age cemetery at Trethellan Farm, Newquay,³ in spite of poor bone survival it was possible to suggest that at least two, of four double burials, were of an adult accompanied by a child. In other places in southern Britain pairs of skeletons have been found in the fill of storage pits or in conventional earthen graves in which bodies were laid side by side or above one another.⁴ In northern Britain, at Beadnell on the Northumberland coast, a small primary cist which had initially contained a single crouched skeleton was later enlarged for the consecutive burial of no fewer than eighteen further bodies, one of the latest of which was accompanied by a bronze penannular brooch dated first to third

¹ Whimster, *Burials*, p. 96.

² Whimster, *Burials*, p. 62.

³ Nowakowski, 'Trethellan', p. 216.

⁴ Whimster, *Burials*, pp. 62-3.

century AD.¹ At Lochend near Dunbar, on the east coast of Scotland, a slab-lined cist which contained the remains of 21 individuals buried consecutively over an extended period is dated to the late Iron Age or early Roman period. At North Belton Farm, also in Dunbar, a cist with two flexed adult inhumations has produced calibrated radiocarbon dates in the first to third centuries AD.² Other Scottish examples of multiple burial within cists have been recorded at Ackergill in Caithness.³

Multiple or sequential burial in the same grave was a relatively common occurrence in 'Arras'-type cemeteries in Yorkshire,⁴ and the instances recorded only serve to emphasise a complex situation whereby multiple burial can involve a female and small child; a male and a female in one grave; several young children buried together; or burials of persons of the same gender in one grave.

Romano-British.

The tradition of multiple burial was widely used in Roman Britain, and examples are to be found in many cemeteries. At Bath Gate, Cirencester, exceptional cases of multiple simultaneous burial included 13 burials carefully laid in one large grave, another grave containing five burials, and a further grave containing four burials (2 of which were decapitate). There were also cases of double burials at this cemetery. A feature of the

¹ Whimster, *Burials*, p. 170.

² Crone, 'North Belton Farm'.

³ P.J. Ashmore, 'Low cairns, long cists and symbol stones', *PSAS* 110 (1978-80), pp. 346-55 (hereafter Ashmore, 'Cairns, Cists, Stones').

⁴ Stead, *Cemeteries*, pp. 36, 39; I. Stead, *The Arras Culture*, (York, 1979), pp. 17-18. (hereafter Stead, *Arras*).

Roman cemetery at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London,¹ was that burials were placed in what the excavators termed 'clusters', which appear to suggest the re-use of family grave plots. Other instances of multiple burial are listed in Table 2.

Cremation

Iron Age.

Cremation was probably one of the 'invisible' rites by which the dead were disposed of in the native tradition during the late Bronze Age/early Iron Age, but whereas unburnt bodies became 'visible' by about the third century BC, cremations did not. Nevertheless, there are some cremations which may be regarded as part of an earlier tradition. At Yeavinger (Northumberland) there is a suggestion that the rite of un-urned cremation inserted in ploughed fields had been in use there from the late Bronze Age and continued up to the third century AD.² A cremation in Argyll, intrusive in a Bronze Age cist, has produced a radiocarbon determination of AD125±80 (GU 2070),³ and near the west coast of Wales, at the multi-period site of Plas Gogerddan, Dyfed, a radiocarbon determination (CAR 1072), calibrated at two sigma range to 390 BC-AD 05, was obtained for a cremation recovered from the fill of an early Iron Age ring ditch.⁴

The use of cremation as a majority burial rite in cemeteries in Southern Britain

¹ D. Bentley, F. Pritchard, 'The Roman Cemetery at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London', *Trans. London & Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 33 (1982), pp. 134-172.

² B. Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger, an Anglo-British centre of early Northumbria* (London, 1977), pp. 248, 267 (hereafter Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger*).

³ J.N. Graham Ritchie, 'Cairn 3, Acharn, Morvern, Argyll', *PSAS* 118 (1988), pp. 95-8 (hereafter Graham Ritchie, 'Acharn').

⁴ K. Murphy, 'Plas Gogerddan, Dyfed: A Multi-Period Burial and Ritual Site', *Arch. J.* 149 (1992), pp. 12,15 (hereafter Murphy, 'Plas Gogerddan').

was introduced, probably from north-west France, in the closing decades of the first century BC, and is traditionally associated with the colonisation of south-eastern Britain by members of the Belgic tribes of northern France.¹ The cremated remains were often accompanied by wheel-thrown La Tène III pottery vessels, and items of insular and imported metalwork. This tradition, referred to as the 'Aylesford' culture, is strongest on the northern side of the Thames where the majority of burial sites are located.²

The extensively excavated 'Aylesford'-culture cremation cemetery at the Iron Age levels at King Harry Lane, Verulamium (St. Albans) was established no later than the first decade of the first century AD, and possibly survived into the second century. Pottery vessels of mainly local manufacture were used to contain 192 of the cremations, but others lacked any container; 33 were deposited in shallow pits, several of which were covered by boards or planks, and one pit was lined with a woven basket.³ The large number of cremated burials in this cemetery would suggest that the rite had been adopted by the local native population. At Deal (Kent)⁴ where the majority Iron Age burial rite was that of extended inhumation there were four cremation burials of the Belgic period, and late Iron-Age cremations recently excavated at St. Albans,⁵ and Colchester⁶ were rich burials deposited in chamber graves, and are discussed further in that context below p. 32.

¹ Whimster, *Burials*, p. 147.

² R. Whimster, 'Iron Age burial in southern Britain', *PPS* 43 (1977), p. 324.

³ Stead and Ribby, *King Harry Lane* pp. 81-3.

⁴ Parfitt, 'Deal', 1990, p. 14; and Parfitt, 'Deal', 1991, p. 220.

⁵ R. Niblett, 'A Royal Burial at St. Albans', *Current Archaeology*, 132 (1993), pp. 484-8 (hereafter Niblett, 'St. Albans').

⁶ P. Crummy, 'Aristocratic graves at Colchester', *Current Archaeology*, 132 (1993), pp. 492-7 (hereafter Crummy, 'Colchester').

Romano-British.

It can be seen therefore that on the eve of the Roman conquest, the burial rite of cremation was being used in south-east Britain, and with the conquest, this rite, which was at that time practised by the Romans, was introduced to other areas of Britain affected by the establishment of Roman forts and towns.

However,

‘...in some rural areas and smaller towns which were less subject to direct Roman involvement, the rite of inhumation continued largely unaffected by Roman practice....’.¹

Roman burial practices changed to inhumation in the second century, and by the later third century this rite had superseded cremation over much of Roman Britain. However, cremation persisted as a burial rite until at least the early fourth century in the Northern frontier zone, and until the late fourth century in East Anglia, the Midlands and South.²

Twenty-nine cremations recovered together with the 26 inhumations from the late Roman levels at the King Harry Lane cemetery are dated second-fourth century AD,³ and at Lankhills five of seven late-Roman cremations are dateable to after AD350; two of the latter were placed in inhumation-sized graves after the bodies had been cremated near or possibly above the grave pits.⁴ When these graves were backfilled they would, to all outward appearances, have appeared to be inhumation graves.

¹ Philpott, ‘Practices’, p. 8.

² Philpott, *Practices* pp. 50-52. My attention has been drawn by Dr. Helen Conrad-O’Brian, to the fact that the mother of Constantine the Great, who died as a Christian in AD325/6, was cremated.

³ Stead and Rigby, *King Harry Lane*, pp. 211-218.

⁴ Clarke, *Lankhills*, pp. 28-30.

Burning of burials *in situ*.

There are two methods of cremation: the first the familiar practice where the body is cremated and the bone collected and buried elsewhere, an *ustrina*, and the second, less familiar, is when the body is burnt in a grave-pit and remains left *in situ*, a *bustum*.¹ A variation on this second method might be the raising of a mound over an *in situ* pyre after cremation.

Iron Age.

At the 'Belgic' Iron Age cemetery of Puddlehill (Beds)² seven cremations were deposited either in pots or un-urned in shallow depressions in the ground, and two burials were burnt *in situ*. In one of these, the bones were found spread out along the length of the grave with the skull fragments lying at the south, and the other was located in a slight hollow caused by the subsidence of an early Iron Age storage pit. It appears that the bones of the first burial were not as well-burnt as the other cremations, nor were they broken-down to small pieces, as was the case with the urned and un-urned cremations. When used by a people who were familiar with full cremation techniques, this rite of burning a body *in situ* must have been carried out for a specific purpose.³

Romano-British. (Fig. 3)

At the auxiliary fort at High Rochester, Northumberland, 8 of 15 cremations were burnt

¹ Philpott, *Practices*, p. 48, n.1, *bustum proprie dicitur, in quo mortuus est combustus et sepultus...ubi vera combustus quis tantummodo, alibi vero est sepultus, is locus ab urendo ustrina vocatur...* (Festus. 29). Translated by this writer as: 'That in which a dead person is cremated and buried is properly called a *bustum*; where, however, someone is only cremated, but is buried elsewhere, that place is called an *ustrina* from [the word for] burning (*urendum*).

² C.L. Matthews and C.F.C. Hawkes, *Occupation Sites on a Chiltern Ridge*, pt. i. B.A.R., 29 (Oxford, 1976), pp. 167-9 (hereafter Matthews, *Chiltern Ridge*).

³ Perhaps it was a form of ritual purification for either religious or medical reasons.

in situ, and all but one were subsequently covered by mounds.¹ Philpott also records instances which include *in situ* burning of burials from Derby Racecourse (Derbyshire), Beckfoot (Cumbria), and Herd Hill, Cardurnock (Cumbria). One of the graves at Guilden Morden (Cambs), which is described as having the sides and base lined with charred wood, contained a headless, prone, male skeleton, whose lower arms and lower legs were said to have been charred away. This burial is included by Philpott as an *in situ* cremation, but the evidence as contained in the published report is not convincing.² There were coffin nails around the edges of the grave, and the published drawing shows the lower arms and legs missing. This burial is more likely to be that of a mutilated body, the charred wood in all probability the remains of a decomposed wooden coffin.

At Bath Gate, Cirencester, where 450 inhumations and three cremation burials were recovered, two of the cremations were urned, but the third was in an inhumation sized pit filled with burnt matter and burnt bone.³

Instances of the *bustum* tradition have been recorded mainly in Roman military areas, and Philpott suggests that this is an indication that the rite was intrusive into Britain, but he concedes that it may on the other hand represent an as yet imperfectly researched regional tradition. He states that the tradition was known in Gaulish contexts in Europe in the late first/early second centuries AD, and it is possible that it spread from there to Britain with Roman troop movements at that time.⁴

¹ Philpott, *Practices*, p. 48

² T.C. Lethbridge, 'Further Excavations in the Early Iron Age and Romano-British Cemetery at Guilden Morden', *PCAS* 36 (1934-35), p. 114, figs. 2-3: Philpott, *Practices*, p. 72.

³ McWhirr, *Bath Gate*, p. 99.

⁴ Philpott, *Practices*, pp. 48-9.

GRAVE STRUCTURES

Stone or slab-lined graves.

The tradition of depositing both inhumations and cremations in slab-lined cists was widely used in the Bronze Age, but ceased in the later centuries of the second millennium BC. The practice re-emerged or was re-introduced towards the end of the first millennium BC.

Iron Age.

The re-use of a Bronze Age cist for an Iron Age cremation in Argyll¹ may of course have been fortuitous, but could also indicate a folk memory of the cist's original use. In south-western Britain, mainly in the territory of the Dumnonii in South Devon and Cornwall, and the Isles of Scilly, the use of slab-lined cists for crouched inhumation burial re-emerged, or was re-introduced, between the third and second centuries BC. At Harlyn Bay (Cornwall) there were over 120 cists lined and covered with flat slabs, and at Trevone (Cornwall) cist graves, aligned north-south, were discovered beneath a cemetery of east-west aligned early-medieval long cists.² In the Isles of Scilly, crouched burials, aligned north-south, in stone cists, are dated to the first century AD. Cist burials have also been discovered in the regions around Weymouth and Portland in the territory of the Durotrigians where burial in unprotected dug graves was more usual.³ Another outlier, in Dobunnic territory, is the female burial at Birdlip (Glos.) which was contained in one of three parallel cists, and accompanied by rich grave goods dated to the first

¹ Graham Ritchie, 'Acharn', pp. 95-8.

² Whimster, *Burials*, pp. 62, 70.

³ Whimster, *Burials*, p. 43.

century AD.¹

In East Lothian and Berwickshire in north-east Britain the tradition of placing (mainly) crouched/flexed inhumations in stone cists was present between the first and third centuries AD. For example, the cist recently excavated at North Belton Farm, Dunbar² containing two flexed inhumations, has been dated to the first-third cent. AD. A crouched inhumation in a cist at Camelon (Stirlingshire) was accompanied by an iron sword, and another, at Moredun, Edinburgh, had brooches of about the second century AD.³

Romano-British. (Fig. 4)

Thirty-three adult burials in stone-lined or cist graves at Poundbury are attributed to the later Roman period of that cemetery,⁴ and at Bath Gate, Cirencester (Glos), of the 27 graves with stones, at least three showed evidence that these had formed a cist (in one case Roman stone roofing-tiles had been used). In the late/post-Roman cemetery at Cannington many of the graves were rock-cut, but about 26 had stone lining with no stone covering, and five had stones around the head only. At Bradley Hills (Som) the majority of the burials were in graves lined and often covered with lias slabs. One also contained a wooden coffin.⁵ A very well built stone cist was recovered in the cemetery

¹ Whimster, *Burials*, p. 24; B. Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*, 2nd edit. (London, 1978), pp. 110-111; (hereafter Cunliffe, *Communities*); Harding, *Lowland*, p. 124.

² Crone, 'North Belton Farm', pp. 161-170.

³ Close-Brooks, 'Pictish', p. 89.

⁴ Farwell and Molleson, *Poundbury*, pp. 63, 74.

⁵ R. Leech, 'The Excavation of a Romano-British Farmstead and Cemetery on Bradley Hill, Somerton, Somerset', *Britannia*, 12 (1981) (hereafter Leech, 'Bradley Hill').

at Trentholme Drive, York.

In Scotland, crouched burials in cists can be dated up to the third century AD, but extended inhumations in cists, generally undatable because of lack of grave goods, probably belong in the post-Roman era; for example a recent find of four cist burials, without grave goods, at Linlithgow (West Lothian) has produced radiocarbon dates from bones of two of the burials which calibrated at 2 sigma are AD400-615 and AD345-600, with a 95% possibility that the skeletons date to the fifth/sixth century.¹

In the discussion on religion in the Lankhills report, it is suggested that the motive for enclosing a burial in stone in the Roman period could be either Christian, undertaken in imitation of the stone tomb of Christ, or non-Christian, undertaken in order to prevent the dead from wandering.² In either case, stone packing around a burial could perform the same function as slab linings in districts where stone slabs were not easily available.

Wooden coffins

Iron Age

The use of wooden coffins, especially in unprotected dug graves, in the Iron Age, may have been more widespread than has hitherto been suspected. In modern excavations wooden coffins constructed without nails may now be recognised by the presence of wood stains within graves, and it is possible that similar evidence was overlooked or misinterpreted in older excavations. In the Arras cemetery at Rudston-Makeshift, stains representing wooden coffins which had no nails or metal brackets have been recognised

¹ M. Dalland, 'The Excavation of a group of Long Cists at Avonmill Road, Linlithgow, West Lothian', *PSAS* 123 (1993), pp. 337-344. The laboratory numbers are GU-3098 and GU-3099 (hereafter Dalland, 'Avonmill Road').

² J.L. Macdonald in Clarke, *Lankhills*, pp. 428-9.

in 19 graves,¹ and in the Iron Age cremation cemetery at King Harry Lane, Verulamium² several of the burial pits had been covered by wooden boards or planks, and one had a wooden board on the floor as well as over the top of the pit. While there is no suggestion that the cremations were enclosed in boxes, efforts were evidently being taken to protect the burials, and one cremation grave pit was lined with woven material suggesting the remains of a basket. One of the few Iron Age inhumations at this site, burial 332, possibly a child, was contained in a coffin or wooden box indicated by the presence of nails in the grave.³

Romano-British.

TABLE 4

Late Romano-British wooden coffins

Site Location	Inhums	Stain	Nails	Fittings	Brackets
Poundbury, Dor.	1380	7	928	27	10
King Harry Lane, Herts.	27	-	20	-	-
Lankhills, Hants.	408	35	334	2	2
Little Spittle, Som.	42	-	26	-	-
Townsend Close, Som.	15	-	6	1	-
Bath Gate, Cirencester, Glos.	450	-	71	1	-
Southwark, London	4	-	4	-	-
St. Barts. Hosp. London	20	-	?8	-	-
Skeleton Green, Herts.	5	1	2	-	-
Kelvedon, Essex	60	3	33	-	-
Queenford Farm, Oxon.	82	?3	43	4	-

¹ Stead, *Cemeteries*, p. 36.

² Stead and Rigby, *King Harry Lane*, pp. 81-3.

³ Stead and Rigby, *King Harry Lane*, p. 358.

Site Location	Inhums	Stain	Nails	Fittings	Brackets
Shepton Mallet, Som.	26	-	14	-	-
Bradley Hill, Som.	57	-	1	-	-
Beckford, H & W	21	-	1	-	-
Cannington, Som.	542	-	-	-	-
Trentholme Drive, York*	350	-	?300	?5	-
Total	3489	49	1791	40	12

* The number of coffins at Trentholme Drive is estimated, based on the total number of 2300 nails in the published report.

A check through this sample of 16 cemeteries shows that by the late Roman period, wooden coffins were being widely used.

From a total of 3489 burials excavated, 1892 or 54% produced evidence for wooden coffins. A breakdown of this figure shows that the majority of the coffins were represented by nails in the grave, that is, 1791 or 95%. However it should be pointed out that in many cases the number of nails present was minimal, sometimes only one, which suggests the use of un-nailed coffins, with a lid secured by one or more nails, or perhaps biers. Evidence for un-nailed coffins, or perhaps plank lining, showed as a soil stain in 49 cases (2.5%). Forty of the nailed coffins (2%) also had fittings, and 12 (0.50%) had brackets (Fig. 5). Therefore 46% of the burials in these cemeteries may have been unprotected.

Three of the sites in Table 4 produced lead-lined coffins, Poundbury had 25 examples, and there was one each from Bath Gate, Cirencester, and Shepton Mallet (Som).

Stone coffins were present at three sites: 10 at Poundbury, five at Bath Gate, and one at Trentholme Drive, York.

Stone packing around wooden coffins was present in three of the sample

cemeteries. At Poundbury a number of graves produced evidence for rubble or tile packing around wooden coffins. At Lankhills the practice of packing flints, and occasionally tiles, around the inside of 38 graves has been dated to the late fourth century. Many of these graves contained wooden coffins. At Bath Gate, Cirencester,²⁷ of the burials produced evidence for stone packing, 12 of which also produced evidence in the form of nails to suggest the presence of coffins.

Stepped graves.

Stepped graves have not been recovered from Iron Age contexts, but in the Romano-British period 17 examples were found at Lankhills. In at least one of these, four opposing pairs of regularly spaced slots, which included timber fragments, suggested that beams had lain across the step. At Kelvedon (Essex) a ledged grave was dated to after AD350.¹ Other stepped graves have been encountered at Ashton (Northants), Stretton-on-Fosse (Warw), and Roden Downs (Berks) where one grave had four post-holes in the sides of the void formed below a step. At this latter site coins provided a *terminus post quem* c. AD324-364 for five graves.²

Grave slots.

A grave of the late Roman period in Dunstable had two pairs of opposing slots above a skeleton whose attitude suggested that it had been covered by a board.³ One of the multiple burials at Poundbury was also covered by a board, and a similar type of cover

¹ K.A. Rodwell, *The Prehistoric and Roman settlement at Kelvedon, Essex*, C.B.A. Research Report 63 (Chelmsford, 1988), pp. 42, 46 (hereafter Rodwell, *Kelvedon*); Philpott, *Practices*, , p. 69.

² Philpott, *Practices*, p. 69.

³ Matthews, 'Dunstable'; Philpott, *Practices*, p. 69.

is recorded from Gatcombe (Som) where the burial is dated to the late fourth or early fifth century. At Lankhills, grave 283, dated AD390-410, may have had a battened wooden cover over the grave. All the known examples come from fourth or early fifth century contexts, suggesting that this type of covered grave only developed in the later fourth century, but Philpott is cautious of comparing these examples with Anglo-Saxon examples because of the distances involved.¹

Chamber graves

Iron age.

Spread across Catuvellaunian and Trinovantian territory from St. Albans to Colchester is a scatter of 'chambered' graves.² (Fig. 6) They contained cremated remains accompanied by a rich array of grave-goods, dated variously from the later decades BC/early decades AD to the decades following the Roman conquest. The burial at Lexden, Colchester, dated to the latest decades BC, is the only one positively identified as having been covered by a mound.³ The remainder of the sites were flat, and some have recently been shown to have been located within large rectilinear enclosures.⁴

Three recently excavated chamber graves at Colchester⁵ (Fig. 7B,) containing cremated remains and an array of grave goods, are dated to between AD 35-75, and a

¹ But see below p. 271

² Stead's 'Welwyn' type. I.M. Stead, 'A La Tène III Burial at Welwyn Garden City', *Archaeologia* 101 (1967), pp. 1-62.

³ Whimster, *Burials*, p. 155; Harding, *Lowland*, p. 123.

⁴ Enclosures are discussed below pp. 37-39.

⁵ Crummy, 'Colchester', pp. 492-97.

further example from Folly Lane, Verulamium¹ is dated by pottery to around AD45-50. At this latter site three inhumation burials were laid in the base of the enclosing ditch near the entrance (Fig. 7C). The chamber grave at Hertford Heath (Herts)² is dated to between 30-15BC.

In the 'Arras' complex of cemeteries, vehicle burials at Garton Station and Kirkburn were deposited in graves measuring 4.0 x 2.4 x 1.4m at Garton Station, and 5.2 x 3.7m at Kirkburn³ which could be described as chambers. These (inhumation) burials, within square enclosures, were originally covered by barrows. It is also noted that in both graves a large box-like object had been deposited above body and vehicle.

Romano-British. (Fig. 6)

Evidence for the use of chamber or vault graves in the Roman period is provided at the Essex site of Kelvedon, where 9 burials were deposited in wood-lined chambers, averaging 2.5m long x 1.5m wide x 1.0m deep. Two of these chambered graves were associated with circular ditched features. Five of the chambers contained nailed coffins, and four contained stains for un-nailed coffins.⁴ The cemetery at Butt Road, Colchester, contained six timber-lined vaults, one of which measured 2.7m x 1.5m, and contained two burials in un-nailed coffins. A vault or grave at Holgate Bridge, York, was also

¹ Niblett, 'St. Albans', pp. 484-88.

² C-M. Hüssen, *A Rich Late La Tène Burial at Hertford Heath, Hertfordshire*, British Museum Occasional Paper No. 44 (London 1983).

³ Stead, *Cemeteries*, pp. 29-30.

⁴ Rodwell, *Kelvedon*, pp. 37-41.

lined with oak timbers. The structure recovered beneath Wells Cathedral, Somerset,¹ is described by the excavator as a Roman grave chamber within a mausoleum, but the evidence for the mausoleum which consisted of a short section of possible wall-foundation, is slender to say the least. The rectangular chamber was oriented north-south, measured *circa* 2.0m x 3.1m, and was dug to a depth of 0.9m into the sub-soil. Six upright timbers, which possibly projected above ground level, were set into the corners and centres of the long sides of the pit, which was then lined with walls of mortared masonry. It is speculated that the chamber originally contained one or possibly two coffins, lying N-S.

A group of large inhumation grave-pits measuring from 0.8m to 1.4m x 2.1m to 3.9m were discovered at Burntwood Farm, Martyr² Worthy (Hants), while at Andover, (Hants) a large timber-lined pit grave with inhumation, flagon and hobnails has been recorded.³ An interesting feature of distribution is that the largest concentration of Romano-British chamber tombs (15 in number) is located at Colchester and Kelvedon in Essex, in the heartland of late Iron Age chamber graves (Fig. 6).

Four-post structures

‘...bodies may have been exposed - perhaps on platforms mounted upon four-poster foundations of the kind commonly interpreted as granaries...’. This statement by

¹ W. Rodwell, ‘From Mausoleum to Minster: The Early Development of Wells Cathedral’, in S.M. Pearce (ed), *The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland*, B.A.R. (Br. Ser.), 102 (Oxford, 1982), pp. 52-7 (hereafter Rodwell, ‘Wells Cathedral’).

² Place-name perhaps derived from *martyrium*?

³ Philpott, *Practices* pp. 69-70.

Harding,¹ which he did not elaborate further, may be central to the problem of how bodies were disposed of, particularly in the early Iron Age. Wait, referring to early Iron Age deposits at Danebury (Hants), has observed that single bones, articulated limbs and skulls tended to be found in the areas around four-post granaries and were approximately contemporary with them.² If disused granary structures, raised above-ground on four posts, were used in the early Iron Age to dispose of bodies, these could eventually have been superseded by mortuary houses to contain a body perhaps for a temporary period³ before either cremation or inhumation burial took place. Such structures can be positively identified with mortuary areas at the La Tène cemetery at Menil-Annelles, Ardennes where square ditched enclosures containing cremations and inhumations, dated to La Tène II and III respectively, are associated with several four-post features.⁴ Harding illustrates a similar situation at Fin d'Ecun, Marne, where a four-post structure was located within a square-ditched enclosure, which was in turn located beside a square barrow containing several inhumations.⁵

Three four-post and one six-post structure, located on the south and south-west periphery of the cemetery at Deal (Kent), appear to date to the Iron Age.⁶ Other British examples which may be relevant to this hypothesis include a circular gully (diam

¹ Harding, *Lowland*, p. 116.

² Wait, *Ritual*, p. 102.

³ Perhaps just long enough for death to be firmly established, or for a period perceived to have been long enough for the spirit to leave the body; also see P.J. Ucko, *World Archaeology* vol.1. no.2. (1969), p. 269.

⁴ J-L. Flouest and I.M. Stead, *Iron Age Cemeteries in Champagne*, British Museum Occasional Paper No. 6 (1981), p.20, fig.10.

⁵ Harding, *Lowland*, pp. 108-110, fig. 28.

⁶ Parfitt, 'Deal', 1990, pp. 11-13, and Parfitt, 'Deal', 1991, p.219.

35ft) excavated in the Iron Age levels at Tower Street, Winchester, which contained, off-centre within its western half, a setting of four post-pits, each retaining traces of a wooden post, and in the south-east quadrant two pits which may be contemporary, each containing cremated bone.¹ Since there was no evidence for posts in the gully this seems to have encircled an open area. The excavator's suggestion is that the four posts represented a shrine. Also of possible relevance is the site unearthed at Noah's Ark Inn at Frilford (Berks) where a repeatedly re-cut penannular ditch with a north-west entrance enclosed a six post-holed feature, also interpreted as a shrine.² Could these structures not also represent a mortuary house or platform?

Romano-British

Four-post structures are not a feature of Romano-British cemeteries, although a cremation in a second-century pottery vessel at Roughground Farm, Lechlade (Glos) was placed within a four-post structure, surrounded by an oval setting of stake-holes, all contained within a square-ditched enclosure (Fig. 76b); this may represent continuity of an indigenous custom into the Roman era.³ At Swaffham Prior (Cambs) a square-cut pit with four post-holes associated with a possible mausoleum containing a burial also produced pottery dated to the late second/third century AD.⁴ A few examples, recorded above under stepped graves, where post-holes have been found in the corners

¹ M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester 1964', Third Interim Report, *Ant.J.* 45 (1965), p. 234; Harding, *Lowland*, p. 107.

² *Oxoniensia*, 4 (1939), pp. 11-15, fig.5; Wait, *Ritual*, p. 157.

³ Allen et al., *Roughground Farm*, pp. 52-3

⁴ Cambridgeshire Co. Council Archaeological Record No. 11054, (courtesy Ms. N. Rooke, SMR officer) (Cambridge, 1993).

of graves may represent a further stage of development of the type.

Enclosures

Iron Age.

A significant burial custom employed during the Iron Age was the placing of burials within enclosures. The enclosures, mainly rectilinear but occasionally circular, surrounded either single graves or groups.

At Puddlehill (Beds) six 'Belgic' cremations were placed close together around a cremation in a pedestal pot, in a disused rectilinear domestic enclosure,¹ and at King Harry Lane, Verulamium (St. Albans) (Herts)² during the first century AD., seven rectilinear ditched enclosures were created to surround groups of cremation burials, each containing a more or less centrally placed prominent burial. The enclosures, at least three of which had entrances on the north-east side, were grouped in two parallel rows with a clear space or corridor between (Fig. 7A). At Colchester³ three of a group of five large rectangular ditched enclosures, recently excavated, surrounded chamber and other graves (Fig. 7B), and a chamber grave at Folly Lane, St. Albans⁴ was located within an extremely large rectangular ditched enclosure with an entrance at the south-west side (Fig. 7B). A ditched feature appears to have surrounded the chamber grave at Hertford Heath (Herts).⁵ At Winchester, a four-post feature and two cremation pits

¹ Matthews, *Chiltern Ridge*, pp. 164-5.

² Stead and Rigby, *King Harry Lane*, pp. 80-1.

³ Crummy, 'Colchester'.

⁴ Niblett, 'St. Albans'.

⁵ Hülsen, 1983, fig.3, p.5.

excavated in the Iron Age levels at Tower Street were enclosed within a penannular ditched enclosure,¹ and one of the Iron Age burials at Deal (Kent)² was surrounded by a ring ditch which may have had an entrance.

The most widespread and well-known examples of ditched mortuary enclosures, mainly square but occasionally circular, are to be found in the 'Arras'-culture cemeteries of East Yorkshire, where the use of square ditched barrows was introduced from mainland Europe in the late fourth century BC: however, the burial rite within these novel barrows was that of the native British Iron Age population, that is crouched with heads usually to the north. These square barrows vary in size from 3.0m to 12.0m across, and the enclosing ditches, which were continuous and uninterrupted,³ each surrounded a single grave. The few circular enclosures recorded⁴ include penannular enclosures at Garton Station with N-S burials and with entrances to the west and south-west; and two penannular ditched enclosures at Kirkburn, each with a central burial and entrances to the north and west respectively, were located beside a large square barrow which contained a vehicle burial.⁵ Also at Kirkburn, two ring-ditches dated to the end of the first or beginning of the second century AD were located beside an Iron Age square enclosure and within a larger Neolithic enclosure.⁶ The use of square ditched

¹ M. Biddle, 1965, p. 234; Harding, *Lowland*, p. 107.

² Parfitt, 'Deal', 1990, p.14; Parfitt, 'Deal', 1991, p.219.

³ The only exceptions being at Garton Station, associated with Anglian burials, to be discussed in Chapter 5.

⁴ Stead, *Arras*, p. 18 mentions approx. 50 graves which were recorded at the Eastburn Arras cemetery during the Second World War as being each surrounded by a circular trench, but there is no record as to whether the ditches were annular or penannular.

⁵ Stead, *Cemeteries*, p. 22, fig. 20; p. 25, fig.23.

⁶ These ring-ditched enclosures each contained a horse burial.

enclosure cemeteries appears to have ceased in the Yorkshire region before the Roman conquest of that area.

Whimster has suggested that a series of crop-marks showing square barrows, sometimes in rows, in other areas of Britain, notably in the East Midlands (especially the Trent Valley), in East Anglia and in south Essex, bear a resemblance to Yorkshire barrow enclosures.¹ This presents the interesting possibility of a spread throughout the eastern side of Britain of 'Arras'-type burials, but until a systematic evaluation of these sites is undertaken this must remain a matter for speculation.

Square-ditched enclosures with central grave pits have also shown up in aerial photographs at several sites on the east coast of Scotland (Fig. 22), one of which, a ditched enclosure approx. 5 metres square excavated at Boysack Mills (Angus), surrounded a deep grave pit with an extended inhumation in the remains of a wooden coffin. An iron pin on the shoulder of the burial has been dated to between the first and third centuries AD, and has been compared to a similar pin found with a crouched burial at Rudston (Yorks):² the square-ditched grave also bears a strong resemblance to 'Arras'-types and the fact that some later 'Arras'-type burials, especially at Burton Fleming (Yorks), were extended makes the possibility of a direct link plausible.³ The dating evidence implies that the practice of using such square-ditched enclosures continued in other regions after the demise of the 'Arras' cemeteries in Yorkshire.

¹ Whimster, *Burials*, p. 123.

² see below p. 82.

³ Close-Brooks, 'Pictish', pp. 91, 94. For further discussion of this topic see below pp. 85-6.

Romano-British.

The practice of placing burials within specifically designated enclosed areas, often within cemeteries, which emerged in the Iron Age, continued to be used throughout the Roman period. A possible hint of continuity may be provided by the square-ditched enclosure (6m square) which surrounded the early second-century cremation within a four-post structure at Roughground Farm, Lechlade. At Poundbury (Fig. 8B) there were two types of defined burial enclosure, (a) stone built mausolea, and (b) rectangular ditched enclosures. Seven mausolea recognised by their stone and mortar wall foundations, each containing from two to seven burials in coffins, were dated to the late Roman phase of the cemetery; three square or rectangular ditched enclosures each containing one burial were recognised at the western periphery of the cemetery, just outside the general area where the mausolea were located, and where it was observable the enclosures had an entrance at the north-east. At Lankhills, Winchester there were four rectangular ditched enclosures, each with an opening on the eastern side (Fig. 8A). All contained primary burials, and two had secondary burials inserted within the enclosures and in the surrounding gullies. The presence of these secondary burials, together with the insertion of a possible grave marker in a gully, would seem to negate the suggestion made that these were bedding trenches for hedges. The primary burials in the enclosures are dated AD310-50, AD364-402, and AD390-410.

A small single-celled stone structure 3.0m square, containing the skeleton of an adolescent, was associated with a series of rectilinear gullied enclosures with second/third century pottery in the fill at Swaffham Prior (Cambs),¹ and at Beckford (Hereford and

¹ Cambridgeshire Co. Council Archaeological Record No. 11054.

Worcester) seven of the burials in the second-to-fourth century levels were within a sub-rectangular enclosure, approx. 20m square. All were extended, and six were decapitate with the heads between the legs or feet. The eastern cemetery at Shepton Mallet (Som) contained a mausoleum with two burials oriented N-S, and the western (with N-S graves) and central cemeteries (with W-E graves) at this site, were within sub-circular enclosures. At Skeleton Green (Herts) first/second-century cremations and late-Roman inhumation burials were placed within a 'horse-shoe shaped' enclosure, to which two rectangular additions had been made at later stages.

The main cemetery at Queenford Farm (Oxon) was surrounded by a fourth-century rectangular ditch, encompassing 1 ha., and a small rectangular enclosure measuring approx. 6.0m internally, dated to the sixth century, which cut across the southern edge of the larger enclosure, contained two centrally placed female, W-E, supine burials with two male burials inserted into the fill of the enclosing ditch.¹ The author of the above report also refers to similar burial enclosures at Radley, where cremations were placed around a focal burial, and one at Clayden Pike, Lechlade, which contained third/fourth century inhumation burials. At Bradley Hill, Somerton, many infant burials were located in a building identified as a byre which might have been looked upon as an enclosing feature. Burial F115 at that site, an extended male inhumation, oriented N-S within a wooden coffin in a slab lined grave, was covered by a rectangular mound with a revetment wall; this grave, which had a strong resemblance to an 'Arras'-type, contained a coin of AD320-4 in the mouth of the burial and had hobnails from two boots beside the right foot.²

¹ Chambers, 'Queenford Farm', pp. 45, 67.

² Leech, 'Bradley Hill', pp. 198-9.

An unusual enclosure was represented by structure F43 at Cannington, Somerset (Fig. 14), which occupied the highest point in the cemetery. It consisted of a roughly circular trench, 30cm deep and c. 6 metres in diameter, surrounding a roughly square area of stones which covered a male supine inhumation (head west). Radiocarbon dating for this skeleton calibrates at 2 sigma to AD210-440, thus placing the burial in the late or immediate post-Roman period. Whether or not the trench was dug in order to surround the burial, or the burial was inserted into an already existing feature, is a problem not yet resolved by the excavator.¹

The cemetery at Kelvedon (Essex) included a small penannular ditched enclosure, 7.0m in diameter, with a primary burial within. The gully or ditch was cut by three later graves, one of which was inserted in the north-east facing entrance. The excavator has interpreted the gully as a foundation trench for a wooden mausoleum², but if this was the case why would two burials, both with hobnails, have been inserted in the trench?³

Many enclosures appear to represent 'family' burial plots where a primary burial was succeeded by burials of individuals who perhaps wished to be buried close to the grave of their 'ancestor'.

Grave Goods

Iron Age

The majority of Iron Age burials have no grave-goods, but when these are present they

¹ A more detailed discussion of the features at Cannington are included in Chapter 2.

² Rodwell, *Kelvedon*, pp. 31, 51.

³ An alternative interpretation of the circular gully feature is that it is a simple ditch of the type often used to surround burials.

usually consist of personal possessions such as brooches, bracelets, rings, combs, pottery, occasionally knives, spears, very occasionally swords, and the remains of meat joints of lamb or pork. There are of course some very rich burials such as the chamber-grave cremations mentioned already; the warrior burial at Deal (Kent), with its decorated metal head-band, sword, scabbard, shield, and coral studded brooch; the female burial at Birdlip (Glos) with its elaborate grave goods,¹ and the cart burials in the 'Arras'-culture cemeteries in Yorkshire. These are the exceptions to the rule, and probably represent an aristocratic elite.

Brooches are the most commonly used personal ornaments. Usually only one brooch located in the shoulder area accompanied an individual burial. Types include penannulars of Fowler's classes A and B, and fibula-types including Nauheim derivatives, Colchester, and La Tène III. The value to the researcher of this particular artifact type is that it is easily recognisable and indicates a widespread indigenous tradition: for example, fibulae of involute type from Rudston (Yorks) can be paralleled as far away as Beckley and Wood Eaton (Oxford), Deal (Kent), and Trethellan Farm (Cornwall). Stead's Arras-type K (La Tène III) brooch with internal chord, dated to the first century BC/AD, recovered from an extended W-E burial at Rudston can be paralleled with a brooch from a crouched burial at Plas Gogerddan (Dyfed), and with brooches from cremation burials at King Harry Lane (Herts). Many Colchester-type brooches recovered from the King Harry Lane site can be paralleled by an example from a cremation at Puddlehill (Beds), and a penannular brooch from Rudston, can be paralleled by examples from Maiden Castle (Dorset) and Meare (Somerset).

One curious artifact-type which has been recovered from inhumations as far apart

¹ Cunliffe, *Communities*, pp. 110-111.

as Rudston, Garton Station and Wetwang Slack (Yorks) and Maiden Castle and Poundbury (Dorset), are toe-rings. These rings, which were not attachments for sandals as they only appeared on one foot in each burial, are commented upon here because they demonstrate the homogeneity of a fashion which prevailed in widely separated parts of the country.

Knives with a distinctive triangular shaped blade (Fig.9A) have been found in graves dateable from the first century BC/AD. Examples occur in 15 cremation burials at King Harry Lane, in three inhumation burials at Rudston and in one at Burton Fleming (Yorks): a further example was recovered, together with a shears, from the late first century BC chambered grave at Hertford Heath (Herts).

Pottery vessels were widely used to accompany Iron Age burials. At King Harry Lane, 192 of the 455 cremations recovered were contained in pottery vessels; about one-third of these had one or more accessory vessels, as did many un-urned cremations. Two of the 17 extended inhumations at that site were also accompanied by pots. The majority of the vessels in the cemetery were of local manufacture, but some were imports.

Romano-British

Only a small minority of burials in any one cemetery in the late Roman period contained grave goods, as the deposition of worn or unworn artifacts with burial had almost died out by the late fourth century. When these were present they included pottery vessels, a distinctive type of knife (Fig.9B), bracelets, rings, brooches, coins, and hob-nailed boots.

Between the second and fourth centuries pottery vessels deposited in graves probably contained food offerings, but the decline of pottery production and usage

during the fourth century is mirrored in late Roman cemeteries where such items became rare or were entirely absent.¹ One burial at Dunstable, in which a young male was accompanied by a pot, is worthy of mention. The vessel in question had an inscription which is translated as: 'Regillinus presented the pot of the *dendrophori* of Verulamium'.² The vessel was apparently a funerary gift on behalf of the guild of *dendrophori* to a deceased member.

The few knives found with burials in late Roman cemeteries are of a distinctive type, characterised by leaf-shaped blades, tanged, sometimes with a knob at the terminal of the tang (Fig. 9B). At Lankhills there were seven burials with such knives, all dated between AD350 and AD410. Five of these burials also contained belt fittings and crossbow brooches, which in three cases were placed at the feet.³ At Poundbury, Dorset, three late Roman female burials, all in wooden coffins, were accompanied by knives of this type, and one prone burial had a shears-blade or knife. At Little Spittle, Ilchester, one male and one female burial, both coffined, were accompanied by iron knives.⁴

The graves from which the knives were derived at Lankhills have been categorised as intrusive burials of high-ranking male officials introduced by the Roman authorities, but at Poundbury it is noticeable that similar knives only accompany females whose burials have no other features which would distinguish them from the remainder of late-Roman burials in that cemetery, except that one (with a shears blade or knife) is buried

¹ For further discussion see Philpott, *Practices*, p. 111.

² Translation by M.W. Hassall, in Matthews, 'Dunstable', p. 46.

³ Clarke, *Lankhills*, pp. 151, 249-51.

⁴ Leach, *Ilchester*, pp.86-7, 255. fig. 124.

prone. In view of the small numbers of burials which contain knives in the late Roman period, the practice must be regarded as a minority one (Fig. 10).

Knives from the cemetery at Cannington are categorised by Clarke and by Philpott as sub-Roman, and this requires further comment. Sixteen burials at Cannington were accompanied by knives, none of which is similar to the Roman type described for Lankhills or Poundbury. All the Cannington knives can be assigned to Böhner's classes B-D, and Evison's types, 2, 4, and 6. Radiocarbon dates obtained for two of the knife burials calibrate at 2 sigma to AD540-790, and AD410-690.¹ It can be seen therefore that the knife burials from Cannington are from burials of the fifth to eighth centuries.²

One of the commonest types of fourth-century artifact accompanying burial in the cemetery at Lankhills was the bracelet, sometimes worn at burial and sometimes deposited separately in the grave. Of a total of 174 examples, 94 were copper-alloy, 42 bone, 18 ivory, 10 shale, 9 iron and one jet, virtually all of them were made in Britain, including those found in the 'intrusive' graves.³ At Poundbury 11 graves contained a total of 24 copper-alloy and 10 bone bracelets. Two of the graves had only one bracelet apiece, the remainder having multiple examples. At Morton Walk (South Shields) one of five late-Roman inhumation burials contained a collection of personal ornaments, including six copper-alloy bracelets, one iron and two bone, all of which had been placed, possibly in a container, at the head of the grave; a jet spindle whorl and distaff were placed separately nearby.⁴ A total of six copper-alloy, two jet and one shale

¹ Hirst, 'Cannington'.

² These are discussed further in Chapter 2

³ Clarke, *Lankhills*, pp. 310-1.

⁴ M. Snape, 'An Excavation in the Roman Cemetery at South Shields', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 22 (1994), pp. 46, 53-61.

bracelets were found with three burials at Kelvedon, Essex.¹ While bracelets occur more frequently in graves of the fourth than of the third century, even then they still accompany only a tiny percentage of the burials in any one cemetery.

By the fourth century the occurrence of brooches in graves is comparatively rare (Fig. 11) and there is normally only a single brooch, usually on the chest or shoulder of the skeleton.² The most distinctive brooch-type in this period was the crossbow (Fig. 12); eight of these were found at Lankhills, where it was regarded as an indication of the possible official status of the wearers. Other brooches recovered from Romano-British burials include penannular and fibula types, which when they occur in late-Roman graves are often dismissed by excavators as 'residual'. The important point is that whatever the brooch-type, at this period there is still usually only a single example present with each burial.

The deposition of coins with burials is a Roman practice introduced into Britain in the second century; by the late second or third century the practice appears to have been adopted by the native population, the coin usually being placed as an obol-type offering, in the mouth or near the hands of the deceased. A high level of coin deposition is sustained up to the end of the fourth century³ and does not seem to cease immediately upon the cessation of coin circulation at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century.⁴ It should not be surprising, therefore, if burials accompanied by coins which had long been out of normal circulation but which might still have been considered

¹ Rodwell, *Kelvedon*, pp. 46-7.

² Very occasionally when a second brooch is present it is placed on the pelvis (Philpott, p. 141).

³ Philpott, *Practices*, p. 211.

⁴ Coins were no longer being provided to the diocese of the Britons after 411: A.S. Esmonde Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain*, pp. 138-9.

legitimate currency for the Stygian ferry, continue to turn up in fifth or even early sixth-century contexts.

While it is possible that footwear made from organic materials had been present in Iron Age burials, no evidence for this survives. It is only with the use in the Roman period of iron-shod footwear, whereby the sole of the shoe was strengthened by the insertion of hobnails, that the presence of footwear in burials becomes apparent.

Cremation burials with hobnails are known during the first to the third centuries, and while hobnails have been found with inhumations in the second and third centuries, the majority of datable examples occur in the fourth century.¹ Footwear was sometimes worn at burial, sometimes placed separately in the grave. Of the 151 instances at Lankhills, boots were worn at burial in 60 cases, (without it being certain whether or not they were worn in 36), and were placed away from the feet in 54 cases.

The predominantly rural phenomenon of hobnails in burials may reflect a need for stronger footwear in the countryside than in towns. Distribution of hobnailed footwear (Fig. 13) was concentrated mainly in south-central Britain, extending to Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Oxfordshire, with some instances in Kent, Essex, Hertfordshire, and Cambridgeshire. The scatter of sites in the North is possibly due to the military presence in that area. It has been suggested that as the presence of hobnails in graves does not occur in the Mediterranean lands, the practice could be associated with burial customs exclusive to the Celtic world, a Celtic concept acquiring a Roman material expression.²

¹ Philpott, *Practices*, pp. 165-175.

² R. Leech, 'Bradley Hill', p.199; Philpott, *Practices*, p. 171.

Summary.

Iron Age

All the evidence for Iron Age burial points to a strong, unified native cultural tradition. This homogeneity is demonstrated by the use of crouched burial, usually orientated north-south, and is further emphasised by the fact that while the majority of Iron Age burials have no grave goods, those which do occur were drawn from a repertoire, which, though limited in range, was surprisingly widespread throughout the country, with similar types of object turning up in burials as far apart as Yorkshire and Cornwall. The brooches demonstrate a particular clothing fashion involving the wearing of a cloak or garment which was fastened with a brooch on one shoulder. Burials in all areas may have joints of pork or lamb deposited with them.

It is not denied that regional differences in some aspects of burial practices did exist, but these can be seen to be the result of outside influences which were received, adapted and absorbed by the indigenous population. Towards the end of the Iron Age, new elements began to make some inroads, these included extended inhumation, cremation, and the emergence of burial in enclosed areas specially designated for the use of families or individuals.

Romano-British

In the late fourth century the indigenous Iron Age rite of crouched inhumation was still being practised to some extent, especially in areas away from Roman centres of population, although there is some evidence that the rite was still used by a small minority in organised Romano-British cemeteries such as Poundbury (Dorset). Extended inhumation had by this time become the predominant rite, and although west-east

orientation was favoured in large organised cemeteries, the older north-south or south-north alignment was still widely practised. Prone and decapitated burial, although a minority rite was present in cemeteries throughout the country. Multiple burials were to be found in almost all cemeteries, and could include adults of either gender, and/or children. Cremation had largely died out in Roman Britain by the fourth century, but there is evidence that in some parts of the country the custom of burning a body *in situ* was being practised.

By the later fourth century the majority of burials were to be found either in (1) unprotected dug graves, (2) wooden coffins in dug graves, or (3) stone-packed or slab lined graves, with or without a wooden coffin. In many cases all three types occurred within the same cemetery. A small number of burials were deposited in lead-lined coffins, and a few in stone coffins. Wooden coffins were manufactured both with and without nails, and occasionally were provided with brackets or decorative fittings.

Timber-lined subterranean chamber graves with inhumations are recorded, many of which are located in the same territory as earlier Iron Age chamber graves which had contained cremations. Stepped graves and grave slots indicate the introduction in the late fourth century of the use of wooden grave covers in some areas. Only a very few four-post structures are recorded, but where they exist they are usually found in direct association with a grave, and probably represent a form of grave structure.

Burials continued to be placed within defined enclosures, usually rectilinear, but at least one penannular enclosure (Kelvedon) is recorded. Such enclosures could contain either a single burial on its own, or one surrounded by subsequent burials, suggesting their use as family plots. Mausolea were used in a similar manner.

The majority of late fourth-century burials had no grave goods as the deposition

of artifacts either worn by the deceased or unworn but placed with the burial had almost died out. Only a small number in any one cemetery still practised the rite. When grave goods were present they included pottery vessels, knives, bracelets, rings, brooches, coins or hobnailed boots. Even though the style of brooch had changed from Iron Age fibula to fourth century cross-bow, it was still usual to find only one brooch per burial, generally in the area of the shoulder or chest. When more than one brooch was present, the second was usually to be found in the area of the pelvis.

It can be seen that several native burial traditions (crouched inhumation, north-south orientation, multiple burial, burial within enclosures, chamber burial, the general lack of grave goods, and the wearing of single brooches) survived the upheavals of the late Iron Age/Romano-British period. These, together with the newly assimilated practices of coffin burial, extended inhumation, west-east orientation, etc. are the pointers which will indicate continuity in non-Anglo-Saxon areas in the post-Roman period, and will help with identification of possible native burials in early pagan cemeteries in Anglo-Saxon areas.

Appendix to Chapter 1.

BURIAL IN IRELAND. (First-fourth centuries).¹

Ireland during the later Bronze Age/early Iron Age resembled Britain in that the methods used to dispose of the dead became invisible in an archaeological sense. There are, however, some indications that cremation may have been the rite of disposal used by the indigenous Irish population during this period.² When the method of disposal of the dead became visible during the first centuries BC/AD it appeared as cremation deposited either directly onto the ground surface or into small pits covered by a low mound, or alternatively in the central area of a ring barrow and/or in the enclosing fosse. While some examples were unaccompanied, others have been dated to the first century BC/AD by accompanying grave-goods, usually bone or glass beads, and fragments of bronze and iron fibulae.

Some cremation burials of this period are intrusive and indicate overseas contacts. The first, discovered c. 1851 at the now unidentifiable site of Loughy near Donaghadee on the coast of Co. Down,³ was a La Tène III cremation of Aylesford type with grave goods comprising 152 glass beads, a bronze fibula of Nauheim type, a bronze spiral ring,

¹ Part of the following material is based on a thesis entitled 'Late Prehistoric - Early Historic Ireland: The Burial Evidence Reviewed', submitted by the writer to the Departments of Archaeology and Early Irish History, University College Dublin, in 1984, as part of the requirement for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Irish Studies (hereafter O'Brien, 'Burial Evidence'). See also E. O'Brien, 'Iron Age Burial Practices in Leinster: Continuity and Change', *Emania* 7 (Belfast, 1990), pp.37-42; (hereafter O'Brien, 'Iron Age'). E. O'Brien, 'Pagan and Christian Burial in Ireland during the first Millennium AD: Continuity and Change', in N. Edwards and A. Lane (eds), *The Early Church in Wales and the West*, Oxbow Monograph 16 (Oxford, 1992), pp. 130-137 (hereafter O'Brien, 'Burial in Ireland').

² O'Brien, 'Burial Evidence', pp.36-7; O'Brien, 'Iron Age', p. 37; B. Raftery, 'Iron Age Burials in Ireland' (ed.) D. Ó Corráin, *Irish Antiquity* (Cork, 1981), pp. 173-77.

³ E.M. Jope, and B.C.S. Wilson, 'A Burial Group of the First Century AD from Loughy near Donaghadee. Supplementary note', *UJA* 23 (1960), p. 40; O'Brien, 'Iron Age', p.38.

tweezers etc. The second, discovered at Stoneyford (Co. Kilkenny)¹ also in the nineteenth century, was a Roman-type cremation in a glass urn accompanied by a glass lachrymatory and covered by a bronze disc mirror, dateable to the first/second centuries AD. A third example was recently excavated at Ballydavis (Co. Laois) where a cremation, central within a penannular enclosure (16m diam) with an eastern entrance, has yielded beads and a small box of tinned-bronze with red enamelling; the closest parallel for the latter comes from the female chariot burial at Wetwang Slack (Nth. Yorks).² Some of the beads with the Loughy and Ballydavis cremations were of Meare type and similar beads have also been found with cremations in ring-barrows at Grannagh, and Oranbeg, (Co. Galway),³ Kiltierney, (Co. Fermanagh)⁴ and with crouched inhumations at Knowth, (Co. Meath),⁵ indicating some possible link between the inhabitants of those districts.

The rite of inhumation, initially crouched, appears to have been introduced into Ireland during the first century AD, probably due to influences spreading from Britain. Evidence for the arrival of people who practised crouched inhumation is provided by the

¹ The original report of this burial is contained in a scrapbook of Edward Clibborn (Royal Irish Academy Mss. 24/E/34) relating to articles exhibited to him by a Mr Perry of Stoneyford, Co. Kilkenny, 19th May, 1852 (or 1832). Latest published examination of the material is: E. Bourke, 'Stoneyford: a first-century Roman burial from Ireland', *Archaeology Ireland*, 3, No. 2 (1989), pp. 56-7.

² V.J. Keely, 'Excavations at Ballydavis, Co. Laois. IAPA Newsletter. No. 22. Spring 1996. p. 11.

³ Unpublished excavations by Prof. E. Rynne, University College, Galway. Details included in O'Brien, 'Burial Evidence', pp.38-42, 79-81; O'Brien, 'Iron Age', p. 38.

⁴ A. Hamlin, and C. Lynn (eds), *Pieces of the Past* (Belfast, 1988), pp. 24-26.

⁵ G. Eogan, 'Report on the Excavations of some Passage-graves, unprotected inhumation burials and a settlement site at Knowth, Co. Meath', *PRIA* 74 C (1974), pp. 11-112. The connections between these various burials are made in O'Brien, 'Burial Evidence'.

burials discovered in 1927 on Lambay Island (Co. Dublin)¹ which were accompanied by weapons and jewellery including fibulae of Dolphin, Langdon Down, and Thistle types, dateable to the first century AD. Some of the other items with these burials showed influence from Roman sources. A ring-ditched enclosure beneath the Rath of the Synods, Tara (Co. Meath)² provided evidence that the rites of cremation and crouched inhumation co-existed for a time. This is further confirmed by the similarity between grave-goods from crouched inhumations around the main passage tomb at Knowth (Co. Meath) and those from the cremations at Loughrey, Grannagh, and Oranbeg.³

The first dateable extended inhumation burials in Ireland are intrusive. These are the 'several' burials discovered in 1835 near the beach at Bray Head (Co. Wicklow) lying oriented west-east, side by side in unprotected dug graves, with a stone at the head and feet.⁴ The burials were dated to the second century by coins of Trajan (97-117) and Hadrian (117-138) located in the chest area of the skeletons. Native unprotected extended inhumations without personal grave goods but occasionally with animal bones, possibly dating from this period, have been recovered at Tara, Co. Meath, and at other sites throughout Ireland.⁵

¹ These burials have been described as 'probably Brigantians fleeing from the Romans', by E. Rynne 'The La Tène and Roman finds from Lambay, Co. Dublin. A Re-assessment'. *PRIA* 76 C (1976), p.242.

² Unpublished excavation by S. P. Ó Riordáin, information from Dr. S. Caulfield, University College Dublin. See O'Brien, 'Iron Age', p. 38.

³ C14 dates now received for some of the crouched burials at Knowth, confirm that these fall in the period first/second centuries AD. Unpublished information kindly supplied by Ms. H. Roche, with permission from Prof. G. Eogan, University College, Dublin.

⁴ The original description of this find is in S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, 2 vols. (London, 1837), p. 223. For context, see O'Brien, 'Iron Age', p. 39.

⁵ O'Brien, 'Burial Evidence'; O'Brien, 'Iron Age', pp. 39-40; O'Brien, 'Burial in Ireland', p. 132.

The strict orientation of extended inhumation does not appear to have been an important factor in this early period, but by the fourth/fifth century west-east orientation appears to have become the norm, as was the case in late Roman cemeteries in Britain.

Evidence for contacts between Ireland and Roman Britain during the first to fourth centuries are well documented in the archaeological record,¹ and history records that during the fourth/fifth century, when Britain's defences were weakened by the gradual withdrawal of the Romans, the *Scotti* (Irish) were raiding the western coasts of Britain.² About that time Dyfed in South Wales was settled by the Déisi from the Waterford district on the south coast of Ireland (Fig.25)³ and according to Irish tradition Cornwall was settled by the Uí Liatháin from east Cork.⁴ The *Historia Brittonum*⁵ on the other hand records *fili Liethan* as being present in Dyfed, Gower and Kidwelly in South

¹ J.D. Bateson, 'Roman Material from Ireland; a reconsideration', *PRIA* 73 C (1973), pp. 21-97; J.D. Bateson, 'Further Finds of Roman Material from Ireland', *PRIA* 76 C, (1976), pp. 171-180; C. Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (London, 1981); R.B. Warner, 'Some observations on the Context and Importation of Exotic Material in Ireland, from the First Century BC to the Second century AD', *PRIA* 76 C (1976), pp. 267-92. Many further finds of Roman material have come to light in recent years, especially in the area north of Dublin. (E. Kelly, Nat. Mus. Ireland, personal comment, and recent newspaper reports).

² During one of these raids, in the early fifth century, the young Patrick was captured and brought to Ireland as a slave.

³ C. Thomas, *Britain and Ireland in Early Christian Times. AD 400-800*, (London, 1971), pp. 58-67, (hereafter Thomas, *Britain and Ireland*); F.J. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High Kings*, (London, 1973), pp. 72, 183, (hereafter Byrne, *Kings*); M. Richards, 'The Irish Settlements in South-West Wales. A topographical approach', *JRSAI* 90, pt.ii, (1960), pp. 133-62, (hereafter Richards, 'The Irish Settlements'); T.M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 147-9 (hereafter Charles-Edwards, *Kinship*); C. Thomas, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak?* (Cardiff, 1994), esp. pp. 41-49, (hereafter Thomas, *Mute Stones*).

⁴ Thomas, *Britain and Ireland*, pp. 62-4; Byrne, *Kings*, p.72; Charles-Edwards, *Kinship*, pp. 147-9; also T. Charles-Edwards, 'Language and Society among the Insular Celts AD 400-1000', in M.J. Green ed. *The Celtic World*, (London, 1995), esp. p. 706.

⁵ *Nennius, British History and the Welsh Annals*, ed. & transl., J. Morris, (Chichester, 1980) ; *Historia Brittonum*, ch. 14, p. 62, transl. pp.20-1 (hereafter *Historia Brittonum*).

Wales.¹ Evidence also exists for the presence of people from Ireland in North Wales.²

Memorial stones with Irish ogham inscriptions are to be found in Wales and Cornwall.³ In Wales a total of 35 stones, dated to the fifth/sixth centuries, can be subdivided into 9 with inscriptions in ogham alone, and 26 with combined Latin and ogham inscriptions. Of a further 104 stones with inscriptions in Latin, those with Celtic names 'significantly outnumber' those of Roman derivation, at least 16 of these can be identified as Irish.⁴ In Cornwall there are six stones with combined ogham and Latin inscriptions, six with Latin inscriptions which have definite 'Q' Celtic (primitive Irish) names, and approximately 40 with Latin inscriptions have names which may be either 'Q' or 'P' (primitive British) Celtic.⁵

The fact that the Irish did not adopt the practice of including grave goods with burials is an indication that the rite was probably received from Wales or Cornwall, areas which had no tradition of including artifacts with burial. This evidence might also prove useful when interpreting the change-over to non-use of grave goods in Anglo-Saxon burials located in western Britain.

The rite of extended supine inhumation, oriented west-east, without grave goods, in either unprotected dug graves or in stone lined cist graves, adopted by the Irish in this period, continued unchanged throughout the following centuries.

¹ It is probable that these early contacts were also responsible for the introduction of Christianity into the south of Ireland in the pre-Patrician era.

² See below p. 86.

³ For background see Thomas, *Mute Stones*.

⁴ V.E. Nash-Williams, *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (Cardiff 1950), pp. 3 (table II), 6, 7, (hereafter Nash-Williams, *Monuments of Wales*); Richards, 'The Irish Settlements', pp. 141-3.

⁵ E. Okasha, *Corpus of Early Christian Inscribed Stones of South-West Britain* (Leicester, 1993), pp. 19, 43-45, 55-6.

CHAPTER 2

BURIAL IN POST-ROMAN BRITAIN

Burial practices established by the late fourth century in Britain remained unchanged throughout subsequent centuries in areas not affected by Anglo-Saxon incursions of the fifth, sixth and early seventh centuries. After the seventh century, differences between British and Anglo-Saxons burial practices became indiscernible.

TABLE 5
Post-Roman British burial

KEY: Column headings: Gaz = database gazetteer number: or = orientation of burial:
ex = extended burial: cb = crouched burial: pr = prone burial: dc = decapitate burial:
n = burial without grave goods: sl = slab-lined grave: cf = coffin: gm = grave marker:
sp = special grave.
Column content: c = certain: p = possible: a = absent: - = no information recorded:
v = various.

Gaz	Site location	or	ex	cb	pr	dc	n	sl	cf	gm	sp
604	Buckland Denham, Som	we	p	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
605	Camerton, Avon	we	c	-	c	-	c	c	c	-	a
606	Cannington, Som.	we	c	c	-	a	c	c	a	c	c
607	Everchreech, Som	we	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
608	Queen Camel, Som.	-	p	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
609	Saltford, Avon	we	c	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
637	Dalmeny, Lothian	we	c	-	-	-	a	c	a	a	a
817	Huish Episcopi, Som.	-	c	-	-	a	c	c	a	-	a
1171	Glastonbury, Som.	ns?	c	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	c
1227	Swanage, Dorset	we	c	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
1228	Taunton, Som.	we	c	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
1236	Wells, Som.	v	c	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	c
2001	Bodedern, Gwynedd	v	c	-	-	a	c	c	a	p	p
2002	Capel Eithin, Gwynedd	we	c	-	-	a	c	c	p	c	c
2007	Iona, Argyll	we	c	a	-	-	c	c	-	-	-

Gaz	Site location	or	ex	cb	pr	dc	n	sl	cf	gm	sp
2008	Sth. Knapsdale, Str/clyde	-	c	-	-	-	c	a	a	a	a
2012	Carfraemill, Borders	we	c	-	-	-	c	c	a	p	p
2027	Rhuthun, Clwyd	we	c	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
2028	Crantock, Cornwall	-	c	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
2029	Scilly Isles, C/wall	we	c	-	-	-	c	c	-	p	-
2030	Scilly Isles, C/wall	we	c	-	-	-	c	c	-	p	-
2031	Scilly Isles, C/wall	we	c	-	-	-	c	c	a	c	-
2031	Tintagel, Cornwall	we	c	-	-	-	c	c	-	c	-
2033	Wendron, Cornwall	we	c	a	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
2039	Mochrum, Dumfries & Galloway	we	c	-	-	-	c	c	-	p	p
2041	Bayvil, Dyfed	v	c	-	-	-	c	c	a	p	-
2045	Crail, Fife	we	c	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
2046	Lundin Links, Fife	we	c	-	-	-	c	c	a	-	-
2047	St. Andrews, Fife	we	c	c	a	a	c	c	c	-	-
2048	Barry, Sth. Glamorgan	we	c	-	-	-	c	c	p	-	a
2049	Llandough, Sth. Glam.	we	c	c	c	-	c	c	c	c	-
2050	Llanfeithin, Glam.	we	c	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	a
2056	Caerleon, Gwent	-	c	-	-	-	c	c	a	a	a
2067	Resolis, Highland	v	c	-	-	a	c	-	-	c	-
2068	Rushen, I.O.M.	we	c	-	-	a	c	c	a	-	-
2069	Patrick, I.O.M.	we	c	-	-	a	c	c	a	-	-
2070	Braddan, I.O.M.	we	c	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
2071	Onchan, I.O.M.	we	c	-	-	a	c	c	a	-	-
2072	St. Patrick's Isle, I.O.M.	we	c	-	a	a	c	c	c	c	a
2073	Rushen, I.O.M.	we	c	-	a	a	c	c	a	-	a
2074	Santan, I.O.M.	we	c	-	-	a	c	c	a	-	a
2080	Tandderwen, Clwyd	we	c	-	-	-	c	a	c	-	p
2095	Birsay, Orkney	we	c	a	-	a	c	c	-	-	-
2096	Brough of Deerness, Orkney	we	c	-	-	a	c	c	-	-	a
2098	Llandrindid Wells, Powys	we	c	a	a	a	c	c	c	p	c
2099	Llangynog, Powys	-	c	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-

Gaz	Site location	or	ex	cb	pr	dc	n	sl	cf	gm	sp
2100	Kebister, Shetland	-	p	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
2101	Unst, Shetland	sn	c	a	c	a	c	a	a	p	a
2103	Brean Down, Somerset	-	c	-	-	a	c	c	-	-	-
2104	Bridgewater, Somerset	we	c	a	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
2105	Langford Budville, Som.	-	c	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
2106	Wembdon, Somerset	we	c	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
2133	Golspie, Highland	we	c	a	a	a	c	c	a	c	p
2135	Abercorn, Lothian	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2153	Balnakeil, Highland	-	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-
2154	Whithorn, Dumfries & Galloway	we	c	-	-	-	c	c	c	c	c
2156	St. Andrews, Fife	v	c	p	c	-	c	c	a	-	-
2181	Lamyatt Beacon, Somerset	we	c	-	a	a	c	a	a	a	a
2183	Plas Gogerddan, Dyfed	v	c	c	-	-	c	a	c	c	p
2185	Llandegai, Gwynedd	we	c	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	p
2190	Ardwall Isle, Dumfries & Galloway	we	c	-	c	a	c	a	a	c	p
2217	Scilly Isles, Cornwall	-	c	a	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
2247	Lewis, Western Isles	v	c	c	-	-	c	a	a	p	a
2248	Caerwent, Gwent	we	c	-	-	-	c	-	-	p	-
2253	Dunbar, Lothian	-	c	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
2254	Linlithgow, Lothian	we	c	-	-	-	c	c	a	-	a
2255	Caerwent, Gwent	v	c	p	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
2256	Longniddry, Lothian	we	c	a	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
2257	Ackergill, Highland	v	c	c	c	c	c	c	-	p	-
2258	Lasswade, Lothian	we	c	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
2259	Bridgend, Strathclyde	we	c	-	-	-	c	p	-	a	a
2260	Drumnadrochit, Highland	we	c	-	-	-	c	c	-	c	-
2261	Whitebridge, Highland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2263	Trelystan, Powys	we	c	-	-	-	c	a	c	p	-
2264	Boysack Mills, Tayside	-	c	a	a	a	a	a	c	a	a
2265	Kirkliston, Lothian	we	c	-	-	-	c	c	-	c	p

The enduring character of late Romano-British burial rites can be observed in Devon and Cornwall, for instance at St. Mary Major, Exeter (Devon) (Gaz. 1164), where west-east oriented, unaccompanied burials in slab-lined and unprotected dug graves, produced radiocarbon determinations ranging from the fifth to the seventh century for an early phase of the cemetery.¹ At Tintagel Churchyard in Cornwall (Gaz. 2032), the first of three phases of burial which appear to have been oriented on a granite pillar, are dated to the fifth/sixth century, based on the presence of imported Bii amphora together with fragments of slate with simple linear cross and compass marked circles. A church, dated to possibly the tenth century, overlay this phase. Burials in the Isles of Scilly (Gaz. 2029; 2030; 2031; 2217), conform to a similar pattern and are variously dated from the fourth to the eighth century. A stone believed to have come from the cemetery at Abbey Gardens, Tresco (Scilly) (Gaz. 2031), bears an inscription in Latin ...*THI FILI...COLINI*, '(the stone) of X, son of Y'. This is a commemorative formula common to Ireland and Celtic Britain and is dated to the latter half of the sixth century,² and burials at Crantock, Churchtown, (Cornwall) (Gaz. 2028), may also date to this early period.

An excellent example of a cemetery located outside the area of early Anglo-Saxon influence, with burials which span the period from about the third to the eighth or ninth century, is that at Cannington in Somerset (Gaz 606) (for location Fig.77).³ Located near the mouth of the River Parrett, on the Bristol channel, it appears to be the burial

¹ (HAR-1614) - AD 420 $\pm$ 70; (HAR-1613) - AD 490 $\pm$ 70; *Exeter Archaeological Report*, 1 (1979), p. 111.

² Thomas, *Mute Stones*, pp. 261, 271 (fig. 16.10, p. 273).

³ Hirst, 'Cannington'. The cemetery at Cannington is described here in some detail because it contains several features which are relevant to other post-Roman cemeteries, but which have not yet been published.

ground for the dead from the nearby hillfort at Cannington, which was originally Iron Age but was apparently re-occupied at about the fourth century AD.¹

A total of 542 burials, male and female adults, juveniles and babies, in dug, rock-cut and occasionally slab-lined graves, were excavated in this cemetery, but as much of the area had been quarried away before excavation, the real total is estimated at about 2,000. All the burials were oriented in a general west-east direction, and all but three were extended. Several graves contained more than one burial laid side-by-side. The use of shrouds was indicated both by the general lack of grave-goods and by the presence of pins in six graves. Six burials were accompanied by coins datable to the fourth century. The possible original nucleus for the cemetery, located at its northern edge and highest point, was a circular rock-cut ditch surrounding a square stone platform (FT43) (Fig. 14). Beneath the platform was an unaccompanied (probably primary) extended supine inhumation burial of a young adult male (no. 424), oriented west-east, which produced a radiocarbon determination (at 2 sigma range) of AD 210-440. Two post-holes located near the foot of the grave may have held a grave marker and/or a slightly more substantial feature.² Two further burials were located just outside the south-west quadrant of the circle, one a young adult male (no. 426), the other a child (no. 428). Unfortunately the area around the north and east of the feature had already been quarried away before excavation.

A second, and later, focal-point or special grave was located approximately 15

¹ P. Rahtz, 'Cannington Hillfort, 1963', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History*, 113 (1969), pp. 56-68 (hereafter Rahtz, 'Cannington Hillfort').

² The placing of post-holes at the foot of the grave is a recurring feature throughout the early medieval period. It indicates that the burial was laid facing the feature. If, as is likely, these burials were Christian, then the post-hole might have contained a wooden cross. A grave-marker with the name of the deceased would more likely be placed at the head of the grave.

metres south of FT43. This feature (FT26), which was approached from the north-west by a pathway (indicating that it was visited), consisted of a low mound on which rested a cist-like arrangement of horizontal and vertical slabs of lias, aligned east-west (Fig. 15 A), and a possible stone grave-marker 0.36m high with an undecipherable surface decoration (Fig. 15 B) was located near the eastern end of the structure. Neither the structure nor the mound contained a burial, but at a depth of 0.66 metres into the rock directly beneath the structure, an undisturbed grave (no. 409) containing a young person (*circa* 13 years) extended west-east with no grave goods was located. The stone would therefore appear to have been marking the foot of this grave. The burial produced a radiocarbon determination (cal. at 2 sigma) of AD 620-1020. Several burials in the surrounding area can be identified as later than no. 409: graves which were cut into the surface of the approach pathway, and a crouched burial nearby had lias stones robbed from structure FT26 placed around its head. A second crouched burial, with its feet towards the north, was located about 17 metres to the west of this, and another which was located nearby produced a radiocarbon determination of AD 380-660. These crouched burials, with no grave goods, indicate the continued use of this rite by a minority of Britons well into the Christian period.

An intrusive element, probably Anglo-Saxon, within the cemetery was indicated by the presence of knives of Evison's types 2, 4 and 6, in 15 graves. Ten of these burials were probably clothed as the knives were located in the waist area, but in the remaining five cases the knives were deposited at the heads and feet of the skeletons. In one case two knives were deposited at the feet. Radiocarbon determinations for two of the burials with knives at the waist are AD 210-650 and 410-690.

An intriguing burial is that of a 7 year-old child (no. 405), located in the north-

eastern area of the cemetery. Accompanied by a glass bead and a penannular brooch with trefoil terminals (Fig. 15 C), the burial produced a radiocarbon determination of AD 660-1150. The closest parallels for this brooch are Kilbride-Jones's type 'D',¹ the distribution of which is predominantly in the northern part of Ireland, with two outliers at a crannóg on Lough Derravaragh in Co. Westmeath.² Taking into consideration the various structural elements of the Cannington brooch, it seems likely that it is an imitation of an Irish type made in Western Britain, rather than an Irish import.³ The brooch, which also shows hints of Pictish influence, is dateable to the eighth century.⁴ No such previous find has been made in association with a burial, and the presence in this case of one only brooch harks back to an older British burial custom.

Cannington is a secular British cemetery, which did not acquire a church but continued to be used into possibly the ninth century. The majority of the burials are probably Christian, but there are hints of pagan practices, for example the inclusion of crouched burials, the presence of burnt grain and ash charcoal around the skull of burial no. 6, and of oak charcoal in the mouth and on the face of burial no. 369.⁵ The burials with knives probably represent Anglo-Saxons who had become assimilated into a British community.⁶

Several other post-Roman burial sites in Somerset have produced radiocarbon

¹ H. Kilbride-Jones, *Zoomorphic Penannular Brooches* (London, 1980), pp. 65-69, 136-142.

² Susan Youngs, British Museum, personal comment.

³ Professor James Graham-Campbell, personal comment.

⁴ S. Youngs, personal comment.

⁵ Literary evidence for the equation of burnt grain with pagan practices still used by Christians into the eighth century, and for the burial of Christians and pagans in the same cemetery, is discussed below in Chapter 4, p. 118.

⁶ The issue of burial with knives is also discussed in Chapter 4.

determinations which show that they continued to be used for burial up to and beyond the seventh century. For example, the cemetery at Brean Down, in the sand-cliffs on the Bristol channel (Gaz. 2103), may have originated in the sub-Roman period, but a radiocarbon date places at least one burial at AD 650-80;¹ at Lamyatt Beacon (Gaz. 2181), a cemetery with W-E extended burials and a contemporary small building, located on the site of a late third to fifth-century Romano-Celtic temple, produced radiocarbon determinations of AD 599±90 and 782±90, placing some burials in the period seventh/ninth centuries.² The small building is likened by the excavator to the early churches at Church Island, Co. Kerry, and Ardwall Isle, Scotland.³ However, an important disparity is overlooked: the doorway of the Lamyatt building is in the east wall, whereas Church Island and Ardwall Isle (and in all Irish churches of this period) have west doorways and the altar is located against the east wall. It is unlikely, therefore, that the Lamyatt building was an early church, especially of the Irish type.

At Beckery Chapel, Glastonbury (Gaz. 1171), the first-phase cemetery, associated with a wattle and daub structure, contained a grave which was isolated from the rest and is described as a possible shrine. Radiocarbon determinations for a burial from this phase centre on *circa* AD 720. The site acquired a stone church possibly in the twelfth/thirteenth century. At Wells Cathedral (Som) (Gaz. 1236) where a partly subterranean late Roman chamber-grave, possibly within a mausoleum, was discovered beneath the north corner of St. Mary's chapel,⁴ eighth-century W-E burials were placed

¹ (Birm-246B); *Radiocarbon*, 15 (1973), p. 8.

² R. Leech, 'The Excavation of a Romano-Celtic Temple and a Later Cemetery on Lamyatt Beacon, Somerset', *Britannia*, 17 (1980), p. 270.

³ R. Leech, *op. cit.*, pp. 268, 274.

⁴ Rodwell, 'Wells Cathedral'.

in the area around the chamber, which was emptied and used as an ossuary. A radiocarbon determination obtained for a burial near the chamber is AD 730 $\pm$ 70 (HAR-3397). Although it has been suggested by the excavators that a sequence of late Roman sepulchral and Christian religious structures exist at this site, one would hesitate to accept this as evidence for direct continuity, as the time lapse between the late Roman chamber with possible N-S burials, and the eighth-century Christian cemetery is too great. It is more likely to be a matter of re-use.

One of the two cemeteries at Wembdon Hill, Bridgewater (Gaz. 2104) produced a tinned copper-alloy penannular brooch dated by the excavators to the fifth/sixth century. The second cemetery (Gaz. 2106), which produced a burial with a shroud pin, might possibly be the later of the two.

Other sites in Somerset which contain W-E oriented burials without grave-goods are ambiguous in dating, possibly spanning the post-Roman/Anglo-Saxon transition. These include Huish Episcopi (Gaz. 817) and Langford Budville (Gaz. 2105); the cemetery located on or near the site of a Romano-British cemetery at Camerton (Gaz. 605) which included a burial in a Roman stone coffin (maybe re-used), a prone female who apparently attempted to raise herself during burial, 42 burials with grains of charcoal sprinkled over the heads, a burial with a knife and enamelled hanging-bowl escutcheons dated mid/late seventh century,¹ and a female with foetus accompanied by amulets including a cowrie shell; and the cemetery at Shepherd's Farm, Ulwell, Swanage (Dorset) (Gaz. 1227) which contained over 50 W-E burials in rows, some graves lined with limestone slabs, a burial with a late-Roman third/fourth-century coin in the fill, and one

¹ R.H. White, *Roman and Celtic Objects from Anglo-Saxon Graves*, B.A.R. (Br. Ser.), 191 (Oxford, 1988), p. 124 (hereafter White, *Celtic Objects*).

burial with an iron knife.

Five Somerset sites have produced burials with identifiable Anglo-Saxon artifacts, all located among unaccompanied burials, which might represent small numbers of 'planted' settlers (Fig. 77).¹ These include an Anglo-Saxon sword found with a skeleton at Queen Camel, east of Ilchester (Gaz. 608); a late seventh-century spearhead and part of a shield-boss which accompanied a burial at Hicknall Slait, Taunton (Gaz. 1228); and a burial at Saltford, near Bath (Gaz. 609), which had an iron knife. At Buckland Denham (Gaz. 604) a female skeleton (one of a double burial), had the skull on the breast, and was accompanied by a cache of three silver wire rings and some beads; and a skeleton at Evercreech (Gaz. 607), had an iron knife at the feet.

The survival of British burial practices in Somerset into the seventh century and beyond is not surprising, as it was not until AD 658 that Cenwalh drove the 'Welsh' as far as the river Parrett after the battle of *Peonnum*.²

Cemeteries located in South Wales, along the area north of the Bristol channel, conformed to the rite demonstrated on the southern side of the channel at Cannington. Radiocarbon dates ranging from the fourth to the eighth centuries have been obtained from a cemetery containing 136 burials, all W-E, except three which were S-N and three which were E-W, at the Vicarage Orchard Garden, Caerwent (Gwent) (Gaz. 2255), located outside the east gate of Venta Silurum.³ A sixth-century penannular brooch of

¹ For further explanation of the concept of 'planted' settlers see B. Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1995), p. 68 (hereafter Yorke, *Wessex*)

² *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, transl. G.N. Garmonsway, 2nd ed. (London, 1972), pp. 32-3 (hereafter ASC), *sub anno* 658. For suggested identification of *Peonnum* see Yorke, *Wessex*, p. 58.

³ E. Campbell and P. Macdonald, 'Excavations at Caerwent Vicarage Orchard Garden, 1973: An Extra-Mural Post-Roman Cemetery', *Arch. Camb.* 142 (1993), pp. 74-98. A list of 11 radiocarbon dates is published in the report, five of which were obtained from Harwell in 1974, the remainder from Cardiff in 1993.

Dickinson's type G (White's class F), similar to brooches from Bidford-on-Avon and Harnham Hill,¹ was found in this cemetery, and the excavators suggest that it probably came from a burial.² Also in Caerwent, a burial from the site of St. Stephen and St. Tathen's Church (Gaz. 2248) has produced a date cal. to AD 540-770.³ Dates ranging from AD 240±60 to 720±60 (possible third to eighth century), have been derived from burials at the Atlantic Trading Estate, Barry (Glam.) (Gaz. 2048), and probable genetic links have been identified between skeletons at that site;⁴ and a date of AD 705±60 has been obtained for a female burial in a slab-lined grave inserted into a barrack building at Roman Gates, Caerleon (Gwent) (Gaz. 2056).⁵

An excellent example of continuity of burial from the fourth to possibly eleventh or twelfth century is provided by the site excavated in 1994 at Great House Farm, north of the church at Llandough, near Cardiff, (South Glamorgan) (Gaz. 2049)⁶. Excavations carried out south of the church in 1979 had already revealed the presence of an Iron-Age settlement, superseded by a Roman villa, which was subsequently used for burial between the seventh to eleventh centuries.⁷ In 1994, a total of 858 inhumations were recorded,

¹ R. White, *Celtic Objects*, pp. 19-20.

² Campbell and Macdonald, *op.cit.*, p. 82.

³ *Med. Arch.* 37 (1993), p. 308.

⁴ H. James, 'Early Medieval Cemeteries in Wales', in N. Edwards and A. Lane (eds.), *The Early Church in Wales and the West* (Oxford, 1992), p. 97 (hereafter James 'Cemeteries in Wales').

⁵ *Med. Arch.* 26 (1982), pp. 225-6.

⁶ I am grateful to Alan Thomas of the Cotswold Archaeological Trust for providing me with a copy of the unpublished preliminary report for this excavation.

⁷ (CAR-305) - 1155±65 bp - 795±65 ad; (CAR-306) - 1175±65 bp - 775±65 ad; (CAR-271) - 885±60 bp - 1065±60 ad. H.S. Owen-John, 'Llandough: The Rescue excavation of a Multiperiod site near Cardiff, South Glamorgan', in D.M. Robinson (ed.), *Biglis, Caldicot and Llandough: Three Late Iron Age and Romano-British Sites in South-East Wales. Excavations 1977-79*. B.A.R. 188 (Oxford, 1988),

the earliest being a pit burial at the northern edge of the site, which produced a potsherd of late Iron Age date, and another inhumation which contained a brooch of Colchester derivative type dated to the first century AD. Two other burials in this northern area produced Roman-type beads. In the southern part of the cemetery, five burials which appear to be primary burials within a circular enclosure, located among a group of W-E extended supine inhumations, produced iron hob-nails, and one of these burials also produced a Roman coin of AD 330-45. A further three burials from the same vicinity also produced Roman coins of the same period. A radiocarbon date from a burial within a stone-lined grave in this area has produced a date calibrated at 1 sigma to AD 420-590, and another burial within the same area has produced a date of AD 790-970. There is some evidence, in the form of the curvilinear layout of some burials, that the enclosure was enlarged at some stage, and a date of AD 960-1015 has been obtained for a burial within this enlarged area.

The cemetery also expanded to the north and to the west, and a burial in a wooden coffin in the western area has produced a date of AD 770-890.¹ In the northern section, one crouched and one prone burial were recovered. Two burials with knives were located, one within the primary enclosure and one within the expanded enclosure area, and a burial with what appears to be a belt with iron strip attachments around its waist was located on the outer fringe of the expanded enclosure. It would seem that while burial, probably associated with the pre-villa occupation, had taken place in the late Iron Age/early Roman period, the main use of the area as a cemetery commenced in the

pp. 144, 176.

¹ Dates as provided by Alan Thomas: Beta-76463 - 1570 ± 70 B.P. cal. 1 sigma AD 420-590; Beta-76464 - 1170 ± 60 B.P. cal. 1 sigma AD 790-970; Beta-76465 - 1070 ± 50 B.P. cal. 1 sigma AD 960-1015; Beta-76466 - 1210 ± 60 B.P. cal. 1 sigma AD 770-890.

late Roman period, probably originally associated with the nearby villa, but continued throughout subsequent centuries.

The name Llandough is first attested in the seventh century, and is interpreted as 'the cemetery or church of Docco', traditionally believed to be a fifth-century British saint.¹ This would suggest that the site had assumed an ecclesiastical nature by the seventh century, and the burials in the 1979 excavations which produced dates ranging from the eighth century may also be associated with this. Further evidence for an ecclesiastical connection is provided by a decorated cross-shaft, dated to the late tenth or eleventh century, in the present churchyard.² The final phase of the cemetery is marked by infant burials in the northern sectors. Initially a secular cemetery similar to that at Cannington this cemetery acquired a church probably in the seventh century, thus ensuring its continued use until the medieval period.

Further along the west coast, at Caer, Bayvil (Dyfed) (Gaz. 2041), a cemetery within a small disused Iron Age or Romano-British univallate enclosure (30m x 40m) with a S-W entrance, produced dates which calibrate to AD 640-883.³

Undated, but falling into the same category are; the burials discovered beneath the church at Pennant Melangell, Llangynog (Powys) (Gaz. 2099); the small cemetery which post-dates the Roman site at Rhuthun (Clwyd) (Gaz. 2027); and probably the small cemetery at Trelystan (Powys) (Gaz. 2263), located on the line of a Roman Road where it runs through a hill-top complex of prehistoric monuments, on the east side of Offa's Dyke. A possible 'special' grave is included in the small pre-church cemetery at Capel

¹ A. Thomas, preliminary report, p.4.

² Nash-Williams, *Monuments of Wales*, pp. 134-6 (no. 206), fig. 11, 1, pl. XLV.

³ James, 'Cemeteries in Wales', pp. 94, 103.

Maelog, Llandrindod Wells (Powys) (Gaz. 2098). This confined burial, which had a path leading to it from the west, was in a grave edged with stones and covered with quartz pebbles. The grave was later cut by the chancel wall of the possibly twelfth-century church.

The cemetery at Arfryn, Bodedern, Anglesey (Gwynedd)¹ (Gaz. 2001), where use appears to have commenced within a prehistoric enclosure, contained N-S burials in simple dug graves in its earliest stages and W-E graves in its main phase. A central feature of this cemetery was a circle (*circa* 4 metres diameter) of small post-holes enclosing a pebbled area which contained a large post-hole or stone-socket and probably a simple dug grave (Fig. 16A). It has been suggested² that the post-hole or socket may originally have held the stone inscribed *ERCAGNI* '(The stone) of Ercagnos' which was found in a secondary position re-used as a lintel on another grave. The name Ercagnos is Irish,³ and the inscription, which dates to the fifth/sixth century, was written vertically on the stone. Cist and lintel burials, inserted later, respected the area of the circle of post-holes.

A possible *cella memoriae* or mausoleum has been recognised at Capel Eithin, Anglesey (Gwynedd) (Gaz. 2002)⁴ a post-Roman cemetery located on an area of high ground in the vicinity of a Bronze Age cairn and a small building now identified as a Roman signal station. The cemetery contained over 100 inhumations, orientated W-E,

¹ This cemetery is potentially extremely interesting, but unfortunately details are sketchy as the material has, to date, been very inadequately published.

² R. White, *Early Christian Gwynedd* (Bangor, 1975).

³ N. Edwards, 'Anglesey in the Early Middle Ages: the Archaeological Evidence', *TAAAS* (1986), p. 23.

⁴ Pre-publication notes and plans for the re-assessment of this site have kindly been provided by Mr David Longley, Gwynedd Archaeological Trust.

with no grave- goods. The graves were slab-lined and dug, and several had impressions of plank lining, wooden biers or covers. A structure 4.9 metres square with an eastern entrance, located in the northern part of the cemetery and now interpreted as a *cella memoriae* (Fig. 17 A), contained two slab-lined burials, one of which was centrally placed and aligned with the entrance. There were two stake-holes behind the side slabs on each side at the head (west) end of the grave, and there was evidence for plank lining. The second (smaller) slab-lined grave, which lay beside the first, was possibly for a child. At some later time a lintelled grave was inserted into the entrance feature, partially disturbing the first burial. It is suggested that the *cella memoriae* was walled and roofed. Radiocarbon dates obtained from wood at the base of the first grave calibrate at 2 sigma to AD 685 - 1035 (CAR-484). While some graves in the vicinity of the *cella memoriae* appear to be aligned on that structure, others appear to have been aligned on the nearby Bronze Age cairn. A Romano-British connection and further possible dating evidence is provided by an unpublished stone (now lost), recorded *circa* 1698 as having come from Capel Eithin, with the inscription *DEVORIGI* or *DEVORICI*¹* '(the stone) of Devoricos' written vertically on one surface.² This stone is of Nash-Williams's group 1, dating to the fifth to seventh century.

Rectangular and square-ditched enclosures surrounding one or more burials occur in several post-Roman cemeteries in North Wales. One such rectangular enclosure is included in a cemetery of 30 W-E graves, located on the site of a Neolithic cursus at Llandegai, near Bangor, (Gwynedd) (Gaz. 2185). This enclosure, which measured 4.2m

¹ **Devorix* 'God-king', but by the late-Roman and post-Roman periods the older system of nominal declension had collapsed, as illustrated by the substitution of the ending *-i* in place of the old *-os* in consonantal stems. I am indebted to Thomas Charles-Edwards for this observation.

² Information provided by David Longley. The translation provided by Mr Longley reads '(the stone of) Devorus'.

x 3.6m and had no apparent entrance, contained one centrally placed grave, on the same W-E alignment as other graves in the cemetery. Originally interpreted as a chapel, it has now been re-interpreted as a timber surround for one grave.¹

The largest recorded complex of Welsh square ditched enclosures is at Tandderwen, (Clwyd) (Gaz. 2080) (Fig. 18). Here the larger of two Bronze Age barrows, represented by a circular ditch approx. 21m in diameter, contained a central crouched Beaker burial, Iron Age cremation burials and an inhumation in a log coffin aligned N-S, a post-hole and a possible post-Roman burial also N-S all superimposed upon each other. The circle was enclosed, probably in the post-Roman period, within a square-ditched enclosure which may have functioned as a 'shrine'.² There were nine square enclosures located north of this 'shrine', one of which with an eastern entrance contained three parallel W-E graves; the remainder, only the largest of which had an entrance, had one grave apiece. Scattered in groups among the enclosures were unenclosed graves, similarly aligned with those inside the enclosures. All were simple dug graves, with no skeletal survival, but many contained coffin stains. Radiocarbon determinations from coffin material in two of the enclosure burials produced dates calibrated at 2 sigma to AD 433-680 and 770-1184,³ which could indicate use of the cemetery from the fifth century.⁴ There is no evidence for continuity of burial from the

¹ James, 'Cemeteries in Wales', p. 92.

² For a full discussion on this and other circles enclosed by square ditches see: J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Pagan Shrines and their Prototypes', *ASSAH* 8 (Oxford, 1995), (forthcoming) (hereafter Blair, 'Pagan Shrines').

³ (CAR-984) - ad 510±60, and (CAR-1234) - ad 860±70; K.S. Brassil *et al.*, 'Prehistoric and Early Medieval Cemeteries at Tandderwen, near Denbigh, Clwyd', *Archaeological Journal*, 148 (1991), p. 62.

⁴ It must be borne in mind however that the use of old wood for a coffin could distort the dating evidence.

Iron Age to the post-Roman period: it is probable that burial was attracted to the site in both era by the presence there of prehistoric barrows.

Also associated with a Bronze Age barrow complex, a standing stone and Iron Age burials is the cemetery at Plas Gogerddan (Dyfed) (Gaz. 2183) (Fig. 17 B), which contained a minimum of 22 W-E, extended inhumations in simple dug graves. Nine graves retained stains of wooden coffins or plank lining without nails. Three were placed within rectangular enclosures, and one, the most southerly grave in the cemetery, had a post-hole at the foot end of the grave. The best preserved of the enclosures measured externally 5.5m x 3.8m, had an entrance in the east side flanked by two post-holes which presumably held a door or gate, and a soil stain throughout the foundation trench which appears to represent decayed timber. The central grave contained a bone stain with the head to the west and a coffin stain. Between the foot of the grave and the entrance a small sub-rectangular stone-lined pit, which contained stains of decayed wood but no evidence for phosphate is presumed to have contained a wooden box. The other two enclosures were partially destroyed, but one appears to have been identical to the first, even including the pit feature, but with an extra grave which may have been a later insertion. The third enclosure had a ?later grave inserted at the entrance. A radiocarbon determination from decayed wood in one of the unenclosed graves calibrated at 2 sigma to AD 265-640,¹ which, even allowing for the use of mature wood, indicates possible use of the cemetery from about the fourth century. It is suggested by the excavator that the graves in the cemetery used the presumed former position of a standing stone as a focus.

Possible connections between similar funerary monuments in North Wales and

¹ Murphy, 'Plas Gogerddan', pp. 17, 27.

North Britain and Scotland will be discussed below, after description of the archaeological material in those regions.

A general absence of burials of the post-Roman period is noticeable in the north-western portion of Gloucestershire east of the Welsh border and west of the Severn which formed part of the territory of the Hwicce; also in the portion of Hereford and Worcester which in the seventh century formed the territory of the Magonsæte, and in Shropshire, which in the seventh/eighth centuries formed the territory of the Wrocensæte. There are only three exceptions, the first of which comprises three unaccompanied, extended burials outside the boundaries of Holy Trinity Church, Barrow Street, Much Wenlock, (Shropshire) (Gaz. 2102). These produced radiocarbon determinations of AD 340 ± 110 and 570 ± 75 ,¹ giving an approximate span of fourth to seventh centuries; they may belong to a secular cemetery superseded by the Christian monastic settlement established at Wenlock Priory (Gaz. 1239) for which radiocarbon determinations give a span of AD 860-1140.² The second exception is a cemetery of 23 burials in a disused Iron Age domestic square enclosure at Bromfield (Shropshire) (Gaz. 2262), an area which also contained Bronze Age barrows and at least one Iron Age burial.³ All burials were oriented W-E, except one which was E-W, and all were extended, except one which was crouched and placed at the western end of a full sized grave pit, accompanied by a buckle and small knife. One other burial had a small knife, and a female burial located away from the others near the eastern entrance to the enclosure was accompanied by an amber

¹ *Med. Arch.* 31 (1987), p. 157.

² *Med. Arch.* 31 (1987), p. 157.

³ S.C. Stanford, 'Bromfield Excavations - From Neolithic to Saxon Times', *TSAS* 64 (1985), pp. 1-7 (hereafter Stanford, 'Bromfield'); E.G. Hughes, 'An Iron Age Barrow Burial at Bromfield, Shropshire', *PPS* 60 (1994), pp. 395-402.

bead and a bronze penannular brooch. It is of course possible that this is an Anglo-Saxon cemetery of the seventh century or later located at a prehistoric site, but the female with brooch hints at a British presence. The wearing of a single brooch is a trait common to all Celtic peoples including the British, and is observable in archaeological contexts since the Iron Age. A reference in the only Celtic Law tracts available from this early period, which are Irish,¹ states that if a person is injured by a brooch, no fault is attached to the wearer provided that it is in its proper place on the shoulder. Thirdly, there is the cemetery at Castle Green, Hereford (Gaz. 1177) which has been dated by radiocarbon determination to between the eighth and twelfth centuries.²

The general lack of burial in this region is noticeable not only in the post-Roman period, but also in the Iron Age and Romano-British periods (with the exception of some cremations and an occasional inhumation in the Roman-occupied regions around Chester, Whitchurch and Wroxeter). The area was obviously inhabited, the district around Bromfield contained several hillforts, and the region in general was traversed by Roman roads. A possible explanation is that some of the indigenous population in this area still practised whatever rite had prevailed in Britain and Ireland during that period in the later Bronze Age/early Iron Age when disposal of the dead was 'invisible' in the archaeological record. The survival of the rite of cremation, either from the Roman period or from an even earlier period, might provide an explanation for the single cremation placed in a hollow beside a large pit, discovered in 1993 at Hoarstone Farm, Kidderminster Foreign (Hereford & Worcester) (Gaz. 2251), which has been dated by

¹ See F. Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988), p. 150.

² A list of radiocarbon determinations is included in *Radiocarbon*, 19 (1977), pp. 406-7.

radiocarbon to between AD 663 and 773.¹

Infiltration of the region by Anglo-Saxons is not identifiable in the archaeological record, probably because their burial rite had somehow become indistinguishable from that of post-Roman Britons, a factor which could have come about as a result of contact during the sixth century with British Christianity² or maybe even with British paganism. However, the lack of Christian cemeteries in the region in the immediate post-Roman period is still difficult to explain, the only burials which can definitely be assigned to this period being those at Much Wenlock. In contrast, there is ample evidence in the burial record for contacts between Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the 'frontier' region west of the Severn.³

A similar dearth of burial exists in the region located between the northern part of the territory of the Wrocensæte and Hadrian's Wall. The only burials recorded for Cheshire are those in a pre-Conquest Christian cemetery with a possible wooden church on and around the Bronze Age barrow at Southworth Hall, Croft (Gaz. 1152). Lancashire offers three single cremations, probably Anglo-Saxon, at Crossmoor, Inskip (Gaz. 801), Ribchester, (Gaz. 804), and Victoria Station, Manchester (Gaz. 806); and a barrow- burial of doubtful date discovered in 1770 at Hasty Knoll, Wigan (Gaz. 802). Cumbria fares no better, the only cemeteries recorded being of post-eighth-century date:

¹ This explanation is not as far-fetched as it might seem. In Ireland, where cremation ceased to be in general use by probably the end of the first century AD, some sectors of the population appear to have continued to cling to the custom into the fifth century, for example a cremation located in a ring-barrow at Furness, Co. Kildare, yielded a radiocarbon determination of cal. AD 430-580, (GrN-10472)-1540 ± 30 bp. See O'Brien, 'Burial in Ireland', p. 132; E. Grogan, 'Excavation of an Iron Age Burial Mound at Furness', *Jour. Co. Kildare Arch. Soc.*, 16, 4 (1983-4), pp. 298-316.

² This is the explanation suggested by S. Bassett, 'Church and Diocese in the West Midlands: The Transition from British to Anglo-Saxon Control', in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 16-17. See also discussion of burial in Ireland, above p. 55.

³ See Chapter 5.

for example at Carlisle Cathedral (Gaz. 2034) where one of the burials located outside the west end of the Cathedral produced a radiocarbon date of AD 750±70, and St. Andrews churchyard, Dacre (Gaz. 2036) where the earliest of three phases of burial appears to date to the eighth century.

Off-shore, on the Isle of Man, cemeteries with W-E oriented, simple dug, slab-lined and lintel graves abound. Examples include Ballakilpheric, Rushen (Gaz. 2068); Ballaquayle, Patrick, (Gaz. 1069); Speke Farm, Braddan, (Gaz. 2070); Ballachurry Park, Onchan, (Gaz. 2071); Peel Castle, St. Patrick's Isle, (Gaz. 2072); Moorehouse Farm, Rushen, (Gaz. 2073); and Glentraugh, Santan, (Gaz. 2074). Romano-British and Irish presence on the island is attested by the bilingual inscription on one of six ogham stones, dated to the end of the fifth century. In Latin this reads *AMMECATI FILIUS ROCATI HIC IACIT*, 'here lies Ammecatos son of Rocatos', and in ogham *(IM)B(I)CATOS M(A)QI ROC(A)T(O)S*, 'Imbicatos son of Rocatos'. Both names are Goidelic (Irish *Imchadh* and *Rochadh*),¹ but the Gaulish/British formula *hic iacit* is used, suggesting that in this instance there were Irish people living in a British milieu.

Although Edwin of Northumbria (AD 617-633) is recorded as ruling the Isle of Man² there is no physical presence in the form of recognisable early seventh century Anglo-Saxon burial on the island; the first recognisable change in burial practice occurs with the Viking incursions.

On the northern shore of the Solway Firth there are two early Christian ecclesiastical foundations with cemeteries. Whithorn, Wigtown, (Gaz. 2154), the

¹ K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), p. 173 (hereafter Jackson, *Language and History*).

² *HE* ii. 5.

Candida Casa reputed to have been founded by the Briton, Ninian,¹ has produced a grave-slab dated to the fifth century, with the Latin inscription *TE DOMIN(V)M LAVDAM(V)S LATINVS ANNOR(V)M XXXV ET FILIA SVA ANN IV IC SI(G)NVM FICERV(T) NIPVS BARROVADI*.² In the earliest phase of occupation at this site as revealed by excavation in recent years, three burials in log coffins were located within a rectangular enclosure measuring approx. 8m x 5m. The evidence suggests that this phase ended in the late fifth/early sixth century. Phase 2, dated to the sixth century by imported North African pottery, saw the introduction of slab-lined graves, some of which also had plank lining. These burials appear to be associated with a sub-circular gully (diam. approx. 4 metres), located to the east of the rectangular enclosure (Fig. 16 B), and interpreted by the excavators as a possible shrine. An area of paving, concentric with the gully, was laid over graves which abutted the circle, one of which contained the remains of four successive burials. A further row of burials abutted the outer edge of the paving, but others cut across the circle. Five graves of this phase were also placed within the rectangular enclosure.

The cemetery then developed in a north-westerly direction, with a square-setting of four pillars at its outer limit, interpreted as a further shrine. Burial, in log coffins and in slab-lined graves, continued throughout the seventh century often disturbing earlier graves, and platforms were built on either side of the four-post feature which remained intact until the first Northumbrian oratory built on the site enclosed one or more of the pillars. Four burials of this early Northumbrian phase were placed within a stone-built

¹ *HE* iii. 4.

² 'We Latinus, 35 years and his daughter, 4 years, praise you Lord. The grandson of Barrovadus set up this sign (?memorial)', or alternatively as suggested by T. Charles-Edwards (personal comment) 'We praise you Lord. Latinus of 35 years and his daughter of 4 years. The grandson of Barrovadus made a memorial here'. See P. Hill, *Whithorn 2*, Interim Report (1987), p. 4.

rectangular structure, with opposing north and south doorways. This cemetery, which represents continuous use from the fifth century into the Northumbrian phase (seventh/eighth century) and later, contained a series of focal points such as the rectangular enclosure, the circular gully with its abutting graves (very similar to Arfryn (Anglesey), and the four-post structure and platforms.

At Ardwall Island (Kircudbrightshire) (Gaz. 2190), located directly across the bay from Whithorn, the earliest, possibly fifth-century, burials were apparently focused on a small rock-cut hollow, identified as the underground element of a 'slab-shrine', and later burials were aligned on a small timber post-built oratory or chapel with a west doorway. Described by the excavator as an originally Irish foundation within an oval enclosure, by the eighth century Ardwall had come under Anglian influence, a fact which, because the burial rite did not change and the site was not mentioned in literature, would not have been known had it not been for the presence of a stone grave-marker with the Anglo-Saxon name *Cudgar* or *Cuthgar*, and little free-standing crosses of Anglian eighth-century type.¹

At Newton, Bridgend, on the island of Islay (Gaz. 2259), three penannular ditched enclosures with central burial pits were discovered during excavation of a prehistoric site. Two of the enclosures had entrances on the west, and one had an entrance on the east. A body-stain in one grave indicated that the head was to the west. All burials were aligned on the entrance feature. The enclosures have been dated to the early Christian period on the basis of site stratigraphy.

Burials on Iona (Gaz. 2007), the Irish monastery founded by St. Columba in AD

¹ C. Thomas, 'An Early Christian Cemetery and Chapel on Ardwall Isle, Kircudbright', *Med. Arch.*, 11 (1967), pp. 127-188.

563, conform to the late-Roman rite, which had also been in use in Ireland since the fourth/fifth century.¹

On the east coast of Scotland from the southern side of the Forth up to the Tay, there is a concentration of long-cist cemeteries (Fig. 21).² Radiocarbon determinations obtained from some recently excavated cemeteries place their use in the fifth to eighth centuries: burials from Avonmill Road, Linlithgow (West Lothian) (Gaz. 2254) excavated in 1990, have a 96% possibility of dating to the fifth/sixth century,³ and at Four Winds, Longniddry (East Lothian) (Gaz. 2256), excavated in 1989, the probable period of use is fifth to eighth century.⁴ The cemetery excavated in 1954 at Parkburn, Lasswade (Lothian) has now been dated to between the fifth and eighth/ninth centuries, and that at Hallowhill, St. Andrews, (Fife) (Gaz. 2156) has produced dates ranging between the fifth and eleventh centuries, with an estimated period of use from the sixth to the ninth century. The cemetery of W-E, long-cist graves at the Catstane, Kirkliston, Midlothian (Gaz. 2265), had as its focal point a 2-metre-high standing stone, on a low circular mound or knoll. The stone, which was probably prehistoric in origin, was Christianised by a Latin inscription *IN...OC T..MVLO IAC..T VETTA F... VICTR...*⁵ and there is some evidence that a burial in a dug grave may have been located at the

¹ For the latest excavations on Iona see J. O'Sullivan, 'Excavation of an Early Church and a Women's Cemetery at St. Ronan's Medieval Parish Church, Iona', *PSAS* 124 (1994), pp. 327-365.

² For a more complete list of long-cist cemeteries in Scotland, see A.S. Henshall, 'A Long Cist Cemetery at Parkburn Sand Pit, Lasswade, Midlothian', *PSAS* 89 (1955-56), pp. 278-281.

³ Cal. at 2 sigma range; (GU-3098): AD 400-615; (GU-3099): AD 345-600: Dalland, 'Avonmill Road', pp. 341-2.

⁴ Cal. at 2 sigma range: (GU-2730): AD 565-705; (GU-2732): AD 230-895; and (GU-2733): AD 397-615: M. Dalland, 'Long Cist Burials at Four Winds, Longniddry, East Lothian', *PSAS* 122 (1992), p. 202 (hereafter Dalland, 'Four Winds').

⁵ Possible translation 'In this tomb lies Vetta the (daughter?) of Victr...'. For drawings of the stone, and discussion, see A. Rutherford and G. Ritchie, 'The Catstane', *PSAS* 105 (1972-74), pp. 183-188.

base of the stone.¹ Burials in the immediate vicinity diverge slightly from the otherwise regular layout, suggesting the avoidance of a circular feature (now lost) around the stone (Fig. 19). Radiocarbon dates now available for the cemetery indicate its use from the fifth to the seventh century.²

Scattered around the north-eastern Scottish coastline are cemeteries with cisted and dug graves, within square/rectangular and circular enclosures (Figs. 22, 23, 24). The most southerly of these, at Lundin Links (Fife) (Gaz. 2046) on the north shore of the Firth of Forth, consisted of six small low round kerbed cairns, ranging from 3.5m to 4 metres in diameter, four small low rectangular kerbed cairns averaging 3.5m long, and about six individual long-cists. All the cairns covered extended inhumations in cists, and all burials were oriented W-E. Because the original dates received in the 1960s for burials at this site seemed so obviously to be in error, samples from two burials, both in long-cists beneath cairns, have recently been processed by Glasgow University, and these give a date range in the fifth to seventh centuries AD.³

Many groups of rectangular enclosures have been revealed by aerial photography in the Lunan valley north of the Forth of Tay. A rescue excavation occurred when one of these groups, located at Boysack Mills (Angus) (Gaz. 2264), was endangered by quarrying. Excavation of one complete 5m square-ditched enclosure revealed a deep grave pit which contained an extended burial in the remains of a wooden coffin, and with a projecting ring-headed iron pin at the shoulder which has been dated by comparison to

¹ T.G. Cowie, 'Excavations at the Catstane, Midlothian, 1977', *PSAS* 109 (1977-8), p. 186.

² For current lists of published dates from Hallowhill and Catstane, see Dalland, 'Four Winds', pp. 203-4.

³ (GU-1593) - 1360 ± 60 bp; (GU-1594) - 1475 ± 60 bp; Close-Brooks, 'Pictish', pp. 105, 109. The latter date calibrates at 2 sigma to AD 430-660.

other Scottish pins to the first/second or third century AD.¹ It is worth noting that a pin of this type was recovered from the shoulder area of a contracted burial in a full-length wooden coffin within a rectangular ditched enclosure at Rudston in the 'Arras' complex in Yorkshire,² which suggests possible cultural links between the two regions.

A further group of sites with square and circular ditched enclosures has been observed from the air around the Moray Firth.³ One, which was excavated at Dairy Park, Dunrobin Castle, Golspie, Sutherland (Highland) (Gaz. 2133), had a low rectangular kerbed cairn, *circa* 9.5m x 7m, overlying a long cist with an extended female inhumation. Two radiocarbon determinations from the skeleton give a date-span in the sixth to eighth centuries.⁴ This dating is reinforced by a class 1 Pictish symbol stone (dated sixth to eighth centuries), which was found prior to excavation on the surface of the cairn. Two further sites in this area were located on either side of Loch Ness, beyond the inner reaches of the Moray Firth. On the north side, Garbeg, Drumnadrochit (Inverness) (Gaz. 2260), has 12 square/rectangular ditched barrows ranging from 3m to 5.5m long with interruptions at the corners, six penannular ditched enclosures with entrances at different points of the circles, and five annular enclosures (Fig. 20). Two square and two penannular enclosures have been excavated. One square enclosure (no. 2, partially destroyed) contained a cist beneath a setting of stones, and the other (no. 3), which had four linear ditches 3.3m long, with boulders placed on the surface at each corner, contained, beneath a central rectangular kerbed stone setting, a paved grave-pit

¹ Close-Brooks, 'Pictish', p. 94.

² Stead, *Cemeteries*, pp. 91-2, 191 (burial R38).

³ Close-Brooks, 'Pictish', p. 91.

⁴ (GU-1039) - 1335 ± 40 bp; (GU-1039B) - 1135 ± 100 bp; Close-Brooks, 'Pictish', p. 102.

with an extended burial (skull and femur survived), aligned ?W-E. One of the penannular enclosures (no. 1), diam. 5.5m, with an east entrance, contained a central burial pit (no skeletal remains), aligned E-W, but not directly in line with the entrance. This enclosure produced a Pictish symbol stone, dated sixth to eighth century. The second circular enclosure (no. 8), diameter 4.20m, proved on excavation to have an east entrance and central cist (no skeletal remains).

On the northern side of the Loch, at Whitebridge (Inverness), (Gaz. 2261), a survey has revealed the presence of four square ditched enclosures with gapped corners, two penannular ditched enclosures with entrances at the north-east, and five smaller cairns.

At Ackergill, Caithness (Gaz. 2257), on the north-east coast, close to the shore, a complex containing seven low square or rectangular cairns, one large circular cairn and at least two single cist graves was excavated in 1926, at which time the burials were thought to be Viking. The circular kerbed cairn, 18 ft. diameter, which was separated from the others, contained a central burial chamber with four burials, one of which was a prone female with a bronze chain around her neck. This chain has now been dated to about the second century AD.¹ The chamber also contained a crouched male, S-N; a headless supine adolescent; and a supine male, ENE-WSW. On the basis of the dating for the chain, and the inclusion of a crouched S-N burial without grave goods, these burials could possibly be of indigenous (Iron-Age) people. One of the single cist graves also contained a headless skeleton. Four of the square enclosures, all with kerbs and upright stones at the corners, were excavated.² One enclosure, covered with white

¹ Close-Brooks, 'Pictish', p. 97.

² Slab-kerbs appear to have been substituted for ditches in sand-dune sites.

quartz pebbles, contained a cist with an extended burial, S-N, hands beneath the buttocks and the head by the right side of the chest; this appears to be a decapitated burial with hands tied behind the back. Lying at an angle on top of this cist was a small cist containing a supine child of 16-20 months, and a third cist within the enclosure contained a child of about 8 years. The second enclosure contained a cist with an extended inhumation, the third appeared to have no cist or burial, and the fourth, which was larger than the others, i.e. 20 ft x 13 ft. 6 in., had an internal cist-like chamber, divided into two graves by a wall of upright slabs. In one grave was a supine male, head west, and in the other a prone female, head east. The occurrence of decapitation, S-N burial and E-W prone burial all suggest a connection with the graves in the circular cairn. A Pictish symbol- stone (sixth to eighth century), with an Ogham inscription which reads ---NEHTETRI--, was found at or near this site.

At Keiss Links, not far from the site at Ackergill, other long cists and a circular cairn were recorded in the nineteenth century.¹ All of the cists contained skeletons, heads south, and lying on their sides.

The most northerly square kerbed cairns have been found at Sandwick on Unst in Shetland (Gaz. 2101). One cairn, measuring 4.25m, was covered with quartz pebbles, and had a kerb of upright slabs with higher slabs placed at the mid-point of each side and at the corners. The burial, of a prone female in a dug grave, head south, yielded a radiocarbon determination which when calibrated at 2 sigma gives a date-span of AD 390-640.² A second rectangular cairn, similar to the other but with slightly curved sides,

¹ Ashmore, 'Cairns, Cists, Stones', p. 349.

² (GU 1291) - 1530±55 bp: G.F. Bigelow, 'Two Kerbed Cairns from Sandwick, Unst, Shetland', in J.C.P. Freill & W.G. Watson (eds.), *Pictish Studies, Settlement, Burial and Art in Dark Age Northern Britain*, B.A.R. 125 (Oxford 1984), p. 121.

produced no evidence for a burial even though a layer of slabs appeared to suggest the presence of a grave.

Discussion.

It becomes appropriate at this point to look at possible relationships between several features present in some of the burial sites described in this chapter: enclosures, posts, 'shrines', 'special' graves etc.

A feature of many sites in both eastern Scotland and north Wales is the enclosure of individual, and occasionally multiple, burials within rectangular or square enclosures which bear a striking resemblance to Iron Age burial enclosures of the 'Arras' culture cemeteries in Yorkshire. The possibility of a connection between the two areas already postulated¹ can now be scrutinised more closely. The distribution of the Scottish examples stretches north along the east coast from the Forth to the Shetland Islands (Fig. 22)², and coincides with areas of low-lying habitable land along an otherwise inhospitable coastline. Burial in the 'Arras' complex in Yorkshire appears to have ceased before the arrival of the Romans in the first century AD, at which time it is possible that some of the population may have moved north by sea. It is surely more than coincidence that a coffined burial within a square-ditched enclosure in the complex at Boysack Mills, (Gaz. 2264) (Fig. 22) contained a brooch which can be paralleled by a similar brooch from a crouched burial in a full-length coffin within a square-ditched enclosure at the 'Arras' complex at Rudston, Yorkshire. Rudston is also the cemetery where the burial

¹ Close-Brooks, 'Pictish', p. 94.

² I am indebted to Dr. Sally Foster, Historic Scotland, for providing me with information regarding up-to-date field survey of these monuments.

rite changed from crouched to extended inhumation and from N-S to E-W orientation in the first century AD.

What is the Welsh connection? A tradition recorded in the *Historia Brittonum* states that Cunedda of the Gododdin, the ancestor of King Maelgwn of Gwynedd, came from 'the country called Manaw Gododdin' 146 years before Maelgwn's reign, and expelled the Irish (from north Wales).¹ Maelgwn, who is one of the Christian 'tyrants' castigated by Gildas,² is reputed to have died in a plague in AD 547,³ so the purported arrival of Cunedda could have taken place in the early fifth century. While this record is based on folk tradition, it is a fact that the territory of the Manaw Gododdin in north Britain is located around the top-end of the estuary of the Forth, an area in which square-ditched burial enclosures are located (Fig. 22). Gododdin territory at that time also extended south as far as the Tyne. It is also a fact that there were Irish inhabitants present in north Wales in the fifth/sixth century, as evidenced by the presence of ogham inscriptions and commemorative stones with Irish names written in Latin.⁴ It also appears that links and communications continued to exist between north Wales and the Brythonic communities of north Britain until the end of the sixth century.⁵

Welsh cemeteries with post-Roman square-ditched burial enclosures are confined to the north of the province, with the most southerly site being near the coast at Plas

¹ *Historia Brittonum*, c. 62.

² *De Excidio Britanniae*, c. 33 in Gildas. *The Ruin of Britain and other works*, ed. & transl. M. Winterbottom (Chichester, 1978), pp. 32, 102, 153 n. on 33.1.

³ *Annales Cambriae*, s.a. 547, in Nennius: *British History and the Welsh Annals*, ed. & transl. J. Morris (Chichester, 1980), pp. 45, 85. For further discussion regarding dating, see D.N. Dumville, 'Gildas and Maelgwn: Problems of Dating', in M. Lapidge and D. Dumville (eds.), *Gildas: New Approaches* (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 51-9.

⁴ Jackson, *Language and History*, p. 172.

⁵ A.O.H. Jarman, *Aneirin: Y Gododdin* (Llandysul, 1988), p. xix.

Gogerddan (Dyfed) (Gaz. 2183) (Figs. 17B, 22). Radiocarbon determinations from an unenclosed burial at that site indicate an early use, between the fourth and seventh centuries, and dates obtained from Tandderwen (Clwyd) (Gaz. 2080) (Figs. 18, 22), indicate use of at least one enclosure between the fifth and seventh centuries. It must be concluded that the dissemination of the use of this type of burial enclosure from north Britain to Wales in the fifth century is a strong possibility.

A similarity exists between the Welsh enclosures, including the *cella memoriae* at Capel Eithin, Anglesey (Gaz. 2002), and the enclosures and mausolea located in the late Roman cemeteries at Poundbury, Dorset, and Lankhills, Winchester,¹ but the late date derived from the coffin at Capel Eithin, and lack of any evidence for square enclosing features in the intervening region between Southern Britain and North Wales, makes a direct link seem unlikely, even though they ultimately derive from the same tradition.

Another characteristic of the Scottish sites is the inclusion of annular and penannular enclosures among the square enclosures (Figs. 22, 23, 24). These are also present to a lesser degree in the 'Arras' cemeteries at Garton Station, and Rudston. The two Scottish sites in the Great Glen (Gaz. 2260, 2261) contain penannular burial enclosures, and it is possible that the penannular burial enclosures excavated at Newton, Islay (Gaz. 2259) (Fig. 24) might have been introduced from eastern Scotland via the Great Glen route. Alternatively, they could have been a product of contacts with Ireland in the seventh century.

The presence of 'focal' points, represented by enclosed areas, posts, and 'special' graves, is noted in several post-Roman cemeteries. These foci, which will have carried

¹ See above Chapter 1, p. 40.

a religious or cult significance and echo similar foci in Iron Age and late Roman cemeteries,¹ include the small circular enclosed area dateable to the fifth/sixth centuries at Cannington (Gaz. 606), with its central burial and post-holes at the foot of the grave; at Arfryn (Anglesey) (Gaz. 2001), with a post-hole and a possible burial; at Whithorn, Scotland (Gaz.2154) where the original details were destroyed by later burial, and at the Catstane, Midlothian (Gaz. 2265) with its Christianised standing stone and possible burial within a circular area. At Arfryn, Whithorn and the Catstane, the desire of others to be buried as close as possible to the enclosure or shrine can be demonstrated (Figs. 16, 19). Burials at Tintagel, Cornwall (Gaz.2032) were oriented on a granite pillar, and at Plas Gogerddan (Dyfed) (Gaz. 2183) on a possible prehistoric standing stone. The post-hole in the centre of the 'squared circle' at Tandderwen (Clwyd) (Gaz. 2080) (Fig. 18) and its accompanying grave, probably had a special significance for the users of that cemetery. Post-holes have been noted at the foot of 'ordinary' graves at Cannington, Plas Gogerddan, and the Catstane, in which case the deceased was buried facing this feature, which may possibly have been a wooden cross.

The enclosures described so far represent aspirations to enclose or mark out burials. It is obvious that the enclosure itself, whether square or circular, was the important factor:² any mound derived from shallow ditches would be incidental and quite insignificant, and a hedge, fence, or wall, would produce no mound.

Post-seventh-century 'special' graves, which appear to have been visited, have been found in the cemeteries at Cannington (Somerset), Beckery Chapel, Glastonbury (Gaz. 1171), and Capel Maelog, Llandrindod Wells (Powys) (Gaz. 2098). These could

¹ See Chapter 1, under Enclosures.

² For discussion of literary references to enclosures see below p. 122.

be burials of founders (either secular or ecclesiastical), or of people ascribed some special attributes: the 13-year-old buried at Cannington, for example, is unlikely to have been a founder but could have been regarded as in some way special.

While the vast majority of burials in post-Roman British cemeteries preserve the late Roman practice of west-east, supine inhumation, without grave goods, there is some evidence for the survival of older British burial traditions. For example, N-S and S-N burials which were present at Tandderwen (Gaz. 2080), Vicarage Orchard Garden, Caerwent (Gaz. 2255), Arfryn, Bodedern (Gaz. 2001) and Cannington (Gaz. 606), together with crouched burials at Bromfield (Gaz. 2262) and Cannington, and burials accompanied by single brooches, at Bromfield and Cannington.

In Scotland, evidence for the survival of old rites is provided by some of the burials within square and circular enclosures, which included crouched, S-N, decapitate and prone burials, not to mention the burial at Boysack Mills (Angus) (Gaz. 2264) which was accompanied by an Iron Age-type brooch-pin.

Another detail which should be noted is that coffined burials of the post-Roman period in these peripheral areas are recognisable only by the presence of wood-stains in the graves, indicating either that the graves were merely lined with planks, or that the coffins were not nailed. This is in contrast to burials in cemeteries of the Roman period where the majority of coffins had nails, although in some cases the number of nails in individual graves was minimal (Table 4).

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN IRELAND, ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND AND GAUL IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

Two forms of contact between Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England may have affected English burial practices in the seventh and early eighth centuries: the more obvious is the part played by Irish missionaries in the conversion of the English; there were also, however, more general links, apart from the missionaries, created by the presence of Englishmen in Ireland and Irishmen in England. Contacts with Merovingian Gaul are also relevant here, as

"...it is reasonable to suppose that Gaul and particularly the milieu in Gaul under Irish influence had a very great deal to do with the progress of the Church in England..."¹

Notwithstanding the complicated cultural cross-fertilisation on regional levels within Ireland and Britain, it is possible to speak of three broad categories of cultural exchange during the Anglo-Saxon period:²

- A. Ireland, Iona, and England
- B. Ireland and Southern England
- C. Ireland, Gaul, and England

Since much of the material is well-known I shall confine myself to giving an outline, including further detail only when it has not already been fully covered.

¹ J. Campbell, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1986), p. 59 (hereafter Campbell, *Essays*).

² J. Campbell, 'The Debt of the Early English Church to Ireland', in P. Ní Catháin and M. Richter (eds.), *Irland und die Christenheit: Bibelstudien und Mission* (Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 332-346; for the period after 664 see K. Hughes, 'Evidence for Contacts between the Churches of the Irish and English from the Synod of Whitby to the Viking Age', in P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (eds.), *England before the Conquest: Studies in primary sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 49-67.

A: Ireland,¹ Iona, and England.

In the fifth century the kingdom of Dál Riada was extended from north-east Ireland to the west coast of Scotland,² (Fig. 25) and it was in this kingdom that Columba founded his monastery on the island of Iona in AD 563 (Fig 25). In Adomnán's *Vita S. Columbae* written in the late seventh century, voyages between Iona and Ireland are represented as a common occurrence. Several reasons are postulated for Columba's self-imposed exile from Ireland,³ but whatever the initial reason, his foundation on Iona evolved into a mission to the Picts, and eventually to the Anglo-Saxons of Northern England. According to Bede, the Northern Picts were evangelised by the Columban mission, while the Southern Picts had already been converted by Ninian.⁴ However, according to the *Amra Choluim Chille*, an elegy composed on the death of the saint in AD 597,⁵ Columba also preached among 'the peoples of the Tay', *i.e.* the southern Picts.⁶ This evidence, being much earlier than Bede, makes it likely that his source was

¹ 'Roman' tradition was adopted c. AD 630 by the Church in the southern half of Ireland, and those clerics who accepted this tradition were termed 'Romani', whereas the older church tradition was retained in the northern half until ca AD 704 and clerics of this latter tradition were termed 'Hibernenses' or 'Irish'. The dividing line between these sectors ran roughly from north Clare in the west, to Dublin in the east (fig. 25), and should not be confused with modern political boundaries between northern and southern Ireland.

² Byrne, *Kings*, pp. 9, 63, 108, 110-113; *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, ed. & transl. A.O. Anderson and M.O. Anderson, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1991), pp. xvi-xviii (hereafter *Adomnán*); M.R. Neike and H.B. Duncan, 'Dalriada: The Establishment and Maintenance of an Early Historic Kingdom in Northern Britain', in S.T. Driscoll and M.R. Neike (eds.), *Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 6-21.

³ *Adomnán*, pp. xxx-xxxi; and T.M. Charles-Edwards, 'The Social Background to Irish *Peregrinatio*', *Celtica*, 11 (Dublin, 1976), p. 44.

⁴ *HE* iii.4; Ninian's mission was probably concentrated around the Forth: see I. M. Smith, 'The Early Church in Southern Pictland', in J. Blair and C. Pyrah (eds.), *Research Directions in Church Archaeology* (C.B.A. forthcoming).

⁵ Byrne, *Kings*, p. 14.

⁶ W. Stokes, 'The Bodleian *Amra Choluim Chille*', *Revue Celtique*, 20 (1898), p. 165: *Ar nin-forcetlaid forcanad tuatha Toi*, 'For not to us (is) the teacher who used to teach the tribes of Tay'.

underestimating the scale of Columba's missionary work.¹ Other evidence suggests that some non-Columban Irish missionaries were active among the Picts.² The presence of the Irish in the territory of both the Northern and Southern Picts is also attested by the appearance of Irish ogham inscriptions dateable to the fourth to seventh centuries. This alphabet was soon adopted by the Picts and adapted to suit their own language.³

As early as the late sixth century the Irish of Iona appear to have made converts among Anglo-Saxons, presumably Northumbrians. Adomnán refers to two Englishmen who were members of the community during Columba's lifetime on Iona (between *ca.* AD 563-97), Genereus the Englishman, *frater Genereus nomine Saxo*,⁴ and Pilu, *Pilu ... Saxo*.⁵ The mission started by Bishop Paulinus, who had arrived in Northumbria *c.* AD 625 with Edwin's Christian wife Æthelburh, ended in AD 633 when, on the death of Edwin, he fled back to Kent bringing with him Edwin's children, grandchild, and widow Æthelburh.⁶ In the absence of the original Roman mission, Oswald (who succeeded Edwin as ruler of Northumbria) requested, probably in AD 635, that the Irish provide him with a bishop.⁷ They sent Aidan from Iona, who founded the monastery

¹ K. Hughes, *Early Christianity in Pictland*, Jarrow Lecture 1970, pp. 11-12, suggests that Columban influence only spread to Pictland during the seventh century; but this argument depended upon an implausibly late dating for the *Amra Choluim Chille* (*ca* 800). *Adomnán* records several visits by Columba to Pictland (ii.27, ii.32, iii.14), meetings with the Pictish king Brude, and encounters with Brude's magicians (i.37, ii.33, ii.34, ii.35, ii.42).

² See A. Macquarrie, 'Early Christian Religious Houses in Scotland: Foundation and Function', in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 115-117.

³ Katherine Forsyth, St. Hilda's College, Oxford, personal comment.

⁴ *Adomnán*, iii. 10 (112a).

⁵ *Adomnán*, iii. 22 (123a).

⁶ *HE* ii. 20.

⁷ *HE* iii. 3. This could be taken as an indication that Oswald lived among the Irish rather than the Picts during his exile. However his brother Eanfrith is quite likely to have lived among the Picts.

at Lindisfarne (Fig. 25). This Columban foundation was to exert considerable influence during the critical formative years of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons. Fínán, an Irishman and Aidan's successor as bishop of Lindisfarne (AD 651-61),¹ was responsible in AD 653² for the baptism of Penda's son Peada, who returned to the kingdom of the Middle Angles with four priests, including Cedd an Englishman who had been educated at Lindisfarne, and Diuma an Irishman.³ Diuma, who was later consecrated bishop of Middle Anglia, Lindsey and Mercia (Fig. 27), is purported to be buried in Charlbury in Oxfordshire (Fig. 25).⁴ He was succeeded as bishop in AD 659 by Ceollach, another Irishman,⁵ who soon afterwards resigned and returned to Iona. Ceollach was in turn succeeded by Trumhere (AD 659-662), an Englishman who had been educated and consecrated by the Irish.⁶ Cedd, who was later recalled to Northumbria to be consecrated as bishop to the East Saxons (whose conversion is attributed to him by Bede),⁷ is particularly associated with Bradwell-on-Sea⁸ and Tilbury in Essex (Fig. 25). He died at Lastingham⁹ (Fig. 25) in AD 664, after having accepted the 'Roman' verdict

¹ *HE* iii. 17.

² Plummer, *HE* chron. table, p. xix; P. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England 600-800* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 56 (hereafter Sims-Williams *Religion and Literature*).

³ *HE* iii. 21.

⁴ *HE* iii. 24; Colgrave and Mynors, *HE* p. 280 n. 1; J. Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (Stroud, 1994), p. 59 (hereafter Blair *Anglo Saxon Oxfordshire*).

⁵ *HE* iii. 21 and iii. 24.

⁶ *HE* iii. 24; Plummer, *HE* chron. table, p. xxi.

⁷ *HE* iii. 22.

⁸ This monastery at Bradwell-on-Sea was built within the remains of an old Saxon Shore fort; see P. Hunter Blair, *The World of Bede* (London, 1970), p.106.

⁹ Lastingham was also a monastery 'in the Irish manner' founded by Cedd, from Lindisfarne; *HE* iii. 23.

at Whitby.¹

Until 664, therefore, the Church in Northumbria remained under the direction of Iona: its bishops were appointed by the abbot and *seniores* of Iona and the abbot of Iona may well have visited Northumbria.² In turn, Fínán appointed and consecrated bishops for the Middle Angles and the East Saxons. By the 650s, however, the paschal dispute within Ireland had extended to Northumbria. Rónán an Irish monk, who had accepted 'Roman' rule in Gaul or Italy,³ came to England much imbued with the zeal of the convert, and angered many of his fellow Irishmen including Bishop Fínán of Lindisfarne with his efforts to convince them of their error. When, in AD 664, matters finally came to a head in England, the main protagonists at the 'Synod' of Whitby, were all Irish or Irish trained. Bishop Colmán and his clergy from Northumbria represented the 'Irish' tradition. Wilfrid, originally educated at Lindisfarne, and the Frank Bishop Agilbert who had sojourned in Ireland before becoming bishop of the West Saxons, represented the 'Roman' tradition. Acting as adjudicators were the Irish educated King Oswiu, and Cedd, bishop of the East Saxons.⁴ Hild, Abbess of the monastery at Whitby, favoured the 'Irish' tradition.⁵

The verdict in favour of Roman paschal practice, delivered at Whitby, ended Iona's domination of the church in Northumbria and the Midlands; however, it did not

¹ *HE* iii. 26; Plummer, *HE* chron. table, p. xx; Hunter-Blair, *The World of Bede*, p. 106.

² The story about Oswald's victory at Heavenfield, mentioned by Adomnán, i. 1, was said to have been told by Oswald (then, of course, king of Northumbria) to the abbot of Iona, Ségéne; the meeting is more likely to have been in Northumbria than elsewhere.

³ *HE* iii. 25; Rónán had presumably had an association with the Columbanian mission in Gaul or Italy.

⁴ Although this was called a synod, it was presided over by Oswiu as if it were a meeting of his royal council of *sapientes* or *witan*; only, on this occasion, since the issue was ecclesiastical, the counsellors named by Bede and Stephen were all churchmen.

⁵ *HE* iii. 25.

sever ecclesiastical connections between the Irish and the English,¹ nor did it sever contacts on other levels. For instance, the bishop appointed as Colmán's successor at Lindisfarne, the Englishman Tuda, had been educated in southern Ireland,² and Eata, who had earlier been expelled from Ripon by Alhfrith because of his 'Irish' customs, became abbot and subsequently bishop of Lindisfarne.³ It is worth noting that the reason given by Stephen for Wilfrid's decision to be consecrated in Gaul was the presence in Northumbria of 'Quartodecimans': this implies that Stephen, who accused the Irish of being 'Quartodecimans', considered that an 'Irish' party still existed there after 664.⁴

Further evidence that the Irish were still held in high esteem in Northumbria after Whitby is provided by the details surrounding the translation of Aidan's corporeal remains. When Aidan died in 651 at a *villa regia* not far from Bamborough, his body was taken to Lindisfarne and buried in the monastic cemetery *in cimiterio fratrum*. Some time afterwards, when a larger church had been built there by Fínán, Aidan's successor, and dedicated to St. Peter by Archbishop Theodore,⁵ his bones were translated to it, and buried on the right side of the altar.⁶ The dedication of the church is most likely to have taken place during Theodore's visit to York in order to consecrate bishops after Wilfrid's first expulsion in 678,⁷ and therefore the translation of Aidan's body did not

¹ Hughes, 'Contacts'.

² Southern Ireland, which had adopted the 'Roman' rule *ca.* AD 632, had continuous links with Anglo-Saxon England.

³ *HE* iii. 26. Both Eata and Cuthbert accepted the Whitby decision.

⁴ Stephen, *Life of Wilfrid*, chap. 12.

⁵ *HE* iii.25

⁶ *HE* iii.17.

⁷ *HE* iv.12

take place in the 650s as is sometimes suggested.¹ This latter date is probably based on the transfer of Aidan's body from Bamborough to Lindisfarne for burial after his death, rather than the translation of his relics to the church dedicated to St. Peter. A further indication of the high esteem in which Aidan was still held is the fact that he was enshrined in the manner of the Frankish-influenced 'Roman' church.

Following his defeat at Whitby, Bishop Colmán, with the majority of the Irish,² and thirty Englishmen,³ travelled first to Iona and then to Inis bó finde⁴ (Fig. 25) off the west coast of Ireland, where he founded a monastery in AD 668.⁵ After a year, disputes which arose between the Irish and English monks because of differences in their approach to monastic practice prompted Colmán to obtain another site on the mainland, where he built a monastery for the English. That monastery, known as *Mag nEó na Saxan* (Fig. 25) (mod. Mayo Abbey), still flourished in Bede's time.⁶ Later records indicate that Mayo prospered; the Annals of Ulster, *sub anno* 773, record the death of *Aidan episcopus Maighe Heu*, and at 783 there is a record *Combustio Aird Machae 7 Maighi Heu Saxonum*. Attention has recently been drawn to a fragment of the head of a decorated high cross in the graveyard of the old church at the modern village of Mayo

¹ for 650s dating see Wallace-Hadrill, *Commentaries*, p. 110; and A. Thacker, 'Lindisfarne and the Origins of the Cult of St. Cuthbert', in G. Bonner, D. Rollason and C. Stancliffe (eds.), *St. Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community*, (Woodbridge, 1989) pp. 103-22.

² *HE* iv. 4.

³ A further indication that not all the Northumbrian Anglo-Saxon clergy agreed with the Whitby verdict.

⁴ *HE* iv. 4; *Inis bó finde* = Island of the white cow; translated by Bede as *Insula vitulae albae*.

⁵ *HE* iv. 4; *A. U.* 668: *Nauigatio Columbani episcopi [cum] reliquis sanctorum ad Insulam Uacce Albae, in qua fundauit aeclesiam*.

⁶ Bede comments (*HE* iv. 4) that (in his time) the monks at Mayo '...have adopted a better Rule...'. This rule was adopted when the remaining 'Irish' factions in Ireland adopted 'Roman' rule *ca.* AD 704. The death of Gerald, who is sometimes credited with founding the monastery at Mayo, is recorded in *A. U.* *sub anno* 732: *Pontifex Maighe Heu Saxonum, Garaalt, obiit*.

Abbey, which is dated to before AD 800. Probable continuing links with Iona are indicated by the fact that the closest parallel for this fragment is St. John's Cross in Iona.¹

B: Ireland, Britain and Southern England in general.

An early Irish ecclesiastical contact with the Augustinian mission in England is documented c. AD 608, when a letter written by Bishops Laurence, Mellitus and Justus at Canterbury mentions that a Bishop Dagán had travelled from Ireland to speak with them, but had refused to dine with them.² Bishop Dagán, who died in AD 639³ is associated with Inber Dhaoile or Inber Eilly (mod. Inereilly) on the Wicklow coast (Fig. 25).⁴

¹ D. Kelly, 'Some Remains of High Crosses in the West of Ireland', *JRSOI* 123 (1993), pp. 152-4.

² *HE* ii. 4. The bishops also complain about Columbanus in a similar vein: he would not eat with them when they met in Gaul.

³ L. Price, *The Place-names of Co. Wicklow*, vol. vii (Dublin, 1967), p. xvi; '...Enereilly was the settlement of Dagan, who died in 639. The references to him in other saints' lives show with what respect he was regarded, and he is probably the bishop Dagan who went to Britain about 608 to meet the Italian bishops...'.

⁴ Contrary to n. 1, p. 146, in Colgrave and Mynors' edition of *HE*, Dagán of Inber Dhaoile, feast day September 13, is recorded as a bishop in *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. P. Ó Riain (Dublin, 1985), § 704.183, under the category *Nomina episcoporum Hibernensium* '[E] Dagan' (the square brackets indicate an area of illegibility in the original MSS; the missing word is Epscop). His genealogy is included at entries 256; 662.159; 722.72; 722.102. In *Féilire Óengusso Céle Dé* (hereafter *Fél. Óeng.*), ed. & transl. W. Stokes (London, 1905), 'Dagán Indbir Dóile' is commemorated at September 13, with the addition of a gloss from the Book of Leinster, 'Dagan presbyteri maic Colmada, Inbir Doile, LL.362e..'. See also C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1910), ii, pp. 178, 222-3; and E. Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum* (Dublin, 1910), p. 8 (hereafter Hogan, *Onomasticon*).

When Fursa the Irish monk and visionary left his monastery in Louth¹ (Fig. 25) in order to distance himself from intruding crowds of devotees, he moved first to an off-shore island, but then travelled to East Anglia,² where he was received by King Sigebert who had been converted to Christianity in Gaul,³ and who granted to Fursa a site *in castro quodam quod lingua Anglorum Cnobheresburg, id est Urbs Cnobheri, vocatur*⁴ to found a monastery. When in AD 640/1 Fursa journeyed onwards to the continent⁵ he left his brother Foillán at *Cnobheresburg* as abbot, together with the priests Gobán and Dícuill.⁶ Fursa died in AD 649 and was buried at Péronne (Fig. 26).⁷ Shortly after this Foillán also travelled to the continent where he founded monasteries at Fursa's burial place in Péronne⁸ and at Fosses near Nivelles (Fig. 26).⁹ From a document written at Nivelles *ca.* AD 655, shortly after Foillán's death, it would appear

¹ J.M. Picard, 'The Irish Exile of Dagobert II', in J.M. Picard (ed.), *Ireland and Northern France AD 600-850* (Dublin, 1991), p. 34 n. 16 (hereafter Picard, *Ireland and Northern France*); in *Fél. Óeng.* the entry for September 4th is glossed in late middle-Irish (pp. 200-1), *Ro togad Ultan i n-apdaine Mochta il-Lugbaid, ⁊ ro cuiread Fursa remi esti*, 'Ultan was elected into the abbacy of Mochta in Louth, and before him Fursa had been put thereout'.

² *HE* iii. 19; Plummer, *HE* p. 173, suggests *ca.* AD 636.

³ *HE* iii. 18-19: Sigebert's Gaulish connection, and the fact that he appointed the Burgundian Felix, as bishop, indicates that he adhered to 'Roman' rule.

⁴ *HE* iii.19. The usual identification of *Cnobheresburg* as being the Roman fortifications at Burgh Castle, Suffolk, is challenged by J. Campbell, *Essays* pp. 100-1, 119. For location of Burgh Castle see Fig. 25. It is however relevant that a Christian-type cemetery excavated at Burgh Castle has produced radiocarbon dates indicating its use in the seventh-ninth centuries and perhaps longer. See *Gazeteer* No. 741; and S. Johnson, *Burgh Castle, Excavations by Charles Green, 1958-61* (Dereham, 1983), pp. 111-2.

⁵ Where he founded the monastery at Lagny in Gaul (Fig. 26).

⁶ *HE* iii. 19.

⁷ *A.U.* 649: *Quies Fursi in Barruna*, 'Repose of Fursu in Peronne'; Picard, 'Ireland and Northern France', p. 32; Kenney, *Sources*, p. 502 n. 29.

⁸ This monastery which later became known as *Perrona Scottorum*, flourished until it was destroyed by the Vikings in AD 880; see Kenney, *Sources*, p. 501; see below p. 105.

⁹ Picard, *Ireland and Northern France*, pp. 32, 34; L. Bieler, *Ireland Harbinger of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1966), p. 99, (hereafter Bieler, *Harbinger*).

that all the Irish monks had left *Cnobheresburg* by about AD 651, after the monastery had been sacked by Penda.¹ The Irish presence at *Cnobheresburg* had lasted less than twenty years, but because of its high status, under the patronage of Sigeberht and then Anna,² it had a significant effect on the development of Christianity in that part of the country.³

Bede records that in AD 681 an Irish monk named Dícuil was abbot of a small Irish monastery among the South Saxons at Bosham (Sussex) (Fig. 25).⁴ Nothing is thought to be known about this man,⁵ but it is worth noting that one of the priests left behind at *Cnobheresburg* by Fursa was named Dícuil, and as the Irish monks had left that monastery by AD 651, it does not seem to be beyond the bounds of possibility that this was the same man, now at Bosham. Bede suggests that this was a very small monastery, not involved with the conversion of the South Saxons, a task which was undertaken by Wilfrid from his foundation at Selsey (Fig. 25), but it is difficult to imagine how the Irish monks could have survived at Bosham without the patronage or support of the local ruler, who in AD 680 was Æthelwealh,⁶ and it has been suggested that ‘...the presence of an

¹ Wallace-Hadrill, *Commentary*, p. 114; D. Whitelock, ‘The Pre-Viking Age Church in East Anglia’, ed. P. Clemoes, *Anglo-Saxon England*, I (Cambridge, 1972), p. 6; see Bieler, ‘Harbinger’, pp. 99-100, for translation of the document which includes details of the sacking of *Cnobheresburg* by Penda and the subsequent scattering of the monks and their property etc.

² Bede, *HE* iii. 19, states that Anna and his nobles endowed the monastery with still finer buildings and gifts.

³ According to Bede, *HE* iii. 19, Fursa converted many, both by the example of his virtues and the persuasiveness of his teaching.

⁴ *HE* iv. 13.

⁵ Colgrave and Mynors, *HE* p. 373 n. 3.

⁶ *HE* iv. 13; Stephen, *Life of Wilfrid*, c. 41, does not mention Bosham when describing Wilfrid’s conversion of the South Saxons and the foundation of Selsey. Æthelwealh, whose predecessor as ruler in this district is unknown, was granted the kingdom by Wulfhere, king of Mercia, on the occasion of his baptism. This was *ante* AD 675, as Wulfhere died in that year; see Plummer, *HE* chron. table, p. xxiii. Æthelwealh’s wife Eafe was a Christian from Mercia, *HE* iv. 13.

Irish monastic community there may have had more significance than Bede's minimising account suggests....'. The church at Bosham, recorded in Domesday as being valued at £300 a year,¹ had by the mid-eleventh century become one of the most wealthy unreformed minsters in England.²

The continuing links between Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England in the later seventh century are further demonstrated by the numbers of Englishmen who continued to travel to Ireland for religious studies or to live a more ascetic life.³ Among these was Ecgberht who in AD 664, together with Æthelhun (who died in the plague of that year), was living in the Irish monastery at *Rath Melsigi* (Fig. 25) located in that part of Ireland which accepted 'Roman' rule *ca.* AD 632.⁴ Ecgberht who died in Iona in AD 729 is credited by Bede with persuading the Irish at Iona to accept the 'Roman' Easter and tonsure in AD 716.⁵ Among his companions in Ireland was Chad, later briefly bishop of York and subsequently of the Mercians,⁶ as well as several Anglo-Saxon missionaries to the Continent: Wihtberht who set out for the Frisian mission sometime in the 680s but returned after two years;⁷ Willibrord who embarked on his mission to Frisia in AD 690,

¹ J. Campbell, 'The Debt of the Early English Church to Ireland', in P. Ní Catháin and M. Richter (eds.), *Irland und die Christenheit: Bibelstudien und Mission* (Stuttgart, 1987), p. 338 n. 44.

² Personal comment J. Blair.

³ *HE* iii. 27.

⁴ *HE* iii. 27: The location of this important Irish/Anglo-Saxon monastery has now been identified as Clonmelsh, Co. Carlow, see D. Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi and Willibrord', and T. Fanning, 'Some field monuments in the Townlands of Clonmelsh and Garryhondon, Co. Carlow', both in *Peritia*, 3 (1984), pp. 17-42, 43-49.

⁵ *HE* v. 22; *AU* 729, *Eichericht, Christi miles, in li Pasca die pausat.*

⁶ Bede, *HE* iv. 3.

⁷ *HE* v. 9; Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi', pp. 24-5. In AD 697 Wihtberht was still in Ireland when he became a guarantor for the *Cáin Adomnán*: Ní Dhonnchadha, 'The Guarantor List of the *Cáin Adomnán*', pp. 193-4.

when he had been in Ireland for about 13 years;¹ and two other English priests, White Hewald and Black Hewald, who set out from Ireland with the intention of preaching in Old Saxony but were martyred by some of the inhabitants soon after their arrival.² Æthelwine (a brother of Æthelhun) who became bishop of Lindsey (AD 680-692), also studied in Ireland.³

Evidence for English contacts within Ireland, based on personal and place names, includes one of the members of the community at the monastery of Glendalough (Co. Wicklow) (Fig. 25) in the seventh/eighth century, a deacon named Cellach, who is referred to as *Cellach Sachs*, i.e. Cellach the Saxon,⁴ and a pre-Norman church site, located on the Dublin/Wicklow county boundary, which bears the name *Cell Adgair*, i.e. Church of Edgar, (mod. Killegar) (Fig. 25). At Tullylease in Co. Cork (Fig. 25) (also known as Tulach Leis na Sachsan),⁵ a seventh/eighth century cross-slab, covered with decoration identical to a cross-carpet page in the Lindesfarne Gospels, bears an inscription commemorating an individual with the old English name 'Berechtwine'.⁶

¹ Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi', p. 26-7, would argue that he set out from Rath Melsigi. Willibrord had been in Ireland since about AD 677: Plummer, *HE*, chron. table, p. xxiv.

² *HE* v. 10; Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi', p. 32, argues that they also started out from Rath Melsigi.

³ Colgrave and Mynors, *HE* p. 247 n.4; *HE* iii. 27.

⁴ A.S. MacShamhráin, 'Prosopographica Glindelachensis: The Monastic Church of Glendalough and its Community, Sixth to Thirteenth Centuries', *JRSAI* 119 (1989), p. 95; Cellach Sachs is commemorated in *Fél. Óeng.* at October 7th, but the entry is glossed '*non Anglus fuit, sed venit ad Scoticos de Anglis, quia Scoticus fuit*'.

⁵ See Hogan, *Onomasticon*, p. 656.

⁶ I. Henderson and E. Okasha, 'The Early Christian Inscribed and Carved Stones of Tullylease, Co. Cork', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 24 (1992), pp. 6-12.

There are several dedications to St. Berichter or Berrihert in the south of Ireland,¹ who is often confused with 'Berechtuine' but probably represents the cult of another Anglo-Saxon holy man.

There are indications of the existence of a forgotten monastery at Tysaxon,² Templemoyle, near Athenry, Co. Galway (Fig. 25), where in 1978, burials, together with a large bronze-coated iron bell dateable to the 7th-10th century,³ and a stone grave-slab with an inscription in Old Irish, *Oroit ar Maelpoil* +,⁴ were discovered in a sandpit.⁵ The possible existence of another 'Tech Saxan' near Kinsale in Munster (Fig. 25) is indicated in the *Féilire Óengusso* at December 8th, where the commemoration of *Ichtribrichtáin* (Wihthberht), is glossed '...or Ichtribricht who is in Tech Saxan in Húi Echach of Munster, and he is a brother of Beridcheirt of Tulach Leis of the Saxons...'.⁶ A similar British ecclesiastical presence in Ireland is attested by the place-name Dairmag of the Britons, which is mentioned in the *Annals of Ulster*, in connection with the capture of prisoners by the Vikings in AD 837.⁷

On the east coast, in Brega, there was also some form of Anglo-Saxon secular

¹ The dedication 'Killberrihert' occurs at Knocktemple near Tullylease, and Macroom, both in Co. Cork; at Truaghanacmy, Co. Kerry, and in the Glen of Aherlow, Co. Tipperary; see P. Ó hÉailidhe, 'The Crosses and Slabs at St. Berrihert's Kyle in the Glen of Aherlow', in E. Rynne (ed.), *North Munster Studies* (Limerick, 1967), p. 104.

² *ty* = *tí*, probably from Old Irish *tig*, d.sing. of *tech* (a house). Tysaxon = the house of the Saxon(s).

³ For dating and context of hand-bells see, C. Bourke, 'Early Irish Hand-bells', *JRSAI* 110 (1980), pp. 59, 65.

⁴ 'a prayer for Maelpoil +'.

⁵ Information regarding these discoveries received from Professor E. Rynne, University College, Galway, who suggests a date between the 9th and 10th centuries for the grave slab.

⁶ *Fél. Óeng.* Dec. 8. p. 250, notes pp. 256-9.

⁷ *AU* 837, ...*Dermaigh Britonum*..., 'the Oak Plain of the Britons'. This place appears to be located somewhere immediately north of Dublin (Fig. 25).

presence or influence prior to the attack on that kingdom by a Northumbrian army in 684. This is attested by the appearance there of the personal name *Conaing*,¹ a borrowing from the Anglo-Saxon word *Cyning*, king. The first recorded local bearer of the name was *Conaing Cuirre*, king of Brega, who died in AD 662, and from whom the kings of Knowth or North Brega descended. Approximately 12 km. north-west of Knowth there is a place-name 'Rath Kenny' (Fig. 25) which is derived from *Ráith Conaing* (or the Rath of the King). The rath (or dwelling place) of an Irish king would normally be known as Rathanree or *Ráth an Rí*.²

C. Ireland, Gaul and England.

In AD 590, a generation after Columba had founded the monastery on Iona, Columbanus left his monastery at Bangor in Ireland to journey through Brittany to Burgundy in Gaul as a *peregrinus* for the love of Christ.³ When Columbanus's first continental monastery, founded within the ruins of a Roman fort at Annegray (Fig. 26) proved too small, he founded his principal monastery at Luxeuil and another at Fontaine (Fig. 26).⁴ In AD 610, almost twenty years after his arrival, Columbanus's uncompromising attitude caused him to fall foul of King Theuderic, who arranged to have him forcibly removed to Nantes

¹ Byrne, *Kings*, pp. 111-2, 281.

² *Ráith ind rí* in Old Irish.

³ T.M. Charles-Edwards, 'The Social Background to Irish *Peregrinatio*', *Celtica*, 11 (1976), pp. 42-4; Kenney, *Sources*, p. 187.

⁴ Kenney, *Sources*, p. 188; Bieler, *Harbinger*, p. 85.

and placed on board a trading ship, to be repatriated to Ireland.¹

Columbanus did not in fact sail to Ireland, but escaped and made his way first to the court at Neustria and thence to Austrasia. He then journeyed with some of his monks along the Rhine to Lake Constance, where one of his companions, St. Gallus (or Gall) decided to end his journey at the place where the monastery of St. Gallen was later established in his name (Fig. 26).² Columbanus finally settled in Bobbio in Italy, where he founded a monastery, and where he died in AD 615. During the first half of the seventh century the influence of Luxeuil and Columbanus's rule spread throughout north-east Gaul, as witnessed by the foundation of monasteries by his followers at St. Riquier, Laon, Faremoutiers, Jouarre, Chelles, Meaux, Rebais, Noyon, Rouen, Jumieges, and Fontenelle, with more far-flung outposts at Cahors in south-west Gaul, Noirmoutier off the coast at the mouth of the Loire, St. Gallen and Reichenau in Switzerland, and Bobbio in Italy (Fig. 26).³

Columbanian influence reached England with the accession *ca.* AD 630⁴ of King Sigebert of East Anglia, who had been converted to Christianity in Gaul, and his subsequent appointment to East Anglia of Bishop Felix, a Burgundian,⁵ who was

¹ This is an interesting detail, in view of the amount of 'E' ware pottery, datable to the sixth/seventh century, originating somewhere in the Bordeaux region, which is frequently recovered in Irish excavations especially along the east coast. For dating of, and background to the use of 'E' ware, see C. Thomas, 'Gallici Nautae de Galliarum Provinciis-A Sixth/Seventh century Trade with Gaul Reconsidered', *Medieval Archaeology*, 34 (1990), pp. 1-26.

² Bieler, 'Harbinger', p. 91.

³ List compiled from: Kenney, *Sources*, pp. 490-1; Bieler, *Harbinger*; Campbell, *Essays*, pp. 57-8. I. Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450-751* (Harlow, 1994).

⁴ Plummer, *HE* chron. table, p. xv.

⁵ *HE* ii. 15; iii. 18.

probably a product of a Columbanian house.¹ It is suggested that he might even have come from Luxeuil.² Nevertheless, the fact that he was sent by Archbishop Honorius of Canterbury indicates that East Anglia conformed to 'Roman' rule.³

The Irish presence in Gaul continued with the arrival there of Fursa, who founded a monastery at Lagny on the Marne a few miles from Paris (Fig. 26).⁴ When he died *ca.* AD 649 Fursa was buried by Erchinoald, mayor of the palace of Neustria, at a church which he (Erchinoald) had recently built in Péronne (Fig. 26), and where the monastery dedicated to Fursa (later known as *Perrona Scottorum*) developed.⁵ The first and second abbots of this monastery were Foillán and Ultán, Fursa's brothers who had left *Cnoberesburgh* *c.* AD 651. Foillán did not remain long at Péronne; he removed first to Nivelles and then to nearby Fosses in modern Belgium where he founded a monastery *c.* AD 652 (Fig. 26). Shortly after his death at the hands of robbers, in AD 655, his *Vita*, which included a record of the evacuation of *Cnoberesburgh*, was written at Nivelles. He was succeeded as abbot of Fosses by his brother Ultán.⁶

When in AD 656 the young prince Dagobert of Austrasia was tonsured and sent to Ireland, the monastery to which he was exiled was probably Slane, Co. Meath.⁷ This monastery had strong ties with Louth and Péronne, and therefore with Fosses. Picard argues that Ultán, who was heavily involved in Frankish politics, was still abbot of

¹ Hunter Blair, *The World of Bede*, p. 108.

² Wallace-Hadrill, *Commentary*, pp. 77, 223.

³ Columbanian monasteries changed over to 'Roman' Easter, *c.* AD626/7.

⁴ Kenney, *Sources*, p. 502.

⁵ Bieler, *Harbinger*, p. 98; Kenney, *Sources*, pp. 500-1.

⁶ Bieler, *Harbinger*, pp. 99-101.

⁷ Picard, 'Ireland and Northern France', pp. 27-52.

Fosses in AD 675 when Dagobert was recalled, and was probably instrumental in putting together for Wilfrid the network through which Dagobert could be transferred from Ireland, through England and then back to Austrasia.¹

The historical evidence indicates that Irish monks, directly from Ireland and Iona, and indirectly through disciples from Columbanian monasteries in Gaul, played a crucial role in the establishment of Christianity in seventh-century Anglo-Saxon England, and by so doing, created strong links between both countries. These links are especially important when considering, in the following chapter, references to burial practices contained in Irish ecclesiastical and secular literature of the seventh and eighth centuries, and their relevance to pagan and Christian burial practices in Anglo-Saxon England.

¹ An interesting archaeological indication for contacts with the Frankish world has come to light in the 1995 season of excavation at Moynagh Lough crannóg, Co. Meath (Fig. 25), with the recovery of two tiny glass phials of seventh-century Frankish type, together with a small copper alloy spatula: John Bradley, excavator, personal comment.

CHAPTER 4

LITERARY REFERENCES TO BURIAL PRACTICES

*Vir sive mulier honorem dare debet conjugii; sepelietur autem
in sepulcro paterno, sive juxta ecclesiam, cui conjuncta est.¹
(Collectio Canonem Hibernensis xviii, 4)*

References to death, burial and associated phenomena which appear in Irish and English hagiography, penitentials and canons in the seventh and eighth centuries can provide an invaluable insight into practices which prevailed during this period.

Before discussing the material, several caveats must be made. First, with hagiographical material it must be borne in mind that the temporal and spatial background into which the material is set is that in which the work was written and with which the author and his audience was familiar, and is not that of the events being described. The point is well illustrated by Delehaye when he compares this approach to hagiography to that of an archaeologist looking at a medieval painting of the crucifixion:²

‘.....no doubt he would examine with interest the garments worn by the holy women at the tomb, the weapons of the soldiers taking Christ to Calvary, and the buildings lining the route, because in these he would recognise a contemporary record of the painter’s time....’;

Secondly, the documentary material being used must be dateable with reasonable accuracy to the period under examination. Thirdly, bearing in mind the very close religious and secular links between Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England in the seventh/eighth centuries, I have inferred some of the evidence for Anglo-Saxon burial practices in that period from Irish source material. This will be explained in greater

¹ ‘A husband or wife ought to give honour to marriage; on the other hand she may be buried in the tomb of the ancestors, or beside the church to which she is joined.’

² H. Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, transl. D. Attwater (London, 1962), pp. 179-80.

detail in particular cases.

The burial rite practised by Irish missionaries in Anglo-Saxon England would have been similar to that practised in Iona and Ireland, and in post-Roman Britain, as recounted by Adomnán when describing the burial of Columba:¹

‘...And for three days and three nights the funeral ceremonies were duly carried out in a worthy and honourable manner. When these had ended in the savory praises of God, the venerable body of the holy and blessed patron was wrapped in clean fine cloths (*sindonibus*), and laid in the appointed burial-place...’
(*Adomnán*, iii. 23)

There is no mention here of a coffin, so it must be assumed that the body, wrapped in a shroud, was laid into a dug-grave and covered with earth.

Alongside this may be placed the details of Guthlac’s burial as described by Felix:²

‘...The handmaiden of God (Pega, Guthlac’s sister) spent three days in commending the spirit of her brother to heaven with divine praises, and on the third day in accordance with his command she buried his blessed limbs in his oratory, covering them with earth...’ (*Felix*, 1)³

The difference in this instance is that Guthlac, according to the instructions which he gave before his death, was placed in a coffin, but was also wrapped in a linen cloth (*in sindone involvat*) which had been sent to him by the abbess Ecgburh. The use of the word *sindone* to describe a white linen winding-sheet or shroud is taken from the description of the burial of Christ, as contained for instance in Luke 23:53 in which the body is described as being wrapped in a winding-sheet (*involvit sindone*) before being

¹ Columba died in AD 597; Adomnán’s *Life of Columba* was written between AD 697 and Adomnán’s death in AD 704; see J.M. Picard, ‘The Purpose of Adomnán’s *Vita Columbae*’, *Peritia*, 1 (1982), p. 167.

² Guthlac died in AD 715; his *Vita* was written by Felix at a date somewhere between AD 730 and 740: *Felix’s Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. & transl. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 18-19 (hereafter *Felix*).

³ The point of the 3 days is probably to echo the 3 days from Good Friday to Easter Day. That implies that the burial symbolises the resurrection since it is the ‘birthday’ of the saint when he enters heaven.

laid in the tomb. This therefore was regarded as the appropriate mode of burial for Christians in both Ireland and England by the eighth century. In all probability this was also the manner in which Cuthbert was buried immediately after his death: it was only when his incorrupt body was exhumed 11 years later that it was wrapped in new clothing and placed in a new coffin on the floor of the sanctuary where it could be seen and venerated by the faithful.¹

In late sixth-century Gaul, burials of Christians were often accompanied by a rich array of grave goods,² and the early seventh century in Gaul has been described as the Golden Age of dressed burial when the dead were accompanied by gold filigree work, hairpins, pendants, earrings, and large plate buckles. However, towards the latter half of the seventh century graves became poorer, usually containing a pot, a plain buckle, an iron knife or a ring, and many were now unfurnished.³

It would be very strange if seventh-century first-generation Anglo-Saxon converts were prepared to make drastic changes to their burial practices straightaway. They might be prepared to discard accompanying grave-goods, especially if this burial rite had been adopted by their converted rulers, but the body remained clothed at burial in a simple manner and this usually meant the inclusion of a knife and/or belt-buckle. That a knife was regarded as a necessity when all else had been discarded is demonstrated by the story of Góire whose death, as foretold by Columba, was to be caused by his companion whom

¹ *HE* iv. 30.

² *Gregory of Tours: The History of the Franks*, transl. L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1974), viii. 21 (hereafter *Gregory of Tours*).

³ B. K. Young, 'Merovingian Funeral Rites and the Evolution of Christianity: A Study in the Historical Interpretation of Archaeological Material', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1975, p. 14. Somewhat similar conclusions can be drawn from G.R.W. Halsall, '*Civitas Mediomatricorum*: Settlement and Social Organisation in the Merovingian Region of Metz, c. 450 - c. 750', unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of York, 1990, chapter 10.

Góire assumed would be human.¹ In fact he died from a wound inflicted by his companion, his knife.

The inclusion of knives beside or beneath the head or at the feet of some Anglo-Saxon burials, a sign that these may sometimes have been hidden, is a further indication of the difficulty of abandoning old and established practices. This proposition that knives were deposited, possibly surreptitiously, in Christian burials could also be extended to small groups of objects in bags or containers which often appear in seventh/eighth-century burials.

The reluctance of Christians to abandon their ancestral or familial cemeteries is one of the problems tackled by the compilers of the early eighth-century *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*,² a collection of canons including material dating to the seventh century with which the Irish missionaries, Aidan, Fínán, Colmán and Fursa, not to mention the English clerics residing in Ireland, would have been familiar; one of the compilers, Cú-Chuimne, was also a monk of Iona. During the period under review, works written in Ireland and England were circulating in both countries; reference is made by the *Discipulus Umbrensius* in his version of the *Penitential of Theodore* to Theodore's approval of a certain *Scottorum libellus* which appears to have been the *Penitential of Cummean* written c. 650.³ Conversely, one version of the *Penitential of Theodore* is quoted in the A-Recension of the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, and

¹ *Adommán*, i, 47.

² *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, ed. F.W.H. Wasserschleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung*, 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1885) (hereafter *Hibernensis*). This collection of Canons was compiled by Rubin of Dair-Inis, a monastery near Youghal in the south of Ireland, who died in AD 725, and Cú-Chuimne of Iona, who died in AD 747; see Kenney, *Sources*, No. 82, pp. 247-50 for full background. A date between 716 and 725 for the compilation is suggested by Charles-Edwards, 'The Penitential of Theodore', p. 142 n. 5.

³ McNeill and Gamer, pp. 98-99, 181.

another version was an important source for two other eighth-century Irish penitentials, the 'Bigotian' and 'Old Irish' Penitentials.¹

If this reluctance to abandon ancestral cemeteries was still a problem in Ireland after two and a half centuries of Christianity, how much more so in newly converted Anglo-Saxon England? When dealing with the problem, the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* is, on the one hand, sympathetic: For example the canon *De eo, quod in paterno sepulcro sepeliendum est*² in Bk. XVIII, *De iure sepulturae*³, seeks to justify burial among the ancestors by saying that a man or woman may be buried in his/her paternal tomb, and that every man is accursed who is not buried in the tomb of his fathers. This is followed by the example of Jacob and Joseph requesting that their bones be carried back from Egypt to the land of Canaan in order that they might be buried at the tomb of their ancestors.

On the other hand, monks and ecclesiastical tenants, especially those who may have had an affiliation to a particular church, were being encouraged to be buried at that church. The canons included under *De eo, quod debet homo sepeliri in ecclesia, cui monachus est*⁴ quote rulings from 'a synod of the Irish', which state,

'if anyone should have been joined to a church, he will be buried there',

and,

'a monk who in his life has not freedom without the order of the abbot, how much more so in death?'

¹ Charles-Edwards, 'The Penitential of Theodore', p. 142.

² *Hibernensis*, xviii. 2: 'Concerning the rule that a person should be buried in the paternal grave'.

³ 'Concerning the law of burial'.

⁴ *Hibernensis*, xviii. 3: 'Concerning the fact that a person who is a monk, ought to be buried in the church'; *monachus* or monk in this context might also indicate a monastic patron, benefactor, tenant, etc.

The tricky problem of how to deal with women is covered by the canon *De eo, quod mulier post mortem viri libera sit sicut in vita, ita in morte*¹ which quotes

(a) Jerome, 'A husband or wife ought to give honour to marriage; on the other hand she may be buried in the tomb of the ancestors, or beside the church to which she is joined',

(b) Paul, 'A woman is bound by the law of her husband during the life of her husband'; however, after the death of her husband she has been released from the law of the husband, because, if she is permitted to marry, how much more freedom will she have for being buried?.

This Irish corollary to I Corinthians, 7:39 means that a woman may be buried

(a) in her husband's (ancestral?) cemetery (if she predeceases him),

(b) in her own ancestral cemetery (if he predeceases her),

(c) in a church cemetery if she becomes a nun or church tenant.

This chapter solves the problem posed a little earlier by xviii.1 which took the line that a wife should be buried with her husband.

Ancestral cemeteries were not to be totally abandoned. The canon *De eo, quod sors mittenda est inter ecclesiam et sepulcrum paternum*² uses a quotation attributed to Origen:

'If any secular person has so wished, let lots make the division between the church and the ancestral tomb, but he ought to contribute the greater gift to his church, a few (items) however to the ancestral cemetery in honour of the ancestors.'

This seems to be an indication that Christians were still held responsible in some way for the upkeep of their ancestral burial place: a point which is further emphasised in the

¹ *Hibernensis*, xviii. 4: 'Concerning the fact that just as in life a woman may be free after the death of her husband, so also in death'. The quotation from Jerome is apparently not from Jerome himself but from an Irish exegete, very probably commenting on I Cor. 7:39 (the next quotation).

² *Hibernensis*, xviii. 5: 'Concerning the rule that lots should be cast to decide between the church and the ancestral tomb'.

canon *De causa, qua se ostendunt mortui in somno vivis*¹ in Bk. LI *De mortuis in somno visis* which states in a quote attributed to Augustine:²

‘Some consider it to be by the work of angels whether to give comfort of some kind to the living to whom the dead belong, or to remind mankind that respect should be given to a burial, which though it may perhaps not be given to the dead, yet it is a matter for blame if it is neglected by those in the religious state’

an obvious reminder to those in religion that they were still responsible for the upkeep of their ancestors’ (probably pagan) graves.

The following canons from Bk. L, *De reliquiis in deserto humatis*,³ illustrate the point that in the eighth century, while Christians were still being buried in ancestral cemeteries (among sinful men) they were being earnestly encouraged to consider being buried in ‘desert’ places, which in this context probably meant monastic cemeteries.

*De eo, quod magis visitantur martyres in deserto humati, quam inter malos homines*⁴ quotes the Lives of the Fathers;

‘Martyrs buried among evil persons are visited by angels; however, the angels return sorrowful...’
and

Jerome, ‘After the resurrection many testify that they have heard voices of angels saying: let us depart from these places’

Other canons in Bk. L thrust home this message by reminding the reader that Moses was buried on Mount Phasaga so that he might always be visited by angels and be avoided by evil persons, and that Aaron, Paul the hermit, and others, were also buried in desert places, and that the remains deposited in desert places are no less visited by God and

¹ *Hibernensis*, li. 2: ‘Concerning the reason for which the dead show themselves to the living in sleep.’

² ‘Concerning the dead seen in dreams’.

³ ‘Concerning remains buried in desert places’.

⁴ *Hibernensis*, l. 3: ‘Concerning the fact that martyrs who are buried in desert places are more visited than (those) among evil men’; *mali homines* in this case are probably pagans.

angels.

Examples of the inclusion of possible Christian burials in secular/pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, too numerous to list here, are discussed under various regional divisions in Chapter 5. A couple of examples to illustrate the point would include the cemetery at Buttermarket, Ipswich (Suffolk) (Gaz. 2121) where burials of the earlier seventh century were accompanied by grave goods including weapons, whereas burials dated to the later seventh/eighth centuries had no grave goods: in the ninth century, streets were laid across the by then abandoned cemetery. Another example is the cemetery at Castledyke South, Barton-upon-Humber (Humberside) (Gaz. 661) where burial commenced in the sixth century, but W-E burials located in the south-east area of the cemetery and which were without grave goods or with knives in unusual positions in the graves, appear to indicate a continuation of burial into the Christian period. This cemetery was subsequently superseded in the ninth century by the one located nearby at St. Peter's Church, Barton-upon-Humber (Gaz. 1122).

An indication that graves of pagans and Christians could be identical in outward appearance is given in two seventh-century references to a similar incident concerning Patrick. The first reference, by Muirchú concerns a grave marked by a cross:¹ in reply to questions from Patrick the dead man in the grave admitted that he was a pagan and that the cross had been placed beside his tomb in error by the mother of another man (a Christian) who was buried nearby, Patrick then transferred the cross to its proper place.² The second reference, by Tírechán, possibly concerns the same incident:³

¹ Muirchú, *Vita Patricii*, ed. & transl. L. Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh* (Dublin, 1979), pp. 62-123 (hereafter *Muirchú*). The *Vita* was written between AD 661 and 700: Bieler, p. 2.

² *Muirchú*, ii. 2.

Patrick stopped at two new graves, one of which was marked by a cross. Once again, in reply to questions from Patrick, a voice from the grave marked by the cross admitted that he was a pagan, but that the cross had been placed beside his grave in error. Patrick pulled the cross from the grave and placed it over the head of the baptised man.¹ Obviously an error like this could not have occurred unless the two graves were identical in appearance apart from the cross, a cautionary warning to archaeologists that in seventh-century cemeteries it may not always be possible to tell whether a grave is that of a Christian or a pagan from either orientation or outward appearance.

Bede states that Oswiu buried the head of Oswald at Lindisfarne, and his hands and arms he buried in the royal city of Bamborough.² The reason for this might not be immediately obvious, but when one reads in the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* (the canon *De Ressurrectione transmutatorum martyrum*)³ a saying attributed to Origen:

‘Some believe, they will arise in the place of ashes, others in the place where the bones are situated. Where for instance the head will have been, there all of the members will be assembled. Ezechiel saw bones approaching bones, each single one to its own joint, and he prophesying, their muscles and flesh grew up and after that the skin extended. Thence breath from the four winds into them may blow.’

It is possible that the rationale behind the burial of the head at Lindisfarne was that Oswald should have his resurrection at the monastery which was his own foundation.

Written sources also throw some light on decapitation. In the archaeological record the

³ *Tírechán, Collectanea*, ed. & transl. L. Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, pp. 123-167 (hereafter *Tírechán*), written c. AD 670; see R. Sharpe, ‘Palaeographical Considerations in the Study of the Patrician Documents in the Book of Armagh’, *Scriptorium*, 36 (1982), p. 22 n. 64.

¹ *Tírechán*, c. 41.

² *HE* iii. 12

³ *Hibernensis*, xlix. 10: ‘Concerning the resurrection of translated relics’.

earliest cases of decapitate burials where the head is replaced but in an incorrect anatomical position, are in the late Iron Age cemetery at Harlyn Bay, Cornwall, and the practice, which became fairly widespread in Romano-British cemeteries especially in the later fourth century,¹ continued to be used sporadically throughout the early Anglo-Saxon period. (Figs. 2, 82)

Mutilation of a body after burial is an ancient practice. The earliest recorded literary reference is when Aeschylus writing in the fifth century BC commenting on the death of Agamemnon, alludes to the custom by which the extremities of the murdered man were cut off and hung about the body, the object of which was to disable the spirit of the dead from taking vengeance on the murderer.² That the practice transcends religious beliefs and cannot be regarded as a specifically pagan or Christian act is demonstrated in a passage from chapter 47 of the twelfth-century *Life and Miracles of St. Modwenna* by Geoffrey of Burton³ concerning two villagers of Stapenhill who ran away to the neighbouring village called Drakelow, thereby causing dissension between the abbot of Burton and count Roger the Poitevin;

‘....at the third hour, the two runaway peasants who were the cause of this evil were sitting down to eat, when they were both suddenly struck down dead. Next morning they were placed in wooden coffins and buried in the churchyard at Stapenhill, the village from whence they had fled. What followed was amazing and truly remarkable. That very same day on which they were interred they appeared at evening.....at Drakelow, carrying on their shoulders the wooden coffins in which they had been buried. The whole following night they walked through the village lanes and fields.....they spoke to the other peasants, banging on the walls of their houses and shouting, ‘Move, quickly, move! Get going!’

¹ Chapter 1, pp. 13-16

² Aeschylus, *The Libation-Bearers*, trans. H. Weir-Smyth (Loeb edit. 1925), line 439: ‘Aye, and he was foully mangled...’.

³ Geoffrey became Abbot of Burton in AD 1114. I am indebted to Professor R.J. Bartlett, University of St. Andrews, for permission to quote from his unpublished translation of the *Life and Miracles of St. Modwenna*.

Come!’ When these astonishing events had taken place every evening and every night for some time, such a disease afflicted the village that all the peasants fell into desperate straits and within a few days all except three perished by sudden death in a remarkable way.....Men were living in terror of the phantom dead men.....and they received permission from the bishop to go to their graves and dig them up.....They cut off their heads and placed them in the graves between their legs, tore out the hearts from their corpses and covered the bodies with earth again.....Soon after this was done both the disease and the phantoms ceased.....’.

In the Icelandic Saga of Grettir the Strong, written in the fourteenth century, but purporting to relate to deeds which had taken place between 1030 and 1040¹ when Grettir was attacked by a thrall who was the ghost of Glam, ‘...he drew his short sword, cut off Glam’s head and laid it between his thighs.’ And a reference to an execution on Gotland in the nineteenth century states;

‘....after that we dug a pit near the edge of the wood, dragged the dead man there and shovelled earth over him, after the turnkey had carefully seen to it that the dead man had his head between his legs..’²

The latest recorded reference, published in December 1995³ relates to an excavation carried out at an old graveyard in New York state containing burials of the nineteenth century, in which one of the burials was that of a male named J.B. whose head and lower limbs had been removed and placed on his chest. Further enquiries disclosed that this man had been the first in his community to die from ‘the wasting disease’ (tuberculosis), and the survivors thought that by disabling his spirit they could stop the disease from spreading to other members of the community. The rationale behind the practice, in

¹ *Saga of Grettir the Strong*, trans. G.A. Hight (London, 1914. edit.used 1972). pp. v, 99. I am grateful to Sveinn Haraldsonn, a graduate student at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, for drawing my attention to this, and the following reference.

² F. Ström, *On the Sacral Origin of the Germanic Death Penalties* (Stockholm, 1942), pp. 164-5 n. 284.

³ S. Mirsky, ‘J.B. Finally Rests in Peace’, *American Way* (American Airlines, December, 1995), p. 102.

whatever age, seems primarily to be prevention of the spirit returning to haunt the living, whether because the deceased had been murdered, executed, was considered to be evil, or might bring disease.

There are references in the early literature suggesting that other pagan practices associated with burial were still being observed by Christians. The Penitential of Theodore, xv. 3, states:

‘He who causes grains to be burned where a man has died, for the health of the living and of the house, shall do penance for five years.’¹

While this would appear to associate the burning of grain with the house in which a person died, it must be more than coincidence that burnt grain is sometimes found associated with graves in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, as at Sandy (Beds) (Gaz.64); Spong Hill (Norf) (Gaz. 121) where old finds included an urn filled with charred wheat; Balcombe Pit, Glynde (Sussex) (Gaz. 244) where a wooden box containing grain was found near the skull of a skeleton in this cemetery of W-E burials, many of which had only iron knives; Marston St. Lawrence (Northants) (Gaz. 453); Andover (Hants) (Gaz. 1110), where burnt grain was found in 2 female graves of the sixth century; and Burghfield (Berks) (Gaz. 2180), where carbonised grain was found in a burial which also had two items tied together and placed in a small bag. Several other cemeteries contain burials where charcoal has been scattered, usually around the upper parts of bodies: these include Cannington (Som) (Gaz. 606) a possible indication that the practice was known to the indigenous population, Horton Kirby (Kent (Gaz. 194, 207); Leighton Buzzard (Beds) (Gaz. 486); Snells Corner (Hants) (Gaz. 551); Camerton (Avon) (Gaz. 605); Finglesham (Kent) (Gaz. 686) where a warrior in a penannular ditched enclosure had

¹ McNeill and Gamer, p. 198.

‘black seeds’ over the legs; Fairford (Glos) (Gaz. 1083); and Milfield North (Northumb) (Gaz. 2219). If the burning of grain was associated with some form of purification of the house, then the inclusion in graves of either burnt grain or charcoal might perform the same function. This custom must have been deep-rooted because a further occurrence of the prohibition is included in the so-called *Confessional of Egbert* written about AD 950-1000,¹ which says ‘Anyone who burns corn in the place where a dead man lay, for the health of living men and of his house, shall fast for five years’.

The custom of funeral feasts was condemned in the Canons of the Greek Synods:

‘Non oportet, non liceat Christianis prandia ad defunctorum sepulchra deferre et sacrificari mortuis’²

but this did not prevent seventh-century references to the practice. Adomnán writes about an animal thief named Erc, to whom Columba from time to time gave provisions in order to prevent further thieving;

‘...the saint, foreseeing in the spirit the thief’s imminent death, sent to Baithéne, then living as prior in the plain of Long, and bade him send to that thief a fat beast and six measures of grain as last gifts. When Baithéne had dispatched these as the saint had asked him to do, the pitiful thief was found overtaken by sudden death on that day; and the gifts that had been sent were used at his funeral.’³

and in the early Irish law, *Dí Dliguid Raith 7 Somaíne*⁴ one of the seven duties which a client must carry out in the event of his lord’s death included attending a commemorative feast. While these feasts may not have taken place at the actual place of burial, they

¹ McNeill and Gamer, p. 243

² In the collection of the Canons of the Greek Synods by Martin bishop of Braga in Portugal, who died AD 580. ref: G. Rolleston, ‘Researches and Excavations carried on in an Ancient Cemetery at Frilford, near Abingdon, Berks. in the years 1867-1868’ *Archaeologia* 42 (1869), p. 424.

³ *Adomnán*, i. 41 (Andersons’ translation).

⁴ ‘On the law relating to the fief and profit of a lord’ (early Irish law-texts were originally written in the seventh/eighth centuries); Kelly, *Early Irish Law*, p. 30.

certainly indicate the continuance of an ancient ritual in a Christian milieu.

Several interesting references to sentinel burials occur in British and Irish early literature. The first British reference occurs in the *Historia Brittonum*¹ and concerns Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, who died shortly after having routed the English on the shore of the Gallic Sea (Strait of Dover);

'.....before he died he told his followers to set his tomb by the coast, in the port from which (the English) had departed, saying 'I entrust it to you. Wherever else they may hold a British port or may have settled, they will never again live in this land'. But they ignored his command and did not bury him where he had told them; for he is buried in Lincoln. But if they had kept his command, there is no doubt that they would have obtained whatever they wished through the prayers of saint Germanus...'²

Another British example is contained at the end of the Second Branch of the Mabinogi (dated to the eleventh or twelfth century) when the dying Bendigeidfran instructed his men that they should cut off his head and take it to the White Hill in London and bury it with its face turned towards France, so that no invader might come across the sea as long as the head remained undisturbed.³

The earliest Irish reference, dated to the seventh century, is Tírechán describing how Loíguire son of Níall refusing to accept the faith from Patrick said;

'...My father Níall did not allow me to accept the faith, but bade me to be buried on the ridges (or heights) of Tara, I son of Níall and the sons of Dúnlang in Maistiú in Mag Líphi, face to face (with each other) in the manner of men at war ... until the day of *erdathe* ... because of such fierceness of our (mutual) hatred..'. (Tírechán adds 'for the pagans, armed in their tombs, have their weapons ready')⁴

¹ Included in *Nennius, British History and the Welsh Annals*, ed. & trans. J. Morris (London, 1980). The compilation was made 829-30.

² *Historia Brittonum*, iii. 44.

³ Charles-Edwards, *Kinship*, p. 292; W. Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1982), pp. 211-212.

⁴ *Tírechán*, c. 12 (2), trans. Bieler.

The ridges or high places of Tara are mainly barrows, and Tírechán was obviously aware that these were burial places. What is more interesting is that no warrior-burial dateable to before the Viking period has ever been found in Ireland, so it is most unlikely that the Irish ever buried their warriors armed and ready to spring to the defence of their people. Tírechán may of course have been familiar with the concept of this type of burial because the theme is an ancient one, but it needed to be adapted to suit a seventh-century audience. The nearest equivalent with which he might have been familiar, if not at first hand then perhaps through contacts, was the Anglo-Saxon practice of burying dead chiefs, fully armed, facing the enemy in order to protect their people from attack. Tírechán could have reasoned that if this was what pagan Anglo-Saxons did, then it must follow that the pagan Irish must also have done so in the past. This of course implies that the Irish, unlike the Gauls, perceived weapon-burial as inherently pagan: a point which could have an important influence on burial practices in areas influenced by the Irish mission in England.

The second Irish reference is contained in *Caithreim Cellaig*, probably written in the thirteenth century, where Eógán Bél, a king of Connaught, gives instructions that he is to be buried with a red spear in his hand and his face to be turned against the enemies of Connaught in the north. As long as his face was turned against them these enemies were powerless against his country.¹

The implications of these references are that the warriors were buried in an upright position. This unfortunately is physically impossible unless the body was tied to a stake, in which event an excavator would expect to find a small pile of bones beside a post-hole. This has not, to my knowledge, ever happened. The descriptions are of

¹ Charles-Edwards, *Kinship*, p. 262.

warriors laid-out with their armour, in a supine position, facing towards the enemy. Several possible burials of this type are discussed in Chapter 5, the most notable of which are at Taplow (Bucks) (Gaz. 491), and Lowbury Hill, (Oxon) (Gaz. 510).

Another interesting reference in *Tírechán* is to the digging of a circular enclosure around a grave. The episode opens when Patrick, visiting the well of Clébach, on the slopes of Cruachu (Cruachán, Co. Roscommon), met with and converted the two daughters of King Loíguire. They then wished to meet the Son, and on receiving the eucharist;

‘....they fell asleep in death and their friends placed them on one bed and covered them with their garments and made a lament and great keening.....And the days of mourning for the king’s daughters came to an end and they buried them beside the well of Clébach, and they made a round ditch (*fossam rotundam*) after the manner of a *ferta* because this is what the heathen Irish used to do, but we call it *relic*¹, that is, the remains of the maidens. And the *ferta* was made over to Patrick with the bones of the holy virgins, and to his heirs after him for ever, and he made an earthen church in that place...’²

One could speculate that the ditch must have been penannular in order to provide access to the earthen church. Cruachú is, like Tara, a royal site which is covered with barrows, and *Tírechán* who was very familiar with the area, was describing what he considered to be a suitable form of burial for the king’s daughters.

There is one other reference to the digging of a *fert* in early Irish literature. This occurs in *Dí Dligiud Raith 7 Somaíne* (above p. 119) in which another of the seven duties which a client must carry out in the event of the lord’s death was the digging of the lord’s *fert* or gravemound. It is important to note that in both cases the *fert* is dug and

¹ *fert*: a burial involving enduring physical signs in the form of a mound or a ditch and rampart, i.e. a permanent change to the landscape by means of the digging of a grave;

relic: a borrowing from *reliquiae* (the remains of the saints); it would seem that by *Tírechán*’s time it had or was beginning to acquire its Irish meaning of *reilig* or cemetery, the meaning which it has retained until the present day.

² *Tírechán*, c. 26 (16-21), Bieler’s translation.

not built, indicating that the major element was the ditch, and that such enclosures were only associated with people of high rank. It might therefore be possible to take the argument one step further, and suggest that similar enclosures found in cemeteries in seventh-century Anglo-Saxon England might be substitutes for ostentatious grave goods and wealth-displays in the burial of persons of high rank.

Another group of references are those which mention prehistoric burial places. Writers in the early medieval period were well aware that barrows of all descriptions were ancient burial places. In an Irish context, *Tírechán* relates a story of Patrick coming through the plains in the territory of Macc Erce in Dichuil:

‘And in Dichuil, Patrick came to a hugh grave of astounding breath and excessive in length, which his people had found, and they were amazed, with great astonishment, that it extended a hundred and twenty feet, and they said: ‘We do not believe that there could have been such a thing as a man of this length’.....Patrick opened the grave....and a huge man arose whole and said.....‘I am the son of the son of Cass son of Glas; I was the swineherd of Lugar king of Hirota. The warrior band of the sons of Macc Con killed me in the reign of Coirpre Nie Fer’ (a hundred years ago from now)....’¹

This is obviously a reference to a neolithic long-barrow.

In another instance, *Muirchú* describes how Patrick having landed at Inber Colpdi (Colp) at the mouth of the Boyne then set off on foot and eventually arrived in the vicinity of Slane (Co. Meath):

‘...in the evening they at last arrived at the burial place of the men of Fíacc (*ad ferti virorum Feec*), which as stories tell us, the men (that is, the servants) of Fíacc had dug....’.²

It is quite possible that this refers to one of the groups of passage-grave cemeteries at the bend of the Boyne.

¹ *Tírechán*, c. 40 (1-8), Bieler’s translation.

² *Muirchú*, i 14, Bieler’s translation.

An English reference concerns Guthlac who lived in a hut which he had built over a chamber in a prehistoric barrow which had previously been opened by grave-robbers.¹ This was also the place at which Guthlac was eventually buried, in other words he was buried in a prehistoric burial chamber. This raises the question of the attitude of Christians to such burial places and to grave-robbing.

The evidence for grave-robbing in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries is complex, but it does exist, and appears mostly to be a phenomenon of the seventh-century. At the cemetery at Lord of the Manor, Ozengell (Kent) (Gaz. 1208) for example, up to 60% of the graves showed signs of ancient disturbance which appears to demonstrate, among other things, an exact knowledge of the position of graves and perhaps also what had been placed in them and where the items had been placed, thus allowing retrieval with minimum disturbance or labour; this also suggests that the activity may often not have been clandestine.² It is my own opinion that the answer lies in the advent of Christianity. It is a central motif in Germanic legend that treasure buried with the dead was cursed,³ so pagans would be loath to disturb it. If anyone did decide to rob a corpse or a grave the penalties were harsh: in the Frankish Salic Laws compiled in the early sixth century and added to and adapted up to the mid-eighth century,⁴ chapt. 55 'Concerning the plundering of corpses' states:

1. If anyone thievishly plunders the body of a slain man before it is buried (known in the *malberg* as *chreomosido*), and it can be proven that he did this, let him be held liable for 2500 denarii, which make sixty-two and one-half solidi.

¹ *Felix*, c. 28.

² Mr D. Perkins, personal communication. I am grateful to Mr Perkins for discussing his research, currently in progress, on this matter.

³ Dr. Helen Conrad-O'Briain, personal comment.

⁴ *Laws of the Salian and Ripuarian Franks*, transl. T.J. Rivers (New York, 1986), pp. 2-7.

4. If anyone exhumes and plunders a corpse already buried (known in the malberg as *muther*), and it can be proven that he did this, let him become an outlaw until that day when he comes to an agreement with the relatives of the deceased, so that they must ask that he be allowed [again] to go among men.....let the criminal who is proven to have committed this [deed] or to have exhumed [the corpse] be held liable for 8000 denarii, which make 200 solidi.

In *Beowulf*, lines 3051-3057, the poet suggests that any curse on treasure in a burial can be set aside by God:¹

‘..And this gold of former men was full of power,
the huge inheritance, hedged about with a spell:
no one among men was permitted to touch
that golden store of rings unless God Himself,
the true King of Victories, the Protector of mankind,
enabled one He chose to open the hoard,
whichever among men should seem meet to Him..’²

In other words, Christians felt that it was in God’s power to remove curses, and they would therefore not be afraid to retrieve precious objects which may have been placed originally in graves for the benefit of pagan observers (perhaps subjects), or perhaps with a pagan relative. The (Christian) servants of Guntram Boso certainly did not appear to have been bothered by any curse when they ‘retrieved’ the precious objects which had been buried with the woman in the church near Metz,³ although they could still be held accountable in law. Gregory obviously thought that Guntram Boso’s behaviour was despicable.

Guthlac’s use of a prehistoric burial chamber as a dwelling-place may have been his method of demonstrating the dominant power of Christianity over paganism.

¹ For views on whether or not the writer of *Beowulf* was a Christian, see P. Wormald, ‘Bede, “Beowulf” and the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy’, ed. R.T. Farrell *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England* B.A.R. 46 (Oxford, 1978), esp. p. 65; and H. Conrad-O’Brian, ‘*Beowulf* and the Uses of History’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Dublin, Trinity College, 1990.

² *Beowulf*, transl. M. Alexander (Harmondsworth, 1973).

³ *Gregory of Tours*, viii. 21.

The latest recorded incidence of secondary burial in a prehistoric barrow is in an entry for AD 1581 in the Annals of Loch Cé¹ which reads:

‘....Brian Caec O’Coinnegain, an eminent cleric, and keeper of a general house of guests, died; and the place of sepulture which he selected for himself was, i.e. to be buried at the mound of Baile-an-tobair². And we think that it was not through want of religion Brian Caech made this selection, but because he saw not the service of God practised in any church near him at that time....’.

With regard to the movement or translation of corporeal relics: although in the West it may have happened unofficially from time to time, the first official translation of corporeal relics took place in the mid-seventh century when Pope Theodore (642-648) transferred bodies into the Basilica of St. Stephen in Rome,³ and it is very obvious from references in seventh/eighth century literature that it was still at that time not yet regarded as the norm. Any translation of relics could only be justified in exceptional circumstances, and even then it was the whole remains which were being referred to and not parts of the body. In the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* the canon *De tribus modis, quibus transmutantur martyres*⁴ Augustine is quoted as saying:

‘Three reasons for moving *martyres* are:

The first, when the oppression of persecutors has burdened the sites of their churches. The second, when there has been difficulty regarding (church) sites. The third, when they are burdened by the company of evil men.’⁵

When Tírechán refers to the translation of the relics of the priest Bruscius to

¹ *The Annals of Loch Cé*, (A Chronicle of Irish Affairs from AD 1014 to 1590), ed. and trans. W.M. Hennessey (London, 1871), p. 436.

² Probably near Ballintubber Abbey, Co. Mayo.

³ For further information on the background to the cult of corporeal relics in Ireland see C. Doherty, ‘The Use of Relics in Early Ireland’, in P. Ní Catháin and M. Richter (eds.), *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 70-79.

⁴ *Hibernensis*, xlix. 8: ‘Concerning three causes for which martyrs are moved’. (‘martyrs’ in an Irish context signified the Christian dead).

⁵ This last reason is probably a further reference to Christians who were buried among pagans, or ancestors.

another church,¹ he justifies this by stating that it was only after a holy man had had a dream for three nights running, in which Bruscus begged to be moved because he was alone in a solitary church, that he (the holy man) dug up the grave and took the bones of holy Bruscus with him to the monastery, and they spoke no more.

There is a hint in the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* of the start of the growth of the cult of relics when in the canon *De honore martyrum aliquando migrante cum reliquiis, aliquando remanente*² Jerome is quoted as saying:

‘It is to be noted that when some of the relics are moved to another place, with them veneration moves, but when others have been moved the veneration does not cease in their own places.’

This is one method of placating both the opposers and advocates of the cult of corporeal relics.

Associated with the cult of relics was the wish to be buried near the ‘bones’ of a founder or holy man. When Bishop Cedd died and was buried at Lastingham, about thirty of the brothers in his monastery in the kingdom of the East Saxons, left that monastery and went to Northumbria ‘..in order to live near the body of their father or, if the Lord so willed, to die and be buried there..’.³ Their attitude probably mirrors those current among Irish missionaries: when Librán a monk of Iona was told by Columba that his resurrection would be in Ireland and not in Britain (*i.e.* not in Iona) he was extremely upset, and had to be comforted by being informed that his part in the Kingdom would be among Columban monks.⁴

¹ *Tírechán*, c. 16.

² *Hibernensis*, xlix. 9: ‘Concerning the veneration of martyrs, which sometimes migrates with the remains, sometimes stays behind.’

³ *HE*, iii. 23.

⁴ *Adomnán*, ii. 39 (92a,b); Librán eventually died at the Columban monastery in Durrow.

For seventh/eighth-century Christians the desire for burial near the bones of a founder or holy man replaced the desire for burial near the bones of the ancestors, but it was still characteristic of monks and nuns, not of lay people.

CHAPTER 5

BURIAL IN EARLY ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

Introduction

This chapter is an assessment of burial sites in early Anglo-Saxon England, using criteria established in the previous chapters. The objectives are to identify burials of indigenous people, either in pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries or in separate areas; to observe any overlap or continuity of customs or rites between eras; and to examine the efforts of Anglo-Saxons to recreate a continuity with the past by the re-use of cemeteries and burial monuments of earlier periods, their subsequent construction of imitative burial structures, and eventual adoption of Christian burial practices similar to those in use in late and post-Roman Britain, Ireland and Gaul.

One criterion employed to recognise possible indigenous people includes identification of burials, either crouched or extended, without grave goods.¹ These usually constitute only a tiny minority of the burials in those Anglo-Saxon cemeteries where the inclusion of grave goods was the norm. This strategy has limitations, in that it is likely that many Britons early adopted Anglo-Saxon customs (including burial customs) in order to assimilate into the new society. However, those who could afford to do so may have held on to their own customs and beliefs even for several generations. Much may have depended on numerical factors; for example where the new settlers were in the majority it would be in the best interests of the indigenous population to be seen

¹ These are not to be confused with unaccompanied burials of the seventh century and later, which are probably Christian, normally supine, and oriented west-east. It is conceded however that difficulties in identification between late or post-Roman and post seventh-century burials may occur where no other dating evidence is available.

to conform, but where the settlers were a minority, the local population could afford to maintain a certain independence. Thus a study of burial practices may provide a glimpse of the circumstances which prevailed in various areas in the early Anglo-Saxon period, and where older customs did survive it can provide at least some indication of the situation in those areas.

It is often assumed that unaccompanied burials in pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries represent slaves, but this assumption seems implausible since these unaccompanied interments usually have the character of formal burials, an indication that the individuals involved possessed some status in society. We have no way of knowing what ceremonial was involved, but whatever form it took the ceremony probably represented an alternative to the deposition of grave goods. Slaves on the other hand had no individual status¹, no individual identity, and practically nothing in the way of disposable possessions²; therefore even if burial in the same plot of ground as freemen was allowed, who among their kinsfolk would be in a position to bear the expense?³ In occasional instances slaves may have been buried with their masters/mistresses in order to minister to them in the afterlife. Examples of such burials might include nos. 41/49 at Sewerby (Yorks),(Gaz. 657),⁴ where a rich female supine burial was overlaid by a prone (live?) female, and at

¹ In the late seventh-century decrees of Wihtred, King of Kent,(cap. 8), it is stated that even when a slave was granted free status, his former master was still entitled to his wergeld. F.L. Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 26-7. (hereafter *Laws*).

² *Laws*, Alfred, cap. 43. pp. 84-5, gives some idea of the dearth of personal possessions of a slave.

³ In the Roman world, burial clubs which took the place of the dead person's family, were particularly popular with slaves and the poor. see P. Salway, *Roman Britain*, (Oxford, 1981), pp. 696-7. (hereafter Salway, *Roman Britain*). There is however no evidence to suggest that such clubs existed in Britain in the post-Roman period.

⁴ Each entry in the Gazetteer is identified by a specific number, and each contains a list of published references. Sites mentioned in the text with an attached Gaz. number will only be further referenced where necessary or relevant.

West Heslerton (Nth. Yorks) (Gaz. 1240), where a supine female was also overlaid by a prone burial. While the keeping of slaves was not the prerogative of the wealthy,¹ in wealthy households they probably outnumbered family members. This being the case, if slaves were buried in the same place as their masters, their burials would be more numerous, and this is clearly not so.

There are in some cemeteries, discrete groups where each burial is accompanied by one bead. I do not yet know what significance this holds; there is always the possibility that these may represent burials of specially favoured slaves, but on the other hand they may represent a form of substitute grave-offering by Anglo-Saxons who had become influenced by British practices. Some unaccompanied burials could also represent pagan Anglo-Saxons who had become influenced by British practices. In both cases one would expect to find identifiable British and Anglo-Saxon burials in the immediate neighbourhood.

The conscious re-use of cemeteries and burial monuments of earlier periods is a phenomenon common to intrusive groups in many ages.² This can usually be understood as a social statement or as an attempt to legitimize claims of sovereignty or, by burying among the perceived ancestors of an indigenous people, to claim these as their own ancestors and thus gain their protection. With the growth of self-confidence such groups eventually constructed funerary monuments of their own, which were often imitative of native monuments. In the context of early Anglo-Saxon England these phenomena are recognised by the insertion of burials in and around prehistoric barrows, and by the

¹ see *Laws*, Æthelberht, cap. 16, pp. 6-7.

² For further elaboration on this aspect see: R. Bradley, 'Time Regained: The Creation of Continuity', *Journal British Archaeol. Assoc.*, 140 (1987), pp. 1-17.

construction of primary barrows and/or enclosing features around burials.

The introduction of 'Celtic' Christianity in the seventh century is probably associated with the gradual withdrawal of grave-goods, and the reintroduction or revival of late Romano-British burial practice.¹ However, in some areas, especially in the south-east of the country, which had Frankish connections, grave-goods would in some cases continue to be deposited at least until the end of the seventh century. Where grave-goods were omitted the body was initially clothed in a simple manner for burial; hence the presence of buckles and/or knives in graves (the belt and/or knife being an essential part of everyday apparel). In many cases, even when a shroud was used, a knife continued to be placed with the body, often hidden from view, that is beneath the body or beside the head where it was possibly hidden by hair, etc. Because this item was essential in this life, it was probably deemed equally so in the afterlife.²

In the interests of consistency with the previous chapter, I have organised this study on a regional and territorial basis, starting with north-east England and progressing south and west (Fig. 27). As territorial boundaries in the early Anglo-Saxon period were not definitive and in many cases fluctuated back and forth, for the purposes of this study these are approximate, based on major topographical features such as rivers and/or major routeways and pre-1974 county boundaries. In the text, county boundaries are transposed to post-1974 counties for convenience. Burials for each region are listed in tables included under the appropriate regional heading and are colour-coded on regional distribution maps.

¹ Burials with heads to the west are often incorrectly published as being E-W, therefore burials with heads east are only commented upon in this chapter when positive evidence for their orientation is recorded.

² See above pp. 109-110.

BERNICIA

Bernicia is defined as the region bounded on the north by the River Tweed, on the south by the River Tees, on the west by the Cheviot Hills and the Pennines, and on the east by the North Sea. (Figs. 28-29)

The situation regarding burials of the Iron Age and Roman period between the Tyne and the Tweed is similar to that already detailed for the Welsh marches and Cumbria: there is virtually no evidence for Iron Age burial (Fig. 1) despite the fact that the region can be shown to have been quite densely populated during that time.¹ Although it is bisected by Hadrian's Wall, evidence for burial in this region during the Roman period is mainly confined to inhumations in cists along the wall at Benwell, Chesterholm, Corbridge and Haydon (Northumberland), and South Shields (Tyne and Wear)(Fig. 4).² The very few Roman-period burials located away from the wall include the possible cist inhumation found in the nineteenth century at Bamborough (Northumberland) (Gaz. 985), and cremations at High Rochester (Northumberland) and Newstead (Borders). In contrast, extended inhumations in cists and in dug graves are common in British Gododdin territory north of the Tweed (Fig. 21). The explanation must again be that in the region between the Tweed and the Tyne the majority of the native British population continued to practice whatever 'invisible' rite had prevailed throughout Britain during the later Bronze Age and early Iron Age.

¹ Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger*, pp. 244, 335-6.

² Philpott, *Practices*.

TABLE 6

Burials in Bernicia

KEY: Column headings: Gaz = database gazetteer number: in = inhumation: cr = cremation: or = orientation of burials: cb = crouched burial: pr = prone burial: dc = decapitated burial: n = burials with no grave goods: sc = secondary in prehistoric monuments: pm = primary monument: en = contemporary enclosure: a = artifacts only, no burial.
Column content: c = certain: p = possible: a = absent: - = no information recorded: v = various: fl = flexed: pn = penannular: an = annular: r = rectilinear.

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
252	Howick, Nthumb.	c	c	v	c	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
254	Capheaton, Nthumb.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
255	East Boldon, Durh.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
256	Castle Eden, Durh.	c	a	ew	-	-	-	a	-	c	-	-
257	Cornforth, Durh.	c	a	ns	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
258	Darlington, Durh.	c	a	we	a	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
259	Hartlepool, Durh.	c	a	v	fl	-	p	c	p	-	-	-
631	Yeavering, Nthumb.	c	a	we	c	-	a	c	c	c	r	-
632	Gt. Tosson, Nthumb.	c	-	we	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
634	Corbridge, Nthumb.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	c
635	Barrasford, Nthumb.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	c
636	Galewood, Nthumb.	c	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
985	Bamborough, Nthumb.	c	a	-	a	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
986	Houghton-le-Spring, Durh.	c	a	we	a	a	a	c	c	-	-	-
987	Brierton, Durh.	c	a	ns	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
988	Benwell, Nthumb.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	c
989	Camboise, Nthumb.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1125	Binchester, Durh.	c	a	ns	c	a	a	a	c	-	-	-
1178	Jarrow, Tyne & Wear	c	a	we ns	fl	c	a	c	-	-	-	-
1188	Milfield Sth. Nthumb.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
1191	Monkwearmouth, Tyne & Wear	c	a	we	fl	c	-	c	-	-	-	-
1197	Newcastle-on-Tyne, Nthumb.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
2040	Norton-on-Tees, Durh.	c	c	v	c	c	-	c	-	-	-	-
2144	Easington, Durh.	c	a	ew	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-
2219	Milfield Nth.Nthumb.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-

The principal exception to the foregoing proposition is afforded by the burials at Yeavinger (Northumberland) (Gaz. 631) where the rite practised was extended supine inhumation.

The physical location and environment of Yeavinger is a vital factor when considering these burials. The site, with its stone circle, ring barrow, henge monument with crouched cist burial, standing stone¹, Bronze Age and probable Iron Age cremation burials, together with the nearby hill-fort, formed part of what is currently termed a 'ritual landscape', which held a particular significance for the inhabitants of the region, on a par, I would suggest, with Tara, Crúacháin, and Emhain Macha in Ireland,² and as such would have been the venue for periodic gatherings. The site is located on the river Glen (mod. R. Bowmont) a southern tributary of the Tweed which marked the southern border of Gododdin territory when that kingdom contracted from the region of the Tyne, possibly in the sixth century.³ This border remained in existence until *circa*

¹ A.F. Harding, 'Excavations in the Prehistoric Ritual Complex near Milfield, Northumberland', *PPS* 47 (1981), pp. 119-129.

² Tara, Co. Meath, Crúachán, Co. Roscommon, and Emhain Macha, Co. Armagh, were ritual and inauguration sites for the people of Leinster, Connaught and Ulster respectively.

³ see D. Dumville, 'Early Welsh Poetry: Problems of Historicity', in B.F. Roberts,(ed) *Early Welsh Poetry. Studies in the Book of Aneirin*, (Aberystwyth, 1988), pp. 2-3; D. Dumville, 'The Origins of Northumbria; Some Aspects of the British Background', in S. Bassett,(ed) *The Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, (Leicester, 1989), p.218. (hereafter Bassett, *Kingdoms*).

AD 638,¹ when the territory north of the Tweed became part of Bernicia. This places Yeavinger firmly in a British milieu, and suggests a good reason why the site was of such importance to potential potentates of the emerging Northumbrian dynasties in the early Anglo-Saxon period.²

It has been proposed by the excavator of Yeavinger that the 'great enclosure', was instituted *circa* AD 300-500, during which time the western stone circle was replaced by a square fenced or walled enclosure with centrally placed contemporary or successive wooden posts.³ Sixteen extended inhumation burials, without grave goods, were inserted with feet towards the posts (the burials were facing the posts), within this enclosure (Fig. 30A). I would suggest that these burials, which are impossible to date precisely, are British. The extended supine posture and lack of grave goods is indicative of Roman or Romano-British influence, and the orientation of burial on a post or standing stone has been noted in post-Roman British contexts, one of which, a stone with a Roman inscription, is located at the Catstane in Gododdin territory.⁴

The west-east burials which were inserted in and around the enclosure after the walls had disintegrated, appear upon closer examination to form an extension of the group of burials apparently associated with building D2 (Fig. 30B). Possible exceptions are the two N-S burials which, although obviously inserted after the collapse of the south

¹ This date is based on the reference in *AU sub anno* 637 (= 638) to the 'siege of Edinburgh' which is presumed to have marked the fall of Gododdin. See T.M. Charles-Edwards, 'The Authenticity of the *Gododdin*: An Historian's View', in R. Bromwich & R.B. Jones, (eds), *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd*, (Cardiff, 1978), p.64.

² While researching the background to Yeavinger, I have endeavoured not to be influenced by Dr Hope-Taylor's views, but the conclusions ultimately arrived at by me are not completely inconsistent with his.

³ Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger*, figs. 73-74. p. 244; Blair, 'Pagan shrines', p. 17, suggests that the enclosure wall was *circa* 50cm thick.

⁴ See above pp. 80-81.

side of the enclosure, were possibly inserted when at least one of the central posts might still have been visible. Building D2 has been interpreted by the excavator as a pagan temple based on the presence of ox bones and skulls within the building and a fenced enclosure with internal post-holes, outside the south wall. Whether or not the origins of the Yeavinger building tradition, dating from the early seventh century, are the result of a fusion of British and Anglo-Saxon traditions¹, or are purely Anglo-Saxon², the evidence indicates that building D2 was probably an Anglo-Saxon temple, or perhaps a feasting hall which may have incorporated a ritual aspect.

The limited amount of habitation debris recovered at Yeavinger suggests that it was not a settlement in the normal sense, and the abnormally high proportion of cattle bone implies feasting at the culling season,³ which probably coincided with royal visits. It is likely that the site was uninhabited for 90% of the year, during which time it reverted to being a ritual/burial area for the population of the region. Such an important site, *circa* 30km (less than 20 miles) from Bamborough, and therefore within the peripheral tribute area of the Bernician ruling family⁴ (provided of course that they were based at Bamborough), afforded an ideally located stopover point for the royal household on circuit. However, for Edwin based in York, Yeavinger, located at a distance of *circa* 200 km (125 miles), in the heart of a subject kingdom, was possibly only visited

¹ S. James et.al., 'An Early Medieval Building Tradition', *Arch. J.* 141 (1984), pp. 182-215.

² C. Scull, 'Post-Roman Phase I at Yeavinger: a Re-consideration', *Med. Arch.* 35, (1991), pp. 51-63. (hereafter Scull, 'Yeavinger').

³ Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger*, pp. 327-332, for evidence of culling, age at death of cattle, etc.

⁴ T. Charles-Edwards, 'Early Medieval Kingships in the British Isles', in Bassett, *Kingdoms*, p. 31, for definition of tribute areas.

by him (for 36 days) on the one occasion mentioned by Bede,¹ his more normal circuit being in Deira and therefore closer to York.

The burials outside the ring-ditch in the western cemetery, which conform (with three exceptions) to customary late Romano-British practice, may be located where they are not because of the presence of building D2, but because the general area was known to have been previously used for burial. The presence of one exceptional grave, that of a child, crouched at one end of a full sized grave-cut, with its head to the east, located just outside the south-west corner of the north-south aligned building, among otherwise extended, W-E burials, is not altogether unique in the region: approximately 15km (10 miles) north of Yeavering, in the cemetery at The Hirsal, Coldstream, (Berwickshire /Borders) (Gaz. 2013)² which had six phases of burial all oriented W-E; one burial, probably of early medieval date, located just outside the north-west corner of the west-east aligned church, was crouched, with its head to the east. The reason for such burials is not clear; they might represent foundation burials, but in these particular cases they were not placed at the threshold of buildings³, and the burial at The Hirsal is in a Christian setting.

The other two atypical burials in the Yeavering western cemetery were accompanied by knives indicating that the deceased were clothed at burial, as opposed to shrouded. In the context of the western cemetery, such clothed burials represent an anomalous element in what is otherwise a British post-Roman cemetery, and in my

¹ *HE* ii.14.

² I am grateful to Professor Rosemary Cramp for permission to consult unpublished notes and plans for this site.

³ There is however a possibility that the Yeavering child's grave may have been placed in a gap which marked an entrance to the enclosure attached to building D2. Blair, 'Pagan Shrines', p. 18.

opinion represent the only positive evidence for the burial of seventh-century Anglo-Saxons in that part of the site.

The eastern cemetery presents its own problems and raises more questions than answers. The earliest feature in this part of the site is the eastern ring ditch, an area 30ft in diameter, enclosed by a shallow ditch *circa* 8ft wide x 2ft deep at its deepest point.¹ When originally constructed this would have presented as a ring-barrow, but when the ditch became silted-up, as it apparently had by the early medieval period, it would have become a fairly insignificant bump on the ground. Although obviously visible enough for the early phases of the great enclosure palisade to avoid it, the builders of the final-phase (double) palisaded enclosure completely ignored the barrow's western and southern sectors, suggesting that the feature was no longer visible, or that it was of no interest to the builders (Fig. 31A). The barrow had at some stage acquired a large central wooden post (BX), with a W-E burial (BXi) later being inserted at its base (feet at the post). Subsequently the large post was removed and replaced by a post with a pointed stake. Directly in line with and to the west of post BX was a further post (AX) at the eastern entrance to building A4, at the foot of which was a further W-E burial (AX) accompanied by a 'ceremonial staff' (Fig. 31B), and with a goat's skull at the foot of the grave.² The location of this burial, with its unusual grave goods, immediately outside the entrance to the building may indicate that it was a foundation or dedicatory burial.

It is unlikely that burial BXi was contemporary with any phase of the great enclosure burial because if so it would have been located inside that enclosure, cut-off

¹ These measurements have been calculated using figures 28, 31, Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger*.

² Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger*, pp. 67-9, 200-203.

from the rest of the site and prone to disturbance by cattle etc. Also, when the palisades associated with any phase of the enclosure were in position post BX would scarcely have been visible from the position of post AX. This would seem to indicate that posts BX and AX pre-dated the building of the enclosure, and that BXi at least belongs in the Romano-British tradition of placing burials at the foot of and facing toward a pre-existing post or pillar. Neither burial AX nor BXi contained any burnt material, indicating that both belonged in the period pre-dating the seventh-century 'string' graves which did contain such material.

Before discussing the 'string' graves, one other burial (BZ56) needs to be mentioned. This W-E Anglo-Saxon burial, with remains of belt fittings, an iron knife and possible part of a purse¹, in a large deep grave with a smaller square pit at the eastern end which may have held a grave marker, was located to the south of the eastern ring-ditch. This was also within the area encompassed by the great enclosure, but in this case was associated with the 'string' burials which post-dated the enclosure.

The first phase of 'string' burial was commenced very shortly after the buildings and the double palisade of the great enclosure had been destroyed by fire, but the excavator's suggestion² that these burials represent a revival of archaic practices is difficult to sustain; although head-to-foot burial is known from the late Roman period, for example at Lankhills, Winchester, where some 'strings' of burial appear to emanate from square enclosures (Fig.8A), there is no evidence for previous use of the practice at Yeavinger. Nor is it necessarily a pagan practice: the Early Christian cemetery at Dunmisk Fort, Carrickmore, Co. Tyrone (N. Ireland) contained rows of burials described

¹ Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger*, pp. 74, 185.

² Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger*, p. 245 (I).

by the excavator as 'chain' burials, with the head of one burial cutting into the foot end of an earlier burial, and many of the 'chains' appear to be focused on a pit or post-hole centrally placed within the enclosure.¹ (Fig. 32). The earliest 'string' graves at Yeavering may emanate from grave AY at the eastern side of post AX, but while these strings certainly spread towards the eastern ring-ditch, they actually over-ride it, and are not associated in any way with post BX (Fig. 33A). This would tend to confirm that post BX and the ring-ditch had ceased to be visible by that time.

At about this time building B was constructed over some of the string burials. I would disagree with Dr. Hope-Taylor's interpretation of this building as a church. My first objection is that it has north, south, east and west doorways, (Fig. 33B). The altar, especially in an early church, was located at the east end of the building and this would not be possible if the east end contained a doorway. My next objection is that while it was not unusual for churches to be built over burials in the early medieval period, it was not usual practice for contemporaneous burial to take place within that church. At Yeavering burials were crammed into and around building B, even being dug into the foundations, almost as if ignoring the existence of the building. When it was re-built, still during the life-time of the cemetery, the building cut through and destroyed many graves. One is tempted to conclude that B, a hall-type building imposed on this area, was unoccupied for most of its existence, was re-built when necessary, and was then abandoned.

The density of burial would suggest that Yeavering continued to be used as a cemetery, especially in the eastern area, for some time after the *villa regia* had been re-

¹ R.J. Ivens, 'Dunmisk Fort, Carrickmore, Co. Tyrone, Excavations 1984-86', *UJA*, 52, (1989), pp. 59, 63. (hereafter Ivens, 'Dunmisk'). A radiocarbon determination from one of the burials, (HAR-6832) bp 1270 $\pm$ 80, calibrates to AD630-900.

located to *Mælmin* (Milfield).¹ This move to Milfield, which took place ‘in the time of the kings who followed Edwin’, bears the hallmark of an Anglo-Saxon transfer of the functions previously associated with ‘British’ Yeavinger. By this time the great enclosure, which was in all probability the *raison d’être* for the importance of Yeavinger, had been destroyed, and aerial photographs of cropmarks show that a similar structure was incorporated into the site at Milfield (Fig. 34).

In contrast to the structural and literary evidence, the burial evidence for a minimal Anglo-Saxon presence in Yeavinger prior to the seventh century may indicate the nominal presence required for the maintenance of the buildings on the site. If, as seems possible, the number of Anglo-Saxons living permanently on the site was small, they may have conformed at an early stage to local British burial practices.

The burial of even one Anglo-Saxon female at Yeavinger in the sixth or seventh century would have produced objects similar to those found at Galewood (Gaz. 636) (Fig.28) approx. 5km north-east of Yeavinger, where two burials were accompanied by annular brooches, a bead, a knife and a spearhead; at Milfield North (Gaz. 2219), approx. 6km north of Yeavinger, five burials excavated in and around a prehistoric henge, included one with two annular brooches, a pin, a copper alloy buckle, an iron knife and a wheel ornament; two others with a knife; another with a knife and iron buckle; and a chatelaine complex together with an iron annular brooch and iron knife was recovered from the fill of a ditch.

Of the 22 graves excavated at Milfield South (Gaz.1188), only one, a double burial, contained iron knives, and an iron lace-tag or strap-end datable to the seventh/eighth century. Artifacts recovered at Corbridge (Gaz. 634), which included two

¹ HE ii. 14.

cruciform brooches, beads, and a fifth-century mount for a sword scabbard, may represent the earliest recorded Anglo-Saxon burials in the region. Two other burials from this site, accompanied by pin fragments, studs, nails and a small Roman finger ring, labelled Anglo-Saxon on the basis of their north-south orientation, could equally be of late Roman date.

The 15 burials recovered at Howick Heugh (Gaz 252) mostly crouched and variously orientated, had few grave goods and appear to be of mixed British and Anglo-Saxon origin, and the 'cartloads' of human bones recovered in a secondary position in a prehistoric barrow at Capheaton (Gaz. 254), were accompanied only by hanging-bowl escutcheons, suggesting a seventh-century date. A similar date, based on the grave-goods present, may be assigned to the W-E extended burials discovered in prehistoric barrows at Great Tosson (Gaz. 632) and Barrasford (Northumberland) (Gaz. 635). The burials recovered at Camboise (Gaz. 989) are now regarded as being of the tenth century, and those at The Castle, Newcastle upon Tyne (Gaz. 1197) are also late.

In the southern area of Bernicia, between the Tyne and the Tees, with the exception of a cave deposit of 11 skeletons placed beneath flat stones,¹ no definitive Iron Age burials have been recorded; and even though the area in question is south of Hadrian's Wall, the number of Roman-period burials recorded is small.²

Three sites described as Anglo-Saxon³ could equally be British, or in one case even Viking. The site at Stobcross Field, Thrislington, Cornforth (Durham) (Gaz. 257), where eight or nine skeletons in cists discovered in 1822, accompanied by two iron lance-

¹ Whimster, *Burials*, p. 171.

² Philpott, *Practices*, pp. 298, 347, 432.

³ A. Meaney, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (London, 1964), pp. 83-4. (hereafter Meaney, *Gazetteer*).

heads, bones of a horse and probably a dog, could date from the later Iron Age up to the seventh century¹, or they could even be Viking. A skeleton in a stone-lined cist recovered in a secondary position in a prehistoric barrow at Copt Hill, Houghton-le-Spring (Tyne and Wear) (Gaz. 986), extended W-E with no grave goods, described as British by Miket, could be late or post-Roman, or even medieval in date. Eight skeletons, some in slab-lined graves, lying N-S, without grave goods except for one piece of grey vase, recovered at Brierton (Durham) (Gaz. 987) are also likely to be late or post-Roman in date.²

A relatively small number of burials identifiable as early Anglo-Saxon have been found in the region. A glass clawbeaker, dated to the fifth/sixth century was recovered in 1775 beneath a cairn of stones, beside the skull of a skeleton (head east) at Castle Eden (Durham) (Gaz. 256), and may represent a primary Anglo-Saxon barrow-burial. Modern excavation at the cemetery at Mill Lane, Norton-on-Tees (Cleveland) (Gaz. 2040), revealed 117 inhumations and three urned cremations, with a very mixed burial rite which included, supine, extended, crouched and prone burials. Several burials had no grave goods and six were accompanied only by a glass bead. Orientations varied from 84 S-N, eight N-S, three W-E, and one prone possibly E-W. It is interesting to note the general avoidance of E-W orientation by pagan Anglo-Saxons, a trait which was also evident in the Roman period (Table 3). There were seven prone burials, which is an unusually high number to find in a cemetery; one had the legs raised higher than the body, perhaps indicative of live burial. There were several multiple graves, two of

¹ R. Miket, 'A Restatement of Evidence from Bernician Anglo-Saxon burials', in P. Rahtz et.al. (eds) *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries*, 1979 (Oxford, 1980), p. 300. (hereafter Miket, 'Bernician burials').

² Miket, 'Bernician burials', p.300.

which contained three contemporary burials.

While the burials without grave-goods and those with one glass bead in this otherwise purely pagan Anglo-Saxon cemetery may indicate the presence of native Britons and/or Anglo-Saxons influenced by British practices, a more positive indication of at least one possible native female is provided by burial No. 65, supine, extended, N-S. This burial was accompanied by a single penannular brooch of Dickinson type G 1.7 located under the jaw, and an iron knife at the waist. The important issue here is the presence of one penannular brooch, in the region of the shoulder, a British or Celtic rather than an Anglo-Saxon trait. This point is further emphasised by the contrast with female burial No. 40 (head south), who had two small annular brooches on the shoulders and a small penannular brooch together with beads on the collar-bone. In this case the lady was dressed in Anglo-Saxon fashion and the penannular brooch was an appendage.¹ Taking into consideration the evidence provided by female burial 65, and the presence of several crouched and extended burials with no grave goods, and perhaps even the relatively high number of prone burials, I would venture to suggest that there is a minority native British presence in this otherwise pagan Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Norton.

At Monkwearmouth (Tyne and Wear) (Gaz. 1191)², there were three distinct phases of burial. The first phase was a secular cemetery of supine, W-E burials, comprising 52 males, 24 females, 38 children and 50 unidentified, part of which was located beneath Benedict Biscop's foundation of AD 674. There were some traces of wooden coffins, no grave goods, but Roman pottery sherds were recovered from the fill

¹ In her article 'Fowler's Type G. Penannular Brooches Reconsidered', *Med. Arch.* 26 (1982) p. 52, Tania Dickinson emphasises this point, *i.e.* that Anglo-Saxon women often used penannular brooches as secondary ornaments, or if used as dress fasteners they were 'paired' with non-matching brooches.

² I am grateful to Professor Rosemary Cramp for allowing me to consult her unpublished notes and drawings for the sites of Monkwearmouth, and of Jarrow.

of two graves, and a fragment of a possible grave-marker with portions of two inscriptions (one in runes, the other in Anglo-Saxon capitals)¹, dated to the last quarter of the seventh or early eighth century indicates that this phase continued after the foundation of the monastery. A special grave, perhaps a family 'mausoleum', was located just east of monastic building B, and appears to have been contemporary with the building. It survived in the form of a depression *circa* 10 ft. square, containing an adult male, W-E, extended on his right side facing towards two supine child burials, all covered by a square stone 'platform'. On the eastern periphery of the monastic-period cemetery, two crouched burials, one adult male and one 12 year old child may represent the survival of the older British burial rite into the Christian period. The cemetery also contained three prone burials two of which belong in the Saxon period. These were a child c. six years old with a headstone, and an adult ?male. The third, an adolescent male, was probably a post-medieval burial. Here we have unequivocal evidence for the use of prone burial in a Christian cemetery. The mixture of male, female and child burial at all phases in this cemetery indicates that it continued to be used for secular burial until the post-medieval period.

At Jarrow (Tyne and Wear) (Gaz. 1178), on the other hand, the majority of the burials, especially in the areas immediately south-west of the church, are of adult males and juveniles, with only a minimal number of females. The majority of the burials, all W-E, were in unprotected dug graves. While there were coffins present in the cemetery, these were, with six possible exceptions, mainly of the late and post-medieval period, all located beneath the medieval building to the south-east of the church. There were at

¹ R. Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* (Oxford 1984). Vol 1; pt. 1 pp. 123-4; pt. 2 pl. 100.600. (hereafter Cramp, *Sculpture*).

least two prone burials in the main monastic cemetery: one was a probable male, 17/18 years old, located in the western part of the burial area, and the other, on the eastern side of the area, was an adult, probably male, sealed beneath a wall of the medieval monastic buildings. Approximately 30 metres south of the church a small group of burials were discovered lying on their right sides and slightly flexed as if in a sleeping position, and immediately to the east of these were further burials (all W-E) some of which were accompanied by one bead (reminiscent of some burials at Norton-on-Tees). Professor Cramp has suggested (personal comment) that these may be early and secular in view of their location away from the main monastic burial area and the fact that they include female, adolescent and child burials. What is especially noticeable is that although Jarrow was a foundation influenced by the 'Roman' rather than the 'Celtic' church, and with known continental contacts, burial does not appear to have been influenced by those factors.

At Hartlepool (Cleveland) (Gaz. 259), the female burials recovered in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, south-east of the church, probably represent the residents of the seventh-century monastery of *Heruteu*. Small recumbent decorated name-stones found above the heads of some of the skeletons have been dated variously to the mid-seventh to mid-eighth century.¹ Some of these burials are recorded as being aligned N-S,² which, if accurate, would be a most unusual orientation for burials in a Christian cemetery. Radiocarbon dates obtained from animal bone at Church Close, immediately north of the church, while generally falling within the sixth to eighth century, also

¹ Cramp, *Sculpture*, vol 1. pp. 97-101, pls. 84, 85.

² Meaney, *Gazetteer*, p.84

suggest occupation from about the fourth century.¹ This evidence taken in conjunction with the late-Roman double inhumation burial mentioned earlier in this chapter, suggests the possibility that this monastery, founded from Lindisfarne, may have been located on a late or post-Roman (British) site.

Summary:

While there is evidence that the region between the Tweed and the Tyne was populated in the Iron Age and Roman period, the lack of burial evidence for the same period indicates a strongly conservative people who continued to practice older 'invisible' burial rites. The exception is at Yeavering where the burial rite was probably influenced by that site's proximity to the southern border of Gododdin territory where the rite widely practised in the Roman and post-Roman period was that of extended supine inhumation without grave goods.

The distribution of early Anglo-Saxon burial sites in Bernicia is riverine in the northern part (access to the Milfield basin for example, was probably gained via the Tweed) and in the southern part the distribution is mainly coastal. There is a relatively high incidence of secondary burial in prehistoric monuments in the northern half (Fig. 29) perhaps indicating a strong desire for acceptance on the part of the new settlers. There is only one instance of secondary burial in the southern half (possibly British), and one possible primary cairn at Castle Eden (Gaz. 256). The lack of Anglo-Saxon cremation in the region is noticeable, the only recorded instance being on the southern fringe at Norton-on-Tees.

¹ Two published dates Har-8600 and Har-8604, centre on seventh-ninth century, R. Daniels, 'The Anglo-Saxon Monastery at Church Close, Hartlepool, Cleveland', *The Archaeological Journal* 145 (1988) p. 202: Unpublished dates Har-8599, Har-8602, Har-8608 also focus on sixth-ninth century, but unpublished date Har-8603, 1590 ± 90 B.P., - 360 ± 90 (uncal.), suggests activity perhaps from the fourth century. These dates were kindly supplied to me by the Radiocarbon Laboratory at Lockinge, (Oxon.).

DEIRA

Deira is defined as bounded on the north by the River Tees, on the south by the River Humber, on the west by the Pennines and on the east by the North Sea (Figs. 35, 36).

Using burial evidence as a cultural indicator, moving south across the Tees from Bernicia to Deira is the equivalent of crossing from one cultural zone to another: from a staunchly conservative society into one which appears almost cosmopolitan by comparison. The region between the Tees and the Humber embraced a strong Arras-type burial tradition in the Iron Age (Fig. 1), followed by an equally strong tradition in the Roman period (Fig. 4). There are thus indications that the population of the region was more receptive to changes in custom than the population north of the Tees. The distribution of early Anglo-Saxon burial sites was demonstrably influenced by the siting of earlier cemeteries, resulting in clustering in the vicinity of Iron-Age Arras-type burials, of Roman burials especially around York, and along Roman roads (Figs. 35-36).

TABLE 7

Burials in Deira

KEY: Column headings: Gaz = database gazetteer number: in = inhumation: cr = cremation: or = orientation of burials: cb = crouched burial: pr = prone burial: dc = decapitated burial: n = burials with no grave goods: sc = secondary in prehistoric monument: pm = primary monument: en = contemporary enclosure: a = artifacts only, no burial.

Column content: c = certain: p = possible: a = absent: - = no information recorded: v = various: fl = flexed: pn = penannular: an = annular: r = rectilinear.

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
253	Saltburn on Sea, Clev.	c	c	ns	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
260	Acklam Wold, Nth. Yk.	c	a	we	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
261	Appleton le Street, Nth. Yk.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
263	Bulmer, Nth. Yk.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
264	Stamford Bridge, H/side	c	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
265	Carthorpe, Nth. Yk.	c	a	we	c	-	-	c	p	-	-	-

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
266	Catterick, Nth. Yk.	c	-	sn	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
267	Upr.Dunsforth, Nth. Yk.	c	c	-	-	-	-	p	c	-	-	-
268	Elloughton, H/side	c	a	-	c	c	c	c	-	-	-	-
269	Everthorpe, H/side	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
271	Fimber, H/side	c	a	-	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
272	Bishopwilton, H/side	c	a	we	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
273	Garton, H/side	c	-	we	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
274	Garton, H/side	c	a	we	a	a	a	c	p	-	-	-
275	Garton Slack I H/side	c	a	we	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
276	Garton Slack II H/side	c	a	v	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
277	Hambleton Moor, Nth. Yk.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
278	Hawnby, Nth. Yk.	c	a	v	c	-	-	c	c	c	-	-
279	Heworth, Nth. Yk.	a	c	-	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	-
280	Duggleby, Nth. Yk.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-
281	Kingthorpe, Yk.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
282	Knaresborough-Scotton, Nth. Yk.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
283	Goathland, Nth. Yk.	a	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	c
284	Londesborough, H/side	c	-	v	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
285	Market Weighton, H/side.	c	a	-	fl	c	a	a	-	-	-	-
286	Melton Hill, H/side	c	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
287	Nth. Newbald, H/side	c	a	-	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
288	Occaney Beck, Nth/Yk	c	a	ew	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
289	Painsthorpe Wold I, H/side	c	-	v	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
290	Painsthorpe Wold II,	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
291	Pickering, Nth. Yk	c	a	ns	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
292	Sowerby, Nth. Yk.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
293	Sancton I, H/side	c	c	-	a	a	a	c	a	-	-	-
294	Sancton II, H/side	c	c	we	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
295	Spaunton, Nth. Yk.	c	a	-	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
296	Uncleby, H/side.	c	a	v	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
298	York I, Nth.Yk.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
299	York II, Nth. Yk.	c	c	a	a	a	a	-	a	-	-	-
644	Boynnton, H/side	c	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
645	Burton Pidsea, H/side	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
646	Drifffield, H/side.	c	c	-	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
647	Drifffield I, H/side	c	c	-	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
648	Drifffield II, H/side	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
649	Drifffield III, H/side	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
650	Drifffield V, H/side	C	-	v	-	-	-	p	p	-	-	-
651	Ganton Wold, Nth.Yk	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
652	Hessle II, H/side	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
653	Hornsea, H/side	c	a	sn	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
654	Kilham, H/side	c	-	ns	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
655	Kirkburn II, H/side	c	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
656	Seamer, Nth.Yk	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	p	-	-	-
657	Sewerby, H/side	c	a	v	c	c	a	c	a	c	p	-
658	Swine, H/side	a	c	a	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	-
659	Rudstone, H/side	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
660	Willerby, Nth.Yk.	c	a	-	c	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
853	Yarm, Cleve.	a	p	a	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	c
854	Beverley, H/side	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
855	Rudstone II, H/side	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
856	Rudstone I, H/side	c	a	v	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
857	Nafferton, H/side	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
858	Kirkburn I, H/side	p	-	-	-	-	-	a	p	-	-	c
859	Hessle I, H/side	p	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
860	Drifffield IV, H/side	c	-	v	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
934	Aldborough, Nth.Yk	-	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
935	Broughton, Nth. Yk.	a	p	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	c
936	Castle Howard, Nth.Yk	c	-	ns	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-

	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
937	Costa Pickering, Nth. Yk.	-	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
938	Etton, H/side	c	-	-	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
939	Garton I, H/side.	c	a	ns	fl	a	a	a	-	-	-	-
941	Kirby Underdale, Nth. Yk.	c	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
942	Knipe Howe, Nth. Yk.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	c
943	York, Nth. Yk.	c	p	we	-	-	-	c	p	-	-	-
944	Langton, Nth. Yk.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	c
945	Staintondale, Nth. Yk.	-	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
946	Wharram Percy, Nth. Yk.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
947	Yearsley, Nth. Yk.	c	a	-	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
990	Robin Hood's Bay, Nth. Yk.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
991	Lissett, H/side	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1149	Collingham, W. Yk.	c	c	-	c	a	a	a	-	-	-	-
1151	Cowlam, H/side	c	a	we	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
1240	West Heslerton, Nth. Yk.	c	c	v	c	c	-	c	c	-	-	-
1247	York III, Nth. Yk.	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
1250	York, Nth. Yk.	c	a	v	-	-	c	c	a	-	-	-
1251	York, Nth. Yk.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
2139	Catterick, Nth. Yk.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
2142	Ripon, Nth. Yk.	c	a	we	fl	-	-	c	p	-	-	-
2187	Garton Station, H/side	c	a	v	c	-	-	c	c	c	r	-
2246	Kirkburn II, H/side	c	a	sn	c	a	a	a	c	-	-	-
2252	Cottam, H/side	c	a	a	a	a	c	c	-	-	-	-

The picture of Anglo-Saxon burial in the area as it often appears on distribution maps may be misleading, as some sites are at best doubtful. Sites which are more likely to be of the Iron Age or Roman period include: crouched burials excavated by Mortimer in the fosse of a Bronze Age barrow at Garton Slack (Gaz. 276), which were accompanied only

by the leg of a pig; cist burials oriented N-S, with no grave goods, recovered at Castle Howard (Nth. Yorks)(Gaz. 936) are more likely to be British burials of the Roman period. Seventy contracted skeletons from Etton (Humberside) (Gaz. 938), recorded by Meaney as doubtful, may represent an indigenous British cemetery,¹ and the skeleton recovered in 1865 with seven iron spearheads at Garton (Humberside) (Gaz. 939) has now been shown to be Iron Age.² While it is possible that the unaccompanied skeletons in stone cists discovered at Yearsley (Nth Yorks)(Gaz. 947) could be later Anglo-Saxon, the fact that one of them was crouched makes this unlikely. The 'large number' of human burials with no grave goods recovered at Lissett (Humberside) (Gaz. 991) could belong in any period; and four burials (3 extended, one crouched), SW-NE, with no grave goods, in a secondary position in a prehistoric barrow at Rudstone (Humberside) (Gaz. 856) are more likely to be later Iron Age than Anglo-Saxon. Finally the finds from Lilla Howe, Coathland (Nth. Yorks) (Gaz. 283) formerly reputed to be the burial of Lilla, have now been identified as a hoard of the late ninth/tenth century, probably Viking.³

Sites in the region which can be seen to contain a mixture of Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon burials include; Baines Farm, Catterick (Nth Yorks) (Gaz. 266 and 2139), where sixth-century Anglo-Saxon burials were discovered in and around Roman buildings, and where in 1981 burials reported as being two Anglian, one possibly pre-Roman, two Romano-British and the remainder either Romano-British or Anglian, were recovered; further Anglo-Saxon burials were recovered around the Roman amphitheatre

¹ Meaney, *Gazetteer*, p. 288.

² Stead, *Cemeteries*, pp. 33-5.

³ L. Webster & J. Backhouse, (eds) *The Making of England, Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600-900* (1991), pp. 275-6.

in 1996.¹ The small Anglo-Saxon cemetery excavated by Mortimer at Fimber Church (Humberside) (Gaz. 271) which included a burial accompanied by one small penannular brooch, which may be British; one small tumulus containing an unaccompanied burial, legs bent backwards, head west, which may not be Anglo-Saxon, among primary and secondary Anglo-Saxon burials in tumuli excavated at Hawnby (Nth. Yorks) (Gaz. 278); and a skeleton accompanied by a bead and one small penannular brooch from Melton Hill, near Fernby (Humberside) (Gaz. 286) which may also be British.

The two adjacent sites at Lamel Hill and Belle Vue House, Heslington Road, York (Gaz. 943, 1250) present some problems. Excavations indicate that cremations and late or post-Roman inhumations were disturbed by W-E burials, possibly of the Christian Anglo-Saxon period, only one of which had accompanying objects (an iron knife and belt buckle). However, included among the first two layers of the W-E burials were five decapitates with the heads at the lower part of the bodies, three mutilated burials with hands or feet removed, and one headless. The third layer had no aberrant burials, and the final use of the cemetery was as a children's burial ground. As these decapitate burials are located in a region where the 'rural practice of native origin'² common in late-Roman Britain was practised (Figs. 2, 82) they may represent a conscious continuation of that practice. The deliberate placing of two decapitates E-W as opposed to W-E may be an indicator that they were buried in a Christian context, that is, they were probably intended as a penalty to be facing in the wrong direction on Judgement Day. It is possible that this is a case of a native secular ancestral cemetery, maybe originating in the late or even post-Roman period, which ceased to be used by about the

¹ *Med. Arch.* 26, (1982) p. 212.

² Philpott, *Practices*, p. 225.

eighth-century. A small group of Anglo-Saxon crouched and some prone burials at Elloughton (Humberside) (Gaz. 268) included one headless body; and a human skull was recovered from a circular pit at Cottam (Humberside) (Gaz. 2252), which has been dated to the eighth century.

A noticeable contrast between Bernicia and Deira is the presence in the latter region of the rite of cremation. Only two cemeteries, at Swine (Humberside) (Gaz. 658) and Heworth (Nth, Yorks) (Gaz. 279) were devoted entirely to cremation, but artifact finds indicating possible cremation sites have been recorded at Costa Pickering (Nth. Yorks) (Gaz. 937); Yarm (Cleveland) (Gaz. 853); Nafferton (Humberside) (Gaz. 857); Aldborough (Nth. Yorks (Gaz. 934)¹, Staintondale (Nth. Yorks) (Gaz. 945), and at Broughton (Nth. Yorks) (Gaz. 935) where they are described as being both Roman and Anglo-Saxon. At The Mount, York (Gaz. 299) Anglo-Saxon cremations were inserted into a Roman cemetery.

One of the cemeteries at Sancton (Humberside) (Gaz. 293) contained hundreds of urned cremations often accompanied by miniature grave-goods, together with one inhumation of a young warrior, and the second Sancton cemetery (Gaz. 294), contained a mixture of cremation and inhumation burials. At the mixed cremation and inhumation cemetery at Driffeld (Humberside (Gaz. 647), located in a prehistoric barrow, some skeletons appear to have been partially burnt *in situ* and four of the inhumations were unfurnished. An Anglo-Saxon cremation urn and a flexed female inhumation were recovered in destruction debris of a Roman villa at Dalton Parlours, Collingham (W. Yorks) (Gaz. 1149), and the mainly inhumation Anglian cemetery at West Heslerton

¹ This latter appears to have been found *circa* 1550, surely the earliest recorded Anglo-Saxon find. Meaney, *Gazetteer*, p. 282.

(Nth. Yorks) (Gaz. 1240)¹ contained 10 cremations. The most northerly cemetery in the region, at Hob Hill, Saltburn-on-Sea, (Cleveland), (Gaz. 253), which contained both cremations and inhumations, is dated to the sixth century on the basis of grave goods which included a francisca and a florid square-headed brooch. An unusual feature in this cemetery was an oak coffin, apparently charred, which contained an adult with a bronze annular brooch and a necklace of crystal, amber and paste beads. Finally, cremation urns and 'many human bones' were found in a secondary position in a large prehistoric tumulus at Upper Dunsforth (Nth. Yorks), (Gaz. 267).

In listing the instances of re-used pre-historic burial sites for all regions covered in this thesis I have included small hills or knolls, which, though natural, were probably perceived by Anglo-Saxons as old burial mounds.

There are a number of secondary burials in this region and a small number of primary monuments. Examples include, four burials near the surface of a natural gravel mound at Home Hill, Carthorpe (Nth. Yorks) (Gaz. 265) one of which was crouched with no grave goods; burials in barrows at Beacon Hill barrow, Garrowby Wold (Humberside) (Gaz. 272); Hawnby (Nth. Yorks) (Gaz. 278) associated with a primary Anglo-Saxon barrow; Howe Hill, Duggleby (Nth. Yorks) (Gaz. 280) which also contained a possible coffin; Kingthorpe (Nth. Yorks) (Gaz. 281); Painsthorpe Wold (Humberside) (Gaz. 289 and 290); Pickering (Nth. Yorks) (Gaz. 291); Garton Wold (Nth. Yorks) (Gaz. 651); Seamer (Nth. Yorks) (Gaz. 656); Wharram Percy (Nth. Yorks) (Gaz. 946); and 12 skeletons (five coffined) dating to the seventh century or later, recovered in 1968 from the ditch area of a prehistoric barrow at Kemp Howe,

¹ I am grateful to Dominic Powlesland for allowing me to read his unpublished notes for this cemetery, which is discussed in greater detail below.

Cowlam (Humberside) (Gaz. 1151) may be added to the six unaccompanied skeletons (W-E) recovered by Mortimer at that site in 1878.

About 71 inhumations, located on and around a pre-historic barrow at Kellythorpe, Uncleby (Humberside) (Gaz. 296), included crouched and extended, N-S and W-E, male, female and child burials; 20 of the graves were unfurnished, and seven contained only a knife. The cemetery is dated to the seventh century.

The cemetery at West Heslerton (Nth Yorks) (Gaz. 1240), in use from the fifth to the seventh centuries, was located in an area which also contained late Neolithic and early Bronze Age monuments. Together with the 10 cremations already mentioned, 187 inhumations (of a possible total of 300), were excavated, all oriented between NW-SE and SW-NE, a number of which were either in coffins or had plank lining or covering in the graves. Where it could be ascertained, approximately 55% of the burials were crouched or flexed, and 14% were extended. There were 12 prone burials, four of which had no grave goods. Two of the prone females had a rich assemblage of grave goods, and one male had a spear; three appear to have been bound at the lower legs, and it was noted that the position of the head and hands in four of the prone burials suggested live burial. One prone female overlay the burial of a supine female. Practically all burials contained Anglo-Saxon grave goods, but five had only a single bead, four had only a buckle, and nine had only a knife, behind the back in two cases and by the skull in the third.

Burials excavated in a natural hill, probably mistaken for a prehistoric burial mound, known as Ailcy Hill, Ripon (Yorks) (Gaz. 2142) located 200 metres east of Ripon Minster, were all apparently male. A burial from the first phase (the only accompanied burial in the cemetery, with a knife and buckle) has been radiocarbon dated

to AD 563-661 at 95% probability (UB-3151). Graves of the second and third phases produced dates ranging from seventh to tenth century, and were often accompanied by fittings and locks for coffins and chests. The dating and the type of burial suggests that this is a Christian cemetery, probably associated with the minster.

A number of primary and secondary Anglo-Saxon burials are concentrated around the area associated with Arras-type monuments (Fig.29). The flat mound at Cheesecake Hill, Driffield (Humberside) (Gaz. 646) contained many secondary inhumations all, except one cremation and a male burial, with grave goods including shield bosses and spears. Also at Driffield (Gaz. 648, 649, 650) further skeletons were found during levelling of barrows, some accompanied by urns and scraps of iron; a sword also possibly came from this area, and at Kirkburn (Gaz. 2246) a S-N crouched burial, with knife and buckle, was inserted into a square barrow. The western cemetery excavated by Mortimer at Garton (Gaz. 273) contained about 30 crouched skeletons, 23 of which were accompanied by artifacts dating to the seventh century, whereas the eastern cemetery at the same location (Gaz. 274) contained about 30 extended inhumations, W-E, with no grave goods. One burial was coffined. Could this be a case of Christian and pagan cemeteries being located side by side? At Garton Slack (Gaz. 275) many burials and a few grave goods were found in the 'ramparts'; all were W-E and some crouched. An extended male skeleton recovered at Kirkburn (Gaz. 655) and many objects afterwards recovered in spoil, including a sword, some gold and silver studs. etc., indicate the possible presence of several destroyed burials at that site. Finally there are the Anglo-Saxon burials more recently excavated at Garton Station (Gaz. 2187). While several of these were in secondary positions in square enclosures, for instance three were located in a square enclosure which contained an Arras cart burial, others were within

apparently primary enclosures one of which contained 11 burials (10 W-E and one N-S). This is a classic example of the re-use of a prehistoric burial complex, which in this case contained square, annular and penannular ditched enclosures, with the subsequent addition of square enclosures imitating the design of the originals. Unaccompanied burials found in the nineteenth century at Driffield (Humberside) (Gaz. 860) were probably post-seventh-century in view of the presence of other Anglo-Saxon burials in the area.

Further Anglo-Saxon burials within the region of Deira are listed on Table 7. These include: a female burial recovered at Market Weighton (Humberside) (Gaz. 285) richly furnished but buried prone, with a male burial in an adjoining grave accompanied by a knife, a scramasax, a small spear and a buckle; and six of 12 skeletons recorded at Hornsea (Humberside) (Gaz. 653), all roughly S-N, seven extended and five crouched, which had no grave goods. The cemetery at Sewerby (Humberside) (Gaz. 657) dated fifth to seventh century, contained about 59 burials, oriented 20 W-E, seven E-W, 12 N-S, and seven S-N. Three prone burials included the female burial (No. 41) who appears to have been buried live above a supine richly furnished and coffined female burial dated to the second half of the sixth century.¹ The coffin was one of only two in the cemetery, the second being a possible log coffin. This double grave, together with another lying parallel, were covered by a probable barrow in the form of a spread of chalk blocks, which, from the published plan appears to have been rectangular, with two post-holes at the western corners. Thirteen burials in this cemetery had no grave goods, two had beads only, two had a knife and buckle, five had only a knife, and four graves

¹ The practice of placing a prone burial above a supine is not confined to Anglo-Saxon burials, it is recorded in Romano-British contexts at Lankhills (Hants), Trentholme Drive (Yorks) and Galley Hill (Beds), and a female prone burial at Dunstable (Beds) is recorded as possibly being a live burial. Chapter 1, pp. 14-16.

contained deposits of charcoal.

Burial G24 at Sewerby, a female extended N-S, with a possible post-hole at the foot of the grave, was accompanied by one bird-headed silver brooch in the region of the right shoulder (Fig. 37A), and fragments of a chain about the waist area.¹ This brooch has now been paralleled at Dunadd (Mid. Argyll) an important site in the Irish kingdom of Dál Riada, where a mould for the manufacture of a similar brooch (Fig. 37B) has been recorded in a seventh-century context.² A mould for a debased form of the brooch has also been found at the Irish midland crannóg site of Moynagh Lough (Fig. 25), in a late-seventh/early eighth-century context.³ At Sewerby, the fact that the brooch is worn in a Celtic or British manner might be a reflection of Northumbrian/Dál Riadan connections.⁴

Summary

It can be seen from the burial evidence that great cultural differences existed between the inhabitants of Bernicia and Deira before they became united as the kingdom of Northumbria in the seventh century. Bearing in mind the strong Iron Age and Romano-British traditions which existed in Deira, it is not surprising that several Anglo-Saxon cemeteries also contain a native component. A possible indicator of the retention of a

¹ S.M. Hirst, *An Anglo-Saxon Inhumation Cemetery at Sewerby, East Yorkshire* (York, 1985), pp. 57, 128, Fig. 41 (G24), 153, Fig. 66 (G24).

² E. Campbell and A. Lane, 'Celtic and Germanic Interaction in Dalriada: the 7th Century Metalworking Site at Dunadd', in R.M. Spearman and J. Higgitt, (eds) *The Age of Migrating Ideas* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 54-5. (hereafter references as Spearman, *Migrating Ideas*).

³ J. Bradley, 'Moynagh Lough: an Insular Workshop of the Second Quarter of the 8th Century', Spearman, *Migrating Ideas*, pp. 79-80; J. Bradley, 'Excavations at Moynagh Lough, county Meath', *JRSAI* 121 (1991) p. 22.

⁴ for historical background to this connection see above, pp. 91-4.

Romano-British tradition can be demonstrated at Heslington Road, York (Gaz. 943, 1250) where decapitate and mutilated burials mirror Romano-British practice, but are dated to the Christian Anglo-Saxon period. There is a noticeable re-use of prehistoric burial sites, the construction of primary monuments being confined to areas where prehistoric monuments already existed. As the Roman rite of cremation had died out in this region in the early fourth century,¹ its use by Anglo-Saxons must be seen as a new introduction into Deira. In Bernicia this rite is only present at the cemetery at Norton-on-Tees, which may suggest that this cemetery could represent an outpost of northern Deira.

These differences in burial practices between Bernicia and Deira continued until Christianity became the accepted religion of the majority of the population after the seventh century, as it is only at this period that any unity of burial practice may be observed.

¹ See above p. 23.

ELMET

TABLE 8

Burials in Elmet.

KEY: Column headings: Gaz = database gazetteer number: in = inhumation: cr = cremation: or = orientation of burials: cb = crouched burial: pr = prone burial: dc = decapitated burial: n = burials with no grave goods: sc = secondary in prehistoric monument: pm = primary monument: en = contemporary enclosure: a = artifacts only, no burial.

Column content: c = certain: p = possible: a = absent: - = no information recorded: v = various: fl = flexed: pn = penannular: an = annular: r = rectilinear.

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
262	Barnby, Sth.Yk.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
270	Ferrybridge, W.Yk.	c	a	w e	-	-	-	c	p	p	-	-	-
297	Womersley, Nth.Yk.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
930	Wadworth, Sth.Yk.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
931	Stancil, Sth.Yk.	c	a	v	fl	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
932	Dinnington, Sth. Yk.	c	a	w e	c	-	p	c	p	p	-	-	-
1199	Nth. Elmsall, W.Yk.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
2140	Pontefract, W.Yk.	c	a	w e	fl	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-

The region of Elmet (Figs. 35, 36) understandably displays a marked lack of pre-seventh century Anglo-Saxon burials, the only positively identifiable ones being a burial with spearhead found at the foot of a possibly prehistoric monolith, Wades Stone, Barnby (Sth. Yorks) (Gaz. 262); a burial with a spearhead and a seventh century gilt-bronze belt mount discovered at White Hart Farm, North Elmsall (W.Yorks).(Gaz. 1199), and a gold circular pendant, ornamented with filigree and set with garnets, discovered with a skeleton at Womersley (Yorks) (Gaz. 297) probably also dates from the seventh century.

Several burials described as Anglo-Saxon are doubtful. For instance there is no way of knowing the cultural affinities of a skull accompanied by 'a spear or dart' dug up

at Wadworth (Sth. Yorks) (Gaz. 930). Seventy skeletons excavated within a ruined Roman Villa at Stancil Farm, Stancil (Sth. Yorks) (Gaz. 931) aligned in all directions with no grave goods, but with fragments of animal bone, may be of indigenous people.

Burials discovered in 1862 in a cairn at Dinnington (Sth. Yorks) (Gaz. 932), apparently (with one exception) tightly crouched, were described as Anglo-Saxon, even though there were no grave goods; the evidence suggests that they are more likely to be British, maybe even late Iron Age. The 'many burials', extended W-E, discovered in a secondary position in the region of a barrow at Ferrybridge (W. Yorks) (Gaz. 270) were labelled Anglo-Saxon on the basis that one of the earlier discoveries was said to be a skeleton 'in armour', even though none of the other burials were recorded as having grave goods; it seems therefore that these burials could belong either in the late or post-Roman period, or alternatively post-date the seventh century. Burials recovered around the Castle in Pontefract (Yorks) (Gaz. 2410), have been shown by radiocarbon dating to belong in the period seventh to tenth century.

Summary:

The burial evidence suggests minimal penetration of Elmet by Anglo-Saxon settlers before the seventh century.

LINDSEY.

The Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Lindsey is defined as that part of Lincolnshire bordered on the east by the sea, on the north by the Humber, and on the west and south by the Rivers Trent and Witham (Figs. 38, 39).¹ While being aware that Kesteven is sometimes included in Middle Anglia, I have included in Lindsey those Kesteven sites which are located along Ermine Street because these seem to form a continuum with sites located on the same road where it traverses the region north of Lincoln. This extends the southern border of the region as far as the R. Welland.

In the Iron Age, Lincolnshire was populated by the Coritani, but despite the fairly widespread scatter of coin findspots, there is little evidence for settlement,² and hardly any evidence for burial (Fig. 1), suggesting that older 'invisible' burial rites prevailed. Burials of the Roman period are concentrated in and around settlements at Lincoln, Ancaster and Horncastle (Lincs)³

At first sight the distribution of Anglo-Saxon burial sites in the area appears to be controlled almost completely by Roman routeways, but the evident lack of coastal sites may be misleading. At the present time, most of the eastern coastline between the Humber and the Wash is salt-marsh. However, as this salt-marsh is the result of build-up caused by the construction of successive seaward dykes since the early medieval period,⁴ the sequence of burial sites ranging along its inland margins possibly represents the

¹ Area as defined by K. Leahy, 'The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of Lindsey', in A. Vince (ed) *Pre-Viking Lindsey* (Lincoln, 1993), pp. 31-32, fig. 4.1) hereafter Leahy, 'Lindsey', and Vince *Pre-Viking Lindsey*).

² Cunliffe *Communities*, pp. 93-5, fig. 6.8.

³ For distribution of Romano-British burial sites see Philpott *Practices* especially pp. 455-6.

⁴ Salway, *Roman Britain*, p. 558.

coastline as it was before dyke construction. Access to Lindsey could then be seen to have been (a) coastal, especially near the mouth of the Humber, (b) directly via the Humber, and (c) using Roman roads.

TABLE 9

Burials in Lindsey

KEY: Column headings: Gaz = database gazetteer number: in = inhumation: cr = cremation: or = orientation of burials: cb = crouched burial: pr = prone burial: dc = decapitated burial: n = burials with no grave goods: sc = secondary in prehistoric monument: pm = primary monument: en = contemporary enclosure: a = artifacts only, no burial.

Column content: c = certain: p = possible: a = absent: - = no information recorded: v = various: fl = flexed: pn = penannular: an = annular: r = rectilinear.

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
135	Asgarby, Lincs.	c	p	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
136	Burgh-le-Marsh, Lincs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	c	-	-	-
137	Sth.Elkington,Linc	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	c	-	-	-	-
138	West Keal, Lincs.	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	-
139	Heckington, Lincs	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	p	-	-	-	-
140	Horncastle, Lincs	c	a	v	-	a	a	c	-	-	-	-	-
141	Baston, Lincs.	a	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
142	Partney, Lincs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
143	Quarrington,Linc	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
144	Ruskington,Lincs	c	c	v	c	c	a	c	a	-	-	-	-
145	Sleaford I,Lincs	c	c	v	c	-	-	c	c	p	-	-	-
146	Sleaford II,Lincs	c	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
147	Stenigot, Lincs	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-
148	Waddington, Linc	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
149	Sth.Willingham, Lincs	a	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
300	Burton-Stather, H/side	c	c	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
301	Manton Warren, H/side	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
302	Scotter, Lincs	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
331	Manton, H/side	c	c	-	-	-	-	p	p	p	-	-	-
332	Kirton-in-Lindsey II H/side	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-	-
333	Lovendon Hill, Linc	c	c	v	fl	-	c	c	c	c	-	-	-
334	Grantham, Lincs	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
335	Grantham, Lincs	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
336	Witham Common, Lincs.	c	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
337	Woolsthorpe-by- Belvoir, Lincs	c	c	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
373	Ancaster, Lincs	c	c	we	fl	c	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
374	Caenby, Lincs	c	a	-	c	-	-	a	-	c	-	-	-
375	Castle Bytham, Lincs.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
376	Carlton Scroop, Lincs	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	p	p	-	-	-
377	Caythorpe, Lincs	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
378	Coleby, H/side	c	p	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
661	Barton-on-Humber, H/side	c	c	we	fl	c	c	c	a	c	-	-	-
662	Fonaby, Lincs.	c	c	-	c	p	a	c	a	a	a	-	-
663	Laceby, H/side.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
664	Caistor I, H/side.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
665	Riby, Lincs.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
666	Searby, Lincs.	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
851	Flixborough, H/side	p	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	c
852	Cleethorpes, H/side	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	c
948	Hibaldstow, H/side	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
949	Sth. Ferriby, H/side	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
962	Hemswell, Lincs.	-	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
963	Lincoln, Lincs.	-	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
964	Lincoln, Lincs.	-	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c

	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
965	Willoughton, Lincs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
966	Welbourne, Lincs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
967	Syston Pk. Lincs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
992	Winceby, Lincs	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
993	Threekingham, Linc	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
994	Thimbleby, Lincs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
995	Tetford Hill, Lincs	c	a	we	p	-	a	c	-	-	-	-	-
996	Stamford, Lincs.	c	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
997	Louth, Lincs.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
998	Market Rasen, Lincs	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
999	Langtoft, Lincs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1000	Donnington-on-Bain, Lincs.	a	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1001	Candlesby, Lincs.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1002	Branston, Lincs.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1003	Farforth, Lincs.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1004	Friskney, Lincs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1011	Essendine, Leics.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1069	Greetwell, Lincs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1070	Grantham III, Lincs	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1071	Grantham II, Lincs.	a	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1072	Grantham I, Lincs.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1073	Gainsborough, Lincs	c	a	ew	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
1074	Denton, Lincs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
1075	Harlaxton, Lincs.	-	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1076	Wold Newton, H/side	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	c	-	-	-	-
1122	Barton-on-Humber, H/side.	c	a	we	-	a	a	c	a	a	a	a	a
1139	Caistor II, H/side	c	a	we	c	-	a	-	-	-	-	-	-
1161	Elsham, H/side.	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	a	a	a	a	-
1182	Lincoln, Lincs.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
1183	Lincoln, Lincs.	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
1235	Irby-on-Humber, H/side	c	c	v	-	-	a	c	a	-	-	-	-
1238	Welton-by-Lincoln, Lincs.	c	a	-	-	-	a	-	a	p	-	-	-
1246	Worlaby, H/side	c	c	-	-	-	a	-	a	-	-	-	-
2078	Fillingham, Lincs	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
2079	Flixborough, H/side	c	a	-	-	-	a	a	a	a	a	a	-
2081	Great Hale, Lincs.	c	a	we	-	a	a	c	a	a	a	a	-
2083	Rand, Lincs.	c	a	we	-	-	a	c	a	a	a	a	-
2084	Barrow, H/side.	c	a	we	-	-	a	c	a	a	a	a	-
2205	Bricklesby, Lincs.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
2206	Ingham, Lincs.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
2207	Keelby, Lincs.	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
2208	Grayingham, Lincs	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
2209	Northorpe, Lincs.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
2210	Sth.Ferriby, H/side	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2211	Walesby, Lincs.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2212	Lincoln, Lincs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-

Possible burials of Britons in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Lindsey include two anomalous burials, one in a stone cist and another with traces of a shroud, at the inhumation and cremation cemetery at Fonaby, near Caistor (Lincs) (Gaz. 662); and cinerary urns regarded as Roman in the cremation cemetery at Donnington-on-Bain (Lincs) (Gaz. 1000). It would be interesting to speculate on the cultural affinities of a burial, N-S, with decayed ironwork on its ankles, found together with a sixth century Anglo-Saxon female burial at Horncastle (Lincs) (Gaz.140). It has been suggested that the mixed inhumation and cremation cemetery at Quarrington (Lincs) (Gaz. 143), which

produced, along with Anglo-Saxon grave goods, two Roman brooches, two bronze buckles, a non-Anglo-Saxon cheek-piece for a horse bit, and a possible Roman stone coffin lid, may represent continuity of usage from Roman to Anglo-Saxon times.¹

In the large fifth/sixth-century cemetery at Sleaford (Lincs) (Gaz. 145), which produced several hundred inhumations and six cremations, possible indigenous burials may be represented by a discrete group of W-E burials with no grave goods, lying on their sides with knees bent and hands before the face; an adult and a child burial accompanied only by pig bones (a British custom); and another child with seven Roman coins in two piles around its hand (also a late Romano-British custom). Fifty-five burials in the cemetery had no grave goods, and 12 were accompanied only by a knife: also recorded from this cemetery was a repaired hanging bowl of fourth/fifth century type (old when buried)², found with a bucket and tweezers; perhaps it was an heirloom.

The cemetery at Lovendon Hill, Hough-on-the-Hill, (Lincs) (Gaz. 333), presents a somewhat similar picture. About 2000 cremation and 40 inhumation burials had been placed in and around a prehistoric barrow; they included a N-S decapitate burial its head on the stomach, an urn at either pelvis, another at each shoulder, and one where the head should have been, and three radially placed inhumations without grave goods. About 120 feet to the east of the prehistoric barrow, eight Anglo-Saxon inhumations were each covered by a primary mound of large limestone blocks. One mound, in the top of which was a large hanging bowl dated to the seventh century containing an Anglo-Saxon cremation with remains of an iron sword, twisted iron strapping from a wooden bucket,

¹Meaney, *Gazetteer*, pp. 160-1.

² R. Bruce-Mitford, 'Late Celtic Hanging-bowls in Lincolnshire and South Humberside', in Vince, *Pre-Viking Lindsey*, p. 56. (hereafter Bruce-Mitford, 'Late Celtic Hanging-bowls').

parts of other hanging bowls, and remains of a glass palm cup, etc., covered a N-S female burial with the feet missing. Five other burials were decapitate, and one male, with a knife and shield, had the feet amputated and placed beside the body. As these Anglo-Saxon burials, which are stated to be earlier than the cremations¹, were following late Romano-British burial customs, it is very possible that the cemetery represents a fusion of late Romano-British and pagan Anglo-Saxon burial rites. The seventh century warrior burial, cremated and placed into a hanging bowl may indicate links with, or origins similar to, East Anglia.²

There is a relatively high incidence of Anglo-Saxon cremation in Lindsey. Five cemeteries contained cremations only. These include the cemetery at Donnington-on-Bain (Gaz. 1000); sixth-century cremations located in a secondary position in a possible Roman mound at South Elkington (Lincs) (Gaz. 137); the late fifth/sixth century cemetery at Hall Hill, West Keal (Lincs) (Gaz. 138) which produced some pottery similar to that from South Elkington; a cemetery located on the Roman road from Caistor to Horncastle at South Willingham (Lincs) (Gaz. 149); and the cremation cemetery located in a secondary position on a tumulus at Wold Newton (Humberside) (Gaz. 1076). A deliberately holed urn, probably representing a cremation, was found in a mound which may be primary at Flixborough (Humberside) (Gaz. 851)

Fourteen cemeteries containing mixed cremation and inhumation burials are recorded. These include the cemetery at Cletham House Farm, Manton (Humberside) (Gaz. 331) formerly known as Kirton-on-Lindsey, where a total of over 1000 cremations, some of which were possibly primary in a barrow, and 64 inhumations have now been

¹ *Med. Arch.* 13 (1973) p.146.

² see below p. 223.

excavated. The most recent finds from this site include a hanging-bowl dated to the fifth century,¹ and a settlement area dated fifth to seventh century. A cemetery recorded in the nineteenth century outside the south gate of Roman Ancaster (Lincs) (Gaz. 373) contained Roman urns, Anglo-Saxon urns dated to about AD 500, and some inhumations which may be late Roman, indicating probable Romano-British origins. The mixed cemetery at Ruskington (Lincs) (Gaz. 144) which had about 180 inhumations and a small number of cremations, included burials without grave goods and three prone burials (a child of nine years, an adolescent female and adult female).

Secondary burials in prehistoric monuments include: the cremation cemeteries at South Elkington (Gaz. 137) and Wold Newton (Gaz. 1076); a small family group, one male, one female, two children, accompanied by weapons and dress accessories, discovered in a large mound at Partney (Lincs) (Gaz. 142); burials at Butts Hill, Heckington (Lincs) (Gaz. 139), and Carlton Scroop (Lincs) (Gaz. 376) also apparently associated with barrows; and the cemetery at Lovendon Hill (Gaz. 333), containing burials in both secondary and primary barrows.

Burials in primary barrows have been recorded at Cleatham House Farm, Manton (Gaz. 331); Flixborough (Gaz. 851); Cock Hill, Burgh-le-Marsh (Lincs) (Gaz. 136); Stenigot (Lincs) (Gaz. 147) where a triangular-lugged cauldron is dated probably to the seventh century; Caenby (Lincs) (Gaz. 374) where a crouched skeleton found on the original ground surface beneath a large barrow represents a warrior burial dated to the seventh century; and at Sleaford (Gaz. 145). Some of the graves at Castledyke South, Barton-on-Humber (Gaz. 661), described in detail below, may have been covered by small mounds.

¹ Bruce-Mitford, 'Late celtic Hanging-bowls', p. 51.

Other early Anglo-Saxon burials in Lindsey include the possible inhumation site at Manton Warren, Manton (Humberside) (Gaz. 301) where a hanging bowl with millefiori decoration, dated to the mid sixth century¹, was discovered wrapped in a cloth. Finds of hanging bowls and escutcheons which may have been associated with burials have been made at: Mettleton, Caistor (Lincs) (Gaz. 664); Willoughton (Lincs) (Gaz. 965); Market Rasen (Lincs) (Gaz. 998); Ingham (Lincs) (Gaz. 2206); and Sleaford (Lincs) (Gaz. 145). Two hanging-bowls, one with a warrior burial and the other with a set of weights and scales, were found at Castledyke, Barton-on-Humber (Gaz. 661); and another was found at St. Paul in the Bail, Lincoln (Gaz. 1183). There is a runic inscription on a hanging-bowl recovered recently at Cleatham, Manton (Humberside) (Gaz. 331).

Burials at Tetford Hill (Lincs) (Gaz. 995) some with knives and others unaccompanied, appear to denote a seventh century cemetery, although some residual Romano-British pottery indicates that the cemetery may be located at a Roman site. At Worlabby (Humberside) (Gaz. 1246) some of the burials were above the remains of a Romano-British building; at Welton by Lincoln (Gaz. 1238) 11 Anglo-Saxon graves with goods were sealed beneath a late Anglo-Saxon settlement; and unaccompanied burials west of the present church at Fillingham (Gaz. 278) may be an indicator of an earlier church at that site.

The sites of Castledyke South (Gaz. 661) and St. Peter's Church (Gaz. 1122), Barton-on-Humber, present an opportunity to study the changing burial rite from pagan to Christian at Castledyke, and the eventual move to an ecclesiastical site at St. Peter's. At Castledyke, where 200 graves have so far been excavated, the cemetery seems to have

¹ Bruce-Mitford, 'Late Celtic Hanging-bowls', pp. 54-6

begun around the beginning of the sixth century. A seventh-century warrior burial, W-E, partly crouched and accompanied by a sword and a bronze hanging-bowl, which disturbed two earlier flat graves, appears to have been covered by a primary barrow which was surrounded by 12 crouched/flexed inhumations orientated in various directions.¹ The hanging-bowl, similar to another found at the site in 1939, is probably fifth-century but was found in a seventh-century context.² While the majority of burials in the cemetery were accompanied by grave-goods, a number of burials, heads west with no grave goods, located in the south-east area, might either indicate a continued use of the cemetery into the Christian period, or may represent an indigenous presence.

Other features within the cemetery include burials on wooden biers, some plank-lined graves, and post-holes which probably indicate the presence of wooden grave-markers or structures. There were four prone burials, three of them also decapitate and the fourth a child. Knives, which formed part of the assemblage of about half the female burials, were worn at the waist in the earlier period, but in later burials the knives were in different positions, suggesting that if these later burials were shrouded the knives were placed with the body rather than worn. One other interesting item was the inclusion in a child's grave of a clay mammiform vessel with a perforated teat-shaped base. This is now thought to be unsuitable for feeding infants, but may have been used for weaning lambs.³

If, as seems possible, Castledyke is a cemetery which spans the transition from pagan to Christian burial in the Anglo-Saxon community, the nearby cemetery at the

¹ G.F. Bryant, *The Early History of Barton-upon-Humber* (Barton-on-Humber, 1994), pp. 49-51, figs. 4:20, 4:21, 4:22. (hereafter Bryant, *Barton*).

² Bruce-Mitford, 'Late Celtic Hanging-bowls', pp. 48-9, fig. 5.3.

³ Bryant, *Barton*, p. 51. fig. 4:23.

ninth century (or possibly earlier) church of St. Peter¹ (Gaz. 1122) represents a further step in the process. At this cemetery, about 230 of the burials can be placed in the pre-conquest period. The earliest burials were in unprotected dug graves, after which the majority were plank-lined, often with re-used ships' timbers.² It is worth noting that when the tenth-century Anglo-Saxon stone church was being built, burials in the immediate area were removed and the graves back-filled, indicating that these graves were known about and respected.

Further cemeteries of the Christian period include the site at Barrow (Humberside) (Gaz. 2084) associated with the monastery of St. Chad, where some of the 80 burials recovered had been cut by the foundations of the apsidal stone church. At Flixborough (Humberside) (Gaz. 2079) a number of burials have been discovered, five of which were associated with a post-built structure, which produced a lead plaque inscribed with seven names. The site is dated seventh to ninth century. At St. Oswald's Church, Rand (Lincs) (Gaz. 2083), two of the 44 burials uncovered under the nave pre-date the foundations and hint at an earlier church on the site.

At St. Paul-in-the-Bail, Lincoln (Gaz. 1183) there is evidence that a cemetery, located on the site of a disused apsidal building (possibly a Christian church) pre-dated the subsequent Anglo-Saxon church at that site. There is some confusion about two N-S burials located in the space between the apse and the nave of the early building. One of these burials produced a date of AD370±90 (cal. at 1 sigma to AD441). This date is used by one authority to suggest that the burial represents foundation relics for a church

¹ Bryant *Barton*, p. 116

² Not coffined as in the report of 1982. The gable-type coffins referred to in the report are also incorrect, as these have now been identified as re-used ships' timbers used to line graves. Warwick Rodwell personal comment. The use of ships' timbers in graves is discussed further in the section on East Anglia, below pp. 222-3.

at the end of the fourth century, when, the author states, it had become fashionable to import saintly relics.¹ However there is no evidence for the use of transportable corporeal relics in the British Isles before the seventh century, although the use of non-corporeal relics was quite common. In the West in the seventh century even the translation of a saint's burial needed special permission and circumstances.² Another authority³ who states that the radiocarbon dates, if calibrated at 2 sigma, suggest a date nearer to the seventh century for the burials, thereby making them secondary in an abandoned building, probably makes a lot more sense. A hanging-bowl, dated to the seventh century, was recovered from a cist grave (the burial from which had been moved probably in the tenth century) beneath the location of a possible early altar at the east end of the nave of the Anglo-Saxon church. This indicates that the altar was originally placed over a 'saint's' burial, the translation of which did not take place until a much later date.

Three skeletons found 'in a grooved stone covered by another not grooved' at Gainsborough (Lincs) (Gaz. 1073) were probably in stone cists. They could date to the late-Roman, late Anglo-Saxon, or Medieval period; and there is a radiocarbon date (HAR-863) of AD780±90 from a skeleton found buried in rubble over a Roman building at Saltergate, Lincoln (Gaz. 2212).⁴

Post-seventh-century burials in Kesteven include those at Great Hale (Lincs) (Gaz. 2081) where an inhumation cemetery of unknown extent has been located 70 metres east of the present churchyard, and the only artifacts produced were an iron buckle and an

¹ M.J. Jones, 'The Later Days of Roman Lincoln', in Vince, *Pre-Viking Lindsey*, p 25.

² See above pp. 126-8.

³ K. Steane and A. Vince, 'Post Roman Lincoln' in Vince, *Pre-Viking Lindsey*, p. 74.

⁴ C.B.A. index to Radiocarbon dates (1982) 7C.15.

unidentified bronze object. Hundreds of skeletons have been dug up over the years at Threkingham (Lincs) (Gaz. 993) producing practically no grave goods apart from some possible knives and coffin nails or fittings. These burials pre-date the village and may represent a secular Christian cemetery of the Anglo-Saxon period which may have preceded the minster cemetery at that place, or may have been part of the cemetery attached to the early minster.

Summary

The early Anglo-Saxon settlement around Lindsey was clearly very different from that of Bernicia, Deira and Elmet. Areas north of the Humber (especially Bernicia and Elmet) retained more of their British (Iron Age) identity, while the area around and south of the Humber was more heavily colonised in the Roman period, and after the disintegration of Roman rule, villa estates which became abandoned were open to re-colonisation. The distribution of burial sites along Roman roads, and within disused Roman buildings, is notable. Also notable is the comparative lack of the re-use of existing burial monuments, except in places remote from Roman roads (Fig 39). It is as if the Anglo-Saxon settlers did not feel any need to be accepted. They were probably numerically greater than the indigenous Romano-British population, who for the most part were probably not land-owners if the owners of the Romanised estates had moved on. Another possible suggestion is that in more Romanised areas, intensive agriculture might have obliterated many prehistoric monuments.

The layout of the warrior burial at Castledyke, Barton-on-Humber (Gaz. 661) is very reminiscent of the layout of mound 5 at Sutton Hoo (Gaz. 42), and when taken in conjunction with the 'pseudo' boat burials at St. Peters (Gaz. 1122), and the warrior-

cremation placed in a hanging-bowl at Lovendon Hill (Gaz. 333) indicate either contacts with East Anglia in the seventh century, or the presence in this region at the mouth of the Humber of people with similar overseas contacts as the East Anglians.¹

An intriguing situation arises concerning hanging-bowls: thirteen of the fifteen bowls found in Lindsey, ranging in date from the sub-Roman period to the seventh century, have been found in probable burial contexts: the fact that only three of these are recorded as accompanying warrior burials is probably due to the occurrence of antiquarian activity in the past, and metal-detecting activity in the present. According to Bruce-Mitford, 'no one doubts that the bowls are of Celtic manufacture', and even those which have Germanic elements 'are perhaps the products of Celtic craftsmen residing there'.² While the presence of these prestige objects in burials is not in itself an indicator that the accompanying burials were anything other than Anglo-Saxon, it does at the very least indicate contact with British or Celtic craftsmen, which in the case of the bowls with millefiori ornament might have meant contacts with Elmet.³

¹ see below pp. 222-3.

² Bruce-Mitford, 'Late Celtic Hanging-bowls', p. 45.

³ R. Bruce-Mitford, 'Ireland and the Hanging Bowls - A Review', in M. Ryan, (ed) *Ireland and Insular Art A.D. 500-1200* (Dublin, 1987), p. 38.

MERCIA

The 'original Mercia' has been defined as the area which comprises much of the modern counties of Staffordshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, south Derbyshire and north Warwickshire.¹ This territory (Figs. 40-41) is bounded on the west by the Welsh marches, on the north by the marches or 'no man's land' extending from west of the river Don to the northern reaches of the river Trent, on the east by the rivers Witham and Welland, and on the south by the area around the river Avon and the Fosse Way. The shared boundary between the Mercians and the Gewisse fluctuated depending on the relative power of the two kingdoms,² sites which fall within the modern county of Warwickshire south of the river Avon on or near the Fosse Way have therefore been included.

There is little evidence for burial in the region in the Iron Age (Fig. 1) but there were some cremations of the Roman period located mainly around the Roman centres of Leicester, Derby, Wall (Staffs), and Mancetter (Warw). The situation with regard to inhumation is similar, with a relatively small number of Romano-British burials distributed along Roman routeways and at Roman centres together with some clustering in the Peak district (Fig. 40). The cemeteries located at the river Avon, in the region of the Fosse Way, will be discussed in greater detail below.

¹ N. Brooks, 'The formation of the Mercian Kingdom', *Bassett Kingdoms* p. 161.

² B. Yorke *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester Univ. Press, 1995) p. 61. (hereafter Yorke *Wessex*)

TABLE 10

Burials in Mercia

KEY: Column headings: Gaz = database gazetteer number: in = inhumation: cr = cremation: or = orientation of burials: cb = crouched burial: pr = prone burial: dc = decapitated burial: n = burials with no grave goods: sc = secondary in prehistoric monument: pm = primary monument: en = contemporary enclosure; a = artifacts only, no burial.

Column content: c = certain: p = possible: a = absent: - = no information recorded: v = various: fl = flexed: pn = penannular: an = annular: r = rectilinear.

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
303	Oxton, Notts.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	c	-	-
304	Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leics.	c	a	we	c	-	-	c	c	-	r?	-
305	Hungerton, Leics.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	p	-	-	-
306	Alsop, Derb.	c	a	we	a	-	a	a	c	-	-	-
307	Benty Grange, Derb.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	c	an	-
308	Tissington I, Derb.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
309	Hartington, Derb.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	c	-	-
310	Brushfield, Derb.	c	a	we	-	-	-	a	a	c	-	-
311	Calver Low, Derb.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
312	Hartington Town Qr. Derb.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
313	Chelmorton, Derb.	c	a	we	a	a	a	a	a	c	a	a
314	Cold Eaton, Derb.	a	c	a	a	a	a	a	a	c	a	-
315	Green Fairfield, Derb.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
316	Duffield Castle, Derb.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
317	Ballidon, Derb.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
318	Middleton Moor, Derb.	c	a	we	a	-	a	-	a	c	-	-
319	Over Haddon, Derb.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-
320	Hartington Mid.Qr.II, Derb.	c	a	we	a	-	a	c	a	c	-	-
321	Melbourne, Derb.	a	c	a	a	a	a	c	a	a	a	-
322	Middleton II, Derb.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	c	-	-

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
323	Middleton Moor, Derb.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	c	-	-
324	Hartington Mid.Qr.IV Derb.	c	a	-	a	a	a	a	c	c	-	-
325	Tissington II, Derb.	c	a	-	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
326	Newton Grange, Derb.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	c	-	-
327	Swarkeston, Derb.	c	c	v	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
328	Hartington Mid.Qr.V Derb.	c	a	-	p	-	-	c	p	-	-	-
329	Elton, Derb.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	c	-	-
330	Wyaston, Derb.	c	a	-	a	-	-	a	a	c	-	-
338	Glen Parva, Leics.	c	a	ns	p	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
339	Husbands Bosworth, Leics.	c	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
340	Knippton, Leics.	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
341	Leicester, Leics.	c	c	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
342	Leicester, Leics.	c	-	ns	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
343	Loughborough, Leics	a	c	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
344	Lowesby Hall, Leics	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
345	Melton Mowbray, Leics.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
346	Sysonby, Leics.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
347	Rothley Temple, Leics.	c	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
348	Saxby, Leics.	c	c	ew	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
349	Thurmaston, Leics.	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-
350	Tugby & Keythorpe Leics.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
351	Twyford, Leics.	c	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
352	Barkby Field, Leics.	p	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	c
353	Ingarsby, Leics.	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	c	-	-	-
354	Beeby, Leics.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
355	Calton, Staff.	c	a	-	a	a	a	a	c	-	-	-
356	Ilam II, Staff.	c	c	ew	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
357	Ramshorn, Staff.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
358	Stapenhill, Staff.	c	c	v	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
359	Alstonefield II, Staff	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
360	Stretton, Staff.	c	c	ns	a	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
361	Wetton I, Staff.	c	a	sn	fl	-	-	a	-	c	-	-
362	Wichnor, Staff.	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
363	Aslockton, Notts.	c	a	ew	a	-	a		a	-	-	-
364	Cotgrave, Notts.	c	a	ns	a	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
365	Holme Pierrepont, Notts.	c	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
366	Kingston-on-Soar, Notts.	a	c	a	a	a	a	p	-	-	-	-
367	Newark, Notts.	a	c	a	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	-
368	Bingham, Notts.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
369	Glaston, Leics.	c	a	we	-	-	a	a	a	-	-	-
370	Nth. Luffenham, Leics.	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	a	a	a	-
371	Market Overton I, Leics.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
372	Market Overton II.	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
379	Churchover, Warw.	c	c	-	-	-	-	p	p	-	-	-
380	Long Compton, Warw.	c	c	we	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
381	Leamington, Warw.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
382	Halford Bridge, Warw.	c	-	ns	p	p	-	c	-	-	-	-
383	Warwick, Warw.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
384	Clopton, Warw.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
385	Napton-on-the-Hill, Warw.	c	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
386	Newton, Warw.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
387	Offchurch, Warw.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
388	Oldbury, Warw.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
389	Princethorpe, Warw.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
391	Bidford-on-Avon, Warw.	c	c	we	c	-	-	c	a	-	r?	-
392	Baginton, Warw.	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
393	Aston Cantlow, Warw.	c	-	we	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
394	Alcester, Warw.	c	c	-	-	a	c	c	-	-	-	-
433	Lighthorne, Warw.	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	a	-	-	-
434	Kineton, Warw.	c	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
435	Long Itchington, Warw.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
468	Medbourne, Leics.	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	p	-	-
469	Shalwell, Leics.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
470	Stoke Golding, Leics.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	c	r?	c
471	Wigston Magna, Leics.	c	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
630	Barlaston, Staff.	c	-	ns	-	-	-	a	-	p	-	-
805	Forsbrook, Staff.	p	a	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	c
880	Burton Dassett, Warw.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
881	Compton Verney, Warw.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
882	Farnborough, Warw.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
883	Marton, Warw.	p	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
884	Street Ashton, Warw.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
885	Brinklow, Warw.	a	p	a	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	c
886	Bascote, Warw.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
887	Alveston, Warw.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
915	Wibtoft, Leics.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
924	Tamworth, Staff.	c	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
925	Wetton II, Staff.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	c
926	Nth. Collingham, Notts.	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
927	Willoghby-on-the-Wolds, Notts.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
928	Netherfield, Notts	a	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
929	Cottesmore, Leics.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
933	Sutton Bonnington, Notts.	p	c	a	a	a	a	p	-	-	-	-
950	Bone Low, Derb.	c	c	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
951	Borrowash, Derb.	c	p	ew	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
952	Over Haddon II, Derb.	c	a	we	c	a	a	c	-	c	-	-
954	Middleton I, Derb.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
955	Little Longstone, Derb.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
956	Hartington Mid.Qr.III, Derb.	a	c	-	-	-	-	a	a	c	-	-
957	Ashover, Derb.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
958	Rusden Low, Derb.	c	a	ew	c	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
959	Tissington, Derb.	c	a	-	c	-	-	p	-	c	-	-
960	Hartington Mid.Qr VI, Derb.	c	a	we	c	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
961	Winster, Derb.	c	a	ns	c	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
968	Kegworth, Leics.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	c
969	Hinckley, Leics.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
970	Croft, Leics.	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
971	Tilton-on-the-Hill, Leics.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
972	Branston, Staff.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
973	Borough Fields Farm, Staff.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
974	Blore, Staff.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
975	Barton-under-Needwood, Staff.	a	c	a	a	a	a	p	-	-	-	-
976	Billesdon Coplow, Leics.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
977	Cauldon Hills, Staff.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	c	-	-

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
978	Ilam I, Staff.	c	a	we	a	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
979	Alstonefield I, Staff.	c	c	a	a	a	a	-	c	-	-	-
1077	Elam III, Staff.	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
1078	Arrow, Warw.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
1096	Burley, Leics.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1103	Gunthorpe, Notts.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1154	Derby, Derb.	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	p	a	-	-
1163	Empingham, Leics.	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
1169	Churchover, Warw.	c	c	-	-	-	-	c	a	p	-	-
1173	Gt. Casterton, Leics.	c	c	-	c	a	c	c	a	a	a	-
1181	Kniveton, Derb.	c	a	we	fl	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
1210	Repton, Derb.	c	a	we	c	c	-	c	-	-	-	-
1224	Stratford-on-Avon, Warw.	c	c	v	c	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
1225	Stretton-on-Fosse, Warw.	c	a	v	-	c	c	c	-	-	-	-
1233	Wasperton, Warw.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
2076	Enderby, Leics.	a	c	a	a	a	a	a	p	-	-	-
2107	Fairfieldhead, Staff.	c	a	ew	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
2108	Ramshorn, Staff.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
2109	Tamworth, Staff.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
2202	Birstall, Leics.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
2204	Oadby, Leics.	c	c	ns	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-

The Mercians (O.E. *Mierce*, Latin *Mercii*) the ‘borderers’ or ‘dwellers on the march’¹ were probably so called because of their proximity to the marches on their western and northern borders. This type of situation often results in the placing on frontiers of sentinel warrior burials² which can be recognised by their (a) location, on perimeter

¹ Brooks in Bassett *Kingdoms* p.160-2.

² Early literary references to the phenomenon of warrior guardians are discussed above pp. 120-121.

territory, usually on high ground overlooking potentially hostile territory; (b) weaponry and high-status grave goods; and (c) orientation, facing towards potentially hostile territory.¹

In the case of Mercia, at least three possible sentinel burials can be identified, two on the western and one on the northern border. The first, at Barlaston (Staffs) (Gaz. 630) (Figs. 40-41), was placed on a hill-top in a grave cut into the rock, possibly originally covered by a mound now ploughed out. The grave, which was 22" deep at the S (foot) end and 8" deep at the N (head) end,² where there was a basin-like cavity in which rested the remains of a bronze hanging bowl with three escutcheons, is dated to the seventh century. Lying across the grave at waist level was an iron knife, and below it on the right side was an iron sword. This burial, on a height on the western fringes of Mercia overlooking the Trent and beyond that the Severn and the Welsh marches, was facing towards British territory, suggesting that this may be an armed warrior guarding his people. The careful placing of the hanging bowl implies that it may have held some libation to sustain him during his vigil. The second sentinel-type burial, on the western border, is at Oldbury (Warw) (Gaz. 388) where a barrow 'on the brink of some high ground' contained an inhumation, the orientation of which was not recorded, with a shield boss and spearhead. The third was in a barrow located on the northern border, at Oxton (Notts) (Gaz. 303). This barrow covered a grave containing an iron shield boss, an iron sword, an iron knife in a wooden scabbard, other iron objects including a probable spear ferrule, and approx. 15 green and yellow glass objects found near the

¹ For the purposes of this study I have concentrated on the boundaries of kingdoms, and have not looked for possible sentinels on shire or rape-boundaries, which might be a useful subject for future study.

² Meaney *Gazetteer* p.220. A. Ozanne, 'The Peak Dwellers', *Med. Arch.* 6-7 (1962-3) p. 43, suggests that the head was to the south, but this is presumably an error. (hereafter Ozanne, 'Peak Dwellers')

sword and described as playing pieces. Unfortunately no orientation was recorded for this burial, but its isolated position in border territory together with its grave goods, strongly suggests that this also may have been a sentinel warrior or guardian.

The Peak district, an important focus for burial since prehistoric times, was also utilised for burial by the Mercians, who re-used prehistoric barrows and erected new primary barrows.¹ The complex contains eight individual warrior burials, all dated to the seventh century (not including the sentinel warrior Gaz. 630), and a cemetery which contained warrior graves. At Alsop (Derbs) (Gaz. 306) a warrior burial secondary in a barrow, head west, was accompanied by an iron shield boss, other pieces of iron, and a round quartz pebble in the left hand. The warrior in a primary barrow at Benty Grange, Hartington Middle Quarter (Derbs) (Gaz. 307) was accompanied by high prestige objects including a silver ornamented leather cup, bronze hanging-bowl escutcheons with yellow enamel, and deposited a little way from the body an ornate helmet surmounted by the figure of a boar and with a silver cross on the nasal guard, together with remains of chain armour. At Bowes (Boar's) Low, Tissington (Derbs) (Gaz. 308) a burial, secondary in a prehistoric mound, was accompanied by a shield boss of 'sugar-loaf' type, an iron sword with a leather covered wooden sheath with silver chape and an iron spearhead; and at Lapwing Hill, Brushfield (Derbs) (Gaz. 310) two primary barrows produced an iron sword, iron shield boss and iron knife and buckle from one, and a skeleton head west, in a coffin, accompanied by a sword in a leather covered wooden sheath, an iron knife and two javelin heads from the second. A primary barrow at Wirksworth, Middleton Moor (Derbs) (Gaz. 323) which contained an extended burial

¹ The context and contents of burials in the Peak district have been amply and ably described by Ozanne, 'Peak Dwellers', therefore my comments on this particular region will be of a more specific nature.

with an iron spearhead; and a secondary burial in a barrow at Steep Lowe, Alstonefield (Staffs) (Gaz. 359) was accompanied by an iron spearhead, a lancehead, knife, three Roman brass coins and a small amber playing piece. A small primary mound at Borough Fields, Wetton (Staffs) (Gaz. 361) contained a skeleton with an iron spearhead and knife; and the small cemetery of male and female burials, secondary in a prehistoric barrow at Wigber Low (Derbs) (Gaz. 181) included at least three burials accompanied by spears.

In contrast, throughout the remainder of Mercia out of 41 sites producing evidence for weapons only seven are of single warriors, five of which were located close to border areas, the remainder being included in cemeteries. The warriors at Oldbury (Gaz. 388) and at Oxton (Gaz. 303) have already been mentioned; those at Gaz. 363 and 368, at Barnfield, Aslocton (Notts) and Parson's Hill, Bingham (Notts) are both located near the eastern boundary with Lindsey, and Gaz. 384 at Meon Hill, Clopton (Warw) is on the southern side of the Avon. The remaining two are Gaz. 305 a secondary burial in a barrow at Baggrave, Hungerton (Leics), and Gaz. 344 at Lowesby Hall (Leics) located on top of the Cold Newton Hills. It is evident that individual warrior burials hold special significance. Those in the Peak district may have been deliberately placed there for two reasons, (1) because of its location in a sensitive border region, and (2) because in the seventh century, the date for these burials, it had become desirable and necessary to create ancient ancestral lineages.

The rich burial at Benty Grange (Gaz. 307) requires further comment; the description given that the barrow was only '...2' high but spread over a large area..' and that the '...soil of the barrow had been tempered and was divided into layers by thin veins of an ochry substance...' ¹ would suggest that the burial had originally been

¹ Meaney *Gazetteer* pp. 20-2.

deposited into a wooden plank-lined chamber which had subsequently collapsed, producing the layered effect and flattened appearance of the barrow. The use of a chamber is further suggested by the position of the helmet and armour, described as being 6' away from the body. Another possible chamber may have been present in the seventh-century (?robbed) primary barrow at Cauldon Hills (Staffs) (Gaz. 977), also in the Peak district, where the grave is described as 9' x 4' x 4' deep and cut into rock. If these are chamber-burials they are unique in this area, but are an indicator of connections with East Anglia, Essex or Wessex, where the tradition of chamber burial had existed since the Iron age (Figs. 6, 48).

It is notable that the relatively smaller area of the Peak district contains more secondary and primary burial monuments than the combined area of the remainder of Mercia (Fig. 41) where of the five sites with possible primary mounds, two, Gaz. Nos. 303 and 630 are those of warrior burials already detailed. Gaz. No. 468 at Medbourne Field (Leics) is doubtful, the attribution being based on the report that the skeletons were each covered by a quantity of stones, but there is a strong possibility because of the presence of Roman coins and samian ware that these burials might be Romano-British and not Anglo-Saxon. At Stoke Golding (Leics) (Gaz. 470) a seventh-century hanging-bowl recorded as being similar to the bowl (now recognised as of Byzantine origin) from Asthall Barrow (Oxon) (Gaz. 432) was found at ground level beneath a primary mound located within a rectangular earthwork overlooking Watling Street;¹ and there is a suggestion that a mound originally covered the cemetery at Gibbett Hill and Bransford Bridge, Churchover (Warw) (Gaz. 1169) where many burials of men, women and children, accompanied by weapons and a variety of grave goods, were recovered.

¹ Meaney *Gazetteer*, p. 149.

Secondary burials in prehistoric monuments include the large inhumation cemetery of extended burials, heads W, located inside the Iron Age camp at Breedon-on-the-Hill (Leics) (Gaz.304), which may be either late-Roman or post-seventh century; a warrior burial, secondary in a prehistoric barrow, at Baggrave, Hungerton (Leics) (Gaz. 305), and several burials including a warrior located in and around one of four prehistoric barrows at Swarkeston (Derby) (Gaz. 327). Several skeletons 'with relics' were recovered in a probable secondary location in a barrow at Ingarsby (Leics) (Gaz. 353), and Anglo-Saxon cremation and inhumation burials have been recovered at Little Rollright, Long Compton (Warw) (Gaz. 380). The attribution of the site at Crosshill, Willoughby-on-the-Wolds (Notts) (Gaz. 927) as Anglo-Saxon is at best doubtful as one of the burials is attributed to the fourth century, the remainder are undatable, and the barrow was used as a gallows. The mixed cremation and inhumation cemetery at Bone Low (Derby) (Gaz. 950) is also doubtful, but Ozanne suggested that the cemetery provided '...a link between the urn-field and mixed-rite flat-grave cemeteries of the middle Trent area, mostly of the sixth century, and the seventh-century barrow-inhumations of the Peak...'.¹ Meaney on the other hand is doubtful about an Anglo-Saxon attribution for the cremations.² My own reservations lie in the site's location: it is much too isolated beyond Mercian borders to fit comfortably even into the Peak milieu (Figs. 40-41). A barrow at Borrowash, Ockbrook (Derby) (Gaz. 951) which contained 80 skeletons all due E-W (sic), a prehistoric primary burial, a Roman vase containing burnt pigeon bones and a coin of Constantine, and many burnt bones of ox, sheep and tusks of boars, appears to have been re-used from the Roman period until

¹ Ozanne, 'Peak Dwellers', p. 378.

² Meaney, *Gazetteer*, pp. 72-3.

possibly a period post-seventh century. Two Anglo-Saxon inhumations were recovered 'upon a high mound presumed to be a barrow' at Long Itchington (Warw) (Gaz. 435); an Anglo-Saxon pin found in a ploughed-out barrow at Kegworth (Leics) (Gaz. 968) is of eighth-century date and may be a casual loss; and a sixth-century Saxon cemetery was located within the ruins of the Roman fort at Little Chester (Derby) (Gaz. 1154).

Putting aside the doubtful attributions, we are left with a comparatively small number of Anglo-Saxon burials in either primary or secondary monuments in Mercia, outside the Peak district.

In Mercia, burial evidence for continuity with the past falls into two categories. First there is the artificially imposed continuity in the Peak district, where seventh-century Anglo-Saxon burials were placed among prehistoric burials, and second there is the evidence for positive continuity in occasional cases, especially at two sites located within the vague southern border-territory around the river Avon. These are Wasperton (Warw) (Gaz. 1233) and Stretton-on-Fosse (Warw) (Gaz. 1225) (Figs. 40-41).

Romano-British burials at Wasperton were, with a very few exceptions, placed within a rectangular enclosure (Fig. 42), and the majority of the Anglo-Saxon burials were similarly placed. From a total of 200 inhumations excavated (with poor bone survival) and 26 cremations, 117 inhumations have been identified as Anglo-Saxon on the basis of grave-goods and orientation, and 36 have been identified as Romano-British on the basis of metalwork or hobnailed footwear in the grave, mutilation of the corpse (decapitation and/or reposition of some of the limbs) and orientation. The orientation of identifiable Anglo-Saxon burials is described as S-N and W-E, and of identifiable Romano-British burials as N-S. Five burials with hobnails, two with coffin nails and two decapitated burials are described as having Romano-British affinities with Anglo-Saxon

orientation, and another possible decapitate with Anglo-Saxon beads and a pottery vessel is described as having a Roman orientation. Altogether about 100 burials where grave-goods were either lacking or undiagnostic were designated as Romano-British or Anglo-Saxon on the basis of orientation alone. These assumptions require some comment: the breakdown of Romano-British burial orientation in Chapter 1, Table 3 clearly shows that burials during the Late Roman period were equally likely to be oriented S-N, N-S or W-E; it is not therefore valid to attribute Romano-British or Anglo-Saxon cultural or ethnic affinities to unaccompanied burials at Wasperton on the basis of orientation alone. There is undoubted evidence for continuity and cross acculturation in this cemetery, but I would suggest that the unaccompanied burials which have been designated Anglo-Saxon because their heads were to the west, might equally represent late Romano-British burials, thereby providing a further link between late fourth-century burials with hobnails and burials with early Anglo-Saxon grave goods. There were nailed and un-nailed wooden coffins in the cemetery, some of the un-nailed examples having stone packing around them. While nailed coffins predominated in the late Roman period (Table 2), un-nailed examples are also known, as are examples of stone packing around wooden coffins at Poundbury, Lankhills and Bath Gate, Cirencester. Another Mercian grave with slab-lining, stone packing and residual wood indicating the possible presence of an un-nailed coffin or plank lining occurred in a primary barrow in the Peak district at Chelmorton, near Nether Low (Derby) (Gaz. 313), but in this case in a seventh-century context. Similar graves are recorded in seventh-century contexts in East Anglia and Wessex, and in Kent where one of the burials at Sarre (Gaz. 710) also produced a sceatta.¹ Is this a tradition which survived in Mercia from the late-Roman period, or was it re-introduced

¹ Meaney, *Gazetteer*, p. 136.

in the seventh century possibly through Kentish connections?

Twenty of the cremations at Wasperton were contained in Anglo-Saxon urns, one was in a Romano-British urn, and the remaining four had unknown affinities. The tradition of Romano-British cremation survived in the midlands into the fourth century,¹ so the cremations at Wasperton could represent a further link between British and early Anglo-Saxon settlers. This could also apply in the large Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery at Millgate, Newark (Notts) (Gaz. 367) near the Fosse Way on the northern fringes of Mercia, which contained at least one cremation in a Romano-British pot dateable to the third/fourth century, and at Holme Pierrepont (Notts) (Gaz. 365) where one of three Anglo-Saxon urns was a copy of a Roman model.

At Stretton-on-Fosse (Gaz. 1225), 67 inhumations were excavated, of which 17 were aligned N-S (no direction given for heads) and six of these produced evidence for hob-nailed boots. One of the burials with hobnails was female, prone and decapitate with the head between the feet. An Anglo-Saxon burial with a spearhead, shield-boss and buckle was also decapitate, with the head placed at the femur and a cauldron where the head should have been.² Some E-W (sic) burials cut through N-S burials, and while many contained Anglo-Saxon weapons and jewellery, six early E-W burials were in coffins and some had no grave goods. This again might indicate a link between fourth-century Romano-British burials with hobnails and the early Anglo-Saxon burials with grave-goods. Radiocarbon dates from bone in this cemetery appear to indicate continuity

¹ Philpott, *Practices*, pp. 50-1.

² White, *Celtic Objects*, p. 233.

from about the third until the seventh century.¹

Remaining sites which have produced Roman-British artifacts together with Anglo-Saxon burials, and which may indicate British connections or a British presence in the area, include Westcotes, Leicester (Leics) (Gaz. 342); Rothley Temple, Rothley (Leics) (Gaz. 347); Glaston (Leics) (Gaz. 369).

At Bidford-on-Avon (Warw) (Gaz. 391) where a sixth/seventh-century cemetery produced over 200 inhumation and 150 cremation burials; the inclusion in several burials of penannular brooches in combination with Anglo-Saxon brooches suggests possible contacts with an indigenous source. About 65 burials which were without grave-goods could represent indigenous people, but could equally belong, together with 18 burials with knives only, in the seventh century. North-east of the main cemetery a cremation in a Roman pot and three Saxon inhumation burials were recovered in a small walled area 8m sq. This site, which seems to have been used for gravel extraction and burial in the Roman period, was extensively used for burial in the early Saxon period², but evidence for continuity is slight.

It is also impossible to know whether there is direct continuity of use at Alcester (Warw) (Gaz. 394), where Romano-British burials included one decapitate female with the head between the legs and 10 infants, and Anglo-Saxon burials consisted of two cremation urns and one extended inhumation with a sword recovered early in the nineteenth century. Artifacts also recovered last century at Branston (Staffs) (Gaz. 972) certainly appear to suggest the presence of Romano-British burials at that spot, but

¹ *Radiocarbon* 16 (1974) pp. 296-7: Birm-384 150 A.D. ± 190: Birm-383 250 A.D. ± 180: Birm-442 290 A.D. ± 130: Birm-441 320 A.D. ± 110: Birm-385 380 A.D. ± 150: Birm-440 400 A.D. ± 110: Birm-439 420 A.D. ± 100: Birm-386 470 A.D. ± 170.

² *Med. Arch.* 24 (1980) p. 233.

Meaney records that ‘...some of the pottery agrees in appearance with Saxon rather than Roman form of manufacture..’,¹ which might represent continuity. Artifacts recovered at Burley (Leics) (Gaz. 1096) also included a mixture of Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon material.

Further evidence for contact, either direct or indirect, with British or Celtic craftsmen in the seventh century is provided by the presence in graves of one possible and nine certain hanging-bowls/escutcheons, seven of which contained enamelled decoration. The sites concerned are underlined on Fig. 40, and comprise; Benty Grange (Derby) (Gaz. 307); Garrat’s Piece, Middleton Moor (Derby) (Gaz. 318); Grind Low, Over Haddon (Derby) (Gaz. 319); Keythorpe Hall, Tugby (Leics) Gaz. 350); Twyford (Leics) (Gaz. 351); Hall Pit, Baginton (Warw) (Gaz. 392); Lighthorne (Warw) (Gaz. 433); Stoke Golding (Leics) (Gaz. 470); Barlaston (Staffs) (Gaz. 630); and a possible example at Alveston Manor Hotel, Stratford-upon-Avon (Warw) (Gaz. 1224). The available evidence indicates that in four, perhaps five instances the bowls were associated with warrior burials.

The enamelling and millefiori content in the decoration of many of the bowls is a strong indicator of contact in the seventh century between Anglo-Saxon and British or ‘Celtic’ craftsmen, which is not surprising considering the proximity of Mercia, especially on its northern and western borders, to British territory.

Sites included in the database, but which fall outside the scope of this study, include Gaz. 311 at Calver Low (Derby) located on the northern fringe of Mercia, where supine burials in rock-cut graves, heads west, probably date to later than the seventh century; Gaz. 926 at North Collingham (Notts) near the Trent on the north-east fringe

¹ Meaney *Gazetteer*, p. 220.

of Mercia, where the burials may be of the Viking period;¹ and the important site at St. Wystan's, Repton (Derby) (Gaz. 1210), where information available to date indicates that the burials are late and post-seventh century, and Viking.

Summary

Access to the region occupied by the Mercians in the earlier period appears primarily to have been from a north-easterly direction via the River Trent and the Fosse Way.

The frontier status of the kingdom probably accounts for the presence of carefully placed individual warrior burials in border regions.

Fusion of the indigenous British and the incoming Anglo-Saxon population can be demonstrated especially in the south-west of the region where the indigenous population had obviously remained viable in the post-Roman period. And contact, if not direct continuity, between the two cultures can be demonstrated at several cemeteries in the heartland and in the Peak district by the presence of Celtic or British objects in the form of penannular brooches, enamelled hanging-bowls etc.

In the seventh century, the Peak district with its concentration of prehistoric burial mounds was used extensively to create links with the indigenous ancestors.

Two possible chamber-graves, plank-lined graves with stone-packing, and some specific grave goods and their method of deposition (for instance in wooden boxes), indicate possible links or contacts in the seventh century with the kingdoms of East Anglia, Wessex and Kent.

¹ Meaney *Gazetteer*, p. 200.

MIDDLE ANGLIA

Middle Anglia, formed in the seventh century, was an amalgamation of minor peoples who were situated geographically and politically between East Anglia and Mercia.¹ For the purposes of this study the region is identified as being within the borders of the river Welland² and the headwaters of the river Avon on the north, the rivers Great Ouse and Little Ouse on the east, the Icknield Way on the south-east and south, and the Roman road linking the river Thames and the Icknield Way with Watling Street on the west (Figs. 43-44). Included for convenience is a small group of sites to the west of this boundary which fall within the modern counties of Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire, but it is conceded that these might also have been included in Mercia.

Crouched burials of Iron Age group 1, a burial type which emerged at about the third century BC, have been discovered in the region (Fig. 1).³ Cremations of Aylesford type were introduced into the south-eastern part of the region at the end of the first century BC, and continued to be used until the later fourth century. With the emergence in the third century AD of Romano-British inhumation in the region came the rite of decapitation and the deposition of hobnailed footwear.

¹ D. Dumville, 'Essex, Middle Anglia, and the expansion of Mercia in the South-East Midlands', in *Bassett Kingdoms*, p. 130.

² See p.164 'Lindsey' for explanation.

³ See Chapter 1, p. 4.

TABLE 11

Burials in Middle Anglia

KEY: Column headings: Gaz = database gazetteer number: in = inhumation: cr = cremation: or = orientation of burials: cb = crouched burial: pr = prone burial: dc = decapitated burial: n = burials with no grave goods: sc = secondary in prehistoric monument: pm = primary monument: en = contemporary enclosure: a = artifacts only, no burial.

Column content: c = certain: p = possible: a = absent: - = no information recorded: v = various: fl = flexed: pn = penannular: an = annular: r = rectilinear.

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
24	Nassington, Northants.	c	c	ns	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
24	Peterborough I, Cambs.	c	p	v	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
26	Peterborough II, Cambs.	c	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
50	Astwick, Beds.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
51	Bedford, Beds.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
52	Chalton, Beds.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
53	Cross Hall, Beds.	a	c	a	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-
54	Dunstable, Beds.	c	p	-	-	c	c	c	c	-	-	-
55	Eaton Socon, Beds.	c	a	-	a	-	a	c	a	-	-	-
56	Toddington, Beds.	c	p	-	-	-	-	p	a	-	-	-
57	Kempston, Beds.	c	c	v	c	-	c	c	a	a	-	-
58	Limbury, Beds.	c	a	we	c	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
59	Luton I, Beds.	c	c	v	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
60	Luton II, Beds.	c	a	we	a	a	a	a	a	-	-	-
61	Luton III, Beds.	c	a	ew	a	a	a	a	a	-	-	-
62	Shillington, Beds.	c	a	-	c	-	-	a	a	c	-	-
63	Puddlehill, Beds.	c	a	v	c	c	-	c	c	c	-	a
64	Sandy, Beds.	c	c	-	-	-	-	p	a	-	-	-
65	Sundon, Beds.	c	a	-	a	-	a	a	a	-	-	-
66	Toddington I, Beds.	c	p	v	-	c	-	c	a	-	-	-
67	Toddington II, Beds.	c	c	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
68	Totternhoe, Beds.	c	a	v	c	c	-	c	a	-	-	-
69	Bottisham, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	c	-	-

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
71	Soham C, Cambs.	c	c	v	-	-	-	c	p	-	-	-
72	Trumpington, Cambs.	p	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
73	Whittlesey, Cambs.	c	a	ew	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
74	Little Wilbraham, Cambs.	c	c	v	-	c	-	c	p	-	-	-
75	Babraham, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
82	Hartford, Cambs.	c	-	-	c	-	-	c	p	-	-	-
83	Houghton, Cambs.	c	a	-	c	c	-	a	p	-	-	-
84	Little Paxton, Cambs.	c	c	ew	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-
85	St. Neots, Cambs.	p	c	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
86	Somersham, Cambs.	a	c	a	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-
87	Woodston, Cambs.	c	p	v	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
88	Barrington A, Cambs.	c	a	v	p	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
89	Barrington B, Cambs.	c	a	v	c	-	c	c	a	a	?r	-
90	Fowlmere, Cambs.	c	a	v	p	-	c	c	a	-	-	-
91	Burwell, Cambs.	c	a	v	-	c	c	c	a	-	-	-
92	Cambridge I, Cambs.	c	c	v	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
93	Cambridge II, Cambs.	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
94	Cambridge IV, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
95	Chatteris, Cambs.	c	c	-	-	-	-	p	p	-	-	-
96	Cherry Hinton, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	c	a	-	c	-	-	-
97	Chippenham, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-
98	Cratendune, Cambs.	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
99	Ely Trinity, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
100	Foxton, Cambs.	c	a	v	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
101	Girton, Cambs.	c	c	v	c	-	c	c	a	-	-	-
102	Grantchester, Cambs.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
103	Haslingfield, Cambs.	c	c	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
104	Hauxton, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
106	Linton A, Cambs.	c	c	-	-	-	-	p	a	-	-	-
107	Linton Heath B, Cambs.	c	a	we	c	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
109	Newnham, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
110	Oakington, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
111	Sawston, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
112	Little Shelford, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
113	Shudy Camps, Cambs.	c	a	we	-	-	c	c	a	-	-	-
114	Soham B, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	a	-	-	-
115	Eye, Cambs.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
116	Helpstone, Cambs.	c	c	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
436	Gt.Addington I,Northants.	c	a	-	c	c	c	c	c	p	-	-
437	Gt.AddingtonII, Northants.	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-
438	Badby, Northants.	c	a	ns	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
439	Barton Seagrave, Northants.	p	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
440	Daventry, Northants.	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	c	c	-	-
441	Brixworth II, Northants.	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
442	Brixworth I, Northants.	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
443	Brixworth IV,Northants.	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-
444	Cransley, Northants.	c	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
445	Desborough I,Northants.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
446	Desborough II,Northants	c	c	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
447	Duston, Northants.	c	c	we	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
448	Ecton, Northants.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
449	Hardingstone,Northants.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-
450	Holdenby, Northants.	c	c	ew	c	c	-	c	a	a	-	-
451	Islip, Northants.	c	a	ew	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
452	King's Sutton,Northants.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
453	Marston St. Lawrence, Northants.	c	c	we	c	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
454	Newnham, Northants.	c	-	we	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
455	Newton-in-the-Willows, Northants.	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
456	NorthamptonI,Northants	c	a	-	-	a	a	a	p	p	-	-
457	NorthamptonII,Northant	c	p	-	-	a	a	p	p	p	-	-

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
458	NorthamptonIII,Northant	c	c	-	-	-	-	p	a	-	-	-
459	Norton, Northants.	c	a	sn	-	-	-	p	c	-	-	-
460	Gt. Oxendon, Northants.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
461	Pitsford, Northants.	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	c	-	-
462	Rothwell, Northants.	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
463	Thenford, Northants.	c	-	ew	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
464	Thorpe Malsor, Northants.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
465	Turneston, Bucks.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
466	Weekley, Northants.	c	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
467	Welton, Northants.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
472	Ashendon, Bucks.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
473	Bishopstone, Bucks.	c	a	ns	c	-	-	p	p	-	-	-
474	Bledlow, Bucks.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
475	Bledlow, Bucks.	c	c	sn	a	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
476	Dinton, Bucks.	c	a	v	c	a	a	c	a	-	-	-
477	Ellesborough, Bucks.	c	a	we	c	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
478	Hartwell, Bucks.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
479	Mentmore, Bucks.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
480	Newport Pagnell, Bucks.	c	a	rad	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-
481	Stone I, Bucks.	c	c	-	p	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
482	Eggington, Beds.	p	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	c
483	Farndish, Beds.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
484	Harrold, Beds.	c	a	-	c	-	-	c	p	a	p	-
485	Leighton Buzzard I, Beds.	p	c	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-
486	Leighton Buzzard II, Beds.	c	c	v	-	-	-	c	-	p	an	-
901	Aynho, Northants.	c	a	-	c	-	-	c	p	-	-	-
902	Boughton, Northants.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
903	BrixworthIII,Northants.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
904	Desborough III, Northants.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
905	Grendon, Northants.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
906	Irchester, Northants.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
907	Kettering II, Northants.	a	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
908	Loddington, Northants.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
909	Milton, Northants.	-	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
910	Passenham, Northants.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
911	Desborough/Rothwell, Northants.	-	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
912	Cranford, Northants.	-	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
913	Stoke Bruerne, Northants.	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
914	Sudborough, Northants.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
916	Twywell, Northants.	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
917	Woodford, Northants.	a	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
918	Welford, Northants.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
919	Upr. Wichendon, Bucks.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
920	Newport Pagnell, Bucks.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
921	Pitstone, Bucks.	c	a	ew	a	a	a	c	a	-	-	-
922	Stone II, Bucks.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
923	Wing, Bucks.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
1012	Soham A, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1013	Mepal Fen, Cambs.	a	p	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	c
1014	Manea Fen, Cambs.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1015	Balsham, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1016	Devil's Ditch, Cambs.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1017	Little Downham, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	c	-	c	-	-	-	-
1018	Chesterton, Cambs.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1019	Cambridge V, Cambs.	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1020	Cambridge III, Cambs.	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1023	Wisbech, Cambs.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
1024	Anglesey Priory, Cambs.	a	p	-	a	a	a	-	a	-	-	c
1025	Shefford, Beds.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1026	Ravensden, Beds.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1027	Mogerhanger, Beds.	a	p	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	c
1028	Harrowden, Beds.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
1029	Dyers Hill Farm, Beds.	a	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1030	Clifton, Beds.	-	c	a	a	a	a	p	-	-	-	-
1031	Arlesey, Beds.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
1092	Eynesbury Conygeer, Cambs.	a	p	a	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	c
1093	St. Neots, Cambs.	c	c	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
1094	St. Neots, Cambs.	c	a	ew	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
1095	Clipston, Northants.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
1112	Aylesbury, Bucks.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1128	Bletsoe, Beds.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
1132	Brixworth, Northants.	c	a	we	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
1157	Earls Barton, Northants.	c	a	we	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
1162	Elstow Abbey, Beds.	c	c	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
1186	Longthorpe, Cambs.	c	c	-	-	-	a	-	a	-	-	-
1189	Milton Keynes, Bucks.	c	a	ew	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
1200	Northampton IV, Northants.	c	a	ew	-	a	a	c	a	-	-	-
1209	Raunds, Northants.	c	c	we	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
1231	Wakerley, Northants.	c	p	we	-	c	-	c	-	-	-	-
2009	Odell, Beds.	c	-	we	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-
2015	Milton Keynes, Bucks.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	p	-	-	-
2019	Barrington C, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	a	-	-
2020	Barton, Cambs.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
2021	Dry Drayton, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
2022	Haddenham, Cambs.	c	p	-	-	-	-	p	c	-	-	-
2024	Wades Farm, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
2025	Wimpole, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
2213	Kettering I, Northants.	c	c	v	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
2214	Biggleswade, Beds.	c	-	we	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
2215	Linton C, Cambs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	c
2216	Swaffham Prior I, Cambs.	c	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
2250	Swaffham Prior II, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-

There are many burials accompanied by weapons in cemeteries throughout Middle Anglia nine of which produced possible evidence for discrete warrior burials which might be regarded as sentinel. Eight of these were located near the Icknield Way, which formed a clearly defined border between the territory of the Middle Anglians and that of the East Saxons, and one was on the western border with Mercia, suggesting that the Saxons may have been perceived as a threat, whereas the East Anglians and Mercians were not.

The warrior burials in question are at Pegsdon Common, Shillington (Beds) (Gaz. 62) a mound (possibly primary) overlooking the Icknield Way; at Babraham (Cambs) (Gaz. 75) at the highest part of Worstead Street near the junction with the Icknield Way; at Hildersham (Cambs) (Gaz. 105) on the southern side of the Icknield Way; at Sawston (Cambs) (Gaz. 111) on a hill overlooking the Icknield Way south of Cambridge; at Puddlehill, nr. Dunstable (Beds) (Gaz. 63), on a ridge near the junction of Watling Street and the Icknield Way.

Warrior's equipment without human remains but suggesting burial was unearthed at four sites, Eythrope, Upr. Wichendon (Bucks) (Gaz. 919) near Aylesbury; Balsham (Cambs) (Gaz. 1015) on the Fleam Ditch which cuts the Icknield Way; and the Devil's Dyke (Cambs) (Gaz. 1016) which also cuts the Icknield Way, and Turveston (or Turneston) (Bucks) (Gaz. 465).

In this region, which had relatively well-established burial practices before the incursion of Anglian settlers, it is only to be expected that remnants of such burials should be discovered in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. However there is no very clear evidence for cross-acculturation such as is seen around the Avon at Wasperton and Stretton-on-Fosse. The clustering of Anglo-Saxon burial sites with a possible indigenous content recorded in and around the city of Cambridge may be the result of antiquarian activity in the area in the past, but taking into account their location on a network of Roman roads, and proximity to the Icknield Way, it is possible that this clustering is a reflection of the real situation.

Cemeteries with associated British burials, some of which may give some indication of continuity, include the site of the sixth-century warrior burial at Puddlehill (Beds) (Gaz. 63), which was located in the immediate vicinity of an Iron Age settlement/cemetery with cremations and burials burnt *in situ*.¹ Roman remains found at the Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery at Sandy (Beds) (Gaz. 64) included a wooden coffin with a lead vessel on the breast of the skeleton together with some possible Romano-British cremations among the Anglo-Saxon cremations. Skeletons found by the side of Worstead Street near the site of the warrior burial at Babraham (Cambs) (Gaz. 75) would suggest that this burial was located at or near a Romano-British roadside cemetery. Burials without grave-goods excavated at the site of the Bran Ditch, Fowlmere (Cambs) (Gaz. 90), on the Icknield Way, pre-dated the construction of the ditch because two of the burials were beneath the vallum, and it was noted that the ditch swerved to avoid other burials, some of which were decapitated. As the Bran Ditch presumably formed part of the series of defensive ditches constructed in the sixth-seventh century

¹ Chapter 1, p. 24.

along this section of the Icknield Way, these burials represent a Romano-British roadside cemetery, and burials without grave-goods which were buried within the ditch are probably post-seventh-century in date. On the basis of Roman brooches, pottery and coins with inhumations in the fifth/seventh-century Anglo-Saxon inhumation/cremation cemetery at St. John's College Cricket Field, Cambridge (Cambs) (Gaz. 92), it has been suggested that this cemetery contained a mixed Roman/ Anglo-Saxon population,¹ and at Cherry Hinton (Cambs) (Gaz. 96) three Romano-British burials, one a prone female, and seventh-century secondary Anglo-Saxon burials were all secondary in a prehistoric barrow, but this cannot be construed as evidence for direct continuity.

There is a case for possible continuity in the large cremation/inhumation cemetery at Girton College, Cambridge (Cambs) (Gaz. 101) where a decapitate inhumation with the head between the feet and a number of Roman cremations were located among Anglian cremations. In the same cemetery a further coffined inhumation had a Durobrivian vase, and Anglo-Saxon fifth/seventh-century inhumations had grave goods which included a pair of penannular brooches with coiled ends suggesting at least contact with Britons. In another Anglo-Saxon inhumation/cremation cemetery, at Haslingfield (Cambs) (Gaz. 103), a number of cremations were recorded as Roman.² Similarly, Roman cinerary urns have been recorded at Islip (Northants) (Gaz. 451), a fifth-to seventh-century Anglo-Saxon cemetery which included weapon burials. The site at Desborough (Northants) (Gaz. 904), which produced finds dating from prehistoric to Roman times including the Desborough mirror, has also produced Anglo-Saxon pottery; and artifacts recovered at Twywell (Northants) (Gaz. 916) and Kickles Farm, Newport

¹ Cambridgeshire Co. Council Arch. Record no. 04926.

² Cambridgeshire Co. Council records nos. 04816, 04816a.

Pagnell (Bucks) (Gaz. 920), suggest an Anglo-Saxon and Romano-British presence at those sites. Possible continuity is demonstrated at Chambers Pit, Little Downham (Cambs) (Gaz. 1017), where several burials, including one prone male regarded as Romano-British, were accompanied by a small-long brooch and a bronze pin described as Anglo-Saxon. A walled cemetery of the Roman period at Shefford (Beds) (Gaz. 1025) produced two saucer-brooches. The 40 or so extended inhumations recovered at Bletsoe (Beds) (Gaz. 1128) either in stone cists or wooden coffins, with no grave goods (except for two which had bronze finger rings), were located in an area of gullies and pits containing fourth-century pottery and coins, suggesting that these burials are of late or post-Roman date.

A female burial with wrist-clasps and beads dated to the sixth century and one penannular brooch, found with two unaccompanied male burials beside Ermine Street at Wimpole (Cambs) (Gaz. 2025), may have had a British connection, and a Roman mausoleum at Goodwin Farm, Swaffham Prior (Cambs) (Gaz. 2266) which contained eight burials, at least three of which were Anglo-Saxon, probably represents the use of the derelict building for burial in the seventh century. A similar situation can be observed at nearby Gallow's Hill, Swaffham Prior (Gaz. 2250) where a site used during the first to third century for funerary and religious enclosures, was further used in the sixth century as an Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

In this region two cases of the comparatively rare phenomenon of burials burnt *in situ* have been recorded as Anglo-Saxon, but they may in fact be late-Roman. The only known Iron Age example of this rite also occurs in this region at Puddlehill (Beds), and two of the few known Roman examples occur at Longueville, and at Bourne

(Cambs).¹ The first of the possible Anglo-Saxon examples is at Kempston (Beds) (Gaz. 57) where Anglo-Saxon cremations and inhumations dated from the early fifth to the seventh century have produced Roman material, Saxon saucer-brooches, Anglian wrist clasps and a Kentish-type crystal ball, as well as a decapitate burial with the head between the knees, indicating a very mixed cultural community. The burial burnt *in situ*, which was in a deep pit over 7 ft. long containing charred tree branches, had no recorded grave-goods and could be associated with either a Romano-British or Anglo-Saxon phase at this cemetery. The second example at Woodstone (Cambs) (Gaz. 87), a cemetery located beside a Roman road about 2.4km from the site of the known Roman-period *in situ* burial at Longueville, produced not only burials with Anglo-Saxon grave goods (square-headed, cruciform and saucer brooches, wrist clasps etc), but also possible late or post-Roman burials without grave goods in slab-lined graves. Three half-burnt burials at the site consisted of trenches containing the remains of burnt bones, some of which were *in situ*, with no grave goods. In view of the presence at this site of possible Romano-British burials, and of the proximity of a known site with *in situ* burial of the Roman period, it is possible that these particular burials also belong not in the Anglo-Saxon but in the Roman period, or are indicative of continuity of the practice by indigenous people into the Anglo-Saxon era.

Possible indigenous burials were present at Shooters Hill, Great Addington (Northants) (Gaz. 436) where together with Anglo-Saxon burials secondary in a mound, prone burials, three decapitated burials with small heaps of stones replacing the heads, and contracted burials without grave-goods which were deemed to be Iron Age in date, have been recorded. At Harrold (Beds) (Gaz. 484) Anglo-Saxon inhumation and

¹ Chapter 1, p. 25, Fig. 3; Philpott *Practices* pp. 48-9.

cremation burials have been found together with a contracted burial and Iron Age querns in an area showing traces of rectangular and circular ditches.

Decapitate and/or prone burials have also been recorded at, Five Knolls, Dunstable (Beds) (Gaz. 54) where over 100 secondary burials in a prehistoric barrow were dated to the sub-Roman period and included two headless and three prone burials; at Hooper's Field, Barrington (Cambs) (Gaz. 89) where a large Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery dated fifth to seventh century, located on the site of an enclosure with Romano-British rubbish pits, included a few unfurnished graves and one decapitated crouched burial; and at Burwell (Cambs) (Gaz. 91) where a cemetery with over 100 burials the majority having no grave goods, discovered near the site of an ancient church, included one decapitate burial with the skull beside the feet and one prone burial.

There are six instances of horse burials recorded in the region, several of which date from the sixth century. At Woodstone, Peterborough (Cambs) (Gaz. 25) inhumation burials and artifacts dating from the fifth/sixth century also included a burial with a horse. At Little Wilbraham (Cambs) (Gaz. 74) a sixth/seventh-century mixed inhumation/cremation cemetery which included a prone warrior burial, several multiple burials, burials with knives only and burials without grave goods, also produced a horse near a warrior burial. At Hunsbury Hill, Hardingstone (Northants) (Gaz. 449) a cemetery which was in use until the late seventh century yielded a horse in a grave accompanied by a circular bronze attachment plate with a central boss and four other bosses at the points of a cruciform star with four fishes set cruciformly. At Marston St. Lawrence (Northants) (Gaz. 453) a cemetery dated to the last part of the sixth century included a trail of burnt grain and a horse near a human burial. At Stone (Bucks) (Gaz. 481) seven skeletons of men and horses are thought to be Romano-British rather than

Anglo-Saxon, and at Little Linton Farm, Linton (Cambs) (Gaz. 2215) a deserted village site yielded Iron Age pottery, medieval gullies and a horse burial of unknown date. The only common denominator between these burials is that they are all located towards the periphery of the region (Fig. 43).¹

There are 25 instances of the possible re-use of prehistoric monuments for burial in the Anglo-Saxon period, and seven instances of the erection of possible primary burial mounds. Some have already been commented on in relation to other features, Gaz. Nos: 54, 74, 96, 436, 449, 484 and 2215. Several others can be ruled out, these are No. 82, at Hartford (Cambs) where the description recorded is of a Bronze Age inverted urn and Roman material; No. 485 at Dead Man's Slade, Leighton Buzzard (Beds) where the finds were made ¼ mile from tumuli; No. 901 at Aynho (Northants) where the primary burial, contracted in a small cist, appears more likely to be prehistoric than Anglo-Saxon, and No. 907 at Windmill Ave, Kettering (Northants), where the cinerary urn was said to be inverted and was therefore probably of Bronze Age date.

Of the sites with primary burials in mounds, No. 62 at Pegsdon Common, Shillington (Beds) has already been described in relation to a possible warrior burial, and No. 63 at Puddlehill (Beds) has also been described. It is possible that the burial in a mound at Allington Hill, Bottisham (Cambs) (Gaz. 69) was robbed at some stage prior to 1860, as a bronze mount, recorded at that time and later presented to the Ashmolean Museum,² was identical to one found on the breast of a disturbed skeleton in the same mound during excavations in 1876. A small primary barrow on the top of the inner

¹ For possible sources of this custom see below p. 226.

² Meaney *Gazetteer* p. 60; A. MacGregor and E. Bolick *A Summary Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon Collections (Non-Ferrous Metals)* B.A.R. (Br. Ser) 230 (Oxford, 1993) pp. 238-9. (hereafter MacGregor *Anglo-Saxon Collections*)

vallum inside the entrance to the Iron Age hill-fort at Borough Hill, Daventry (Northants) (Gaz. 440) contained human and animal remains. It is not possible to speculate whether the female burial recovered at Abington, Northampton (Northants) (Gaz. 456) was primary or secondary in a destroyed tumulus, and the same is the case at Cow Meadow, Northampton (Northants) (Gaz. 457) where a tumulus was levelled. Cremations recovered at Pitsford (Northants) (Gaz. 461) seem to have been primary in a barrow.

When doubtful sites are discounted, the remaining secondary burials in prehistoric monuments form a widely-spread but sparse distribution over the region (Fig. 44).

Hanging-bowls or possible hanging-bowls were present at six sites. The seventh-century cemetery at Marina Drive, Totternhoe (Beds) (Gaz. 68) included a female burial with a hanging-bowl escutcheon, burials with and without grave goods, a tightly crouched burial in a full-sized grave (reminiscent of burials already discussed at Yeavinger and The Hirsell), a burial with a knife beside the head and a child burial with a sheep-rib food offering. There is a hanging-bowl disc in the Ashmolean Museum from the sixth-century cemetery at Edix Hill Hole, Barrington (Cambs) (Gaz. 88); and a bowl with discs whose ornamentation is described as being similar to the Book of Durrow was found with the warrior burial at Hildersham (Cambs) (Gaz. 105), and another warrior burial, at Sawston (Cambs) (Gaz. 111) was accompanied by two bronze bowls one of which had triangular lugs. Skeletons discovered at Cransley (Northants) (Gaz. 444) were accompanied by artifacts which included a sword-blade, two circular bronze brooches, a work box and a bronze bowl which may have been a hanging-bowl, and artifacts found with inhumations about ½ mile west of a Roman site at Duston (Northants) (Gaz. 447) included weapons, fragments of a bronze bowl, Anglo-Saxon brooches, a penannular brooch and a circular brooch with coloured enamel. The enamelled escutcheons and

brooch are suggestive of contacts with an indigenous source.

Three sites produced crystal balls in bronze and gold slings, which suggest Kentish contacts; these are Gaz Nos. 57 at Kempston (Beds), 96 at Cherry Hinton (Cambs) and 2019 at Barrington C (Cambs). At the latter site a female burial was accompanied by a necklace, two gold/garnet pendants and a crystal ball in a gold sling. A total of 285 burials excavated at this site, ranging in date from the sixth to the seventh century, included two female 'bed burials', one of which was the richly furnished burial of a leper.

The clusters of cremation burial sites evident on Fig. 43, suggest that an indigenous rite of cremation may have been reinforced by a Germanic one, resulting in cemeteries with both Roman and Anglo-Saxon cremation urns.

The number of cemeteries of unaccompanied inhumations (coloured blue on Fig. 43), many of which represent cemeteries either situated close to, or directly associated with, early church sites, are a probable indication of a strong Christian element in the region by the late seventh/eighth century. The sites in question include Gaz. No. 90 at Bran Ditch, and 91 at Burwell (Cambs) already referred to. Especially notable is Desborough I (Northants) (Gaz. 445) which contained many unaccompanied burials in dug graves and one burial accompanied by a gold necklace with a central pendant cross, circular gold pendants and gold-mounted garnets datable to the seventh century, which may be indicative of a secular Christian cemetery possibly with Kentish connections.

Sites which may reflect extended early minster cemeteries include; Ecton (Northants)(Gaz. 488) where bones and skulls and a coin of Æthelred were found about 200 yds. from the church; and at The Rectory, Passenham (Northants)(Gaz. 910) where bones were found up to ¼ mile from the church. At Wing (Bucks)(Gaz. 923) burials

were found near the Anglo-Saxon church; and at the Vicarage Garden, Brixworth (Northants)(Gaz. 1132) radiocarbon dates from human bone place the burials in the eighth and ninth centuries.¹ In this latter case, it is very noticeable that several Anglo-Saxon inhumation and cremation cemeteries of the pagan period are located within a ½ mile radius of the church (Fig. 43). At All Saints Church, Earls Barton (Northants)(Gaz. 1157) unaccompanied W-E burials were found near the Saxon tower; and at Elstow Abbey (Beds)(Gaz. 1162) a sixth-century cremation was discovered beneath the church, and over 200 unaccompanied extended inhumations around the church. At Milton Keynes (Bucks)(Gaz. 1189) seven burials cut by a twelfth-century ditch were recovered in a field near the rectory. Also in Milton Keynes, at Shenley Brook End (Gaz.2015) an inhumation cemetery was associated with a late Iron Age field system and seventh/eighth century flax setting pits. At Barton (Cambs)(Gaz. 2020) and Dry Drayton (Cambs)(Gaz. 2021) W-E inhumations are presumed to be Anglo-Saxon, and at Biggleswade, Stratton (Beds)(Gaz. 2214) a small 'final phase' cemetery was located in a deserted medieval village.

A cemetery with uncommon burials is Newport Pagnell (Bucks)(Gaz. 480)² where skeletons laid in a radial manner, feet towards the centre, were accompanied by finds which included flint arrowheads, two double edged-swords, a socketed iron spearhead, a bronze brooch, bronze hair pin, beads, knives or daggers and pieces of charred wood (possible coffin remains?); animal bones were considered to have been the remains of a funeral feast. The possibility of a central burial is also suggested. The closest parallels

¹ R. Cramp, P. Everson, D.N.Hall, 'Brixworth Archaeological Research Committee Excavations at Brixworth, 1971 and 1972' *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* CXXX, 1977, pp. 73-4. HAR-484 - BP 1150±70 cal. AD 840±70; HAR-485 - BP 1200±80 = cal. AD 780±80.

² Meaney, *Gazetteer*, p. 58

for these burials are (1) the burials at Cuddesdon (Oxon)¹ (Gaz. 420) in the Upper Thames Valley, and (2) the burials in the western ring ditch at Yeavinger (Northumberland) (Gaz. 631) in Bernicia. However, there are important differences between these sites, for instance although the site at Cuddesdon also produced two swords, and had a central burial, the radial burials at that site were all prone, and the radial burials at Yeavinger were orientated on a post or posts and had no accompanying grave goods. Nevertheless, there may be some affinity, especially with the Cuddesdon burials.

Summary

Access to the eastern half of this region for the earliest Anglian settlers could have been gained from The Wash, then via the Great Ouse and river Cam, and to the west and south of the region via the upper Thames, the Icknield Way and the network of Roman roads which traversed the region. The Icknield Way defines a very obvious boundary between Middle Anglia and Essex.

Seven possible sentinel burials were recorded on the border with the East Saxons, and one possible on the western border with Mercia.

The rite of Iron Age crouched inhumation and Romano-British extended inhumation is recorded in the region, together with the rite of cremation which lasted until the fourth century. It is noticeable that while Romano-British type decapitations are present, there is no recorded instance of the wearing of hob-nailed footwear as in adjoining Mercia.

Many cemeteries contained some form of associated British burial rite, which in

¹ T.M. Dickinson *Cuddesdon and Dorchester-on-Thames* B.A.R. 1 (Oxford, 1974).

some cases may be seen as evidence for continuity, but in other cases only appears to indicate the re-use by Anglo-Saxons of an earlier cemetery. The evidence at two sites for burials burnt *in situ* would at first sight seem to be a strong pointer to continuity, but on closer examination it appears that these burials could belong in the Roman period. However the siting of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at these exact locations might indicate some type of continuity. The majority of the cemeteries with decapitated burials have no grave goods and are therefore undatable, but it is possible that some of these cemeteries continued to be used by the indigenous population alongside Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

An unusual rite in the area is horse burial, usually located towards the periphery of the region.

The re-use of prehistoric monuments and the erection of primary barrows is sparse throughout the region, and once again appears to be concentrated towards the periphery.

Six possible hanging-bowls have been recovered, four of which (Gaz.Nos. 68, 88, 105, 111) were located near the Icknield Way, and two (Gaz.Nos. 444 and 447) were in the north-west of the region, and the finding of three crystal balls in slings indicates Kentish connections in the seventh century.

The number of cemeteries with unaccompanied Anglo-Saxon inhumations, often located at or near early church sites, may be a reflection of the conversion of Middle Anglia initiated by Peada from the 'Celtic' Church in Northumbria about AD 653,¹ while the grave goods at Desborough (Gaz. 445) would suggest contacts in the seventh century with the Frankish Church possibly via Kent.

The cemetery with radial burials at Newport Pagnell (Gaz.480) points to a mixed

¹ HE iii 21; see also Chapter 3, p. 93.

cultural presence in Middle Anglia during the fifth to seventh centuries.

EAST ANGLIA

This region is defined as bordered by the sea on the north and east, by the river Stour on the south, by the Great Ouse and the river Cam on the west (Figs.45,46,47), and the Icknield Way provided a routeway from the Wash through the western part of the region.

Recognisable Iron Age burials have been found on the western and southern fringes of the region (Fig. 1), and a number of cremation and inhumation cemeteries of the Roman period have also been recorded (Figs. 2, 4, 14).

TABLE 12

Burials in East Anglia

KEY: Column headings: Gaz = database gazetteer number: in = inhumation: cr = cremation: or = orientation of burial: cb = crouched burial: pr = prone burial: dc - decapitated burial: n = burials with no grave goods: sc = secondary in prehistoric monument: pm = primary monument:ch = chamber grave: en = contemporary enclosure: a = artifacts only, no burial.
Column content: c = certain: p = possible: a = absent: - = no information recorded: v = various: fl = flexed: pn = penannular: an = annular: r = rectilinear.

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
1	Akenham Hall, Suf.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
2	Bardwell, Suf.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
3	Barnham Heath, Suf.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	c
4	Barrow Bottom, Suf.	c	c	we	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
7	Culford, Suf.	a	p	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	c
8	Eriswell I, Suf.	c	a	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	Exning, Cambs.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	Fakenham, Suf.	c	a	-	a	-	a	a	a	-	-	-	-
11	Fornham St Genevieve, Suf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
12	Mildenhall, Suf.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
13	Ixworth, Suf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	Ixworth Thorpe, Suf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	Lackford, Suf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	p	-	-	-	-	-
16	Lakenheath, Suf.	c	a	v	c	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
17	Mildenhall, Suf.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	Icklingham, Suf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
19	Pakenham, Suf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
20	Risby Heath, Suf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	c	-	-	-	-
21	West Stow Heath, Suf.	c	c	we	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
22	Tuddenham, Suf.	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	Mildenhall, Suf.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
27	Wretham, Norf.	c	c	we	fl	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
28	Bretenham, Norf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	-	-
29	Brettenham-Bridgham, Norf.	c	a	-	c	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
30	Hilgay, Norf.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
31	Thetford Warren, Norf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
32	Thetford III, Norf.	c	c	we	-	-	-	c	a	a	-	-	-
34	Thetford I, Norf.	c	c	sn	-	-	-	c	c	p	-	-	-
35	Snettisham, Norf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-
36	Shropham, Norf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	Rockland All Saints & St. Andrew, Norf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	Northwold, Norf.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	p	-	-	-
39	Mundford II, Norf.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
40	Mundford I, Norf.	c	a	we	a	a	a	c	a	-	-	-	-
41	Watton, Norf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
42	Sutton Hoo, Suf.	c	c	v	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	an	a
117	Kettlestone, Norf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	c	-	-	-

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
118	Hunstanton, Norf.	c	a	-	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
119	Castle Acre, Norf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	-	-
120	Holkam, Norf.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
121	Spong Hill, Nth. Elmham, Norf.	c	c	v	c	-	-	c	-	p	c	pn an r	-
122	Grimston, Norf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	a	-	-	-
123	Thornham, Norf.	c	a	we	fl	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
124	Sporle, Norf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	p	p	-	-	-
125	Little Snoring, Norf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
126	Sedgeford, Norf.	c	c	v	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
127	Nth.Runcton, Norf.	c	c	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
128	Narford, Norf.	c	c	sn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
129	Tottenhill, Norf.	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
130	Wallington, Norf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	-
131	Gt. Walsingham, Norf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	-
132	Wretton, Norf.	c	-	we	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
133	Little Walsingham, Norf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
723	Kirby Cane, Norf.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
724	Kenninghall I, Norf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
725	Foulden, Norf.	c	a	we?	-	-	-	c	a	a	-	-	-
726	Broome, Norf.	c	c	we	-	-	-	-	c	p	-	-	-
727	Brooke, Norf.	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
728	Gissing, Norf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
729	Badwell Ash, Suf.	c	c	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
730	Brightwell- Martlesham, Suf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	c	c	c	-	-	-
731	Bungay, Suf.	c	a	ew?	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
732	Eye, Suf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	p	a	-	-	-	-
733	Finningham, Suf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	-
734	Ipswich, Suf.	c	c	we	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
735	Pakefield, Suf.	c	-	-	-	-	-	a	a	c	-	-	-
736	Rendlesham, Suf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	-
737	Rickingham Inferior, Suf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
738	Snape, Suf.	c	c	v	c	-	-	p	c	c	c	an	-
739	Thorndon, Suf.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
740	Woodbridge, Suf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	c	-	-	-
741	Burgh Castle, Norf.	c	c	we	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
742	Markshall, Norf.	p	c	a	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	-	-
743	Langham, Norf.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
744	Drayton, Norf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	p	-	-	-	-	-
745	Caistor-by- Norwich, Norf.	c	c	v	c	c	c	c	a	a	-	-	-
746	Caister-on-Sea, Norf.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
747	Brundall II, Norf.	c	c	ns?	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
748	Brundall I, Norf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	-
749	Thorpe, Norf.	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
750	Wolterton, Norf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	-
819	Yarmouth, Norf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	-
820	Norwich, Norf.	p	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
821	Poringland, Norf.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
822	Smallburgh, Norf.	p	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
823	Bale, Norf.	a	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
824	Mulbarton, Norf.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
825	Wortham, Suf.	c	a	-	-	-	a	c	a	-	-	-	-
826	Ufford, Suf.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
827	Waldringfield, Suf.	a	p	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	c
828	Wickham Market, Suf.	p	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	c
829	Bungay, Suf.	-	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
830	Sutton, Suf.	-	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
831	Redgrave, Suf.	a	p	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	c

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
832	Melton, Suf.	p	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	c
833	Kesgrave, Suf.	a	p	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	c
834	Hoxne, Suf.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
835	Coddenham, Suf.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
836	Chillesford, Suf.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	p	-	-	-
837	Bramford, Suf.	a	p	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	c
838	Braiseworth, Suf.	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
839	Botesdale, Suf.	a	p	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	c
840	Badley, Suf.	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
841	Stockton, Norf.	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
842	Hargham, Norf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	-	-
843	Old Buckenham, Norf.	a	p	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	c
844	Earsham, Norf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	c	-	-	-
845	Gt. Ellingham, Norf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
846	Kenninghall II, Norf.	a	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
847	Undley, Suf.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
980	Langham, Suf.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
981	Herringswell, Suf.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
982	Freckenham, Suf.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
983	Little Conard, Suf.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1005	Wereham, Norf.	-	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1006	Weasenham, Norf.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	c
1007	Wormegay, Norf.	a	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1008	Beechamwell, Norf.	c	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
1009	Gt. Carbrooke, Norf.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	c
1010	Dersingham, Norf.	a	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1035	Wangford, Suf.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1036	Stanton, Suf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1037	Gt. Thurlow, Suf.	p	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	c

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
1038	Tostock, Suf.	p	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	c
1100	Merton, Norf.	p	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	c
1101	Lynford, Norf.	a	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1102	Methwold, Norf.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1104	Narborough, Norf.	-	p	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	c
1105	Oxborough I, Norf.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1121	Barton Bendish, Norf.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1123	Bergh Apton, Norf.	c	a	v	-	-	a	c	a	-	p	-	-
1130	Brandon, Suf.	c	a	we	-	-	a	c	a	a	-	-	-
1135	Bury St.Edmunds II, Suf.	c	a	-	-	-	a	p	-	-	-	-	-
1136	Bury St.Edmunds I, Suf.	c	c	v	c	c	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
1138	Butley, Suf.	c	a	we	-	-	a	c	a	a	-	-	-
1167	Field Dalling, Norf.	c	c	-	-	-	a	c	a	a	-	-	-
1184	Little Bealings, Suf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-
1192	Morning Thorpe, Norf.	c	c	v	-	-	-	c	p	c	a	pn an r	-
1195	Mundesley, Norf.	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	-
1198	Nth. Elmham, Norf.	c	a	we?	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
1201	Norwich, Norf.	c	a	-	-	-	a	c	a	-	-	-	-
1202	Norwich, Norf.	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
1203	Norwich, Norf.	c	a	we	a	-	a	c	a	a	-	-	-
1226	Swaffham, Norf.	c	a	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-	-
1229	Thetford II, Norf.	c	a	v	-	-	c	c	p	-	-	-	-
1230	Thetford, Norf.	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
2086	Caistor St. Edmund, Norf.	c	a	v	c	-	-	c	c	a	p	-	-
2087	Oxborough II, Norf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
2088	Sedgeford, Norf.	c	a	we	-	-	a	c	a	-	-	-	-
2089	Shouldham, Norf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
2111	Barham, Suf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
2114	Flixton, Suf.	c	a	we	a	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	-
2115	Iken, Suf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
2116	Ipswich, Suf.	c	c	we	-	-	-	c	a	p	c	-	-
2117	Ipswich, Suf.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
2118	Ipswich, Suf.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
2119	Ipswich, Suf.	c	a	we?	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
2120	Ipswich, Suf.	c	a	we?	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
2121	Ipswich, Suf.	c	a	we?	-	-	-	c	a	p	c	p	-

In any investigation of burial in East Anglia, attention generally focuses first on the area around the estuaries of the rivers Orwell, Deben and Alde in Suffolk (Figs. 45, 46, 47).

Of the 27 burial sites recorded in that confined region, nine are find-spots of artifacts only, and include: sixth-century cruciform brooches from Akenham Hall (Gaz.1) and Ufford (Gaz. 826); single cinerary urns from Waldringfield (Gaz. 827), Kesgrave (Gaz. 833), Baylam House Farm, Coddendam (Gaz. 835) and Bramford (Gaz. 837); a Byzantine bronze bowl containing fragments of a bone comb from Wickham Market (Gaz. 828); and a bronze hanging-bowl with *champlevé* enamelling, a smaller bowl and a pot containing numerous Roman coins (hoard?) at Needham Market, Badley (Gaz.840). An unexcavated barrow presumed to be Anglo-Saxon is recorded at Chillesford (Gaz.836).

Six other sites are cemeteries dateable to the post seventh-century period, and include the inhumation cemetery near the church at Chapel Fields, Barham (Gaz.2111); pre-Norman burials at the minster church at Iken (Gaz. 2115); three undated burials at

Cox Lane, Ipswich (Gaz.2117); over 100 medieval burials from Lr. Brook Street, Ipswich (Gaz. 2118); burials from the Blackfriars site at School Street and Foundation Street, Ipswich (Gaz.2119); and burials from Greyfriars Road and St. Peter's Street, Ipswich (Gaz.2120). The remaining sites provide the basis for examination of early Anglo-Saxon burial practices.

A feature almost unique to East Anglia is ship-burial or on occasion 'pseudo' boat-burial, that is the use of ships' timbers to line or cover a grave.¹ Parallels for this custom are recorded in central Sweden in the mid-sixth century², and on the west coast of Norway in the Migration period where ship-burial continued to be used, together with the substitute use of planks from clinker-built boats, until the tenth century.³

The relevant sites include Snape (Gaz.738) overlooking the estuary of the Alde, where (a) the remains of a boat discovered in a secondary position in a Bronze Age mound contained a gold finger ring with a Roman intaglio dated to after AD 625, (b) a log-boat 3 metres long excavated in 1985-9 contained a warrior inhumation burial, and (c) a further inhumation appears to have been covered by part of a boat. At Sutton Hoo (Gaz. 42) ship burials included a warrior inhumation in Mound 1 placed in a chamber in a ship, dated to about AD 625 based on grave goods and historical associations⁴, a warrior inhumation in Mound 2 placed in a chamber beneath a ship, and in Mound 3 a cremation (human and a horse) placed on an oak tray or a dugout boat. At Burrow Hill,

¹ The only recorded example of the use of ships' timbers outside East Anglia is at St. Peter's Church, Barton-on-Humber in Lindsey (Gaz.1122) in a post-seventh century context.

² J. Hines *The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England in the pre-Viking Period* B.A.R. (Br. Ser) 124 (Oxford, 1984) pp. 287-8 (hereafter Hines *Scandinavian-Anglian England*).

³ C. Blindheim, B. Heyerdahl-Larssen, *Kaupang-Funnene* Bind II (Oslo 1995) p. 138.

⁴ *Bulletin of the Sutton Hoo Research Committee* No. 8. July 1993. p. 17

Butley (Gaz. 1138) which in the Anglo-Saxon period was an island located between the rivers Deben and Alde, an inhumation cemetery dating from the late seventh to the ninth centuries¹ included W-E burials in coffins of boat and 'bath tub' form, as well as graves with re-used ships timbers. Indications are that the cemetery, which had no grave-goods, may have been associated with a monastic settlement. One other East Anglian site, at Caister-on-Sea (Norfolk) (Gaz. 746), was near the harbour and contained seventh-century inhumations which were covered by planks from a ship's side. The evidence from this latter site, together with the burials from Burrow Hill and Barton-on-Humber, must lead to the conclusion that this originally pagan rite continued to be used into the Christian period by people whose life was closely linked with the sea.

Another unusual burial rite in East Anglia was the custom of depositing cremations in bronze bowls, a custom which originated in the early Migration period in western Norway.² Examples from East Anglia include a cremation in a bronze bowl excavated in 1972 at Snape (Gaz.738) near the ship burial which had been excavated in 1862. At Sutton Hoo (Gaz. 42) bowls wrapped in textiles and containing cremations were found in Mounds 4, 6, 7 and 18, and in Mound 5 (surrounded by its well-documented satellite burials) a bowl wrapped in textile was accompanied by other objects including a silver-mounted cup. At nearby Brightwell-Martlesham (Gaz. 730), a primary mound located among prehistoric mounds contained a bronze vessel, with two triangular lugs, wrapped in a linen cloth and containing human and animal cremated remains. Still in East Anglia, but outside the south-east region, a cremation of human and animal

¹ V. Fenwick, 'Insula de Burgh: Excavations at Burrow Hill, Butley, Suffolk', *ASSAH* 3 (1984) pp. 37, 52 note 4. C14 date for an early phase of the cemetery is given as HAR-2897 = 1170±80 BP, estimated at AD780.

² Hines, *Scandinavian-Anglian England*, pp. 273-4.

remains in a bronze bowl was recorded at the cremation cemetery at Illingham, Wretham (Norfolk) (Gaz. 27). To judge from their content and context these cremations represent individuals of high social status, and where dateable they fall into a sixth/early seventh-century context.

Not all the burial rites in the region were the result of overseas connections; the deposition of burials in wooden burial chambers was an indigenous rite used in the immediate surrounding areas during the Iron Age and Roman period (Fig. 6)¹ which continued to be used in the Anglo-Saxon period (Figs. 47, 48). It is possible that knowledge of this rite survived perhaps in oral tradition among the indigenous population. This idea is not as far-fetched as it might at first seem: Scull has postulated a native Romano-British element in the population of East Anglia in the sixth century,² and there is evidence for the survival of an indigenous element in burials at the cemeteries at Morning Thorpe (Norfolk) (Gaz.1192) and Spong Hill (Norfolk) (Gaz. 121) which contained two chamber graves.³

Two chamber graves are directly associated with ships at Sutton Hoo: in Mound 1 the chamber which contained a warrior burial was constructed inside the ship, and in Mound 2 a warrior burial placed in a wooden chamber beneath a ship is dated late sixth/early seventh century. The third chamber burial at Sutton Hoo, in Mound 14, also dated late sixth/early seventh century, contained a possible female burial, but was not associated with a ship. The cemetery at Snape (Gaz. 738) included two chamber graves lined with organic material. In Ipswich, a chamber grave at Boss Hall Industrial Estate,

¹ Chapter 1. pp. 32-4.

² C. Scull, 'Further evidence from East Anglia for Enamelling on Early Anglo-Saxon Metalwork' in *ASSAH* 4 (Oxford, 1985) pp. 120-2.

³ discussed in greater detail below p. 226-8.

Sproughton Road (Gaz. 2116) contained a warrior burial, probably originally covered by a mound and encircled by four cremation burials, and at Buttermarket (Gaz. 2121) some burials are said to have been in chamber graves. Still in East Anglia, but outside the immediate area under discussion, in the inhumation part of the cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham (Norfolk) (Gaz. 121) two sixth-century chamber graves (Nos. 31, 40) were constructed of timber and turf and enclosed within shallow ring-ditches (Fig. 49). Both chambers contained high-status warrior burials, apparently the most important burials in the cemetery.¹ It has been suggested that the large grave containing a male and female double coffin burial (graves 19 a-b) at Harford Farm, Caistor St. Edmond (Norfolk) (Gaz. 2086) might constitute a chamber,² and at Bergh Apton (Norfolk) (Gaz. 1123) a large grave (2m x 1.25m x 40cm deep) lined with wood containing a male with spearhead, knife etc., seems to be a chamber-grave.³ A late-Roman parallel for these burials is provided at Kelvedon, Essex (Fig. 6 No. 25) where one chamber grave was central within a penannular enclosure while another was placed in the north-east entrance to the enclosure.⁴

Horse burial is a custom which was in use from the Roman to Viking periods in Europe and as far north as Iceland.⁵ Its introduction into East Anglia may therefore have spread via the same route as the ideas of ship burial and the deposition of cremation

¹ C. Hills, K. Penn, R. Rickett, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham Part III*, Catalogue of Inhumations. EAA report No. 21 (1984) pp. 6, 10, 81-2, 91-5. (hereafter Hills *Spong Hill*).

² Personal comment, Kenneth Penn, who has kindly permitted reference to this as yet unpublished excavation. (hereafter Penn 'Harford Farm').

³ B. Green, A. Rogerson, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Bergh Apton, Norfolk* EAA report 7. (Gressenhall, 1978) p. 4 fig. 4, p. 46 fig. 60.

⁴ Chapter 1. pp. 33-4.

⁵ V. Evison, *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Great Chesterford, Essex*. CBA Research Report 91 (York, 1994) p. 29. (hereafter Evison, *Great Chesterford*).

in bronze bowls. At Sutton Hoo the cremation burials in Mounds 3 and 4 were accompanied by cremated horse-bone, and the warrior inhumation in Mound 17 was accompanied by a horse in a parallel grave. At Snape a horse's head, complete with bridle and bit, was discovered in a pit and was possibly associated with the warrior burial in a small boat. Horse burials elsewhere in East Anglia include Earsham (Norfolk) (Gaz. 844) where a horse-bit was recovered in one of the mounds of a cremation cemetery, and horse bones occur in male cremations at Illingham, Wretham (Norfolk) (Gaz. 27). Two cemeteries secondary in prehistoric barrows, close to the Icknield Way, at Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham (Gaz. 18) and Warren Hill, Mildenhall (Suffolk) (Gaz. 23) have also produced evidence for horse burial. As several of the sites with horse burial are located close to the Icknield Way it is possible that the custom of burying a horse with a warrior appeared first in East Anglia, and from there spread to Middle Anglia and north Essex.

At Spong Hill, where the majority rite was cremation from the late fifth century, there is possible evidence for the contemporary inhumation burial of indigenous people who may have been absorbed into Anglo-Saxon families, but who still retained older burial rites: inhumation graves Nos. 44, 47, 9, 10 (coloured red on Fig. 49) dated to the sixth century may fall into this category. The skull of the female burial in grave No. 44, associated with the chamber grave No. 40, has been identified as being dolichocephalic like Romano-British skulls from Brandon¹ and although accompanied by dress-fittings similar to other Anglo-Saxon female burials, the burial was atypical in that it was crouched with the head to the east in the manner of some Iron Age indigenous burials. Female burial No. 47, also associated with No 40, was crouched but with the head to the west. This burial, which was accompanied only by pot-sherds, had large flints

¹ Hills, *Spong Hill*, pp. 16, 98.

in the grave-fill, ¹ and its association with burials 44 and 40 may be significant. Burial 19, probably female, on the northern fringe of the cemetery, was crouched with head to the east and accompanied by two annular brooches in the same manner as burial 44. Burial 10 is atypical in that it was an extended W-E inhumation in a coffin with no grave goods, while its immediate neighbours, Nos. 2 and 13, had typical Anglo-Saxon grave goods.² Coffined burial 35, located close to one of the circular enclosures, also had no grave goods. If these burials could be placed in a seventh century context one would suggest that they were Christian Anglo-Saxon burials, but the cemetery is dated to the sixth century, and the burials are coffined³ in the same manner as many of the burials with sixth-century grave goods.

The unusually high number of nine penannular brooches in burials in the Morning Thorpe cemetery (Gaz. 1192) three of them worn singly at the neck/shoulder area in a British or Celtic manner, may also indicate the presence of people with indigenous origins. The most interesting example is burial 403, sex unknown, orientated W-E in a grave lined with flints (perhaps imitating slab-lining): near the neck was one copper-alloy penannular brooch with disc terminals, described as being of Fowler type H 2/3,⁴ (Fig. 51 a), at the waist was an iron knife and at the foot end was an iron staple. The grave was cut by burial No. 160 which contained one cruciform and two annular brooches (all

¹ Hills, *Spong Hill*, p. 102.

² Hills, *Spong Hill*, pp.58, 50-51.

³ Coffins were identified by stains and wood fragments, and contained no nails.

⁴ B. Green, A. Rogerson, S.G.White, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Morning Thorpe, Norfolk* Vol. 1: Catalogue. pp. 157, 165-6; Vol. II, p. 356. (hereafter Green et.al. *Morning Thorpe*). This type of brooch is dated by Fowler to between the fifth and eighth centuries, and an interesting example is one such brooch from Ervey Crannóg, Co. Meath, Ireland (Fig. 51 b), which is dated to approximately the ninth century. E. Fowler, 'Celtic metalwork of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. a re-appraisal', *Archaeol. Jour.* 120 (1963) pp. 111-2, 143-4. Youngs *Work of Angels* pp. 88, 102.

repaired), thereby dating burial 403 possibly to the earlier sixth century. Burial 43¹ also contained one penannular brooch of Fowler's type A2 at the neck and an iron buckle in the waist area. Grave 369 contained two female burials, a collection of wrist-clasps, two iron knives, an annular brooch, and one copper-alloy penannular brooch of Fowler type D² which appears to have to have been the only brooch present in one of the burials. Several other burials which had Anglo-Saxon brooches also had penannular brooches and evidence that some of these burials were among the earliest in the cemetery was provided by the fact that burials No. 403, 328, and 378 were cut by later graves. Grave 104³ might also be included in this group of burials with possible indigenous connections, because it is atypical in that it was oriented N-S and contained no grave goods,

Square-ditched features which one would normally associate with an older burial practice were present at both Morning Thorpe and Spong Hill (Figs. 49, 50.), but unfortunately in neither case was there any evidence that these features surrounded a specific burial, so their purpose remains unknown.

A double grave (No. 148) at Morning Thorpe had post-holes at the four corners. Unfortunately these may be associated with eight other post-holes (purpose unknown) in the same area, and therefore cannot be positively regarded as part of a structure specifically associated with this grave.⁴

Several cemeteries in East Anglia are known to occupy locations previously occupied by the British population, and other cemeteries have produced Roman objects,

¹ Green et.al. *Morning Thorpe* Vol. I, pp. 47, 165; Vol. II, p. 213, fig. 310.

² Green et.al., *Morning Thorpe*, Vol. I, pp. 143-4, 165-6; Vol. II, p. 330, fig. 427.

³ Green et.al. Vol. I, p. 64.

⁴ Green et.al., *Morning Thorpe*, Vol. I, pp. 1, 76-7; Vol. II, pp. 248-9, figs. 345-6.

but it is unclear whether anything other than fortuitous re-use is to be inferred.

The cremation cemeteries at Yarmouth (Norfolk) (Gaz. 819) which produced a coin of Constantine and of Augustine, and Lynnford (Norfolk) (Gaz. 1101) may both be late Roman in date.

Anglo-Saxon cemeteries located at known Roman forts, settlements, villas and towns include Burgh Castle (Norfolk) (Gaz. 741), Stanton Chair, Stanton (Suffolk) (Gaz. 1036), Great Thurlow (Suffolk) (Gaz. 1037), Brettenham-Bridgham (Norfolk) (Gaz. 29, Thornham (Norfolk) (Gaz. 123), Caister-on-Sea (Norfolk) (Gaz. 746), and Caistor by Norwich (Norfolk) (Gaz. 745). The inhumation burials at this latter cemetery, which also contained a large number of fifth-seventh century cremations, were dated mainly to the seventh century and included two W-E prone burials without grave goods, a decapitated male burial, E-W, with the head at the knees with no grave goods but many animal bones in the grave-fill above the body: there were also many instances of multiple burial.

The deliberate utilisation of prehistoric barrows and the construction of imitative primary mounds evident in the south-east quadrant of East Anglia (Fig. 46) suggests a clear case of a rising dynasty uniting its own ancestors with those of supplanted local rulers. The cemeteries at Sutton Hoo and Snape both lay among prehistoric burials. Primary barrows were constructed at Brightwell-Martlesham (Suffolk) (Gaz. 730) to contain a cremation in a bronze vessel; at Woodbridge (Suffolk) (Gaz. 740) to contain a male burial with a spear; at Boss Hall, Ipswich (Gaz. 2116) to cover a chamber grave. Small ring-ditches around burials at Buttermarket, Ipswich (Gaz. 2121) may indicate the presence there of primary barrows.

Throughout the remainder of East Anglia, burials in secondary and primary

monuments were located at or near major routeways, with the largest concentration along the Icknield Way (Fig. 46). These include the late sixth-century cemetery with primary cremation barrows at Earsham (Norfolk) (Gaz. 844), which later became the site of a church; and the cremation cemetery with small barrows located at Pensthorpe, Fakenham (Norfolk) (Gaz. 117). The shallow annular ditches surrounding chamber-graves 31 and 40 at Spong Hill, and burials 38 and 227 at Morning Thorpe, may have been quarry ditches for small barrows. At Blood Moore Hill, Pakefield (Suffolk) (Gaz. 735) a seventh-century burial accompanied by a garnet necklace, Roman coins in settings and a crystal engraved with a cross, appears to have been within a primary barrow. Several of the burials recovered in and around Thetford graveyard (Norfolk) (Gaz. 34) and Northwold (Norfolk) (Gaz. 38), were in prehistoric tumuli, and others were in primary barrows. Warrior burials at Sporle (Norfolk) (Gaz. 124) and Broome (Norfolk) (Gaz. 726) were placed in probable primary barrows located among prehistoric ones.

Secondary burials in prehistoric monuments have also been noted in Suffolk at Barnham Heath (Gaz.3), Barrow Bottom (Gaz. 4), Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham (Gaz. 18), Risby Heath (Gaz. 20), Warren Hill, Mildenhall (Gaz. 23), Flixton Park, Flixton (Gaz. 2114); and in Norfolk at Langham (Gaz. 743), Poringland (Gaz. 821), Smallburgh (Gaz. 822), Weasenham (Gaz. 1006), and Knight's Hill, Great Carbrooke (Gaz. 1009). The cemetery at Harford Farm, Caistor St. Edmund (Norfolk)(Gaz. 2086) dated to the seventh/eighth century, is located at the site of prehistoric burial monuments which were probably visible in the Anglo-Saxon period, as were burials dated to the sixth century at Oxborough (Norfolk) (Gaz. 2087). Finally, a record dated c. 1600 for Narborough (Norfolk) (Gaz. 1104)¹ indicates that a Clement Spelman had dug up many human bones

¹ Meaney *Gazetteer* p. 179.

and pieces of armour thirty years previously in a 'burg' (translated as a tumulus).

There are no obvious sentinel-type burials on the East Anglian borders, unless of course the warrior burials overlooking the estuaries of the rivers Deben and Alde at Sutton Hoo and Snape might be regarded as guardians against incursions from the sea. It might therefore be inferred that East Anglians did not feel particularly threatened from Middle Anglia or from Essex.

Four of the five findspots with certain or possible hanging bowls are concentrated in the south-east quadrant. The material from Sutton Hoo requires no comment, except that it further emphasises the multi-faceted contacts or influences concentrated at that place. The bronze vessel which contained cremated remains at Brightwell/Martlesham (Suffolk) (Gaz. 730) is described as having two triangular lugs. A hanging bowl with triangular escutcheons and millefiori in Ipswich Museum is from the mixed inhumation/cremation cemetery at Hadleigh Road (Gaz. 734), and one of the bowls recovered at Needham Market, Badley (Suffolk) (Gaz. 840) has *champlèvé* enamel decoration, an enamelled circular disc on the base, and zoomorphic handles with rings for suspension. Near the coast in the northern part of East Anglia, a silvered escutcheon from a hanging-bowl and a bronze disc with animal interlace were recovered from a seventh-century cemetery within a Roman signal station at Thornham (Norfolk) (Gaz. 123).

The use of penannular enclosures around burials in the sixth century at Spong Hill and Morning Thorpe is unusual, and may represent the earliest Anglo-Saxon use of this feature. The closest parallel is probably the penannular ditch of the late Roman period at Kelvedon (Essex) already referred to.

Several cemeteries indicate continued use from the sixth century until the eighth,

when much of the population was probably at least nominally Christian, confirming that pagans and Christians could at this period be buried in the same cemetery.¹ Examples include the cemetery at Boss Hall, Sproughton Road, Ipswich (Gaz. 2116) where inhumation, cremation, and a chamber grave, dated to the late sixth/early seventh century, also included a female burial with a bag containing rich objects suggesting a Kentish connection, including a pendant Merovingian coin of Sigebert III (AD 634-656), and a sceatta dated AD 700. Is this a case of a Christian burial in a familial or ancestral cemetery? At Buttermarket, Ipswich (Gaz. 2121) which included coffined burials, chambered graves and a small ring ditches, the cemetery is dated to the seventh/eighth centuries. The excavator of that cemetery has noted a change-over from early seventh-century burials with grave goods, to later burials without grave goods. In the ninth century, streets were laid across the disused cemetery.²

At Red Castle, Thetford (Norfolk) (Gaz. 32) burials associated with a small church were preceded by at least one cremation burial. The cemetery at Caister on Sea (Norfolk) (Gaz. 746), with seventh-century burials covered by ships' timbers, continued to be used until the ninth century when one burial contained a penny of Ecgberht c. AD 825-35 beneath its head. The cemetery at Harford Farm, Caistor St. Edmund (Norfolk) (Gaz. 2086) was located among Bronze Age barrows, and included double burials, burials dated to the seventh century, with and without grave goods, and several rich female graves, one of which contained two coins dated to c. AD 700. It would appear that some at least of the burials in this secular cemetery, which was set among putative ancestors, could be Christian.

¹ For documentary evidence for this phenomenon see Chapter 4, p. 111-4. .

² Excavator K. Wade. *Med. Arch.* 33 (1989) p. 209.

No survey of East Anglia would be complete without mentioning Burgh Castle (Norfolk) (Gaz. 741), reputedly the site of the monastery founded at Cnobheresburg after AD 630 by the Irish monk Fursa. Eighteenth-century records indicate that Anglo-Saxon cremations and urns were found near the east wall of the Roman fort, together with an urn containing corn and covered by a flat stone.¹ Excavations during 1958-61 revealed a possible Anglo-Saxon wooden church and a cemetery containing 164 W-E inhumation burials. Radiocarbon dates for bone from three burials, No.37 HAR-3794 = 910 AD $\pm$ 80; No.121 HAR-3795 = 660AD $\pm$ 70; No.122 HAR-3804 = 720 AD $\pm$ 70² indicate that the cemetery dates from the seventh century thereby strengthening the possibility that it may represent the site of Fursa's foundation. The only personal object recovered from a burial at the site was a spiral toe-ring!³

Summary

The burial evidence suggests that East Anglians absorbed a complex of burial rites from several cultures or sources.

The rite of cremation which the Anglians introduced in the fifth century appears in some cemeteries to have combined with, and absorbed, the remnants of an already existing late-Roman cremation culture. In other cemeteries cremation co-existed with inhumation until the seventh century.

The deposition of cremations, often of warrior burials, in bronze bowls and of cremation and inhumations in ships and 'pseudo' ships, were rites absorbed through

¹ Meaney, *Gazetteer*, pp. 226-7; S. Johnson, *Burgh Castle: Excavations by Charles Green, 1958-61* EAA 20 (Gressenhall, 1983), p. 120 (hereafter Johnson, *Burgh Castle*).

² Johnson, *Burgh Castle*, pp. 111-2.

³ The only known parallels for this are of Iron Age date. See Chapter 1. p. 44.

contacts with Scandinavia. The use of chambers and enclosures for burial were possibly the result of contacts with indigenous peoples from south of the river Stour (Fig.6) evidence for whose possible presence is also to be found among Anglians in the cemeteries at Spong Hill and Morning Thorpe.

Horse burials associated with warriors in East Anglia may have initiated the spread of this custom to Middle Anglia.

Secondary burials in prehistoric monuments and imitative primary barrows, located throughout the region, suggest a desire to be associated with local ancestors.

The lack of possible sentinel-type warrior burials on the south and west borders suggests some sense of security, but the burials around the estuaries of the Deben and Alde, apart from making a statement, may have had a secondary role as guardians against incursions from the sea.

Several cemeteries display the characteristics of secular familial or ancestral burial places where pagan and Christian burials could take place, and which remained in use until the eighth/ninth centuries.

EAST SAXONS

The bounds of East Saxon territory in the early Anglo-Saxon period are difficult to establish, although at some time during that period the territory appears to have included not only Essex but also Middlesex, south-east Hertfordshire and Surrey.¹ While recognising that in the seventh century Surrey enjoyed semi-independent status for a time² before being finally absorbed, together with Middlesex, into Mercia in the eighth century,³ for the purposes of this study I have defined the territory of the East Saxons in the early period as being bounded on the north and north-west by the river Stour and the Icknield Way, on the west by part of the river Thames and its tributary the river Wey, and on the south by the Ridgeway where it skirts the Weald before entering Kent (Figs. 52-54).

The region was well populated in the Iron Age and Roman periods, and this is reflected in the location, context, and content of some of its Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

¹ Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, p. 46.

² J. Blair, 'Frithuwold's kingdom and the origins of Surrey', *Basset Kingdoms* pp. 97-122.

³ Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms*, p. 47.

TABLE 13

East Saxon burials

KEY: Column headings: Gaz = database gazetteer number: in = inhumation: cr = cremation: or = orientation of burial: cb = crouched burial: pr = prone burial: dc = decapitated burial: n = burials with no grave goods: sc = secondary in prehistoric monument: pm = primary monument: ch = chamber grave: en = contemporary enclosure: a = artifacts only, no burial. Column content: c = certain: p = possible: a = absent: - = no information recorded: v = various: fl = flexed: pn = penannular: an = annular: r = rectilinear.

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
43	Broomfield, Esx.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	a	c	-	-
44	Great Chesterford, Esx.	c	c	v	c	c	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
45	Colchester, Esx.	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	a	-	-	-	-
46	Kelvedon (Feering) Esx.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	p	p	-	-	-
47	Saffron Waldon, Esx.	c	a	we	c	c	-	c	a	-	-	r?	-
48	Wendens Ambo, Esx.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
49	Witham, Esx.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-	-
76	Pirton, Herts.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
77	Furneux Pelham, Herts.	c	a	ns	a	-	-	a	a	-	-	-	-
78	Ippollitts, Herts.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-	-
79	Kings Walden, Herts	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-	-
80	Therfield Heath, Herts.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
81	Wheathampstead, Herts.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
167	Hanwell, Gt.Lond.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
168	Northolt Manor, Gt.Lond.	c	a	v	c	a	a	c	a	a	a	-	-
169	Shepperton I, Sur.	c	c	we	c	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
170	Shepperton II Sur.	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	p	c	-	-	-
171	Prittlewell, Esx.	c	a	v	c	c	-	p	a	-	-	-	-
172	Rainham, Esx.	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	p	-	-	-	-
173	Southchurch, Esx.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-	-
220	Ashted, Sur.	c	a	v	c	c	c	c	a	-	-	-	-

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
221	Banstead I, Sur.	c	-	ew	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
223	Banstead II, Sur.	c	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
224	Beddington, Gt. Lond.	c	c	we	-	-	-	c	p	c	-	-	-
225	Coulsdon, Gt. Lond.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
226	Croydon, Gt. Lond.	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
227	Carshalton, Gt. Lond.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
228	Esher, Sur.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
229	Ewell, Sur.	c	c	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
230	Coulsdon, Gt. Lond.	c	a	v	c	c	-	c	a	c	p	-	-
231	Fetcham, Sur.	c	a	we	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
233	Mickleham, Sur.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
234	Mitcham, Gt. Lond.	c	a	v	c	c	c	c	p	a	-	-	-
235	Purley II, Gt. Lond.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	p	-	-	-	-
236	Sanderstead, Gt. Lond.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
490	Hitcham, Bucks.	p	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	c
491	Taplow, Bucks.	c	a	ew	-	a	a	a	a	c	c	-	-
492	High Wycombe, Bucks.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
528	Guildford I, Sur.	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
529	Guildford, Sur.	c	c	v	fl	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
530	Worplesden, Sur.	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	c	c	-	-	-
751	Loudwater, Bucks.	-	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
761	Eashing, Sur.	c	a	sn	-	c	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
762	Thursley, Sur.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
848	Birdbrook, Esx.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
849	Dovercourt, Esx.	-	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
850	Clacton, Esx.	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	p	p	-	-	c
1021	Hitchin, Herts.	p	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1022	Ashwell, Herts.	c	a	-	-	-	p	c	-	-	-	-	-
1032	Heybridge, Esx.	c	p	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
1033	Nazeingbury, Esx.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
1034	Goldhanger, Esx.	p	-	-	-	-	-	a	p	p	-	-	c

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
1043	Walton-on-Thames, Sur.	-	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1044	Wallington, Gt. Lond.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
1045	Purley I, Gt. Lond.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
1046	Fetcham, Sur.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1047	Effingham, Sur.	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
1048	Dorking, Sur.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1049	Cheam, Gt. Lond.	p	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	c
1050	Cobham, Sur.	p	-	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	c
1051	Addington Pk. Sur.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	p	-	-	c
1059	Gt. Stambridge, Esx.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1060	Shoeburyness, Esx.	c	a	rad	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
1061	Shepperton III, Sur.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1062	Hockley, Esx.	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	c
1063	London, Gt. Lond.	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1098	East Horsley, Sur.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
1106	Sandridge, Herts.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1113	Banstead Common, Sur.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	c	-	-	-
1116	Orsett, Esx.	c	a	ew	fl	-	a	a	c	-	-	pn	-
1146	Colchester, Esx.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	a	-	-	-
1174	Hadstock, Esx.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
1193	Mucking, Esx.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
1194	Mucking, Esx.	c	c	v	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
1196	Nazeingbury, Esx.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	p	-	-	-	-
1212	Rivenhall, Esx	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	p	p	-	-	-
1215	Shepperton IV, Sur.	c	a	we	-	-	a	c	a	-	-	-	-
1221	Springfield Lyons, Esx.	c	c	-	-	-	-	c	c	p	-	pn an	-
1222	St. Albans, Herts.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	p	a	-	-	-
1232	Waltham Abbey, Esx.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	a	-	-	-
1241	Wicken Bonhunt, Esx.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	p	-	-	-	-

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
2042	Alresford, Esx.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	a	-	a? p?	-
2043	Stifford Clays, Thurrock, Esx.	c	c	v	c	-	-	c	a	-	p	pn	-
2044	Nth.Shoebury, Esx.	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	a	-	-	-	-
2066	St. Albans, Herts.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	a	-	-	-
2145	London, Gt. Lond.	c	a	ns	-	-	-	c	a	a	-	-	-
2146	London, Gt. Lond.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	a	-	-	-
2147	Westminster, Gt.Lond.	c	a	-	a	c	a	c	a	a	-	-	-
2149	Westminster, Gt. Lond.	c	a	we	-	-	-	a	a	a	-	-	-
2150	Aldgate,Gt.Lond.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	a	-	-	-
2151	City, Gt. Lond.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
2152	Westminster, Gt.Lond.	c	a	sn	-	-	-	p	a	a	-	-	-

Several burial sites recorded in the table as Anglo-Saxon may in fact have been purely Romano-British. These include (Fig. 52), burials beside a Roman road at Birdbrook (Essex) (Gaz. 848) which had no grave-goods, and probably represent a Roman road-side cemetery; seven burials, with no grave goods except for a bronze finger ring, in a rectangular ditch 52m x 34m, at Slip End, Ashwell, (Herts) (Gaz. 1022), possibly late-or-post-Roman; the late-Roman (fourth-century) burials excavated in the Cathedral Cloisters, St. Albans (Herts) (Gaz. 2066) included in the database for information purposes; six S-N inhumations without grave goods, and one prone female with a roman hairpin, at Eashing (Surrey) (Gaz. 761), which are probably Romano-British but could be later Anglo-Saxon; and several supine W-E skeletons at Riddlesdown, Purley (Greater London, formerly Surrey)(Gaz. 1045), which have no dating evidence, and could be either late Roman or medieval.

Sites which contain evidence for possible continuity, or at least a possible British presence, include the partially destroyed fifth/seventh-century Anglo-Saxon inhumation/cremation cemetery at Great Chesterford (Essex) (Gaz. 44). This cemetery, on the site of a series of Romano-British tumuli immediately outside the walls of the Roman town, represents Anglo-Saxon re-use of an earlier burial place. It is possible that some of the unaccompanied burials at the site may be Romano-British and therefore directly associated with the mounds, especially those with coffin nails, possible hob-nails and occasional Roman coins.¹ Combined with this, some of the purely Anglo-Saxon burials demonstrate possible links with indigenous beliefs or customs: burial No. 149 had a Roman coin placed on its head, and an infant (No. 136) was provided with nine coins. Burial No. 79, a 6-8 year-old girl, S-N, with glass beads and part of a girdle-hanger, had one iron penannular brooch on the right shoulder, and burial 29, a 10-12 year-old girl S-N, had a pair of iron penannular brooches worn in an Anglo-Saxon manner, together with beads and wrist-clasps, and had a coin in the left hand.² While there is no direct evidence for continuity, there may still have been some people with Romano-British connections or beliefs present among the Anglo-Saxon community in the area.

The fifth/seventh-century Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Feering, Kelvedon (Essex) (Gaz. 46), just across the river from the Kelvedon Romano-British cemetery which included chamber graves, included at least one Roman burial of the fourth century, and the cemetery at Saffron Walden (Essex) (Gaz. 47) produced numerous inhumations and objects ranging from Roman samian-ware and bracelets, to Anglo-Saxon pendants, beads, and a knife, to a strap-tag of Viking type. It has been suggested that the cemetery at

¹ Evison, *Great Chesterford*, pp. 40-3.

² Evison, *Great Chesterford*, pp. 97, 103, 146, fig. 26; 157, fig. 37; 193, fig. 73; 197, fig. 77.

Prittlewell (Essex) (Gaz. 171), which was used for Roman burial from the first to the fourth century, and for Anglo-Saxon burial in the sixth/seventh century, is an example of a cemetery where a reasonable case can be made for continued use.¹ This is difficult to sustain however, without evidence for fifth/sixth century Anglo-Saxon burial, and it would be more reasonable to see this as the re-use of an earlier burial-place. There is a slightly stronger case for continuity at Barnfield, Heybridge (Essex) (Gaz. 1032) where the cemetery, which contained inhumation burials from the earlier and later Roman period, also contained Anglo-Saxon urns dateable to about AD 500.

The cemetery at St. John's Abbey, Colchester (Essex) (Gaz. 1146), which produced nailed coffins and Roman objects as well as an Anglo-Saxon burial with a green glass cup, continued to be used into the Christian period, when it became the location for a Saxon church. At Mucking (Essex) (Gaz. 1193, cem. 1 and Gaz. 1194, cem. 2) two contemporary cemeteries remained separate. Cemetery 1 contained among pagan Anglo-Saxon inhumations, several burials with late-Roman military and early Saxon bronzes in association, and cemetery 2 contained mainly cremations but also inhumations. At Stifford Clays, Thurrock (Essex) (Gaz. Nos. 1223, 2043), Iron Age inhumation burials (one with a La Tene III brooch) were indistinguishable from some burials of the Anglo-Saxon period, and Romano-British burials in the cemetery included one in a nailed coffin, N-S, dated third/fourth century which had two cremations in pots at the south end of the grave. The cemetery also produced grave-features including circular gullies (discussed below pp. 244-5).

Romano/British cemeteries re-used by Anglo-Saxons after an apparent lapse of use

¹ K.A. Rodwell *The Prehistoric and Roman Settlement at Kelvedon, Essex* CBA Research Report 63. (Chelmsford, 1988). p. 137.

include Rainham (Essex) (Gaz. 172); Furneux Pelham (Herts) (Gaz. 77); and Rivenhall (Essex) (Gaz. 1212) at which site Christian Anglo-Saxon burials are dated to the eighth/ninth century. At King Harry Lane, St. Albans, (Gaz. 1222) 39 seventh-century Anglo-Saxon burials encroached on part of the Iron Age cemetery. This location was probably used not because of any direct link with either the Iron Age or Romano-British cemeteries, but because it was regarded as an established burial area. There is no evidence for continuity at North Shoebury (Essex) (Gaz. 2044), where a pagan Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery was located beside a Romano-British settlement site.

The custom of horse burial, present at three sites in the north of the region, may have extended into Essex via Middle Anglia, as the sites are located in the region of the Icknield Way and relatively close to the Middle Anglian site at Little Wilbraham (Cambs) (Gaz. 74) where a horse was buried near a warrior burial (p. 208, Figs. 43-4). The East Saxon sites are at: (a) Great Chesterford (Gaz. 44) where grave 142 contained a warrior and horse side by side, and grave 55 contained a S-N female burial at the foot of which a horse was buried N-S, (in this latter case the horse's tackle appears to have been placed at the foot of the grave and then burnt *in situ*); (b) Saffron Walden (Gaz. 47) where the burial of a man and a horse was dated to between the seventh and eleventh centuries; and (c) Danes' Field, Pirton (Herts) (Gaz. 76) where human skeletons and horses, together with fragments of iron and bronze, were found. One other horse burial, at Fetcham (Surrey) (Gaz. 1046) is a doubtful inclusion, as it was found near a ford on the river Mole where weapons and other objects have been found from time to time, and it has no known association with any of the artifacts.

Three sites have produced evidence for chamber graves (Fig. 54). The description of '...a dome-shaped grave, 6'-7' below the surface, 8' long, with walls

covered with a thin layer of soot or charcoal, and with curious extensions at the corners..¹ discovered in the late nineteenth century at Broomfield (Essex)(Gaz. 43) suggests a chamber grave, with the 'soot or charcoal' probably representing the remains of a wooden lining. The grave, which contained a warrior burial accompanied by a rich array of goods including weapons, buckets, a cauldron etc., and angle-irons with rivets (probably representing coffin bindings), was located in the traditional heartland of Iron Age and Romano-British chamber graves (Figs. 6, 48), and must therefore be part of that tradition.

The chamber-grave in a primary barrow in Taplow churchyard (Bucks) (Gaz. 491) contained the burial of a warrior of very high status. He was wrapped in a cloak with a gold-woven edge, fastened at the shoulder by a gold-plated buckle set with garnets, and accompanied by an array of weapons, jewellery and vessels dated to the early seventh century, second only in quantity and quality to those from Mound 1 at Sutton Hoo. These grave-goods, which have been identified as probably belonging to a noble of Kentish origin,² could suggest that the Middle Saxons were under East Saxon or Kentish overlordship in the early seventh century.³ The location of this large burial mound and chamber, on a cliff-top approx. 30m above the east bank of the Thames looking out over the Thames valley, assumes added importance when combined with the fact that the warrior was laid with his head to the east, that is facing west towards Wessex. He should perhaps be visualised as a ruler or chieftain with Kentish and Middle-Saxon

¹ Meaney, *Gazetteer*, p. 85

² L. Webster, 'Death's Diplomacy: Sutton Hoo in the light of other male princely burials', in R. Farrell and C. Neuman de Vegvar, (eds) *Sutton Hoo: Fifty Years After* (Oxford Ohio, 1992) pp. 79-80 (hereafter Webster, 'Death's Diplomacy', and Farrell, *Sutton Hoo*).

³ K. Bailey, 'The Middle Saxons', in *Bassett Kingdoms* p. 112.

connections, buried on the border of his territory, facing his enemies, in order to act as a guardian of his people. The importance of this burial is further emphasised by the fact that a church was eventually built on the site. It may be more than mere coincidence that a sword and shield, representing another warrior burial, were recovered at Hitcham (Bucks) (Gaz. 490), close to Taplow.

A very large grave, 8'9" long x 6' wide, possibly a chamber, was located in the largest mound of a cemetery of primary barrows and flat graves, dated to the seventh century, at Farthingdown, Coulsdon (Greater London, formerly Surrey) (Gaz. 230) (Fig. 54). At the west end of this possible chamber was a child's skull, and at its east end the remains of a wood-framed bag or box with a pair of iron shears, a double-sided comb and a cowrie shell.

There are two possible warrior sentinel burials on the northern and western boundaries of the region. The first is at Taplow (Gaz. 491) already discussed, and the second is the warrior in a primary mound facing north at Puddlehill near Dunstable (Gaz. 63) (marked X on Fig. 52), already included with Middle Anglian material above p. 203, Fig. 43. The apparent lack of similar burials on the southern boundaries suggests that the Men of Kent were not perceived as a threat, and that the forests of the Weald provided a buffer zone to the south.

Four sites have revealed evidence for graves within circular ditched enclosures (Fig. 54). Two of the four small ring-ditched enclosures recognised among a series of prehistoric enclosures on aerial photographs at Orsett (Essex) (Gaz. 1116) have been excavated.¹ Both enclosures (CF6 and CF8) measured about 7m internal diameter, and

¹ J.D. Hedges, D.G. Buckley, 'Anglo-Saxon Burials and later features excavated at Orsett, Essex, 1975' *Med. Arch.* 29 (1985) pp. 1-24. (hereafter Hedges 'Orsett')

each contained a central extended supine burial represented by body stains, E-W (heads east) in a coffin. CF8 was penannular, with an entrance in its eastern side, and CF6 was probably similar though the eastern side had been disturbed. It is possible that post holes located beside both graves represented grave markers. One of the burials was female and had a bag containing broken and possibly amuletic articles, dating the burial to the late seventh or early eighth century, placed beneath the body (?hidden), suggesting that this may represent a Christian burial.¹ While one is in general agreement with this suggestion, there is one problem; why does the body lie with the head to the east?² The same applies to the burial in the second enclosure, which was accompanied by iron fragments possibly representing a knife. It is debatable whether or not penannular ditched enclosures contained mounds, but if even small mounds had been erected at Orsett, these would surely have covered the possible grave marker.

The mixed inhumation/cremation cemetery in a prehistoric complex at Springfield Lyons (Essex) (Gaz. 1221) included at least two inhumation burials within ring-ditches and a square enclosure which is cut by graves has Anglo-Saxon pottery in its fill. At Broomfield Plantation, Alresford (Essex) (Gaz. 2042) three ring-ditches excavated in advance of gravel extraction each had a diameter of 8m and contained a single shallow central grave. There were no grave-goods and no bone survival, but the ditches are described by the excavators as 'being similar to Saxon burials'. Finally, three circular gullies located in the cemetery at Stifford Clays, Thurrock (Essex) (Gaz. 2043) comprised,, two (diameters 4m and 8m) with opposed north and south entrances, and a third (diameter 8m) with a south entrance. No graves or burials remained, but the

¹ L. Webster, in Hedges 'Orsett', p. 13.

² Hedges 'Orsett' pp. 5-6, fig. 3, 8.

excavators concluded that the gullies probably represented ploughed-out burial enclosures.

In Essex, the re-use of prehistoric monuments for secondary burial has a fairly widespread distribution, with the construction of primary monuments, usually among prehistoric monuments, being confined to coastal inlets, whereas in Middlesex and Surrey secondary and primary monuments are more clustered (Fig. 53). Sites in this category already discussed include Great Chesterford (Gaz. 44), Orsett (Gaz. 1116), Rivenhall (Gaz. 1212), Springfield Lyons (Gaz. 1221), Broomfield Plantation, Alresford, (Gaz. 2042) and Stifford Clays, Thurrock (Gaz. 2043) all in Essex; Taplow (Bucks) (Gaz. 491), and Farthingdown, Coulsdon (Gaz. 230), Mitcham (Gaz. 234) both in Greater London. Additional primary burial mounds include Goldhanger (Essex) (Gaz. 1034) where several small grave mounds on the marshes contained 'Saxon or Danish' relics; and Banstead Common (Surrey) (Gaz. 1113), where a warrior burial dated to the late seventh or early eighth century, accompanied by a hanging bowl with enamelled escutcheons wrapped in linen cloth, a spearhead, shield boss, and knife, was covered by a primary barrow.¹

Primary barrows located among prehistoric monuments include two mounds in an Anglo-Saxon cremation and inhumation cemetery at Hackbridge, Beddington, Greater London (Gaz. 224), one of which contained a primary warrior burial with a sword; Anglo-Saxon tumuli set among Bronze Age barrows at Whitmoor Common, Worplesden, Surrey (Gaz. 530); and possible Anglo-Saxon barrows among about 25 tumuli at Thundersfield, Addington Park (Surrey) (Gaz. 1051) which were destroyed in the eighteenth century.

¹ J.F. Barfoot & D. Price Williams, 'The Saxon Barrow at Gally Hills, Banstead Down, Surrey' in *Research Volume of the Surrey Archaeological Society* No. 3. (Guildford, 1976), pp. 59-76.

Secondary burials in prehistoric monuments have been recorded at Murlow Hill, Wendens Ambo (Gaz. 48), Plumbarrow Mount, Hockley (Gaz. 1062), and St. Helen's Chapel, Wicken Bonhunt (all in Essex) (Gaz. 1241); Therfield Heath (Herts) (Gaz. 80); Castle Hill, High Wycombe (Bucks) (Gaz. 492), later the site for a church, where a female burial was located in a probably prehistoric barrow, accompanied by a gold pendant with filigree, a necklace of glass beads, and a possible sword (?weaving batten); Cobham (Surrey) (Gaz. 1050); and two rather doubtful sites, one at Clacton (Essex) (Gaz. 850) where an Anglo-Saxon glass mammiform cup was found during demolition of a mound 'within an entrenchment', and the other at Effingham (Surrey) (Gaz. 1047), where 'possible' Anglo-Saxon burials were found at a barrow called Standard Hill.

There is one case of apparent radial burial, at Shoeburyness (Essex) (Gaz. 1060), where graves thought to be Saxon were reported before 1930. The burials do not appear to have been accompanied by grave goods, but some of the bodies were said to be arranged in a ring, feet towards the centre.¹

It has by now become obvious that bronze bowls, including hanging-bowls, usually accompanied high-status warrior burials. Among the East Saxons such occurrences include Broomfield (Essex) (Gaz. 43), Croydon (Greater London) (Gaz. 226), Banstead Common (Surrey) (Gaz. 1113), Hackbridge, Beddington (Greater London) (Gaz. 224), where one of the warrior burials was accompanied by a rim of a 'helmet' which Meaney suggests may be a bronze bowl,² and the very high-status warrior burial at Taplow (Bucks) (Gaz. 491) which was accompanied by a Byzantine bronze bowl. Fragments of a hanging-bowl had achieved possible amuletic status by the

¹ Meaney, *Gazetteer*, p. 89.

² Meaney, *Gazetteer*, pp. 237-8

time they were deposited in the female grave at Orsett (Essex) (Gaz. 1116).

Several instances of prone and/or decapitated burials are recorded. At Prittlewell (Essex) (Gaz. 171) one prone and two crouched inhumations were included among Anglo-Saxon burials on the site of a former Roman cemetery; at Covent Garden, Westminster (Greater London) (Gaz. 2147) a prone burial was found in 'dark earth', but apparently sealed by the earliest Saxon occupation levels. There are two instances of prone burials inserted above supine burials. First, a large grave at Farthingdown, Coulsdon (Greater London) (Gaz. 230) containing two young men in supine positions with a middle-aged female lying prone on top, has been dated to the mid-seventh century, and a further prone burial in this cemetery, N-S, was accompanied by a knife and a spearhead. Secondly, the fifth/sixth century cemetery at Mitcham (Greater London) (Gaz. 234) contained four prone burials (three female and one unidentified), all N-S in a mainly W-E cemetery, including one female on top of a supine female, and a decapitate burial accompanied by a Roman key-handle. There were two groups of burials at Ezzo House, Ashted (Surrey) (Gaz. 220): the first, dateable to the sixth/seventh centuries, was of W-E burials with grave goods, while the second group, mainly N-S, included several prone, two decapitated burials, and burials with hands behind their backs, all of which are described as possible executions dated AD 700-1200.¹ At Great Chesterford (Gaz. 44) the burial of a boy lying on his right side, face downward, and accompanied by a dog, may not represent a deliberate prone burial, but at the same site a prone female burial (grave 103) had her jewellery removed and placed between the back of the skull and the corner of the grave.²

¹ *Med. Arch.* 30 (1986) p. 165; 34, (1990) p. 213.

² Evison, *Great Chesterford*, p. 30.

There is relatively little cremation among the East Saxons, especially when compared with Anglian regions to the north. In Essex, two of the sites marked as cremations, Great Stambridge (Gaz. 1059 and Hockley (Gaz. 1062), are in fact, simply artifact find-spots which may indicate cremation. The remaining five cremation sites, all on the periphery, and combined with inhumations are; Great Chesterford (Gaz. 44), Barnfield, Heybridge (Gaz. 1032), Springfield Lyons (Gaz. 1221), Stifford Clays, Thurrock (Gaz. 1223, 2043), and nearby Mucking (cem. 2) (Gaz. 1194). In Buckinghamshire an urn found at Loudwater (Gaz. 751) may represent a cremation. In Surrey, Thursley (Gaz. 762), is the find-spot of an urn, but at Whitmoor Common, Worplesden (Gaz. 530), tumuli among Bronze Age barrows produced burnt bones, an iron Saxon knife and other remains, dated between AD 500 - 600. At the remaining sites in Greater London and Surrey, cremations were combined with inhumation, as at, Walton Bridge Green, Shepperton, (Surrey) (Gaz. 170), Upper West Field, Shepperton (Surrey) (Gaz. 169), Croydon (Greater London) (Gaz. 226), Ewell (Surrey) (Gaz. 229), Hackbridge, Beddington (Greater London) (Gaz. 224), and Guildown, Guildford (Surrey) (Gaz. 529): this latter cemetery appears also to have been used for inhumation in or about the eleventh century.

Two noteworthy burials are at Stifford Clays, Thurrock (Essex) (Gaz. 2043) where there is a crouched burial in a full-sized grave; and Northolt Manor (Greater London) (Gaz. 168) where one of three burials was accompanied only by a blue glass bead beneath the chin.

Multiple burials where two or more bodies had been placed simultaneously or sequentially in the same grave have been observed at several cemeteries including Saffron Walden (Gaz.47); Slip End, Ashwell (Gaz. 1022), King Harry Lane, St. Albans (Gaz.

1222) and Crutched Friars and Rangoon Street, London (Gaz. 2145).

Although coffins can be identified in some cemeteries there is no evidence for the use of nails, except in those with known Romano-British burials and cemeteries known to be of the later Anglo-Saxon period.

Several Anglo-Saxon cemeteries associated with prehistoric monuments appear to have been later absorbed into a Christian milieu. For instance, a prominent mound associated with an Anglo-Saxon cemetery was recorded in 1974 as still being visible in the churchyard at Rivenhall (Essex)¹ (Gaz. 1212); a late Bronze-Age cremation was discovered in the Christian church cemetery at St. Helen's Chapel, Wicken Bonhunt, Essex (Gaz. 1241); the barrow containing a female burial at Castle Hill, High Wycombe (Bucks) (Gaz. 492) is located near a church; the site of the rich warrior chamber-grave and barrow at Taplow (Bucks) (Gaz. 491) later became the location for a church; and the fifth/sixth century cemetery which included warrior burials within a possible neolithic enclosure at Mitcham (Greater London) (Gaz. 234) also had a church located nearby.

Some flat grave cemeteries also became directly or indirectly associated with monastic foundations. A cemetery first used for burial in the Roman period and subsequently in the Anglo-Saxon period, later became the location for St. John's Abbey, Colchester (Gaz. 1146); the cemetery at Nazeingbury (Gaz. 1196) which had two phases of burial (sixth-eighth century and eighth-tenth century)² appears to have been a nunnery; at the site of the monastic church of Waltham Abbey (Gaz. 1232) the earliest

¹ *Med. Arch.* 18 (1974) p. 174.

² Radiocarbon dates indicate a range AD 560-720 for a burial in the primary phase, and AD 760-920 for a burial in the secondary phase. P.J. Huggins 'Excavation of Belgic and Romano-British Farm with Middle Saxon Cemetery and Churches at Nazeingbury, Essex, 1975-6. *TEAS* 10 (1978) p. 54.

burials were radiocarbon dated to AD 590-690;¹ and at Leadenhall and Mitre Streets, London (Gaz. 2146) the foundations of Holy Trinity Priory cut into existing burials.

Summary

Access to this region appears to have been from the north via the Icknield Way and the Roman-road network, from the east via the sea and the river Thames.

There is some evidence for possible continuity, or at least knowledge of the customs of the indigenous past, evidenced by chamber graves and the occasional use of archaic burial customs such as the provision of Charon's fee with some burials.

Horse burials suggest contact in the north of the region with Middle or possible East Anglians.

The re-use of prehistoric monuments and the construction of primary monuments is evident throughout the area. The use of circular-ditched enclosures around graves which have few or no grave goods may be seen as an imitation of older burial practices, but it may also indicate seventh-century Kentish connections.

Bronze bowls/hanging-bowls have been observed in five warrior burials, as has the possible amuletic use of hanging-bowl fragments in one female grave.

Two instances of the insertion of prone female burials above supine inhumations in the Anglo-Saxon period have been noted, together with other instances of prone burial.

Cremation appears to have been a minority rite in the region, and there is a high incidence of the location of churches at or near primary and secondary barrows.

¹ P.J. Huggins and K.N. Bascombe, 'Excavations at Waltham Abbey, Essex, 1985-1991: Three Pre-Conquest Churches and Norman Evidence', *Arch. J.* 149 (1992) p. 334.

KENT

The foundations for the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Kent were laid down first in the Iron Age when it formed a Celtic (Belgic) principality. It then became a Romano-British *civitas* with its capital at Canterbury, which was the focus of the Roman road system of Kent. It has been suggested that the survival of the name *Cantium* and *Cantia* may be a form of continuity with the Celtic and Romano-British past.¹

The physical boundaries of the territory are defined as the mouth of the Thames and its estuary on the north, the sea on the north-east and east, the Weald on the south, and the river Darent, or a Roman road which formed a border with Surrey, on the west.

TABLE 14

Burials in Kent

KEY:Column headings: Gaz = database gazetteer number: in = inhumation: cr = cremation: or = orientation of burial: cb = crouched burial: pr = prone burial: dc = decapitated burial: n = burials with no grave goods: sc = secondary in prehistoric monument: pm = primary monument: ch = chamber grave: en = contemporary enclosure: a = artifacts only, no burial.
Column content: c = certain: p = possible: a = absent: - = no information recorded: v = various: fl = flexed: pn = penannular: an = annular: r = rectilinear.

¹ N. Brooks, 'The creation and early structure of the kingdom of Kent', in Bassett, *Origins*, p. 57.

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
175	Aylesford, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
176	Throwley, Kent	c	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
177	Southfleet, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
178	Sittingbourne, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
179	Little Chart, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	a	-	-	-
180	Chatham Lines, Kent	c	a	v	-	-	-	p	-	c	-	-
181	Cliffe-at-Hoo, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
182	Dartford, Kent	c	a	v	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
183	Farningham, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
184	Faversham I, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
185	Gillingham, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
186	Greenwich I, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
187	Greenwich II, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	c	-	-
188	Lr. Halstow, Kent.	c	a	-	a	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
189	Harrietsham II, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
190	Harrietsham III, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
191	Higham, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
192	Holborough, Kent	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
193	Hollingbourne, Kent	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-
194	Horton Kirby I, Kent	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
195	Leeds, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	a	-	-	-
196	Lenham I, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	a	-	-	-
197	Stone, Kent	c	a	ew	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
198	Lullingstone, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
199	Lyminge II, Kent	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	p	pn? an?	-
200	Maidstone, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
201	Milton-next-Sittingbourne I, Kent	c	p	-	-	-	-	p	p	-	-	-
202	Milton-next-Sittingbourne II, Kent	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
203	Milton-next-Sittingbourne III, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
204	Murston, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
205	Northfleet, Kent	c	c	ew?	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
206	Otford, Kent	a	c	a	a	a	a	c	a	-	-	-
207	Horton Kirby II, Kent	c	c	v	-	-	c	c	a	-	-	-
208	Rochester I, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
209	Rochester II, Kent	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
210	Rochester III, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
211	Rochester IV, Kent	c	a	we?	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
212	Snodland, Kent	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-
213	Strood I, Kent	c	a	-	fl	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
214	Strood II, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
215	Strood III, Kent	c	-	we	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
216	Thurnham, Kent	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
217	Upchurch I, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
218	Wrotham I, Kent	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
219	Wrotham II, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
222	Teynham, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
667	Beakesbourne II, Kent	c	a	v	c	c	-	c	a	c	-	-
668	Bifrons, Kent	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
669	Bishopsbourne, Kent	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	-	p	-	-
670	Boughton Aluph, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
671	East Brabourne, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
672	Barham, Kent	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	-	c	-	-
673	Broadstairs (Bradstow) Kent	c	a	v	c	a	a	c	c	c	pn	-
674	Broadstairs II, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
675	Bishopsbourne, Kent	c	a	sn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
676	Eastry (Buttsole) Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
677	Canterbury I, Kent	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
678	Chartham Down, Kent	c	?	we	-	-	-	c	-	c	-	-
679	Coombe, Kent	a	c	a	a	a	a	a	a	c	-	-
680	Ash (Goldstone Richborough) Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
681	Crundale, Kent	c	c	ew	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
682	Deal (Mill Hill) Kent	c	c	v	c	-	-	c	c	c	pn	-
683	Dover I, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
684	Dover (Buckland I) Kent	c	a	we	a	c	p	c	c	a	a	a
685	Faversham II, Kent	c	p	we	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
686	Finglesham, Kent	c	a	v	c	-	-	c	a	c	pn r	-
687	Folkestone I, Kent	a	c	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
688	Folkestone, III, Kent	c	a	ns	c	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
689	Ash (Gilton) Kent	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
690	Guston, Kent	c	a	-	a	a	a	a	a	-	-	-
691	Hoth, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
692	Littlebourne, Kent	c	c	v	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
693	Kingston, Kent	c	c	v	-	-	-	c	a	c	-	-
694	Lyminge I, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
695	Lympne, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
696	Margate, Kent	c	a	we	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
697	Birchington, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
698	Minster Thanet, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	p	p	-	-
699	Minster Thanet, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
700	Ramsgate, Kent	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
701	Newington, Kent	c	a	-	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
702	Margate, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
703	Ozengell I, Kent	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
704	Sevenoaks, Kent	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	a	c	pn an?	-
705	Ramsgate I, Kent	c	p	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
706	Ramsgate II, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
707	Richborough, Kent	c	a	-	a	c	-	a	a	-	-	-
708	Ringwould, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
709	St. Margarets-at-Cliff II Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	c	c	-	-

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
710	Sarre, Kent	c	a	v	p	-	c	c	p	-	-	-
711	Ashford, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
712	Beakesbourne I, Kent	c	a	we	c	-	-	c	p	c	-	-
713	Hackington, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
714	Sibertswold- Barfreston, Kent	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	p	c	-	-
715	Smeeth, Kent	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
716	Stodmarsh, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	c	-	-
717	Stowting, Kent	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	p	-	-	-
718	Temple Ewell, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
719	Westbere, Kent	c	c	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
720	Wickhambreux, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
721	Wingham, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
722	Wye I, Kent	c	-	we	-	-	-	c	-	c	-	-
861	Wye II, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	c	-	-
862	Worth, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
863	Woodnesborough, Kent	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
864	Westbere, Kent	a	p	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	c
865	St. Margarets Bay, Kent	c	-	we	a	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
866	Richborough, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	p	-	-
867	Reculver II, Kent	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
868	Reculver I, Kent	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
869	Patricbourne, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
870	Gt. Mongeham, Kent	p	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	c
871	Mersham, Kent	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
872	Margate II, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
873	Lympne, Kent	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
874	Hythe, Kent	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
875	Wickhambreux, Kent	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
876	Ringwould, Kent	c	a	-	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
877	Folkestone II, Kent	p	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	c
878	Deal, Kent	a	p	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	c

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
879	Canterbury II, Kent	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1052	Westwell, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
1053	Lenham II, Kent	c	a	ew	p	a	-	a	a	-	-	-
1054	Southfleet, Kent	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1055	Lidsing, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
1056	Harrietsham I, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
1057	Chapmans Pit, Kent	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1058	Dartford, Kent	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1114	Barham Downs, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	a	c	-	c	pn an?	-
1115	Barham Downs, Kent	c	a	we	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
1118	Barham Downs, Kent	c	a	we?	-	-	a	c	a	a	a	-
1119	Barham Downs, Kent	c	a	we?	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
1120	Barham Downs, Kent	c	a	we?	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
1133	Broadstairs (St.Peters) Kent	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	c	c	pn an r	-
1140	Canterbury, Kent	c	a	we?	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
1142	Canterbury, Kent	c	a	we?	-	-	-	c	a	a	a	-
1158	Eastry (Updown), Kent	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	p	pn an?	-
1159	Eastry, Kent	c	a	ew	-	-	a	c	a	-	-	-
1160	Eastry, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1190	Monkton, Kent	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
1204	Orpington, Kent	c	c	v	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
1208	Lord of the Manor, Ramsgate, Kent	c	a	v	c	-	-	c	c	c	pn an r	-
2075	Barham Downs, Kent	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	a	-	-
2077	Dollands Moor, Kent	c	a	-	fl	c	a	c	a	a	-	-
2082	Kingston, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	a	c	p	-	-	-
2085	Stone-by-Faversham, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	a	-	-
2178	Dover, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	a	c	a	a	-	-

Gaz	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
2198	Buckland II, Dover, Kent	c	a	we	a	c	a	c	p	c	pn	-
2200	Dartford, Kent	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2201	Eythorne, Kent	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c

The following are artifact findspots only:¹ Martyr's Field, Canterbury (Gaz. 677); Smeeth (Gaz. 715); Woodnesborough (Gaz. 863); Foreshore, Reculver (Gaz. 867); Broomfield, Reculver (Gaz. 868); Great Monegham (Gaz. 870); Mersham (Gaz. 871); Port Lympne, Lympne (Gaz. 873); Hythe (Gaz. 874); Grove Ferry, Wickhambreux (Gaz. 875); Cherry Garden Hill, Folkestone (Gaz. 877); Deal (Gaz.878); St. Martin's Churchyard, Canterbury (Gaz. 879); Southfleet (Gaz. 1054); Bignores, Dartford (Gaz. 1058); and Eythorne (Gaz. 2201).

Burials described in the records as Anglo-Saxon, but which might be Romano-British or occasionally even Iron Age, include the prone burial of a warrior located in a Roman ditch north of Richborough Castle (Gaz.707) which has been described as that of 'a German, perhaps serving the Romans' and dated to the fourth century²; a crouched male burial with no grave goods found near two prehistoric barrows at Freedown, Ringwould (Gaz. 876), probably an indigenous burial of the pre-Anglo-Saxon period; and another crouched burial lying N-S at Lenham (Gaz. 1053), accompanied only by a buckle of 'doubtful age'. Burials recovered at Worth (Gaz.862) a few hundred yards south of a Romano-Celtic temple, were accompanied by pottery dating from the

¹ As all the sites in this section are in Kent it has not been deemed necessary to include (Kent) after each entry.

² Meaney, *Gazetteer*, p. 133.

early Roman period up to possibly the mid.fifth century. Three unaccompanied inhumations (one prone) discovered near a late Roman ditch at Dollands Moor (Gaz. 2077) are more than likely of late-or post-Roman date; and three burials with no associated grave goods, found in topsoil at Kingston (Gaz. 2082) could be of any date.

Anglo-Saxon burials located in a Roman settlement but with no evidence for direct continuity have been found at Riding Gate and Stour Street, Canterbury (Gaz. 1140) where (a) a burial was found cut into the north wall of the Roman guardhouse, and (b) a large pit cut through the courtyard of a colonnaded enclosure contained the remains of two adults, two children and a dog, with a fifth-century assemblage of jewellery.¹ Because of their location within a town these burials are unlikely to be Romano-British.

Evidence for possible continuity, or at the very least re-use by Anglo-Saxons of a Romano-British cemetery, is evident at Mill Hill, Deal (Gaz. 682)(Fig.58),² where a Bronze Age burial site, re-used for burial in the Iron Age and in the Roman period up until the fourth century, then became an Anglo-Saxon cemetery. Evidence for possible continuity is provided by a radio-carbon determination, calibrated at 2 sigma to AD 335-535 (BM-2867) for a juvenile aged 15-20 years, N-S (although the orientation of the majority of burials was S-N), in a grave (g.29) surrounded by a small ring-ditch (F247). The burial was accompanied only by an iron 'pin' under the skull. Several other burials were subsequently placed within the enclosure (indicating that it may not have included a barrow), the latest being g.21, an adult male accompanied by an iron knife and spear-head.

¹ The burial is illustrated in A.S. Esmonde Cleary *Roman Britain* p. 150 fig. 36.

² I am grateful to Keith Parfitt for supplying unpublished notes (1994) regarding the Anglo-Saxon burials at this site: the Iron-age and Romano-British burials from the site have been discussed in Chapter 1.

At King's Field, Faversham (Gaz. 685) Roman cinerary urns found close to an Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery indicate that the cemetery was located at or near the site of a Romano-British cremation cemetery. Similarly, the rich Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery at Gilton, Ash (Gaz. 689) appears to have been located on the site of a Romano-British cremation cemetery. A stone coffin dug up at Minster-in-Thanel (Gaz. 698) may indicate Romano-British burials at that site, and Roman pottery, and a male burial with ?coffin nails recovered at St. Augustine's College, Ramsgate (Gaz. 705), suggest the presence of a Romano-British cemetery at this Anglo-Saxon site. It has been recorded that the Anglo-Saxon barrow-cemetery at Sibertswold-Barfreston (Gaz. 714), excavated in the eighteenth century, was located in the same area as a Roman burial ground, but it is unknown whether there was any evidence for continuity.

Burials associated with a Roman building (described as possibly being a mausoleum or martyrium dating from the fourth century) preceded the Anglo-Saxon church at Stone by Faversham (Gaz. 2085). One of these burials, a juvenile, has produced a radiocarbon date (BM 479) of $AD\ 460 \pm 110^1$, unfortunately not calibrated, and other burials were dated to the eleventh-twelfth centuries. Whether or not the earlier date is evidence for continuity of use for burial from the post-Roman period it is difficult to say, because if calibrated, the date $AD\ 460 \pm 110$ would produce a wide date-span.

The desire of the men of Kent to relate to the ancestors of the indigenous inhabitants in the region may be reflected in the re-use of prehistoric burial monuments and the construction of primary monuments concentrated mainly in the eastern part of Kent, with a few outliers scattered along the Ridgeway, and along Watling Street (Fig. 56). This activity is examined under three categories: (a) burials inserted into

¹ *Radiocarbon* 13 (1971) pp. 181-2.

prehistoric monuments but with no evidence for the construction of primary monuments; (b) burials inserted into prehistoric monuments combined with the construction of primary monuments at the same site; and (c) the construction of primary monuments in areas with no record of prehistoric activity. Many of the Anglo-Saxon primary monuments consist of penannular ditched enclosures, and these will be discussed in greater detail later in the chapter.

Category (a) includes the seventh-century Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Snodland, Holborough, one of which (Gaz. 192) lay partially across a Bronze Age barrow, and close to the Roman barrow of Holborough Knob, and the other (Gaz. 212) approx. ¼ mile away, where further inhumations were discovered near a Roman barrow. Cremations in urns dating to the sixth century were discovered with inhumations, weapons and beads during removal of two Bronze Age barrows at Whiteheath, Hollingbourne (Gaz. 193), and at Huggins Fields, Milton-next-Sittingbourne (Gaz. 201) Bronze Age artifacts and urns recovered among richly furnished seventh-century Anglo-Saxon burials are an indication that there had been possibly a Bronze Age barrow at this site. The Jutish cemetery at Sarre (Gaz. 710) was located in an area with Iron-Age banks and ditches, and possibly some Romano-British burials. The many burials, including warriors and furnished female graves, recovered at Stowting (Gaz. 717) were said to have been located in an area where there were barrows, but the burials themselves do not seem to have been in the barrows. Several graves in that cemetery, dug up to 4' deep into the chalk, and said to be large enough for six (though each only contained one skeleton), might represent a form of chamber grave. Extended W-E unaccompanied burials in a Bronze Age barrow at St. Margaret's Bay (Gaz. 865) are recorded as Anglo-Saxon, in which case then they probably date to the seventh century or later.

Category (b) is represented by the seventh-century cemetery at Bradstow School, Broadstairs¹ (Gaz. 673), which overlay a prehistoric barrow complex with probable Iron Age crouched burials in one of the enclosing ditches,² where Anglo-Saxon graves Nos. 12, 72 were enclosed within primary monuments consisting of penannular enclosures, and open spaces around Nos. 31, 67 & 71, when taken together with the manner in which other graves were arranged around these spaces, suggests that they may originally have been covered by barrows (Fig. 59). Grave 71 contained the confined burial of a juvenile aged 12-15 years, equipped as a warrior with a sword, two spears, a shield, a bronze bowl, a wooden bowl, and in his mouth a Frankish gold tremissis dating to the second half of the sixth century. This latter rite indicates connections with the Frankish use of this Roman custom rather than with any residual Romano-British use.

The penannular enclosure discussed above at Mill Hill, Deal (Gaz. 682) constitutes a primary monument in that cemetery, which was located on and around a prehistoric monument.

Recent excavations, which extended the area of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery beside a prehistoric monument at Buckland, Dover (Gaz. 684, 2198), uncovered evidence for two primary monuments in the form of penannular ditches each enclosing a double burial.³ Anglo-Saxon artifacts which have turned up from time to time at Minster-in-Thamet (Gaz. 698), in an area of barrows, suggests the possibility that some at least of these may be primary Anglo-Saxon monuments. In the cemetery at Lord of the Manor, Ozengell, Ramsgate (Gaz. 703, 1208), located among a series of prehistoric barrows, excavations

¹ I am indebted to Mrs L. Webster for kindly supplying unpublished notes and site-plans for this site.

² I have based this conclusion on the similarity of these burials to crouched burials of the Iron Age as described in Chapter 1.

³ I am grateful to Keith Parfitt for supplying unpublished notes regarding this new site.

in the 1970s and 80s have revealed primary monuments consisting of one certain and three possibly penannular enclosures, together with five rectilinear enclosures in the form of stone-kerb slots (Fig.60).¹ A late seventh-century date for the cemetery is provided by a silver Merovingian coin of c. AD 670 from a grave.² A group of 30 barrows overlooking the Channel at St. Margarets-at-Cliff (Gaz. 709), recorded in the eighteenth century by Stukeley, produced both Bronze Age and Anglo-Saxon inhumations and artifacts, and another group of barrows also recorded in the eighteenth century, this time by Fausset, at Beakesbourne (Gaz.712) appears to have included primary crouched inhumations, together with seventh-century Anglo-Saxon burials some of which were coffined. Fausset also excavated a large number of barrows at Sibertswold-Barfreston (Gaz. 714) where possible Roman cinerary urns had been found, and he recorded Anglo-Saxon burials, W-E, the majority coffined and accompanied by grave goods, but some (also coffined) were unaccompanied. The cemetery at St. Peter's Tip, Broadstairs (Gaz. 1133), located on the site of a prehistoric barrow, included primary monuments consisting of 18 penannular ditched enclosures, one annular enclosure, three warrior burials (Nos. 54, 182, 200) with spaces surrounding them which suggest that they may originally have been covered by barrows, and seven graves with rectilinear kerb-slot enclosures (Fig. 61).³

In many cases category (c) consisted of cemeteries of small barrows, such as the small tumuli dug into in the eighteenth century at Chatham Lines, near Rochester (Gaz.

¹ I am grateful to Mr D. Perkins for allowing access to his unpublished notes and plan of the 1977 and 1980-82 excavations at this site, and to Mr G. Grainger for permission to consult and refer to his unpublished material for the 1977 excavations..

² D. Perkins, personal comment.

³ I am grateful to Ms C. Haith for permission to consult her unpublished notes for this site, and for the site plan.

180) which appear to have been constructed in the sixth century by people with Frankish connections.¹ A cemetery of barrows also partially destroyed in the eighteenth century at Greenwich Park, Greenwich (Gaz. 187) was described as poorly furnished but with some coffins and weapons. One of the sites excavated at Lyminge (Gaz. 199) produced evidence for graves surrounded by small gullies, probably representing penannular enclosures, two of which were excavated. In another cemetery which produced Frankish-influenced artifacts, at the Aerodrome, Beaksbourne (Gaz. 667) at least one grave had been covered by a mound. A large barrow cemetery discovered in the eighteenth century by Fausset, beside the Roman road at Bourne Park, Bishopsbourne (Gaz. 669) contained burials of warriors and females, some richly furnished, but others with no grave goods, suggesting that the cemetery may have continued in use until at least the end of the seventh century. A similar situation is evident at the barrow cemetery on Breach Downs, Barham (Gaz. 672) where some barrows contained rich grave-goods, while others were unfurnished. However, in this case at least one grave contained a purse with sceattas dated to the first third of the eighth century, and another had a cross-headed pin indicating that the burial was probably that of a Christian.

Another large cemetery of probable primary barrows at Chartham Down (Gaz. 678) contained some 'early' cinerary urns (presumably Anglo-Saxon) and seventh-century inhumations, some richly furnished, others with knives and/or buckles only, or unfurnished. Among the artifacts were a cross-shaped pendant and two other objects with cross designs, reflecting possible Gaulish Christian influences.

¹ Roman artifacts accompanying burials at this site are depicted as having been imported by early settlers with Frankish connections. V.I. Evison, *The Fifth-Century Invasions South of the Thames*, (London, 1965) pp. 34-5. (hereafter Evison, *Fifth-Century Invasions*).

Primary monuments at Finglesham¹ (Gaz. 686)(Fig. 61) included 11 penannular enclosures, one rectilinear enclosure, and several graves, most noticeably Nos. 95, 204, 205, 211, 110, 22, 103, 151, 194, 116, surrounded by roughly circular open spaces suggesting that they may originally have been covered by barrows. Burial in the cemetery commenced in the sixth century, and eight silver sceattas recovered in a purse in grave No. 145 place that burial in the early eighth century. Also dated to the seventh/eighth century is the cemetery at Dunton Green, Sevenoaks (Polehill) (Gaz. 704) which contained primary barrows and penannular ditched enclosures. At Kingston Down, Kingston (Gaz. 693) a large inhumation cemetery comprising flat graves and primary barrows which disturbed an earlier cemetery with cremations was excavated by Fausset and produced about 11 richly furnished graves, 56 with knife only and over 94 with no grave goods. One female burial was accompanied by two equal-armed silver crosses, indicating that she may have been Christian. These last five cemeteries illustrate the continued use of pagan ancestral cemeteries into the Christian period.

The primary burial in a barrow at Coombe, Woodnesborough (Gaz. 679) was a warrior cremation in a metal bowl, a type more commonly found north of the Thames, accompanied by a sword dated to the seventh century. At Stodmarsh (Gaz. 716) a primary barrow contained a male warrior and a female burial, and several primary barrows at Temple Ewell (Gaz. 718) each contained a warrior burial. Primary barrows are recorded from Wye (Gaz. 722, 861), but some of the material from the collection of a Mr Durden, purported to have come from this site, may have come from Sarre. One of the sites at Barham Downs (Gaz. 1114) included two instances of burial within

¹ I am grateful to Mrs S. Hawkes for allowing access to and permission to refer to notes/plans for Finglesham in advance of their publication.

penannular ditched enclosures, and the large cemetery at Updown, Easry (Gaz. 1158) dated to the second half of the seventh century, included a minimum of 12 penannular ditches, but aerial photographs show a possible 20+ enclosures.¹

The possible rationale behind and postulated origins of penannular ditched enclosures has already been discussed in Chapter 4, p. 122, but as Kent has the largest concentration of these monuments it seems appropriate at this point to consider them in greater detail.

Twenty-eight cemeteries, located mainly in south-east England (Fig. 63) have produced evidence for a total of 72 certain and 19 possible penannular enclosures of the Anglo-Saxon period, of which Kent, with 10 sites (Fig. 57) can account for 51 certain and 12 possible examples. The sites at Finglesham (Gaz. 686), St. Peters Tip, Broadstairs (Gaz. 1133) and Updown, Easry (Gaz. 1158) account for 11, 18 and 12 (with a possible further 8+) examples, respectively.

TABLE 15

Penannular enclosures in Kent

KEY:Column headings: Gaz = database gazetteer number: en = number of enclosures: bur = number of burials in each encl: ope = direction of encl. ope: cof = number of encl. with coffins: str = number of encl. with grave structure: mk = encls. with marker posts: d = date of cemetery. Column content: c = certain: p = possible: a = absent: - = no information recorded.

Gaz.	Site Location	en	bur	ope	cof	str	mk	d
673	Bradstow School, Broadstairs (Fig. 59)	c 2	1	E	-	1	a	7th
682	Mill Hill, Deal (Fig.58)	c 1	1	E	a	a	a	4/6th
2198	Buckland II, Dover	c 2	2	S/W	1	-	a	?6th
686	Finglesham (Fig. 62)	c12	(11) 1 (1) 3	(11) E (1) S	7	a	6	7th
1114	Barham Downs	c 2	1	-	-	-	-	-

¹ Aerial photograph published in *Antiquity* 48 (1974), p.213, pl. xxviii.

Gaz.	Site Location	en	bur	ope	cof	str	mk	d
1133	St. Peters Tip, Broadstairs (Fig. 61)	c18	(17) 1 (1) 2	(14)S/E (3) S (1) N	-	a	5	6/8th
1158	Updown, Eastry	c12 (+?8)	1	? E	p	a	-	6/7th
1208	Lord of the Manor, Ozengell (Fig. 60)	c 2 p 2	1	S/E	-	-	-	6/7th
704	Dunton Green, Polehill	?	? 1	? E	-	-	-	6/8th
199	Lyminge II.	p 2+	? 1	-	a	-	-	?5/6th

The two enclosed graves at Bradstow School each contained a burial, one male, one gender unknown, with a buckle and knife only.¹ The burial within the enclosure at Mill Hill, Deal, which has been shown to date from between the fourth and sixth centuries, has characteristics which indicate that it may be late Romano-British in date. The two shallow ditches recovered in the recent excavations at Buckland, Dover, located about 3m apart in the northern part of the latest excavations near the railway line (thereby placing them at about the centre of the overall cemetery), both had wide south-facing openings, and each enclosed a single grave with two separate but superimposed supine, W-E, burials. In one enclosure the burials were uncoffined, the upper burial being accompanied by a spearhead and a knife and the lower (gender unknown) had no grave-goods. There was a layer of earth between the bodies, but no evidence that the grave was re-cut. The grave in the second enclosure had flint packing and evidence for coffins or plank lining: one burial was accompanied by two Roman bronze coins, a bronze pin in the pelvic area, a large iron ring with smaller iron and bronze ring fragments beside left arm, an iron knife and other bronze and iron fragments, and the second burial had only a bronze staple beside the skull. The excavator's early impression is that the burials

¹ L. Webster unpublished notes.

date to the sixth century.¹

Eleven of the penannular enclosures at Finglesham (Fig. 62) each contained a single W-E burial and had an east-facing opening in line with the foot ends of the graves; the twelfth, which contained parallel burials of one male and two children, had a south-facing entrance not aligned on the graves. A further enclosure was actually rectangular in plan, but it seems to fit into the series. Seven of the enclosed burials were coffined, and five (perhaps six) of these were females (one with a wooden box by her feet), the seventh being the male in the multiple enclosure. The remaining enclosure burials, where identifiable, were either female or juveniles. Six enclosures had a post-hole (marker) placed centrally in the entrance in line with the foot of the graves, and two of the graves in the multiple enclosure also had post-holes in line with the foot of the graves, but outside the eastern rim of the enclosure.

At Barham Downs, two penannular ditches and three other graves were excavated during roadwork in 1966, but I have no further information.

There were 17 penannular and one sub-rectangular enclosures at St. Peters Tip, Broadstairs (Fig. 61), five of which had post-holes in the entrance in line with the foot of the graves. Three of the enclosures at this site had stake-holes in the ditch fill which seem to indicate that they held some form of possible wicker fencing, but as two of these represented the only instances where a burial was later inserted into the enclosure ditch (burials 114 and 340) the possible fencing must have been short-lived.

The large cemetery at Updown, Easry, dated to the second half of the seventh century, has so far yielded 12 certain penannular enclosures, but over 20 can be seen on aerial photographs.

¹ K. Parfitt, personal comment.

At Lord of the Manor, Ozengell (Fig. 60)¹, two of the enclosures, Nos. 187 and 151, were penannular, and two others, Nos. 161, and 192 (off plan) were probably penannular. Evidence from the fill of the latter two indicates the possible presence of wicker fences.

The cemetery at Dunton Green, Sevenoaks (Polehill) is recorded as having penannular ditches and other structures similar to St. Peters Tip and Finglesham,² and two of the graves excavated in 1954-5 at Lyminge II, were surrounded by small gullies which may be rectilinear, and further gullies were observed around other unexcavated graves.

It is extremely difficult to decide in what region in the seventh century the idea of using penannular enclosures to surround burials emerged, but it might be useful to point to at least one possible source in Merovingian Gaul.³ At one of two cemeteries excavated in the nineteenth century at Franchimont, in the province of Namur (Fig. 26) a seventh-century burial (or burials) without grave-goods was enclosed by a penannular ditched enclosure with a south-east facing entrance (Fig. 83).⁴ Dierkens remarks that such encircled tombs are not exceptional in the Merovingian world, and that others similar to the Franchimont example are well-known south and west of the Rhine. A point of interest is that some artifacts from the graves in the Franchimont cemeteries (Fig. 84) would fit reasonably comfortably into a south-east seventh-century Anglo-Saxon milieu.

¹ D. Perkins, unpublished plan.

² A.C. Hogarth, 'Structural Features in Anglo-Saxon Graves', *Arch. J.* 130 (1973) p. 118. (hereafter Hogarth, 'Structural Features').

³ This one site is used here only as an example, in order to illustrate the point.

⁴ A. Dierkens *Les Deux Cimetières Mérovingiens de Franchimont (province de Namur) Fouilles de 1877-1878* (Namur, 1981) p. 15 (hereafter Dierkens *Franchimont*).

In view of the well-documented historical contacts between these regions, it is worth suggesting that the concept, as it was utilised in the seventh century, originated in Merovingian Gaul and spread from there to England; and the Irish, ever ready to absorb new ideas, adapted it to suit their particular needs.¹

As various types of grave structures, which are a feature of Kentish graves, have been studied in detail by Hogarth,² and Grainger³ (Fig. 64), the following is a summary of grave structures currently recorded in the area.

TABLE 16

Kentish grave structures

KEY: Column headings: Gaz. = Database gazetteer number: kb = graves with surround of kerb-slots: pp = graves with vertical or oblique post-holes: ld = graves with internal ledges: bm = graves with horizontal beam-slots: cp = graves with four external corner posts: rb = structural graves robbed in antiquity.
Column content: Numerals = number of graves: - = unrecorded.

Gaz.	Site Location	kb	pp	ld	bm	cp	rb
686	Finglesham	-	6	18	2	-	0
673	Bradstow School, Broadstairs ⁴	-	3 ?	9 ?	11 ?	1	-
710	Sarre ⁵	-	-	3	-	1	3
1133	St. Peters Tip, Broadstairs ⁶	7	70+	67+	27	-	-
1208	Lord of the Manor, Ozengell	5	16 ?	6+	5+	2	60%

¹ For details of Irish examples see below pp. 348-50.

² Hogarth, 'Structural Features'.

³ G. Grainger, Finglesham Excavations report in preparation; Ozengell (1977) in preparation.

⁴ These figures are estimated, based on the unpublished site plan and notes kindly supplied by L. Webster.

⁵ The figures for Sarre are those for the 1982 excavations only. The excavations undertaken in 1863 did not record these features. D.R.J. Perkins, 'The Jutish Cemetery at Sarre Revisited' Pts. i, ii. *Arch. Cantiana* Vols. 109 (1991) pp. 139-166: 110 (1992) pp. 83-120.

⁶ These figures are estimates, based on unpublished notes kindly supplied by Cathy Haith, and on Hogarth, 'Structural Features'.

Gaz.	Site Location	kb	pp	ld	bm	cp	rb
1115	Barham Downs	-	-	-	-	1	-

To summarise: graves surrounded by rectangular kerb-slots, which in some cases retained their sandstone slabs, have been recorded at St. Peters Tip and Lord of the Manor. Post-holes for receiving vertical or oblique posts, probably associated with overground structures (Fig. 64 for Hogarth's and Grainger's suggested reconstructions) have been recorded at Finglesham, Bradstow School, St. Peters Tip and Lord of the Manor.

Internal ledges, cut into the chalk, which probably supported plank grave covers, recorded at Finglesham, Bradstow School, Sarre, St. Peters Tip and Lord of the Manor, are also known from other sites in both Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon contexts. Romano-British examples include Lankhills (Hants) (Gaz. 2179) where 17 examples were recorded, Kelvedon (Essex), Stretton-on-Fosse (Warw), and Roden Downs (Berks) where seven graves are dated to the later fourth century.¹ Anglo-Saxon examples outside Kent are recorded at High Down Hill, Ferring, and Winton Hill, Alfriston (Sussex) (Gaz. 249, 2221), Winnall II, Andover, and King Harry Lane (Hants) (Gaz. 557, 1110, 1122), and Morning Thorpe (Norf) (Gaz. 1192). Philpott,² noting the predominantly western distribution of the Roman examples and the Kentish distribution of the Anglo-Saxon examples, urges caution in suggesting any continuity between Roman and Anglo-Saxon use of this feature. However the appearance of this feature in Anglo-Saxon contexts in Hampshire and Sussex makes continuity seem more feasible. On the other hand, it may simply be that graves dug into chalk lend themselves to the use of this type of

¹ see Chapter 1. p. 31.

² Philpott *Practices* p. 69.

construction.

Beam slots, which probably supported cross-beams and performed the same function as ledges, are recorded at Finglesham, St. Peters Tip and Lord of the Manor, and also in late fourth/early fifth-century contexts, at Dunstable (Beds), Gatcombe (Som) and Lankhills (Hants).¹

External vertical corner post-holes (four-post settings) identified at Bradstow School, Sarre, Lord of the Manor and Barham Downs, have also been recorded at a 'special' grave at St. Peters Church, Barton on Humber (Gaz. 1122), and at Alton (Hants) (Gaz. 536), Berinsfield (Oxon) (Gaz.1124), Lechlade (Glos) (Gaz.1237), Morning Thorpe (Norf) (Gaz. 1192); 31 examples (associated with cremations) have been recorded at Apple Down, Compton (Sussex) (Cem. 1.) (Gaz. 1150). These four-post structures are similar to Iron Age examples, for instance Deal (Kent) (Fig.58), and to a Romano-British example at Gallow's Hill, Swaffham Prior (Cambs) (Gaz. 2250),² and two possible examples (described as small rectangular RB buildings) at Lackford (Suffolk) (Gaz. 15). The Apple Down, Compton,³ examples have been compared to some in the Netherlands and north-west Germany dating from the early Roman period to the eighth century,⁴ but it is possible that in other parts of England the concept may have lingered since the Roman period.

An interesting anomaly became apparent when compiling the column concerning structured graves which had been robbed in antiquity. Although many graves at

¹ Chapter 1, p. 32.

² Chapter I, pp. 35-7.

³ discussed in greater detail below

⁴ A. Down and M. Welch, *Chichester Excavations 7, Apple Down & The Mardens*, (Chichester, 1990) pp. 32-3. (hereafter Down & Welch, *Apple Down*).

Finglesham had been robbed in antiquity, none of the structured graves was included, whereas at Sarre and at Lord of the Manor most of the structured graves (together with others) had been robbed. The fact that graves with structures at Finglesham contained little in the way of grave goods, exceptions being female burials Nos. 20, 21, 35 and 57, and male burial 145, which contained an eighth-century coin hoard, would tend to support the view that the thieves knew in advance which graves were worth targeting, irrespective of external features.

Warrior burials accompanied by bronze bowls have been noted at Higham (Gaz. 191), Eynsford, Lullingstone (Gaz. 198), Beaksbourne II, Aerodrome (Gaz. 667), Bradstow School, Broadstairs (Gaz. 673) (g.71), Woodnesborough, Coombe (Gaz. 679) in this case a cremation, Mill Hill, Deal (Gaz. 682), Buckland I, Dover (Gaz. 684), Finglesham (Gaz. 686) (g.204), Gilton, Ash (Gaz. 689), Stowting (Gaz. 717), Wickhambreux (Gaz. 720), St. Peter's Tip, Broadstairs (Gaz. 1133) (g.247), and Darenth, Dartford (Gaz. 2200). It is of course possible that there were others which are not now observable due to the high incidence of grave robbing which took place in Kent in antiquity.

Hanging-bowls, escutcheons, and other bronze bowls not apparently associated with warriors, have been recorded from cemeteries including Old Tilt Yard, Greenwich (Gaz. 186), King's Field, Faversham II (Gaz. 685), Westwell (Gaz. 1052), a female grave at Finglesham (Gaz. 686), and two female graves at Sarre (Gaz. 710).

The incidence of cremation is extremely low in Kent (Fig. 55), and at two sites, Woodnesborough, Coombe (Gaz. 679) and the Bayle, Folkestone (Gaz. 687) examples of isolated cremated warriors have more in common with Anglian burial practices and are therefore probably intrusive.

Prone burials are recorded at six sites: Beakesbourne II, (Gaz. 667) has one; Buckland I, Dover (Gaz. 684) has one which has been recorded as being a female who revived in the grave; the example from Richborough Castle (Gaz. 707) is of a fourth-century German warrior; the site at Dollands Moor (Gaz. 2077) has a prone female with no grave goods; and at Buckland II, Dover (Gaz. 2198) a prone female deposited above a rich, supine, female burial, is reminiscent of a similar burial in Sewerby (H/side) (Gaz. 657)

Decapitated burials have been noted at two sites: at Risely, Horton Kirby II (Gaz. 207) where a warrior burial had the head upside-down beside the neck; and Sarre (Gaz. 710) where it was noted that three skulls were near the lower end of a grave containing a triple burial, and in a double burial (no. 46 a,b) one of the skulls was at the centre of the grave.

Warrior burials occurred in all the major Kentish cemeteries, but there are at least three instances of isolated warrior burials which may have functioned as sentinels. At Lower Halstow (Gaz. 188) a warrior was buried near the Thames; at Murston (Gaz. 204) a warrior with a sword was buried beside an inlet of the Swale; and at Rochester (Gaz. 210) a further warrior with sword was buried at the mouth of the Medway.

As crystal balls, usually mounted in silver bands, and in one instance in gold bands, are usually associated with Kent, I have, for the record, included a list of 10 sites which have produced these artifacts: Lyminge II (Gaz. 199); Milton-next-Sittingbourne (Gaz. 203) where the crystal ball had gold bands; Beakesbourne II (Gaz. 667); Mill Hill, Deal (Gaz. 682); Dover Hill, Folkstone (Gaz. 688); Gilton, Ash (Gaz. 689); Sarre (Gaz. 710); Smeeth (Gaz. 715); Churchyard, Harrietsham (Gaz. 1056) where the crystal ball was unmounted; and Buckland II (Gaz. 2198).

Most of the cemeteries in Kent which contain burials accompanied often by a rich array of grave goods, also include burials accompanied only by a knife, or knife and buckle indicating that they were simply clothed for burial, or with no objects whatever, perhaps indicating that they were shrouded: Gaz. 194, 199, 205, 207, 208, 667, 668, 669, 672, 673, 678, 682, 684 and 2198, 686, 689, 692, 693, 696, 704, 710, 712, 714, 717, 865, 872, 1114, 1115, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1133, 1142, 1158, 1159, 1208, 2075, 2077, 2082, 2085. This represents a surprisingly large proportion of the cemeteries in the region, and includes some which are dated by grave goods to the sixth century. It could be that in these instances the simply clothed and unaccompanied burials represent a continuing use of these cemeteries into the seventh century or even later. The unaccompanied burials in early cemeteries may represent an indigenous presence.

Summary

The territory of Kent consisted of a self-contained unit, bounded on the north by the Thames Estuary and the sea, on the east and south east by the sea, on the south by the Weald, and on the west by the river Darent. Entry into the region was probably chiefly from the sea, and then via Roman roads and rivers, the most vulnerable areas being the inlets around the Isle of Sheppey and the mouth of the Thames. It is probably not a coincidence that the three isolated warrior burials suggested here as possible sentinels are located in just that area.

In spite of the fact that the region was well populated in the Roman period, a surprisingly small proportion of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries show positive evidence for an indigenous presence.

The incidence of re-use of prehistoric burial sites, and the construction of primary

burial monuments, is high, and is concentrated in the eastern part of the region.

Kent has the highest proportion of penannular ditched burial enclosures and of grave structures in the country, and may represent the region in England from which these practices emanated in the seventh century. It also has the highest proportion of warrior burials with bronze bowls (13), and of graves robbed in antiquity. It has, on the other hand, a very low number of prone and decapitate burials.

A high proportion of cemeteries produced burials with a rich array of grave goods together with unaccompanied burials and burials with minimal accompaniments. It appears that in Kent there is a fusion of burial practices during the seventh-century conversion period. Gaulish influences are reflected in burials with grave goods,¹ some of which have Christian connotations such as cross symbols, and some of which are placed in boxes or other containers in the grave, while others reflect British or Celtic influences by discarding grave-goods.² In both cases it is evident that Christians continued to be buried in secular cemeteries at least until the eighth century.

¹ It is of interest that graves in Franchimont also had some grave goods with Christian symbolism, and it is noted that the cemetery was, at least in the seventh century, a Christian one associated with St. Hadolin a monk of Celles.

² It is conceded that especially in Kent, Celtic influences on burial practices could have arrived via Columbanian or other Irish influenced sources in Gaul.

SOUTH SAXONS

The origins of the South Saxon kingdom may be attributed to fifth-century settlement of the eastern half of the South Downs, which by the beginning of the sixth century had spread along the entire length of the Downs as far west as Chichester.¹ The boundaries of the kingdom may therefore be defined (Fig. 65) on the north by the Weald, on the south by the Channel, on the south-east by the Channel as far as Pevensey, and on the west by the Roman road from Chichester to Silchester, which also roughly forms the boundary with Hampshire.

In the Iron Age, Sussex formed part of the territory of the Atrebates, but does not appear to have been heavily populated, probably because of the proximity of the forests of the Weald. In the Roman period roads gave greater access to the region, and several sites with Anglo-Saxon burials also contain Roman burials.

The Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of Sussex have been examined in detail by Dr. Martin Welch.² This contribution will therefore be to up-date the list of sites, and to comment on those specific aspects covered by me in relation to other regions.

¹ M. Welch, 'The kingdom of the South Saxons: the origins', in Bassett, *Kingdoms* p.83.

² M. G. Welch, *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, Vols. i, ii. B.A.R. 112 (Oxford, 1983), (hereafter Welch, *Sussex*).

TABLE 17

South Saxon burials

KEY: Column headings: Gaz = database gazetteer number: in = inhumation: cr = cremation: or = orientation of burial: cb = crouched burial: pr = prone burial: dc = decapitated burial: n = burials with no grave goods: sc = secondary in prehistoric monument: pm = primary monument: ch = chamber grave: en = contemporary enclosure: a = artifacts only, no burial.
Column content: c = certain: p = possible: a = absent: - = no information recorded: v = various: fl = flexed: pn = penannular: an = annular: r = rectilinear.

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
151	Brighton	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	p	-	-	-
152	Lancing	c	a	v	fl	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
153	Lewes	c	-	v	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
154	Shoreham-by-Sea	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
155	Clapham	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	c	c	-	pn? an? r?	-
156	Eastbourne	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	a	a	-	-	-
157	Ovingdean	c	a	sn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
158	Burpham I	c	a	sn	-	-	-	c	p	c	-	-	-
159	Burpham II	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	-	c	-	-	-
160	Portslade-by-Sea	c	a	we	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
161	Saddlescombe	c	c	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
162	Kingston-by-Lewes	c	a	v	c	-	c	c	-	-	-	-	-
163	Glynde III	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	c	c	-	-	-
165	Sullington	c	c	we	-	-	-	c	c	c	-	-	-
166	Pycombe	c	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
174	Rottingdean	c	a	v	a	c	a	c	-	-	-	-	-
237	Alfriston I	c	a	v	c	p	c	c	-	-	-	-	-
238	Beddingham	c	a	v	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
239	Beddingham Hill	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	p	-	-	-
240	Upr. Beeding	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	c	-	-	-
241	Patching	c	a	we	-	-	c	c	c	c	-	-	-
242	Brighton	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
243	Firle	c	-	we	-	-	-	c	c	c	-	-	-
244	Glynde I	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
245	Glynde II	c	c	v	-	-	-	c	p	-	-	-	-
246	Hangleton	c	a	we?	a	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
247	Hassocks	c	c	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
248	South Heighton	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	p	p	-	an?	-
249	Ferring	c	c	v	c	p	-	c	c	p	p	pn	-
250	Sth. Moulsecombe	c	c	a	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
251	Eastbourne	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
601	West Stoke	a	c	a	a	a	a	c	-	c	-	-	-
800	Pagham	a	c	a	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	-	-
984	Friston Hill	c	a	-	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	-	-
1039	Hamsey	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	c	c	-	-	-
1040	Burgess Hill	p	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	c
1041	Clayton	c	a	we	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	-	-
1042	Coombes	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	c
1064	Old Shoreham	a	c	a	a	a	a	c	c	-	-	-	-
1065	Shoreham	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
1066	Stanmer	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
1067	Rottingdean	c	-	we?	fl	-	-	c	c	c	-	pn	-
1068	Rodmell	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-
1126	Bishopstone	c	c	ns?	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
1150	Compton (Apple Down)	c	c	v	c	a	a	c	c	c	-	pn an r	-
1179	Jevington	c	a	we	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	-	-
1180	Keymer	c	a	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-	-	-
1213	Selmeston	c	a	we	-	-	-	-	a	-	c	-	-
2221	Alfriston II	c	-	we	c	-	-	c	c	a	-	-	-
2222	Alfriston III	c	p	we	c	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
2223	South Downs (Arun Valley)	c	a	sn	-	-	-	c	-	c	-	-	-

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
2224	Sth. Malling Without	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
2225	Lewes	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
2226	Lewes	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	pn? an?	-
2227	St. Ann	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	p	-	-	-
2228	St. Ann	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	p	c	-	-	-
2229	Iford I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-
2230	Iford II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	p	-	-	-
2231	Rottingdean	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
2232	Rottingdean	c	a	ns	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	-	-
2233	Falmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-
2234	Stanmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-
2235	Stanmer	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
2236	Brighton	a	c	a	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	-	-
2237	Ditchling	c	a	we	a	a	a	a	-	c	-	-	-
2238	Poynings	c	a	we?	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
2239	Kingston Buci	c	a	we	a	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	-
2240	Sompting	a	c	a	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	-	-
2241	Steyning	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
2242	Steyning	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
2243	Amberley	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
2244	Singleton	c	a	sn	a	a	c	a	-	-	-	-	-
2245	Harting	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	c	-	an?	-

Find-spots of artifacts which may or may not represent burials include Hammond Place, Burgess Hill¹ (Gaz. 1040), Coombs (Gaz. 1042), and Old County Hall, Lewes (Gaz. 2225).

Several sites originally recorded in the literature as Anglo-Saxon, appear to have

¹ As all the sites are in Sussex, it is not deemed necessary to repeat (Sussex) for each entry.

been incorrectly attributed; these include burials discovered at Mill Hill, Shoreham-by-Sea (Gaz. 154) and Stanmer Park, Stanmer (Gaz. 1066) which now seem to be more likely to be late Romano-British.¹ A burial found at Friston Hill, Friston (Gaz. 984) is undatable, and may even be Iron Age, and several extended skeletons at 'Highdown', Amberley (Gaz. 2243) were accompanied only by a coin of Tiberius (AD 14-37). Two male burials extended N-S and accompanied only by a copper-alloy ring and several fossils, recovered at 43 Ashdown Avenue, Saltdean, Rottingdean (Gaz. 2232) may be Anglo-Saxon but the evidence is inconclusive, and a skeleton orientated SE-NW, found close to the inner side of a hill-fort at Dyke Camp, Poynings (Gaz. 2238) has been identified as Anglo-Saxon only on skeletal evidence.

There is in Sussex a further category consisting of groups of barrows which were recorded in the 1930s as Anglo-Saxon, but were not excavated. These sites (which have been left uncoloured on Fig. 65) include a cluster of 23 small possible Anglo-Saxon mounds and two or three larger prehistoric barrows at Mill Hill, Rodmell (Gaz. 1068); about nine bowl barrows at Lewes Racecourse, St. Ann (Gaz. 2227); two groups of small bowl barrows at Iford Front Hill, Iford (Gaz. 2229); about 10 small bowl barrows at Falmer Hill, Falmer (Gaz. 2233); and seven grave mounds in a cluster at Stanmer Park, Stanmer (Gaz. 2234).

Anglo-Saxon burials found on sites also containing Romano-British ones but with no suggestion of continuity include, skeletons, some apparently Anglo-Saxon, accompanied by weapons (?knives)² from the hillfort at Wolstonbury Hill (Gaz. 166). Secondary burials in a bowl barrow at Balcombe Pit, Glynde (Gaz. 244), included

¹ Welch, *Sussex*, pt. i. p. 20; pt. ii, pp. 430, 452.

² Welch, *Sussex*, pt. ii. pp. 441-2.

seventh-century Anglo-Saxon burials orientated W-E and accompanied only by knives, together with burials which included one in a nailed coffin accompanied by a Romano-British beaker and a glass vessel, and another with a wooden box containing grain, placed under the head (probably Roman rather than Anglo-Saxon).¹ It would seem that while the prehistoric barrow was the focus for burial, there was a time-lapse between the Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon burials. A similar situation existed at Stonepound Sandpit, Hassocks (Gaz. 247) where Bronze Age and Romano-British cremations were discovered in the same area as Anglo-Saxon ones; even though there is no suggestion of continuity at this site, it is odd that one of the few cremation cemeteries in Sussex should be located at just this spot.

Two cemeteries have produced female burials with grave-goods including a penannular brooch. One brooch, in burial 73 at High Down Hill, Ferring (Gaz. 249) was part of an array of jewellery at the waist area of the skeleton; the second, in burial 48 at Cem. 1 Apple Down, Compton (Gaz. 1150) was also in the waist area, demonstrating in both cases that the brooches were worn as trinkets.

It is possible that early Anglo-Saxon cremations found with prehistoric and late Romano-British potsherds at Thundersbarrow, Old Shoreham (Gaz. 1064) may represent some form of continuity, as there is evidence that a nearby Romano-British settlement was still being used up to the fifth century.² Some of the 112 inhumations, many of which were crouched N-S, and six cremations, dated late fifth to sixth century, recovered in a secondary position in and around a Bronze Age barrow at Rookery Hill, Bishopstone (Gaz. 1126), may represent some form of continuity: settlement at the site started in the

¹ Welch, *Sussex*, pt. ii. pp. 399-401.

² Welch, *Sussex*, pp. 449-50.

Iron Age, was succeeded by Romano-British settlement which continued until the fifth century, which was in turn succeeded by an Anglo-Saxon settlement starting in the fifth century, implying a period of overlap when indigenous peoples may still have been present.

There is a suggestion that some of the inhumations in the mixed inhumation/cremation cemetery at Apple Down, Compton (Gaz.1150) (Fig. 68) may be of indigenous people.¹ These include the burial of a young girl (g.13) with a saucer brooch, ring, knife etc., who also had a Roman coin possibly used as an obol placed behind the ear; a crouched adolescent, S-N, (g. 85) who had a coin apparently placed in the hand; an elderly female, extended S-N, with knife and buckle, who was also accompanied by a coin placed possibly in a wooden bowl; a ?female (g.134) accompanied by beads and a buckle, who had a Roman coin which may have been wrapped in the fold of a garment; and a female, extended S-N (g. 18) who was accompanied by two coins at the waist which appear to have been in a purse. The interesting thing about these coins is that they were all unpierced and were therefore not used as ornaments,² making their use as possible obols all the more likely. Also at this cemetery were several crouched burials with minimal or no grave goods, who might represent indigenous peoples; these include a double burial (41a/41b) both crouched S-N, one with a knife (Evison type 1), and the other with only a fragment of iron; a flexed female, S-N (g.12) with no grave goods, and a crouched male, S-N, (g.150) with no grave goods, located on the northern boundary of the cemetery.

As was the case in Kent, secondary burials in prehistoric monuments and the

¹ Down & Welch, *Apple Down*, p. 10

² Down & Welch, *Apple Down*, p. 105.

construction of primary Anglo-Saxon monuments fall into three categories: (a) re-use of prehistoric monuments only; (b) combined re-use of prehistoric monuments and the construction of primary monuments; and (c) construction of primary monuments only.

Sites which fall into category (a) include a skeleton with a spearhead, and several cremations recovered close to 'ancient tumuli' at Summer Down, Saddlescombe (Gaz. 161); and a Romano-British/Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery around a bowl barrow at Balcombe Pit, Glynde (Gaz. 244). A mixed inhumation/cremation cemetery on the shoulder of a hill by the site of a windmill may have originally been constructed on a prehistoric barrow at Ringmer Road, Glynde (Gaz. 245); and a cremation cemetery at Stonepound Sandpit, Hassocks (Gaz. 247) also contained Bronze Age and Roman pottery. Cremations were found at Thundersbarrow (Gaz. 1064), and inhumations in a Bronze Age barrow at Rookery Hill, Bishopstone (Gaz. 1126). A burial in a prehistoric barrow at Winton Hill, Alfriston (Gaz. 2221) is dateable to the seventh/eighth century; skeletons were discovered in the vicinity of some barrows at St. Ann, (Gaz. 2228); and a burial of doubtful date was recovered in a possibly secondary position, together with a cremation, in a barrow at Front Hill?, Alfriston (Gaz. 2222).

Sites which fall into category (b) include a group of eight barrows near a Bronze Age enclosure on a spur of Harrow Hill, New Barn Down, Clapham (Gaz. 155); two of these were excavated, three of the remainder were very low and surrounded by ring-ditches, and one stood on a rectangular platform c. 65' x 55'. A seventh-century female burial discovered at Slonk Hill, Kingston Buci (Gaz. 2239) had been placed in a grave which cut across part of a square enclosure constructed around a Bronze Age barrow. The square enclosure, somewhat similar in plan to the enclosure around the western barrow at Yeavinger (Northumberland) may either be of the late Roman period, thus pre-

dating the burial, or may be contemporary with it,¹ in which case it would constitute a primary Anglo-Saxon monument. An Anglo-Saxon warrior burial in a primary barrow was located near a long-barrow at Pepperering, Burpham (Gaz. 158) which contained 13 male secondary burials in string formation; and a secondary male burial found in a Bronze Age barrow at Saxon or Sexton Down, Glynde (Gaz. 163) was surrounded by further barrows, each containing a primary burial with a knife and in one case a spearhead. Several barrows excavated by E.C. Sainsbury at Sullington Hill, Sullington (Gaz. 165) contained both primary and secondary burials, and a group of barrows excavated in the late eighteenth century at Beddingham Hill (Gaz. 239) contained apparently primary and secondary burials.

Secondary burials in prehistoric barrows, together with primary burials in small barrows, occurred at Blackpatch, Patching (Gaz. 241), and two clusters of small barrows with primary inhumations lay around a large prehistoric mound at Firle Beacon, Firle (Gaz. 243). Aerial photographs show two rings suggesting barrow ditches² (whether prehistoric or Anglo-Saxon is unknown) at Manor Farm, South Heighton (Gaz. 248) where a warrior burial with sword had previously been ploughed out; and at High Down Hill, Ferring (Gaz. 249) an Anglo-Saxon inhumation/cremation cemetery, inside a hillfort which contained Bronze Age material, also contained a primary monument in the form of a penannular ditch which later became a focus for burial.

A group of barrows at Hamsey (Gaz. 1039) included both primary Anglo-Saxon and prehistoric mounds with secondary burials and three probably Bronze Age barrows

¹ R. Hartridge, 'Excavations at the Prehistoric and Romano-British site on Slonk Hill, Shoreham, Sussex'. *Sussex Arch. Coll.* 116 (1978) p. 83, figs. 3, 7; Blair, 'Pagan Shrines', pp. ##

² Welch, *Sussex*, pt. ii, p. 395.

surrounded by a cluster of 27 small barrows, some barely visible, at The Bostle, Balsdean, Rottingdean (Gaz. 1067) included one small barrow which when partially excavated produced evidence for a penannular ditched enclosure. A cluster of small circular mounds surrounded two or three much larger barrows at Mill Hill, Rodmell (Gaz. 1068).

The two cemeteries at Apple Down, Compton (Gaz. 1150)(Fig. 68) lay near Bronze Age barrows. Cemetery 1 contained primary monuments of the Anglo-Saxon period comprising: a ring ditch probably representing a primary barrow over g.144, which had a N-S male burial with no grave goods; the remains of a ring-ditch surrounding g. 126/128 which contained two S-N burials, a male with spearhead and a female with button brooch, buckle, finger ring and 38 beads; and a stone-packed grave (g.69) with an E-W child burial within and beneath a rectangular ditched feature, or possibly a wooden kerb. The cemetery also included at least 10 very small enclosures and five larger circular and sub-rectangular ring-ditches all associated with cremation burials, *circa* 30 four-post structures around cremations,¹ and a four-post and a six-post structure around inhumations nos. 99/93 and 157 respectively. At Lewes (Gaz.2226) a cluster of small barrows around larger prehistoric barrows yielded iron swords, spearheads and female jewellery; and it is probable that smaller barrows clustered around large prehistoric barrows at Pickers Hill, Iford (Gaz. 2230) represent primary Anglo-Saxon burials. A shallow circular ditch, possibly the remains of a small barrow, inside the hillfort at Harting Beacon, Harting (Gaz. 2245) contained a primary male burial (disturbed in antiquity) which has produced a radiocarbon determination HAR-2207, calibrated to AD 800±70, placing the burial well into the Christian period.

¹ for discussion about these four-post features see p. 272 (Kent).

Sites representative of category (c) include a barrow at Kemp Town, Brighton (Gaz. 151) which contained an elderly male warrior burial, and five barrows at Perry Hill, Burpham (Gaz. 159) each with a single primary burial, one of which had an iron knife under the skull. Two barrows at Beeding Hill, Upper Beeding (Gaz. 24) each yielded a single W-E burial, one with a knife and the other without grave goods. At least two barrows and possibly more, among a cluster of small barrows, some barely visible, at Bow Hill, West Stoke (Gaz. 601), contained primary Anglo-Saxon cremation burials, and six barrows excavated near the Arun Valley, South Downs (Gaz. 2223) each contained a S-N inhumation which may be Anglo-Saxon. One of four barrows on the north scarp of the Downs, at Ditchling Beacon, Ditchling (Gaz. 2237) contained a primary burial of an elderly male, W-E, with an iron knife; and finally, the barrows recorded at Lewes Racecourse, St. Ann (Gaz. 2227), Iford Front Hill, Iford (Gaz. 2229), Falmer Hill, Falmer (Gaz. 2233) and Stanmer Park, Stanmer (Gaz. 2234) all probably fit into this category.

Apart from the structures around and over graves in Apple Down, Compton, several other cemeteries contained graves which had structural features in the form of flint packing to support side-planks or perhaps plank covers. These include graves at Saxon or Sexton Down, Glynde (Gaz. 163); Hamsey (Gaz. 1039); and Dyke Camp, Poynings (Gaz. 2238).

Graves with internal ledges have been recorded at Winton Hill, Alfriston (Gaz. 2221), where a burial with two narrow ledges has been dated to the seventh/eighth century on that basis; and at High Down Hill, Ferring (Gaz. 249), where grave 87, consisting of a large cut 7'6" x 3'4" x 4' deep with stepped sides, might be regarded as a form of chamber-grave. There may have been a further chamber-grave at the cemetery

opposite Church Farm, Selmeston (Gaz. 1213), where one of the largest graves is described as having a stain of a wooden chamber.¹

Although many cemeteries contained warrior burials, there are no obviously isolated warrior burials recorded on the boundaries of Sussex, and only the Alfriston cemetery (Gaz. 237) contained warriors and a bronze bowl. Indeed, bronze bowls of all kinds are otherwise noticeably absent from burials in the region.

Only two certain and one possible prone burials are recorded. A prone female at Woodingdean, Rottingdean (Gaz. 174) was covered with flint nodules and burnt flints, and at Alfriston (Gaz. 237) cem. 2, a burial in an unusually deep grave, without grave goods and covered with lumps of chalk and flint, is described as having minute black fragments under the face, and must therefore have been prone. In the cemetery at Highdown Hill, Ferring (Gaz. 249) a skull (g.177) was found buried face-downward on the ramparts.

Three cases of decapitate burial are recorded: at Alfriston (Gaz.237) cem. 2, where in a N-S grave the head was detached from the body and placed on its crown; at Blackpatch, Patching (Gaz. 241), where one of the secondary burials in a prehistoric monument had a knife in the left hand and lacked its skull; and at Southover (Gaz. 162) where one skeleton also lacked its skull.

The evidence so far suggests that cremation was a minority rite in the region (Fig. 65), though it has been proposed that the Apple Down excavations, where urned and unurned cremations were found, casts doubt on this conclusion.²

Several cemeteries in Sussex which originated in the late fifth/early sixth century

¹ *Med. Arch* 24 (1980) p. 232.

² Down & Welch, *Apple Down*, p. 110.

continued to be used for both inhumation and cremation until the seventh, and in some cases a new cemetery was opened in the seventh century near the older one. Examples include the two cemeteries at Ocklynge Hill, Eastbourne: the earlier (Gaz. 251) contained burials with grave-goods ranging from swords and other weapons to knives only, and is dated to the sixth/seventh century; the later (Gaz. 156), where burials had a consistent W-E orientation and contained only knives or no grave goods, is dated to the seventh/eighth century. The earlier of the two cemeteries at Alfriston (Gaz. 237) which contained supine and crouched burials, and grave-goods ranging from rich arrays including brooches, rings, glass beakers, bronze bowl, swords, axes, shield bosses etc., to knives only, is dated fifth/seventh century, while the second (smaller) cemetery containing extended inhumations, all W-E, one with an iron knife, the remainder unaccompanied, is dated to the seventh/eighth century. Cemetery No. 1 at Apple Down, Compton (Gaz. 1150) which originated in the fifth/sixth century and continued in use until the seventh, contained contemporary inhumation and cremation burials throughout its period of use, whereas the much smaller cemetery No. 2, dated to the seventh century, contained only extended unaccompanied W-E inhumations, with the exception of one with a buckle and knife and two with knives. The evidence of unaccompanied, and knife-only burials, both primary and secondary in barrows, implies that burial near ancestors was still in vogue well into the eighth century.

Summary

The kingdom of the South Saxons is a fairly well-defined unit, initial entry to which was probably via the rivers Cuckmere, Ouse and Arun, and thence via Roman roads.

Some cemeteries show possible evidence for the continuing presence in Anglo-

Saxon areas of indigenous people, and there is a great deal of evidence indicating the re-use of ancient burial monuments even as late as the eighth century. There is also a high incidence of the construction of primary burial monuments, mainly barrows.

There are very few prone or decapitate burials recorded, and evidence currently available suggests that cremation, while used in tandem with inhumation burial, was on the whole a minority rite.

In the seventh century, a slight shift in location for some cemeteries may suggest a physical removal from demonstrably pagan cemeteries by Christians who at the same time wished to remain reasonably close to their ancestors' graves. This trait may also explain the continued insertion of burials in and around prehistoric barrows until at least the eighth century.

(HAMPSHIRE/ISLE OF WIGHT)

As the historical and pseudo-historical background to the Jutes of the Isle of Wight and Hampshire has been fully discussed elsewhere,¹ the main objective here is to try to define the boundaries of the Jutish kingdom while that kingdom enjoyed at least semi-independent status into the seventh century. According to Bede, the kingdom comprised the Isle of Wight and part of the mainland directly across the Solent.² On the basis of this description, it has been proposed that the southern boundary of mainland Jutish territory stretched from Lymington on the west to Hayling Island on the east (Figs. 69-71)³, the northern boundary being somewhere north of Winchester but south of the source of the river Test. The north-western border is ill-defined, and it is possible that some of the sites included in Figs. 69-71, may overlap with Wessex.

Iron Age inhumation becomes archaeologically visible in this region in about the third century BC, and Iron Age burials were in fact present at the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Snells Corner, Horndean (Hants) (Gaz.551). In the Roman period, activity centred on *Venta* (Winchester) and the sea-ports provided the region with a network of roads and settlements.

¹ B. Yorke, 'The Jutes of Hampshire and Wight and the origins of Wessex' in Bassett, *Kingdoms*, pp. 84-96 (hereafter Yorke, 'Jutes'); Yorke, *Wessex*, pp. 36-9.

² *HE* iv. 16.

³ Yorke, 'Jutes', pp. 90-1.

TABLE 18

Hampshire/Isle of Wight.

KEY: Column headings: Gaz = database gazetteer number: in = inhumation: cr = cremation: or = orientation of burial: cb = crouched burial: pr = prone burial: dc = decapitated burial: n = burials with no grave goods: sc = secondary in prehistoric monument: pm = primary monument: en = contemporary enclosure: a = artifacts only, no burial.

Column content: c = certain: p = possible: a = absent: - = no information recorded:

v = various: fl = flexed: pn = penannular: an = annular: r = rectilinear.

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
535	Titchbourne, Hants	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
536	Alton, Hants	c	c	v	c	a	a	c	a	a	c	a
537	Bedhampton, Hants	c	a	v	fl	-	-	p	c	a	-	-
538	Bossington, Hants	c	a	ns	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
539	Brown Candover, Hants	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
540	Droxford, Hants.	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	a	a	a	-
541	Fareham I, Hants	a	c	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
542	Fareham II, Hants	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
543	Farley, Hants	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
544	Basingstoke, Hants	c	a	-	a	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
545	Micheldever, Hants	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	a	-	-	-
546	Compton, Hants	c	a	ns	a	a	a	a	c	p	-	-
547	Preston Candover, Hants	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
548	Portsdown Hill I, Hants	c	a	we	c	-	-	c	c	a	-	-
549	Exton, Hants	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
550	Shipton, Hants.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
551	Horndean, Hants.	c	a	v	c	a	a	c	c	a	a	-
552	Sutton Scotney, Hants	c	a	we	a	a	a	a	a	-	-	-
553	Middle Wallop, Hants	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
554	Winchester I, Hants	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
555	Winchester II, Hants	c	a	ns	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
556	Winnall I, Hants	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
557	Winnall II, Hants	c	a	we?	p	-	c	c	a	a	a	-
558	King's Worthy, Hants	c	c	-	-	c	-	c	a	a	a	-
639	Carisbrook II, IOW	c	c	v	c	-	c	c	c	c	a	-

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
640	Carisbrook I, IOW	c	c?	we	-	-	-	p	c	-	-	-
641	Chessell Down, IOW	c	c	v	-	c?	c	c	-	c	-	-
642	Shalfleet, IOW	c	a	we	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
643	Brook, IOW	c	p	-	-	-	a	a	c	-	-	-
767	Chilbolton, Hants.	p	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
768	Fareham III, Hants.	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
769	East Meon, Hants	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	c
771	Nursling, Hants.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
772	Portsdown Hill II, Hants	c	a	ew?	-	-	c	c	c	-	-	-
773	Nether Wallop, Hants	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
774	Steventon, Hants	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
775	Whitchurch, Hants	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	c
776	Stockbridge, Hants	-	a	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	c
797	Ventnor, IOW	c	a	ns	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-
798	Newbarn Down, IOW	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1110	Andover, Hants	c	c	sn	c	a	a	c	c	p	an	-
1187	Meonstoke, Hants.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
1218	Southampton (Six Dials) Hants	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
1219	Southampton, Hants	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1220	Southampton (Gasworks) Hants	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
1243	Winchester, Hants	c	a	we	-	a	a	c	a	a	a	-
1255	Meon Hill, Hants.	c	-	-	-	c	c	p	-	-	-	-
2055	Southampton (Cook St.) Hants.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	-	pn	-
2060	Southampton (Clifford St.) Hants.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
2064	Winchester (Staple Gdns) Hants	c	a	we	-	a	a	c	a	a	a	-
2051	Winchester (Lr. Brook St) Hants	c	a	we	-	a	a	a	a	a	a	-
2057	Itchen Abbas, Hants	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
2058	Littleton, Hants.	c	a	v	-	a	c	c	-	-	-	-

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	en	a
2059	Romsey Abbey, Hants	c	a	we?	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-
2061	Southampton (Central Trading Est.) Hants.	c	a	we	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-
2062	Southampton (Deanery) Hants	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	a	-	-
2063	Southampton (Hawkeswood Rd.) Hants.	c	a	we	a	a	a	c	a	a	a	-
2179	Winchester (Lankhills) Hants.	c	-	we sn 1	a	c	a	a	a	a	a	a

Possible cemetery sites which have produced artifacts only include: Chilbolton, (Hants) (Gaz. 767); East Meon (Hants) (Gaz. 769); Steventon (Hants) (Gaz. 774); Whitchurch (Hants) (Gaz. 775); and Stockbridge (Hants) (Gaz. 776).

Cemeteries with residual Romano-British material but no positive evidence for continuity include the seventh-century cemetery near a re-used late Roman masonry structure at Lr. Brook Street, Winchester (Gaz. 2051), where although some late-Roman burials were found nearby (which the excavator admits was puzzling in view of the Roman ban on burial within towns)¹ the time-gap between the late Roman period and the seventh century is too great for continuity to be plausible. The 22 burials described as 'Germanic and intrusive' in the Romano-British cemetery at Lankhills, Winchester (Gaz.2179)² cannot be used as evidence for continuity of burial from the Romano-British into the Anglo-Saxon period because the cemetery ceased to be used in the early fifth century and never received burial of Anglo-Saxon settlers. If the burials in question were of Germanic people, these were a small group who arrived in the fourth century and

¹ B. Kjølbbye-Biddle, 'Dispersal or Concentration: The disposal of the Winchester dead over 2000 years' in S. Bassett (ed), *Death in Towns. Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600* (Leicester, 1992) p. 221.

² Clarke, *Lankhills*, pp. 377-403.

apparently became part of the local community. The cemetery at Worthy Park, Kings Worthy (Hants) (Gaz. 558), where cremation commenced in the late fifth century and inhumation *circa* AD 500,¹ contained burials with Anglo-Saxon grave-goods dateable to the sixth century and burials with no grave goods; the back-fill of some graves contained residual Romano-British material. As this cemetery was located in the same general locality as the late Romano-British cemetery at Martyr Worthy,² which contained chamber graves, the unaccompanied burials may represent indigenous people who had become assimilated into the new community.

Given her great age at death, a case might be made for a possible British connection for the burial of a very elderly female (aged 60-80 years) in the late fifth/sixth century cemetery at Mount Pleasant, Alton (Hants) (Gaz. 536) who had a necklace of 11 Romano-British glass beads, two perforated Romano-British coins and a Romano-British copper-alloy brooch on either shoulder. There is undoubtedly continuity of burial from the Iron Age, through the Roman period, and into the Anglo-Saxon period at Snell's Corner, Horndean (Hants) (Gaz. 551) but whether this continuity is actual or contrived is debatable. The focus for burial at the site was a Bronze Age mound which attracted burial in the Iron Age, and possible evidence for continuity between this and the Romano-British period is provided by the fact that the later burials were placed a small distance away thereby avoiding interference with the earlier burials. Burials of this latter period continued until the end of the fourth/beginning of the fifth century to judge from a bronze coin of AD 388-97 used as an obol. The Anglo-Saxon burials, which were dated to the sixth/seventh century, respected the area of the Romano-British burials but disturbed the

¹ *Med. Arch.* 6/7 (1962-63) p. 307.

² See above Chapter 1 pp. 34

earlier Iron Age ones, indicating that they were perhaps aware of the existence of the Romano-British but not of the earlier burials.

Secondary burials in prehistoric monuments include burials inserted into the Neolithic long-barrow called Bevis's Grave at Bedhampton (Hants) (Gaz. 537), some of which have been dated to as late as the ninth century on the basis of grave-goods which included iron knives, buckles, a decorated bronze strap-end and an enamelled bronze disc (possibly from a hanging-bowl) used as a pendent or brooch. A warrior, N-S, with spearhead and shield boss was buried near two large barrows at Broughton Down, Bassington Hants) (Gaz. 538); and a spearhead and scramasax found at a long barrow at Preston Candover (Hants) (Gaz. 547), may represent another warrior burial. Two tightly crouched burials which might be Iron Age were included among 21 burials dated to the seventh century, found together with Bronze Age and early Iron Age burial material at Portsdown Hill, Cosham (Hants) (Gaz. 548), and further Anglo-Saxon burials (Gaz. 772) found nearby at a prehistoric long-barrow included one which was decapitate. Ten burials found in a secondary position in a hillfort at Meon Hill (Hants) (Gaz. 1255), recorded as Anglo-Saxon, included six which were decapitate and two prone.¹ In the Isle of Wight, Anglo-Saxon burials secondary in prehistoric monuments have been found at Arreton Down, Carrisbrooke (Gaz. 640) and Shalcombe Down, Brook (Gaz. 643).

Burials in primary Anglo-Saxon monuments near prehistoric monuments have been recorded at Oliver's Battery, Compton (Hants) (Gaz. 546) where a warrior with a hanging-bowl had been placed in a barrow constructed on the north-east corner of the vallum; and the inhumation/cremation cemetery at Portway Industrial Estate, Andover (Hants) (Gaz. 1110) located near Bronze Age barrows, contained cremations within three

¹ Harman, 'Beheadings', p. 187.

annular ditches which may represent small barrows. On the Isle of Wight, the cemetery at Bowcombe Down, Carisbrooke (Gaz. 693) included secondary inhumations in prehistoric barrows, together with some burials in small primary barrows.

Possible primary monuments have been recorded in the cemetery at Chessell Down (Gaz. 641)¹ but there is much doubt about the accuracy of the original reporting at this site.²

Cremation was a minority rite in the region, and where present it is combined with the rite of inhumation. The cemetery at Mount Pleasant, Alton (Gaz. 536) contained a mixture of inhumation and cremation, and at least one of the cremations was within a small square gully with a post-hole at each corner similar to those at Apple Down, Compton (Sussex) (Gaz. 1150) (Fig. 68). It is worth noting that both sites are on the Sussex/Hampshire border, and Apple Down lies approx. 25k due south from Alton along the Roman road from Silchester to Chichester. The cemetery at Worthy Park, Kings Worthy (Gaz. 558) contained over 95 inhumations and about 37 cremations; and at Portway Industrial Estate, Andover (Gaz. 1110) cremations and inhumations, dated to the late fourth/sixth century, were roughly contemporary but mainly segregated within the cemetery. On the Isle of Wight, inhumations and cremations were inserted as secondary burials in prehistoric mounds at Bowcombe Down. Carrisbrooke (Gaz. 693) and at Shalcombe Down (Gaz. 643). Both rites were also observed at Chessell Down (Gaz. 641). Site (Gaz. 541) (Fig. 69) is the find-spot of two urns at Fareham (Hants).

There are three warrior burials in the region accompanied by hanging-bowls.

¹ Meaney, *Gazetteer*, p. 95.

² The reports and material from the Chessell Down cemetery has been painstakingly sorted in C.J. Arnold, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of the Isle of Wight*, (London, 1982). (hereafter Arnold, *Isle of Wight*).

The warrior burial recovered at West Ham, Basingstoke (Gaz. 544) close to the Ridgeway had a hanging-bowl and several draughtsmen; a warrior buried in a possible primary barrow on the vallum of Oliver's Battery, Compton (Gaz. 546) was accompanied by a fine hanging-bowl with three enamelled escutcheons; and on the Isle of Wight, one of the warrior burials in the cemetery at Chessell Down (Gaz. 641) was accompanied by a sword, spearhead, shield-boss, a bow and arrows, a hanging-bowl with three bird-shaped escutcheons, an imported pail (possibly Byzantine) and a bucket.

While there are many warrior burials in cemeteries in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, it is difficult to define any which might be sentinel and isolated on the boundaries. Possibilities would include the warrior at West Ham, Basingstoke (Gaz. 545); the possible burial represented by a secondary sword-find in a long-barrow at Whitchurch (Gaz. 776); and the warrior buried near prehistoric barrows at Broughton Down, Bossington (Gaz. 538), but in no case is the evidence strong enough to be definite.

Two female burials at Chessell Down (Isle of Wight) (Gaz. 641) were accompanied by crystal balls in silver slings; one of which, (no.45), was a very rich burial which contained, along with the crystal ball, a silver-gilt perforated spoon, a weaving batten, two silver rims from wooden cups, three square-headed brooches, one equal-armed brooch, a silver-gilt disc brooch set with garnets, and a bronze pail with animal hunting scenes and a runic inscription; the skeleton had gold braid around the forehead. Both the gold braid and the bronze pail appear to be Byzantine in origin.¹ It has been suggested that this latter burial, which is similar to aristocratic female burials in Kent, may be evidence for inter-marriage between the two royal houses in the second

¹ Arnold, *Isle of Wight*, p. 66.

half of the sixth century.¹

Decapitate burials have been recorded at Winnall II, Winchester (Gaz. 557) where one and possibly two burials were headless, and at Portsdown Hill II (Gaz. 772) where a young adult had the head placed on top of one shoulder.² Six of the 10 (all male) burials described as Anglo-Saxon found in a secondary position in a hill-fort at Meon Hill (Gaz. 1255) were decapitated, two had the heads between the knees, one between the thighs, two were replaced in the correct position, and one was decapitate and prone. Most unusually all 17 burials (including an infant) excavated in 15 graves at Old Dairy Cottage, Littleton near Winchester (Gaz. 2058) were decapitated, with the heads placed towards the foot of the grave, (15 were N-S, one W-E, and the infant was E-W). A date in the seventh century is suggested by buckles found with the S-N burials.³ On the Isle of Wight, two of the burials at Bowcombe Down, Carisbrooke (Gaz. 639) lacked their heads, and of two at Chessell Down (Gaz. 641) one, with no grave goods, had the head missing, and the other, with an iron knife, had the head placed on the abdomen.

Two prone burials have been recorded at Worthy Park, Kings Worthy (Gaz. 558), both female; one of the two male prone burials at Meon Hill (Gaz. 1255) was decapitate; and among the possibly intrusive burials at Lankhills (Gaz. 2179) a child was buried prone.

Several of the burials in the cemetery at Portway Industrial Estate, Andover (Gaz. 1110) involved unusual practices and are worth mentioning individually. Grave No. 34 appeared to be a cenotaph where only clothing was buried, as it contained a buckle and

¹ Yorke, 'Jutes', p. 89.

² Harman, 'Beheadings', p. 187.

³ *Med. Arch.* 35 (1991) pp. 157-8.

knife at waist level but no evidence for a body. Grave 9, which contained a male skeleton (gender confirmed by Dr. Wells and Miss Henderson) buried in female apparel, had a large stone placed on the chest and burnt grain was recovered from the grave. Grave 23, which contained only a skull accompanied by a knife and a collection of beads, is unlikely to ever have had any other bones present. Grave 2 contained a crouched male with wrists crossed as if bound, placed immediately above and within the same grave as a supine female. And cremation 16 was placed at one end of a rectangular grave-pit which measured almost 1m long.

The partially excavated cemetery at Cook Street, Southampton (Gaz.2055) dated to the seventh/eighth century, contained three penannular ditches, two of which had central inhumations with the feet in line with the east-facing opening of the enclosures, comparable to similar graves in Kent. Wood stains indicated plank lining in the graves, and one grave in the cemetery contained a possible knife blade and silver and bronze linked pins.¹

Evidence for plank lining and/or covers was also present at Andover (Gaz. 1110) where two of the five graves with partial flint packing also had possible plank lining. Five further graves had some evidence for plank lining, and one grave had a ledge along one side with signs of wood on the surface. Two unaccompanied burials at Six Dials, Southampton (Gaz. 1218) were coffined, and at least one grave at Hamwic Gasworks, Southampton (Gaz. 1220) was plank-lined. Approximately 73 of the seventh/eighth century burials at Staple Gardens, Winchester (Gaz. 2064) were coffined, as were the majority of the burials in the eighth-century cemetery at Clifford Street, Southampton (Gaz. 2060). Evidence for plank lining was identified in one of the graves at Central

¹ *Med. Arch.* 33 (1989) p. 191.

Trading Estate, Southampton (Gaz. 2061) which may date to the eighth century, and in the cemetery at Portsdown Hill, Cosham (Gaz. 548) three graves had flint settings at the foot, and one had flints along the side. All the burials in that cemetery were W-E, and the majority had no grave goods. On the Isle of Wight, at Chessell Down (Gaz. 641) one of the graves was slab-lined, and in four or five cases a solid cover of hard marl survived about one foot above the body, an indication that wet marl must have been laid on a wooden cover, which decayed leaving the hardened marl layer in a void above the body.

A number of cemeteries in the region contained burials which appear to span the conversion period, and these include the cemetery at Portsdown Hill, Cosham (Gaz. 548) where in 21 W-E inhumations only three had grave goods, one of which was a warrior burial, and the other two had only a knife and a buckle. At Winnall II, Winchester (Gaz. 557) a few burials towards the centre of the cemetery contained seventh-century grave goods, but about 50% had only iron knives and the remainder nothing, suggesting that at this cemetery some possible Christians continued to bury in an ancestral cemetery. The cemetery at Hamwic Gasworks, Southampton (Gaz. 1220) which was abandoned sometime in the eighth century and which contained 76 burials, W-E, with no grave goods except for one which had a knife-blade, may perhaps have been the predecessor to the eighth-century cemetery at Clifford Street, Southampton (Gaz. 2060) with W-E burials mostly in coffins, which also included a timber building (possibly a chapel). Burials which commenced *circa* AD 648 at Old Minster, Winchester (Gaz. 1234) were presumably Christian from the outset, as were the burials dated seventh/ninth century at the secular cemetery at Staple Gardens, Winchester (Gaz. 2046). A female burial dated to the end of the seventh century at Lr. Brook Street, Winchester (Gaz. 2051) with a

necklace of beads and gold and garnet pendants and a collar of silver rings, may have been a Christian with Gaulish connections.

The other side of the coin is demonstrated by the inclusion of objects dated to the ninth century with burials still being inserted at that time into the Neolithic long-barrow called Bevis's Grave at Bedhampton (Gaz. 537).

Summary

The territory of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight ranging from the Isle of Wight and that part of the mainland extending from Lymington on the west to Hayling Island on the east, and inland to the area north of Winchester, was easily accessible via sea-ports, rivers and a network of Roman roads.

Evidence exists in several cemeteries for possible contacts between Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon communities.

The re-use of prehistoric burial mounds is confined mainly to the periphery of the region, away from the urbanised Roman centre, as is the occasional construction of primary monuments.

Cremation, which was a minority rite, occurred only in cemeteries which also contained inhumations (Fig. 70).

Possible connections with Kent are suggested by the presence of hanging-bowls with three warrior burials (2 in Hampshire and one in the I.O.W.), the presence of crystal balls, Byzantine bronze pails, gold braid and Kentish brooches in the I.O.W., and penannular enclosures at Southampton, with W-E inhumations buried with the feet towards the enclosure openings.

The four-post structure around a cremation at Alton suggests a connection with

Apple Down in Sussex.

Stone packing, present in graves at several cemeteries, was a practice already known in the region, for instance in late Romano-British graves at Lankhills, Winchester, and Poundbury (Dorset).¹ Unless this practice evolved independently in other regions such as Kent where it is was very prevalent in the Anglo-Saxon period, it may have spread to those regions from the south-west via Hampshire or Wessex.

A slight shift in the location of secular cemeteries in the seventh century may indicate the advent of Christianity, but the deposition of possible eighth/ninth century burials into prehistoric monuments hints at a prolonged conversion period.

¹ Chapter 1. p. 31.

GEWISSE

In order to tackle the large area of territory which came under the control of the Gewisse at various times during the sixth/seventh centuries, I have divided the material into two regional groups:

Group 1 encompasses the Upper Thames Valley and includes the region of the Cotswolds in which the border fluctuated between the Gewisse and Mercia until final Mercian domination of the region in the seventh century. It becomes inevitable that some seventh-century burials included in this section might fit equally well into the section on Mercia.

Group 2 encompasses the Thames Valley south of the Icknield Way, and ranges south-west to Somerset and Dorset. This is the area which became known as Wessex in the later seventh century.

Group 1: (Upper Thames Valley region) (Figs. 72-74)

This region is bordered on the south by the Icknield Way and the Berkshire Downs, on the south-east by the Icknield Way and the Chilterns where these also form a possible boundary with East and Middle Saxons, on the north-east by the boundary with Middle Anglia, on the north by the river Avon, and on the west by the territory of the Hwicce and ultimately by the rivers Severn and Avon.

It is with some trepidation that I approach this part of the study, because the region around the Upper Thames Valley has been intensely investigated by many scholars, most notably Drs. T.M. Dickinson and J. Blair.¹ Nevertheless I hope my

¹ T.M. Dickinson, 'The Anglo Saxon burial sites of the Upper Thames Region and their bearing on the history of Wessex, circa AD 400-700'. Vols. i, ii, iii. Unpublished D. Phil. Thesis, University of Oxford. 1976. (hereafter Dickinson 'Upper Thames'); J. Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*, (Stroud, 1994). (hereafter Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*).

endeavour will make some worthwhile additional contribution to the overall picture.

This area, with its good agricultural land especially around the Upper Thames Valley, which was well populated in the Iron Age and in the succeeding Roman period up to at least AD 400,¹ became the probable base for the early Gewisse, before finally coming under Mercian domination in the seventh century.

TABLE 19

West Saxon burials Upper Thames Valley & north

KEY: Column headings: Gaz = database gazetteer number: in = inhumation: cr = cremation: or = orientation of burial: cb = crouched burial: pr = prone burial: dc = decapitated burial: n = burials with no grave goods: sc = secondary in prehistoric monument: pm = primary monument: ch = chamber grave: en = contemporary enclosure: a = artifacts only, no burial.
Column content: c = certain: p = possible: a = absent: - = no information recorded: v = various: fl = flexed: pn = penannular: an = annular: r = rectilinear.

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
395	Littlehampton, H&W	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
395	Evesham, H&W	c	-	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
397	Broadway, H&W	c	-	we	-	-	-	p	p	-	-	-	-
398	Yelford, Oxon	c	a	ns	a	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
399	Yarnton, Oxon	x	a	v	c	c	c	c	p	-	-	-	-
400	Wheatley, Oxon	c	a	v	c	c	c	c	a	-	-	-	-
401	Tadmarton, Oxon	c	a	-	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-
402	Summertown Oxford, Oxon	c	a	-	a	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-
403	Stanton Harcourt I, Oxon	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	c	a	a	a	-
404	Standlake, Oxon	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	pn? an?	-
405	Souldern, Oxon	c	c	ew?	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
406	Oddington, Oxon	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

¹ Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*, pp. xvii-xx.

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
407	Minster Lovell, Oxon	c	a	v	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
408	Lyneham, Oxon	c	a	v	-	p	-	c	c	p	-	-	-
409	Nth. Leigh, Oxon	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
410	Kirtlington, Oxon	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
411	Kinsey, Oxon	p	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
412	Kidlington, Oxon	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
413	Iffley, Oxon	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
414	Hornton, Oxon	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
415	Lr. Heyford, Oxon	c	-	ew?	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
416	Headington, Oxon	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
417	Filkins, Oxon	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
418	Eynsham I, Oxon	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
419	Ducklington I, Oxon	c	a	v	c	a	a	c	a	-	-	-	-
420	Cuddesdon, Oxon.	c	p	rad	-	c	a	c	a	c	-	-	-
421	Crawley, Oxon	c	a	-	-	a	a	a	a	c	-	-	-
422	Cokethorpe, Oxon	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
423	Chinnor II, Oxon	c	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	c	-	-	-
424	Chadlington, Oxon	c	a	we	-	-	c	c	p	a	-	-	-
425	Cassington II, Oxon	c	a	v	p	c	a	c	-	-	-	pn? an?	-
426	Cassington III, Oxon	c	a	v	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
427	Cassington I, Oxon	c	a	v	-	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	-
428	Brize Norton, Oxon	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
429	Brighthampton, Oxon	c	c	v	c	-	c	c	-	-	-	-	-
430	Broughton Poggs, Oxon	c	-	v	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
431	Black Bourton, Oxon	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
432	Asthall Barrow, Oxon	a	c	a	a	a	a	a	a	c	c	-	-

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
487	Kempsford, Glos.	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
493	Abingdon I, Oxon.	c	c	v	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
494	Abingdon II, Oxon	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
495	Lockinge, Oxon	c	a	we?	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
497	Blewbury, Oxon.	c	c	ew	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
498	Coleshill, Oxon.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-	-
503	Faringdon, Oxon.	c	a	-	-	-	a	c	a	-	-	-	-
504	Frilford I, Oxon	c	c	v	c	c	-	c	a	a	-	-	-
505	Frilford II, Oxon	c	a	we?	a	a	a	a	p	c	-	-	-
506	Harwell, Oxon	c	a	v	c	a	a	c	-	-	-	-	-
508	Lockinge Pk. Oxon	c	a	-	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-
509	Longcot, Oxon.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
510	Lowbury Hill, Oxon.	c	a	sn	a	a	a	c	-	c	-	-	-
511	Milton, Oxon	c	a	ns?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
516	Uffington, Oxon	c	a	-	a	-	a	a	a	-	-	-	-
518	Sutton Courtenay I, Oxon	c	a	-	a	-	a	c	a	-	-	-	-
519	Sutton Courtenay II Oxon	c	a	-	a	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-
520	Upton, Oxon.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-	-
521	Wallingford, Oxon.	c	c	v	-	-	a	c	a	-	-	-	-
522	Uffington, Oxon.	c	c	-	c	c	c	c	c	c	-	an?	-
523	Long Wittenham I, Oxon	c	c	v	fl	a	a	c	-	-	-	-	-
524	Long Wittenham II Oxon	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
527	Sparsholt, Oxon.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-	-
531	Dorchester I, Oxon	c	a	v	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
532	Dorchester II Oxon	c	a	ns	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-	-
533	Dorchester III	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
534	Ewelme, Oxon	c	-	we	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
622	Chavenage, Glos.	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
623	Kemble II, Wilts.	c	a	ew?	-	-	-	p	a	-	-	-	-
624	Beckford A, H&W	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
625	Beckford B, H&W	c	c	sn	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
626	Blockley, Glos.	c	c	-	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
627	Bredon's Norton, H&W	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
628	Wyre Piddle, H&W	c	a	we?	c	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-
629	Upton Snodsbury, H&W	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
752	Abingdon III, Oxon	c	a	sn?	c	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
753	Aston Tirrold, Oxon	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
754	Cuckhamsley, Oxon	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
763	Benson, Oxon	c	a	-	p	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
764	Clifton Hampden, Oxon	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
803	Leckhampton Hill, Glos	c	a	-	c	-	-	a	a	-	-	-	-
807	Bricklehampton, H&W	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
888	Sydenham, Oxon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
889	Stanton Harcourt II Oxon	c	a	we	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
890	Spelsbury, Oxon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
891	Oxford (Kingston Rd) Oxon	c	a	v	c	-	-	c	a	a	-	-	-
892	Oxford (Park Cres)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
893	Osney, Oxon	a	c	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-	-
894	Idbury, Oxon	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
895	Horspath, Oxon	c	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
896	Upr. Heyford, Oxon	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
897	Chinnor I, Oxon	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
898	Chimney, Oxon.	c	a	we	-	-	a	c	a	-	-	-	-
899	Burford, Oxon	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
900	Blackthorn, Oxon	c	a	-	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
1080	Hampnett, Glos.	c	c	-	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
1081	Cirencester, Glos	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	a	-	-	-	-
1082	Ebrington, Glos.	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	a	-	-	-	-
1083	Fairford, Glos.	c	c	v	fl	-	-	p	a	-	-	-	-
1084	Withington, Glos.	c	a	-	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
1085	Hidcote Bartrim, Glos.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
1086	Kemble I, Wilts	c	a	we?	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
1087	Oddington, Glos.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
1088	Poulsen, Glos.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
1089	Bourton-on-the-Water, Glos.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
1090	Upr. Swell I, Glos.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
1091	Upr. Swell II, Glos	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
1097	Wytham, Oxon	c	a	-	c	-	-	c	a	a	p	-	-
1099	Stow-on-the-Wold, Glos.	c	a	-	c	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
1109	Adwell, Oxon.	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
1117	Didcot, Oxon.	c	a	v	fl	a	a	c	a	p	a	pn? an?	-
1124	Berinsfield, Oxon	c	c	v	-	-	-	c	c	a	-	-	-
1143	Charlbury, Oxon	c	a	-	c	-	a	c	a	-	-	-	-
1145	Cirencester, Glos.	c	a	we?	-	c	-	c	a	a	-	-	-
1156	Ducklington II, Oxon	c	a	ns	-	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-
1165	Eynsham II, Oxon.	c	a	-	-	-	a	p	a	-	-	-	-
1166	Eynsham III, Oxon	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
1205	Oxford (St.Frideswides)	c	a	we?	a	a	a	a	c	a	a	-	-
1214	Wilcote, (Shakenoak) Oxon	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
1234	Watchfield, Oxon	c	c	v	c	c	a	c	c	a	-	-	-
1237	Lechlade, Glos.	c	c	v	fl	-	-	c	-	c	-	an	-
1244	Wooton, Oxon.	c	a	-	a	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-
1245	Worcester, H&W	c	a	we	-	-	a	c	a	a	-	-	-
2052	Bishops Cleeve, Glos.	c	a	ns	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
2053	Deerhurst, Glos.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	a	-	-	-
2138	Fladbury, H&W	c	a	ns	-	a	a	c	a	a	-	-	-
2143	Gt. Tew, Oxon	c	a	-	a	-	a	a	a	c	-	-	-
2148	Somerton, Oxon.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	a	-	-	-
2182	Queenford Farm, Dorchester, Oxon.	c	a	we	c	c	a	c	c	a	-	r	-
2184	Warborough (ChurchPiece)Oxon.	c	a	ew?	-	c?	-	c	-	p	-	an r	-
2188	Standlake II, Oxon	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
2191	Abingdon, Oxon	c	a	ns	-	-	a	c	a	a	-	-	-
2192	Eynsham IV, Oxon.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	p	-	pn? an?	-
2193	Shipton-under- Wychwood, Oxon.	c	a	ns	-	-	a	c	c	-	-	r?	-
2194	Little Wittenham, Oxon	c	a	-	-	c	a	c	c	-	-	-	-
2195	Appleford, Oxon	c	a	ew?	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
2196	Long Hanborough, Oxon	c	c	v	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
2197	West Hendred, Oxon	c	c	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
2199	Woolstone, Oxon.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
2218	Kemble III, Wilts.	c	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
2220	Abingdon IV, Oxon.	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
2249	Radley, Oxon	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-

Sites which are find-spots of artifacts only but which probably represent burials include Gaz. numbers 627, 753, 807, 888, 890, 892 and 1085.

Several cemeteries contain burials which conform to post-Roman norms as discussed in Chapter 2, suggesting that this rite continued to be used by groups of indigenous people during the Anglo-Saxon period. Examples include the cemetery at Queenford Farm, Dorchester-on-Thames¹

(Gaz. 2182) (Fig. 75) with over 200 graves recorded (164 excavated), all unaccompanied W-E (except two which were E-W) where radiocarbon dates obtained for four burials were calibrated at 2 sigma range (93% confidence) to AD 430-630², giving a possible span from at least the fifth to the seventh century for use of the cemetery. Five burials with no grave goods and one possible coffin have been excavated at the cemetery at Church Piece, Warborough (Oxon) (Gaz. 2184) where numerous other burials including three small ring-ditches, each with a central W-E pit, have been recognised from crop-marks. It is estimated that the cemetery was in use in the fourth/fifth century, but if the ring-ditches conform to the usual pattern it would suggest possible use up until the seventh century. At Frilford (Oxon) (Gaz. 504) it has been estimated that only 13 cremations and about 28 inhumations with grave goods dating to the fifth/sixth century,

¹ see also Chapter 1, pp. 8, 14.

² Chambers, 'Queenford Farm', p. 58

out of approximately 212 burials, could definitely be recognised as Anglo-Saxon,¹ while some Romano-British burials could be recognised by the presence of coffins with nails and coins, the latest of which was a coin of Gratian AD375-383. As the majority of the burials had no grave goods it is possible that the cemetery continued to be used by sections of the indigenous population in parallel with their Anglo-Saxon neighbours, until perhaps the seventh century. A group of seven burials, N-S, in four graves, with no grave goods and with limestone slabs over the burials, at Box Hill, Abingdon (Oxon) (Gaz.2191) are recorded as Anglo-Saxon, but may be late-Roman.

In many instances Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were located at, or close to, Romano-British burial places. In some instances this may indicate a form of continuity, but in others, various factors including time-lag, suggest that there was no direct continuity. A case in point is presented by the burials contained in two barrows at White Horse Hill, Uffington (Oxon) (Gaz.522), excavated first in 1858, and re-excavated in 1993 by David Miles of the Oxford Archaeological Unit. One barrow produced some cremations and about 46 Romano-British inhumations including three decapitates, one of which was prone and had the head between the knees and two which were headless, and four articulated prone burials.² The second adjoining barrow, described as Anglo-Saxon, contained six 'carelessly' buried skeletons and a confused heap of bones. One young male decapitate with his head between his knees had a circular enamelled Romano-British type brooch on one shoulder, suggesting that he was probably not an Anglo-Saxon. Two headless male skeletons, one accompanied by a knife and shield fittings, were Anglo-Saxons. In the centre of the mound a supine male skeleton had a child by his left side,

¹ Dickinson, 'Upr. Thames', vol. ii, p. 119.

² Harman, 'Beheadings', p. 186, no.46.

and a little distance from this a youth with knees flexed and two detached skulls. I would suggest that the young male decapitate, perhaps the central male, child and youth, and also possibly the confused heap of bones which may have been disturbed during the insertion of the headless Anglo-Saxon burials, were Romano-British. It is unclear whether the people inserting the Anglo-Saxon burials were aware of the Romano-British burials, or were simply re-using pre-existing mounds.

Anglo-Saxon burials dateable to the seventh/eighth century, interred close to a Romano-British burial site at Stanton Harcourt (Oxon) (Gaz. 403, 889) were probably unaware of the Romano-British burials, but were attracted to the site by the presence there of a Bronze Age barrow. At Wytham (Oxon) (Gaz. 1097) one extended skeleton with a knife may be the only Anglo-Saxon burial among crouched skeletons with hands before their faces, accompanied by pig bones, amber beads, pottery and charcoal, which appear to represent a much older burial rite. The description of some of the grave pits at this site as varying in size from 3' to 10' long and from 1' to 11' deep¹ suggests that some may be prehistoric burial chambers. It is possible that two crouched female burials, classified as Anglo-Saxon, found near the Fosse Way at Broadwell, Stow-on-the-Wold (Glos)(Gaz. 1099) one of which was accompanied by an iron knife and the other only by a double-spiral headed pin worn on one shoulder in the British or Celtic manner, were British, or had strong British connections.

Anglo-Saxon burials interred in Romano-British villas or settlement sites seldom indicate any form of continuity with the previous inhabitants of those sites, but there may be some slight indication of continuity at Barton Court Farm, Abingdon (Oxon) (Gaz.2220) where five inhumations were recovered in and around the villa buildings. An

¹ Meaney, *Gazetteer*, pp. 54-5.

adult male with an iron knife had a third-century radiate coin in his mouth, indicating a knowledge of this custom by those who buried him; a female S-N who apparently died in childbirth was also accompanied by a coin; another female, S-N, had grave goods which included a silvered bronze fish-shaped plate normally used as a shield mount, an iron knife, bone comb, and amber beads; while yet another female, N-S, had amber beads, bronze pins, a gilded saucer-brooch (notable as one only, not in a pair), a silver/bronze buckle and two silver and gilded-bronze belt studs. Outside in a gully was a male burial, S-N, which had no grave goods. It should be noted that there were also at least two crouched Iron Age burials and about 47 Romano-British infant burials.

The rich seventh-century grave with three inhumations located at the edge of an extensive Romano-British settlement at Ducklington (Oxon) (Gaz. 1156), and the seventh-century burials recovered in a Roman villa at Woolstone (Oxon) (Gaz. 2199), had no direct connection with those settlements. Other burials located at, but having no direct connection with, Roman villas include a warrior burial on a Roman pavement at Oakley Park, The Barton, Cirencester (Gaz. 1081); one female and 21 male burials (aged 16-50 years), all W-E, including one decapitate and four skeletons with sword-cuts to the head and upper body areas,¹ with no grave goods, at the Roman villa at Shakenoak, Wilcote (Gaz. 1214) which may represent the burial ground of a seventh-century warrior band;² and a seventh-century burial with an iron buckle and knife in the Roman villa at Great Tew (Gaz. 2143) which was covered by a small cairn in a somewhat similar fashion to a burial at the Romano-Celtic temple at Noah's Ark Field, Frilford (Gaz. 505).

¹ A.C.C. Brodribb, A.R. Hands, D.R. Walker, *Excavations at Shakenoak*, pt. i (1971) pp. 27-8, 116-120; pt. iv (1973) pp. 32-35, 172-185.

² Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*, pp. 17, 33-4.

In a region which is rich in prehistoric monuments, it is only to be expected that Anglo-Saxons wishing to stake a claim to an ancient ancestry would re-use some of these for burial purposes. Examples include fifth/sixth century burials of warriors and females excavated at a Bronze Age site on the crest of Broadway Hill, Broadway (H & W) (Gaz. 397); Anglo-Saxon burials, including some crouched burials which may be indigenous in view of the location nearby of a late Romano-British cemetery, among prehistoric penannular enclosures at Yarnton (Oxon) (Gaz. 399); seventh-century burials in and around a Bronze Age bowl barrow at Stanton Harcourt (Oxon) (Gaz. 403, 889) with Romano-British burials also located nearby; seventh-century burials, at least one of which was a lady with a Christian cross attached to her chatelaine,¹ among prehistoric disc-barrows at Standlake (Oxon) (Gaz. 404); and two burials in stone-lined or stone-packed graves, one with a spearhead, the other with a knife, N-S, S-N, secondary in a long barrow at Lyneham (Oxon) (Gaz. 408).

A Bronze Age cremation discovered among seventh-century inhumations at Chadlington (Oxon) (Gaz. 424) suggests that a prehistoric barrow originally existed at that spot. One of the burials at Smith's Pit, Cassington (Oxon) (Gaz. 425) was in a grave cut into the fill of a circular ?prehistoric ditch. This grave which was clay-lined, had a fire lit in it (for purification?) before the burial (accompanied by bone plaques with compass-drawn and incised decoration) was inserted. A Bronze Age tumulus was the focus for the large Anglo-Saxon cremation/inhumation cemetery at Saxton Road, Abingdon (Oxon) (Gaz. 493) where of a total of about 127 inhumations, 72 had grave-goods dating from the fifth century. However, the presence of 47 burials with no grave goods and eight with a knife only at this cemetery may indicate either an indigenous fifth-

¹ Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*, pp. 49, 71.

century presence for the unaccompanied burials, or continued use of the cemetery into the seventh century.

Other secondary burials in the Oxfordshire region include those discovered within a circular area on top of Arne Hill, Lockinge (Gaz. 495); Blewburton Hillfort, Blewbury (Oxon) (Gaz. 497); White Horse Hill, Uffington (Gaz. 525); and Dyke Hills, Dorchester-on-Thames (Gaz. 531) where the burial with the well-known fourth-century military belt and a female with fifth-century Anglo-Saxon jewellery were located. Also in Dorchester (Gaz. 533) further Anglo-Saxon secondary burials were found around the periphery of a Bronze Age barrow. The cemetery at Watchfield (Gaz. 1234) lay in the vicinity of prehistoric features; and at the hillfort of Little Wittenham (Gaz. 2194) three supine and one prone burial were found at the foot of a rampart. At Long Hanborough (Gaz. 2196) cremations and inhumations were located around prehistoric features; and possible Anglo-Saxon burials were recovered in a secondary position in one of the barrows in Barrow Hills, Radley (Gaz. 2249). At Wally Corner, Berinsfield (Oxon)¹ (Gaz. 1124) a N-S female burial was found in the upper fill of a Bronze Age pond-barrow.

In the Gloucestershire region the remaining secondary burials include those found at prehistoric round and long barrows at Chavenage (Gaz. 622); Burn Ground, Hampnett (Gaz. 1080); Oddington (Gaz. 1089); and Pole's Wood South and East barrows, Upper Swell (Gaz. 1090, 1091).

Three primary Anglo-Saxon barrow burials are an important factor in this region (Fig. 72). The first, at Cuddesdon² (Gaz. 420), located in the heartland of early

¹ A. Boyle, A. Dodd, D. Miles and A. Mudd. *Two Oxfordshire Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries: Berinsfield and Didcot* (Oxford, 1995) pp. 1 - 197. (hereafter Boyle, *Berinsfield and Didcot*).

² T.M. Dickinson, *Cuddesdon and Dorchester-on-Thames*, B.A.R. 1 (Oxford, 1974).

Wessex, on high ground near the river Thame about five miles north of Dorchester-on-Thames, is dated to the early seventh century. This barrow contained grave goods comprising two swords, two Kentish blue glass bowls, one bronze bucket (?Byzantine), and a garnet-studded fragment of bronze, indicating a primary 'princely' warrior burial although no skeletal material from such a burial was located. Also within the barrow were several prone burials laid with feet towards the centre, including a child of about eight years old, two females, a middle-aged male and other adults, possibly sacrificial somewhat in the manner of the burials around Mound 5 at Sutton Hoo.

The second, Asthall Barrow¹ (Gaz. 432) located in a prominent position on the south side of Akeman Street, contained the cremated remains of an early seventh-century male burial and a horse, with a range of grave goods including elaborate belt fittings, a Byzantine cast-metal bowl, an antique silver cup, imported Merovingian pottery, horn or wooden vessels with decorated metal mounts and a board-game with bone counters. There were indicators, in the form of charred timbers of considerable size and a post-cavity approximately 4' high, that the burial may have been deposited within a wooden chamber, which, taken together with the rite of cremation and the presence of a horse, could indicate an Anglian connection. It is also of interest that while this burial is obviously that of a very high-ranking individual, no weapons were found: it is of course possible that if they were in a chamber as proposed, then they may have been placed at some distance from the burial as at Benty Grange, and remain in the unexcavated part of the barrow. This burial-mound may have been marking Akeman Street as a boundary for either the Mercians or the Gewisse.

¹ Meaney, *Gazetteer*, p. 203; T.M. Dickinson and G. Speake, 'The Seventh-Century Cremation Burial in Asthall Barrow, Oxfordshire: A Reassessment' in Carver, *The Age of Sutton Hoo*, pp. 95-130; Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*, pp. 46-8.

An entirely different picture is presented by the third primary barrow, at Lowbury Hill, Aston Upthorpe¹ (Gaz. 510,) the siting of which is a pivotal indicator of its possible function. The barrow lay close to the Icknield Way, high above, and overlooking the upper Thames Valley to the north, and with the Berkshire Downs to the south. It is sited also beside a Romano-Celtic temple, into the ruined foundations of which an unaccompanied female burial giving a radiocarbon date of AD 591-650 (Oxford accelerator), had been inserted. The burial in the barrow, dated to the late seventh century, was that of a male aged 50-60 years, extended supine, with his head to the south (facing north), accompanied by a sword, a spear with enamelled roundels on each face at the junction of the head and shaft, a shield boss, a hanging-bowl with circular enamelled escutcheons and an internal central roundel with spiral and trumpet ornament, and a strike-a-light or purse mount. This combination of a spear with enamelled roundels and a hanging-bowl similarly decorated, is to my knowledge, unique, but articles with enamelling accompanying warrior burials at Benty Grange (Gaz. 307) and Barlaston (Gaz. 630) in the Mercian Peak District (Fig. 4) may provide some parallels. The burial bears all the hallmarks of a possible sentinel, and if this is so, the location of the burial and the orientation of the body would suggest that he was guarding the retreating Gewisse to the south, in the face of advancing Mercians from the north. This I admit seems rather contradictory if his connections were in fact Mercian, but it is on the other hand possible that his affiliations lay further afield in the south-west.

The remaining primary monuments in the region consist of a possible primary

¹ Meaney *Gazetteer* p. 49: Much of the material used by me is based on personal observations made during Professor M. Fulford's re-excavation of the site in 1993, and on an unpublished paper read by Professor Fulford at Oxford in November 1993. I however accept full responsibility for the conclusions drawn.

barrow with Anglo-Saxon weapons at Hampton Plain, Chinnor (Oxon) (Gaz. 423); and a further possible primary barrow represented by an annular ditch around a confined Christian female burial with a silver cross in the cemetery at Butler's Field, Lechlade (Glos) (Gaz. 1237).

Although many cemeteries in the area included burials with weapons, few, apart from the primary barrow burials already discussed, had rich warrior burials accompanied by metal bowls or buckets. The exceptions include a cremation/inhumation cemetery at Long Wittenham (Oxon) (Gaz. 523) dated to the fifth/seventh century, where among the grave goods listed for 132 burials (out of a total of 188) were weapons, buckets and bronze bowls. However, with one exception, it is not known whether weapons, buckets or bowls were together in any one grave. The exception was the grave of a boy, W-E, accompanied by a wooden cup with bronze plates embossed with New Testament scenes, known as the Long Wittenham stoup, a bronze bowl with triangular lugs, and a spearhead. The stoup was made in northern Gaul and the bowl originated in the Meuse Valley.¹ The cemetery at Fairford (Glos) (Gaz. 1083) which produced over 130 inhumations, four cremations and several horse skeletons, also included together with the usual jewellery etc., two swords, spearheads, shield bosses, a bronze bowl with triangular lugs, and buckets; but here again it is not recorded whether or not weapons and bowls were found in the same grave.

In the sixth-century first phase of the cemetery at Butler's Field, Lechlade (Glos) (Gaz. 1237), typical male equipment consisted of a spear, shield, knife and belt buckle,

¹ Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*, p. 9.

and occasionally a copper-alloy bowl or bucket, but no swords;¹ and at the cemetery at Wally Corner, Berinsfield (Oxon) (Gaz. 1124) dated fifth/sixth century, three burials contained weapons and buckets, and one female burial also had a bucket. At Watchfield (Oxon) (Gaz. 1234) warrior burial No. 71 was accompanied by a copper-alloy and iron bound bucket, and a copper-alloy cauldron was recovered with bones from machine spoil.

At Wally Corner, Berinsfield, one of four cremations was located within a setting of four post-holes, and at the cemetery at Butler's Field, Lechlade, four-post settings, in one of which the posts were linked by shallow slots, surrounded two cremations. A point of further interest in the latter case is that at nearby Roughground Farm Villa (Fig. 76 a - b) a second-century early Romano-British cremation was placed within a four-post setting (posts v,w,x,y) which was in turn surrounded by an oval setting of posts, all within a square-ditched feature.² The time-lag between the second and fifth centuries is too great to allow for direct continuity, but the coincidence might be a pointer to a local tradition.

A skeleton with a cleft skull (date unknown) was buried within a circular trench in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Standlake (Oxon) (Gaz. 404); and the female Christian burial at Butler's Field, Lechlade, was also within an annular ditched enclosure. Three unexcavated ring ditches south-west of the late Roman cemetery at Church Piece, Warborough (Gaz. 2184) appear to contain burials, as did two ring ditches excavated at Eynsham (Oxon) (Gaz. 2192). The disturbed remains of a semi-circular gully in the

¹ D. Miles and S. Palmer, *Invested in Mother Earth. The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Lechlade* (Oxford, 1986) p. 15. (hereafter Miles, *Lechlade*).

² See above Chapter 1, p. 36.

seventh-century inhumation cemetery at Didcot (Oxon)¹ (Gaz. 1117) may represent a penannular or an annular ditched enclosure around a burial.

Romano-British decapitate and prone burials are recorded throughout the region as are several Anglo-Saxon examples (Fig. 82) including one prone and one decapitate with its head between its legs in the late fifth/seventh century cemetery at Wheatley (Oxon) (Gaz. 400); the prone burials at Cuddesdon (Gaz. 420); three decapitate burials, one with the skull placed upright beside the femur and two with heads between the legs, recorded in a seventh-century cemetery at Chadlington (Oxon) (Gaz. 424); two of the burials at Smith's Pit, Cassington (Oxon) (Gaz. 425) were prone, E-W, and one of these had a Romano-British pottery vessel placed on the small of its back. One burial in the mixed cremation/inhumation cemetery at Brighthampton (Oxon) (Gaz. 429) was decapitate with the head in its lap. This same cemetery also included a grave with a supine male burial with weapons, laid E-W above a W-E supine female. At Frilford (Gaz. 504) one of the possible Anglo-Saxon burials was prone, and at Uffington (Gaz. 522) where the two identifiable Anglo-Saxon burials had the heads missing the remaining decapitates were probably Romano-British. At Watchfield (Gaz. 1234) the only prone burial in the cemetery, male, overlay the crouched burial of a young man; and one of the four burials recovered at the foot of the rampart of the hillfort at Little Wittenham (Gaz. 2194) was prone.

Cremation was a minority rite in the region, and apart from Asthall Barrow it occurred only in cemeteries where inhumation was the majority rite. These cemeteries include: Shouldern (Oxon) (Gaz. 405); Kinsey (Oxon) (Gaz. 411); Brighthampton (Oxon) (Gaz. 429); Saxton Road, Abingdon (Oxon) (Gaz. 493); Blewburton Hillfort, Blewbury

¹ Boyle, *Berinsfield and Didcot*, pp. 199 - 253.

(Oxon) (Gaz. 497); Frilford cemetery (Gaz. 504); Wallingford (Gaz. 521); Long Wittenham (Gaz. 523); Beckford B (H & W) (Gaz. 625); Blockley (Glos) (Gaz. 626); Burn Ground, Hampnett (Glos) (Gaz. 1080); Fairford (Glos) (Gaz. 1083); Wally Corner, Berinsfield, (Gaz. 1124); Watchfield (Gaz. 1234); Butler's Field, Lechlade (Glos) (Gaz. 1237); Long Hanborough (Oxon) (Gaz. 2196). Even allowing for non-recognition of cremations in older excavations, it is clear that inhumations far outnumber cremations in cemeteries in the region.

Many cemeteries contained unaccompanied supine inhumations without grave goods and often it is not possible to determine whether these are post-Roman or seventh-century. Cemeteries with known late-Roman burials such as Queenford Farm (Gaz. 2182) and Frilford (Gaz. 504) would suggest that a portion of the indigenous population was at least nominally Christian in the late fourth/fifth century and that some of these people continued to adhere to their own customs throughout the early Anglo-Saxon period. A small nucleus of people with the strength to do this would probably have contributed to the adoption of their burial rites by some of their Anglo-Saxon neighbours throughout the sixth century. Perhaps cemeteries such as that at Saxton Road, Abingdon (Gaz. 493) with its fifth-century grave goods and cremations and its many unaccompanied inhumations, and the fifth/sixth century cremation/inhumation cemetery at Wallingford (Gaz. 521), which also had many inhumations with no grave goods, are indicative of such activity.

Bede¹ records that Birinus decided to preach to the Gewisse because they were completely pagan, and established his See in the 630s at Dorchester-on-Thames. However, Birinus had no direct successor in the Roman tradition, but possible evidence

¹ HE iii 7

that Christianity in the region continued to grow¹ is provided by the number of cemeteries with seventh-century and later (often unaccompanied) burials, such as Yelford (Gaz. 398); North Leigh (Gaz. 409) where one of the burials was accompanied by a bronze 'thread' box with a cruciform design, which might possibly be a reliquary;² and Ducklington (Gaz. 419) where an adult burial with no grave goods was accompanied by a child with a circular gold pendant with a cross-design in filigree around its neck. The orientation and lack of grave goods with the seventh-century 'warrior' burials at Shakenoak (Gaz. 1214) could suggest that these also may have been Christian.

Group 2 Lower Thames Valley and South (Figs. 77-79)

During the seventh century the northern boundary of the territory of the Gewisse was pushed southwards to the Thames by Mercian expansion,³ and for the remainder of that century Gewissian rule (Wessex) was concentrated south of this line.

For the purposes of this study the boundaries of Wessex are calculated as: parts of the river Thames, the Icknield Way and the river Avon on the north; Selwood Forest and ultimately the Bristol Channel on the west; the sea-coast on the south; and the territory of the Jutes of Hampshire on the east, which was itself eventually absorbed into Wessex.

¹ probably under Northumbrian/Irish influence, see above Chapter 3.

² Blair, *Anglo Saxon Oxfordshire*, p. 71; This reinterpretation is based on S.C. Hawkes, 'The Archaeology of Conversion: Cemeteries' in J. Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxons*, (Oxford, 1982) p. 49.

³ Yorke, *Wessex*, p. 62.

TABLE 20

West Saxon burials Lr. Thames Valley & south

KEY: Column headings: Gaz = database gazetteer number: in = inhumation: cr = cremation: or = orientation of burial: cb = crouched burial: pr = prone burial: dc = decapitated burial: n = burials with no grave goods: sc = secondary in prehistoric monument: pm = primary monument: ch = chamber grave: en = contemporary enclosure: a = artifacts only, no burial.
Column content: c = certain: p = possible: a = absent: - = no information recorded: v = various: fl = flexed: pn = penannular: an = annular: r = rectilinear.

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
134	Wor Barrow, Dor.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
488	Wimbourne St. Giles, Dor.	c	a	ew	a	a	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
489	Pentridge, Dor.	c	a	-	a	-	-	-	p	c	-	-	-
496	Aston, Berks.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
499	Cookham, Berks.	c	c	-	-	-	a	a	c	c	-	an	a
500	Cookham, Berks.	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-
501	East Elsley, Berks	c	a	v	c	-	-	c	c	c	-	-	-
502	East Garston, Berks	c	a	ns	a	-	a	c	a	-	-	-	-
507	Kintbury, Berks.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
510	Aston Upthorpe (Lowbury Hill)	c	a	sn	a	a	a	c	-	c	-	-	-
512	Purley, Berks	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-	-
513	Reading I, Berks.	c	c	we?	c	-	-	a	a	-	-	-	-
514	Reading II, Berks.	c	a	-	-	-	a	a	a	-	-	-	-
515	Reading III, Berks	a	c	-	a	a	a	c	a	-	-	-	-
517	Streatly, Berks.	c	a	ew	a	-	a	c	a	-	-	-	-
525	Reading IV, Berks	c	a	-	-	-	a	a	a	-	-	-	-
526	East Shefford, Berks	c	c	v	fl	-	-	p	a	a	-	-	-
559	Ogbourne St. Andrew, Glos.	c	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
560	Lydiard Tregoze, Wilts.	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
561	Bower Chalke, Wilts	c	a	we	a	a	a	a	c	c	-	-	-

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
562	Broad Chalke, Wilts	c	a	ns?	p	p	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
563	Clyffe Pypard, Wilts	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-
564	Wanborough I, Wilts	c	a	-	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-
565	Enford, Wilts.	c	a	ew?	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
566	Durrington, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	p	c	-	-	-
567	Nth. Wilsford, Wilts	c	a	-	a	a	a	c	c	-	-	-	-
568	Orcheston, Wilts	c	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
569	Wanborough II, Wilts	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
570	East Grafton, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
571	Salisbury, Wilts	c	a	v	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
572	Bishopstone, Wilts	c	a	sn	a	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	-
573	Sth. Wilsford, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
574	Marlborough, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
575	Mildenhall, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
576	Netheravon, Wilts	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	p	-	-	-
577	Tidworth, Wilts	c	a	-	a	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
578	Petersfinger, Wilts	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
579	Mildenhall, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-	-
580	Purton, Wilts.	c	a	ns	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-	-
581	Winterslow (Roche Court Down I) Wilts	c	a	sn?	c	c	c	c	p	-	-	-	-
582	Winterslow, (RCD II) Wilts	c	a	ns	a	a	a	a	c	c	p	an	-
583	Winterslow, (RCD III) Wilts	c	a	we	-	c	c	c	-	-	-	-	-
584	Bishops Cannings, Wilts	c	a	ew?	-	-	-	p	p	c	-	-	-
585	Roundway, Wilts.	c	a	ns?	-	-	-	c	c	a	-	-	-

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
586	Coombe Bissett, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	c	c	c	-	-
587	Salisbury, Wilts	c	a	we?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
588	Shrewton, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-	-
589	Brigmerston, Milston, Wilts	c	a	-	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
590	Stanton Fitzwarren, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
591	Swindon, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
592	Tilshead Lodge, Wilts	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
593	Winterbourne Gunner, Wilts	c	a	we	c	-	c	c	c	a	-	-	-
594	Winterbourne Stoke I, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
595	Winterslow, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
596	Winterslow Hut, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
597	Witherington, Wilts	c	a	ns	a	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	-
598	Woodbridge, Wilts	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
599	Yatesbury I, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	c	p	-	-	-
600	Yatesbury II, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	c	-	-	-	-
602	Maiden Castle, Dor.	c	a	we	a	-	a	a	c	-	-	-	-
603	Hardown Hill, Dor	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	p	c	-	-	-
604	Buckland Denham, Som.	c	a	we	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-	-
605	Camerton, Avon	c	a	we?	-	c	-	c	a	a	-	-	-
606	Cannington, Som.	c	a	we	c	-	a	c	-	c	-	an r?	-
607	Everchreech, Som	c	a	we	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
608	Queen Camel, Som	c	-	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
609	Saltford, Avon	c	a	we?	-	-	a	c	a	-	-	-	-

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
610	Alvediston, Wilts	c	a	sn	a	a	a	a	-	c	-	an	-
611	Codford St. Peter, Wilts	c	a	we	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
612	Ebbesbourne Wake, Wilts	c	a	ns	a	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
613	Heytesbury, Wilts	c	-	we	fl	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
614	Gt. Cheverell, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
615	Heytesbury, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-	-
616	Boreham, Warminster, Wilts	c	p	we	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
617	West Knoyle I, Wilts	c	a	-	a	a	a	a	-	c	-	-	-
618	Maiden Bradley, Wilts	c	a	ew	a	a	a	a	-	c	-	-	-
619	Sherrington, Wilts	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
620	Berwick St.John, Wilts	c	a	we	-	-	-	p	c	p	p	-	-
621	Berwick St.John	c	a	v	c	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
638	Bournemouth, Dor.	a	p	a	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-
755	Inkpen, Berks	a	p	a	a	a	a	a	p	-	-	-	c
756	Upr. Lambourne Down, Berks	p	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	c
757	Maidenhead, Berks	p	a	-	-	-	-	a	a	-	-	-	c
758	Thatcham, Berks.	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
759	Theale, Berks.	a	p	a	a	a	a	c	a	-	-	-	c
760	Speen, Berks.	c	a	we	a	-	a	c	a	-	-	-	-
765	Lr. Shiplake, Oxon	a	c	a	a	a	a	c	-	-	-	-	-
766	Whitchurch, Oxon	c	a	-	a	a	a	a	-	-	-	-	-
777	Ablington, Wilts.	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	c
778	Amesbury I, Wilts	c	a	ns	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
779	Gt. Bedwyn, Wilts	c	a	rad	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
780	Amesbury, Wilts	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	c

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
781	Bulford, Wilts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
782	Easton Hill, Wilts.	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	-
783	Durrington, Wilts	c	a	sn?	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
784	Tilshead, Wilts.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
785	East Kennet, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	p	-	-	-
786	Heddington, Wilts.	c	a	we	a	a	a	c	p	c	-	-	-
787	Durnford, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	p	p	-	-	-
788	Figheldean, Wilts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
789	Sth. Wilsford, Wilts	c	-	-	-	-	-	p	c	-	-	-	-
790	Ogborne St. Andrews, Wilts	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	c	a	-	-	-
791	Old Sarum, Wilts	c	a	v	c	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
792	Swindon, Wilts.	c	a	-	p	-	-	c	p	-	-	-	-
793	Preshute, Wilts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
794	Wilton, Wilts.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
795	Winterbourne Stoke II, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	a	c	-	-	-	-
796	Winterbourne Stoke III, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
799	Boscombe Chine, Dor.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c
808	Sherborne, Dor.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
809	Warminster, Wilts	c	a	-	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
810	West Knoyle II, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	-	-
811	Knook, Wilts	c	a	sn	-	-	c	c	p	-	-	-	-
812	Everley, Wilts	c	a	sn	a	a	a	c	c	-	-	-	-
813	Broughton Gifford, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
814	Bratton Camp, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	c	-	-	-	-
815	Codford St. Peter, Wilts	c	a	ns	a	a	a	c	-	c	c	-	-

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
816	Long Sutton, Som.	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
817	Huish Episcopi, Som.	c	a	-	-	-	a	c	a	a	-	-	-
818	Toller Fratrum, Dor.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
953	Cranborne Chase, Dor.	c	a	-	-	-	a	a	c	-	-	-	-
1111	Ansty, Wilts.	c	a	-	a	-	a	a	c	-	-	-	-
1129	Bradford Peverell, Dor.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
1144	Christchurch, Dor.	c	c	we	-	-	-	c	c	-	-	pn	-
1148	Collingbourne Ducis, Wilts.	c	a	v	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-
1155	Downton, Wilts	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
1168	Ford, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	a	p	c	c	c?	pn	-
1171	Glastonbury, Som.	c	a	ns?	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
1206	Pewsey, Wilts.	c	c	v	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
1207	Dorchester, Dor.	c	a	v	c	c	c	c	a	a	c	r	-
1227	Swanage, Dor.	c	a	we?	-	-	-	c	a	a	-	-	-
1228	Taunton, Som.	c	a	we?	-	-	a	c	a	-	-	-	-
1236	Wells, Som.	c	a	v	-	-	a	c	a	-	c	-	-
2054	Kings Weston Hill, Avon	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
2103	Brean Down, Som.	c	a	-	-	-	a	c	p	a	-	-	-
2104	Bridgewater, Som.	c	a	we	a	-	a	c	a	-	-	-	-
2105	Langford Budville, Som.	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
2106	Wembdon, Som.	c	a	we	-	-	-	c	a	-	-	-	-
2136	Market Lavington, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	-
2137	Westbury, Wilts	c	a	-	-	-	-	p	c	-	-	-	-
2180	Burghfield, Berks	c	a	v	-	-	-	c	c	a	-	-	-
2181	Lamyatt Beacon, Som.	c	a	we	-	a	a	c	a	a	-	-	-

Gaz.	Site Location	in	cr	or	cb	pr	dc	n	sc	pm	ch	en	a
2186	Somerton, Som.	c	a	v	a	a	c	a	c	-	-	r	-

It can be observed from Fig. 77 that burial practices west of Selwood Forest were predominantly post-Roman in character, with only occasional intrusions suggesting Anglo-Saxon contacts.¹ This is not to say that there were no Anglo-Saxons west of Selwood before the seventh century, but it does suggest that any numbers were small and they quickly adopted local indigenous burial practices, thereby effectively becoming invisible in post Romano-British cemeteries, in much the same way as Britons must have done in heavily colonised Anglo-Saxon areas in the east.

The post-Roman cemeteries already discussed in Chapter 2 include: Buckland Denham (Som)(Gaz. 604), Camerton (Som) (Gaz. 605), Cannington (Som) (Gaz. 606), Everchreech (Som) (Gaz. 607), Queen Camel (Som) (Gaz. 608), Saltford (Som) (Gaz. 609), Huish Episcopi (Som) (Gaz. 817), Glastonbury (Som) (Gaz. 1171), Ulwell, Swanage (Dor) (Gaz. 1227), Taunton (Som Gaz. 1228), Wells (Som) (Gaz.1236), Brean Down (Som) (Gaz. 2103), Bridgewater (Som) (Gaz. 2104), Langford Budville (Som) (Gaz. 2105), Wembdon (Som) (Gaz. 2106), Lamyatt Beacon (Som) (Gaz. 2181). The late Romano-British cemeteries at Bradley Hill, Somerton (Som) (Gaz. 2186) and Poundbury (Dor) (Gaz. 1207) have been discussed in Chapter 1, but note may be taken of perhaps two crouched burials at Poundbury, dated to the post-Roman period² which may be indicative of the continued use of an older indigenous burial rite at that site.

Other cemeteries in the western part of the region where burial rites with late-or

¹ Many of these burials and their context *vis a vis* Anglo-Saxon expansion in the area, have already been discussed above in Chapter 2, pp. 63-6.

² Farwell & Molleson, *Poundbury*, p. xii.

post-Roman characteristics continued to be used are: Kings Weston Hill (Glos) (Gaz. 2054), Upton, Long Sutton (Som) (Gaz. 816) which may be late-Roman; Whitesheet Hill, Toller Fratrum (Dor) (Gaz. 818); Newland, Sherbourne (Gaz 808) and Benedictine Abbey, Sherbourne (Dor) (Gaz. 1216) which may be either post-Roman or post seventh-century.

The three remaining cemeteries in this western region were Anglo-Saxon, all were located along Roman roads near the south coast and include artifact finds of a spearhead, shield-boss, knife, iron axe, and a square-headed small-long brooch at Whitechurch Canonicorum, Hardown Hill (Dor) (Gaz. 603) indicating the presence of Anglo-Saxon burials among a group of prehistoric barrows; a W-E skeleton accompanied by a knife and a seventh-century Frankish scramasax located at a Neolithic long-barrow at Winterbourne St. Martin, Maiden Castle (Dor) (Gaz. 602); and 12 burials dated to seventh/eighth century, accompanied by several iron knives, spearheads and bronze and iron buckles, recovered at Bradford Peverell (Dor) (Gaz. 1129).

A possible indigenous presence in the form of burials with Romano-British or post-Roman characteristics is also dispersed throughout eastern Wessex, for example one of two male skeletons, recorded as Anglo-Saxon, found facing the Thames at Whitchurch (Oxon) (Gaz. 766) had a coin in its mouth; and an unaccompanied W-E supine inhumation in a nailed coffin, found beneath a low mound at King's Play Down, Heddington (Wilts) (Gaz. 786), could be either late-Roman or post seventh-century, but the nailed coffin would suggest late-Roman. The cemetery of mainly unaccompanied inhumations at Wood Street, Swindon (Wilts) (Gaz. 792) is likely to be late or post-Roman because it is located in an area with Roman rubbish pits, and some of the graves contained Romano-British pottery, but it is also possible that the cemetery continued to

be used during the Anglo-Saxon period. Two of the burials found at Warminster (Wilts) (Gaz. 809) accompanied by hobnails and Romano-British pottery sherds were late-Romano-British, but two others found nearby with iron knives were probably Anglo-Saxon. An unaccompanied supine N-S inhumation found in a chamber cut 11 feet into chalk beneath a low primary mound at Ashton Valley, Codford St. Peter (Wilts)¹ (Gaz. 815) with nails and wood indicating the presence of a coffin, may post-date the seventh century, but the presence of the nailed coffin suggests that it might be late-Roman; and an inhumation with knife, bone comb, and the remains of a wooden coffin and iron nails, found near a Romano-British settlement at Easton Hill (Wilts) (Gaz. 782), may very well be Romano-British.

The distribution patterns of secondary and primary burials on map Fig. 78 reinforces the image of Anglo-Saxons in eastern Wessex wishing to establish an ancestry or identity by the wide-scale re-use of prehistoric burial monuments and the construction of primary monuments, whereas the indigenous peoples west of Selwood Forest, confident of their own identity, had no need to do this.

Artifacts indicating possible secondary re-use of earlier monuments have been found at: Wor Barrow (Dor) (Gaz. 134), Inkpen (Berks) (Gaz. 755), Seven Barrows, Upr. Lambourne Downs (Berks) (Gaz. 756), Cicencutt Barrow, Figheldean, Ablington (Wilts) (Gaz. 777), and Boscombe Down, Amesbury (Wilts) (Gaz. 780).

Secondary burials have been found at: Oakley Downs, Wimborne St. Giles (Dor) (Gaz. 488); Cranborne Chase & Woodyates, Pentridge (Dor) (Gaz. 489, 561, 953); Cross Barrows, East Ilsley (Berks) (Gaz. 501); Clyffe Pypard, Broad Town (Wilts) (Gaz. 563); Durrington Down, near Stonehenge (Wilts) (Gaz. 566); Ell Barrow, Nth. Wilsford

¹ Meaney, *Gazetteer*, p. 264.

(Wilts) (Gaz. 567); Gt. Botley Copse, East Grafton (Wilts) (Gaz. 570); Hinton Down, Bishopstone (Wilts) (Gaz. 572); Lake Field, Sth. Wilsford (Wilts) (Gaz. 573); Roche Court Down, Winterslow (Wilts) (Gaz. 581); Silk Hill, Brigmerston, Milston (Wilts) (Gaz. 589); Tilshead Lodge Long barrow (Wilts) (Gaz. 592); Winterbourne Gunner (Wilts) (Gaz. 593); Conygar, Winterbourne Stoke (Wilts) (Gaz. 594, 795, 796); Winterslow Hut, Idmiston (Wilts) (Gaz. 596) warrior with a bronze bound bucket; Witherington, Alderbury (Wilts) (Gaz. 597); Yatesbury (Wilts) (Gaz. 599); Cherhill, Yatesbury (Wilts) (Gaz. 600); Ashton Valley, Codford St. Peter (Wilts) (Gaz. 611); Barrow Hill, Ebbesbourne Wake (Wilts) (Gaz. 612); Bowls Barrow, Heytesbury (Wilts) (Gaz. 613); King Barrow, Boreham, Warminster (Wilts) (Gaz. 616); Sherrington (Wilts) (Gaz. 619); Amesbury, near Stonehenge, (Wilts) (Gaz. 778); Kill Barrow, Tilshead (Wilts) (Gaz. 784); Normanton, Sth. Wilsford (Wilts) (Gaz. 789); Everley (Wilts) (Gaz. 812); Bratton Camp (Wilts) (Gaz. 814); Crichel Down (Dor) (Gaz. 2038) and Beggar's Knoll, Westbury (Wilts) (Gaz. 2137).

At Ogbourne St. Andrew (Wilts) (Gaz. 790) a large Bronze Age round barrow in the north-west corner of the churchyard contained about 20 secondary inhumations, W-E, without grave goods, which could date to any period after the seventh century. About 22 secondary burials, all with hands tied behind their backs, at Old Sarum (Wilts) (Gaz. 791) could be of any period, and the same is the case with two unaccompanied headless burials in Knook Long Barrow (Wilts) (Gaz. 811). The sixth/seventh century cemetery at Bargates, Christchurch (Dor) (Gaz. 1144) was located within Bronze-Age ring ditches (Fig. 81); one of the two burials at Ford (Wilts) (Gaz. 1168) was secondary in a prehistoric barrow, and the cemetery at Field Farm, Burghfield (Berks) (Gaz. 2180) was located in and around a large Bronze-Age ring ditch.

At least two instances of secondary burial indicate contacts between Anglo-Saxons and British (or possibly Irish) craftsmen. The sites concerned are; Swallowcliffe Down (Wilts) (Gaz. 1111) located towards the western fringe of this area of Wessex (Fig. 78), where a rich female burial, which disturbed a primary Bronze-Age burial, was accompanied by bed fittings, two glass palm cups, a bronze-mounted wooden bucket, a tinned bronze diadem?, comb, spoon, an openwork tinned copper-alloy disc-mount from a satchel with gold and silver repousse foils of Celtic-British and Saxon workmanship mounted behind the openings, and a unique copper-alloy and red enamelled sprinkler of British workmanship,¹ perhaps indicating contact with British craftsmen west of Selwood Forest, or even with the monastic community at Malmesbury in the north of the region. The second site is at Roundway Down, Bishops' Cannings (Wilts) (Gaz. 584, 585) where a secondary female burial, N-S, in an iron-bound coffin, was accompanied by a union pin-suite of Anglo-Saxon manufacture which included a central roundel of late seventh/eighth century Irish type,² beads of twisted gold wire, pendants, a yew bucket bound with bronze and ornamented with about 20 triangular plates, animal bones etc. It has been suggested that in this instance contact may also have been through the monastic foundation at Malmesbury located approximately 24 kilometres to the north.³

The majority of the primary barrows in the region, with three exceptions, adjoined groups of prehistoric monuments, and even these exceptions lay not far from prehistoric monuments. These exceptions are: Gaz. 576, at Netheravon (Wilts) where the depth of soil over a W-E grave with 21 coffin nails suggested the former presence of a primary

¹ Youngs,(ed) *Work of Angels*, pp. 54-56.

² Youngs,(ed) *Work of Angels*, pp. 53-4. pl. 40.

³ Youngs,(ed) *Work of Angels*, p. 54.

barrow. The burial could be post-seventh century, but the presence of the nails suggest a post-Roman context. Gaz. 610 at Middle Down, Alvediston (Wilts) was a primary barrow with a surrounding ditch, which contained a warrior burial over which large blocks of flint had been placed; and Gaz. 618, at Rodmead Down, Maiden Bradley (Wilts) was a primary barrow which contained a rich warrior burial with a sword, scramasax, shield boss and silver studs, bronze buckle, knife, two spearheads, and a bronze vessel similar to one from a rich warrior burial at Coombe Bisset (Gaz. 586, below).

The remaining primary barrows, all located among prehistoric monuments with secondary burials, include a female burial at Cranbourne Chase & Woodyates, Pentridge (Dor) (Gaz. 489); a barrow with surrounding ditch at Cock Marsh, Cookham (Berks) (Gaz. 499) which contained a male burial with a dog and 'various articles'; barrows at Cross Barrows, East Ilsley (Barks) (Gaz. 501), and Woodyates, Bower Chalke (Wilts) (Gaz. 561). A male burial accompanied by a knife, buckle and sheep bones in a large grave 8'6" x 5'6" x 2' deep and lined with turf, in a primary barrow surrounded by a shallow ditch at Roche Court Down, Winterslow (Wilts) (Gaz. 582) may have been marked by a post set into a sterile barrow 9' away but directly in line with the long axis of the primary grave. A barrow at Roundway Down, Bishops Cannings (Wilts) (Gaz. 584) contained a W-E inhumation with ivory gaming pieces possibly in a wooden box.

At Coombe Bissett (Wilts) (Gaz. 586) a primary barrow contained a large oblong pit cut to a depth of 3'6" into the subsoil which may have been a form of chamber, on the floor of which were an iron sword, three iron spearheads, two knives, a shield-boss and some decorative bosses, a bronze buckle and several small iron buckles, silver wire rings, one gold wire ring, two bronze 'pyramids' with garnet settings, two glass vessels

and a bronze vessel fastened to a wooden bowl reported to be similar to one from Rodmead Down (Gaz. 618, above), indicating a rich warrior burial. One of the barrows opened in the eighteenth century at Yatesbury (Wilts) (Gaz. 599) contained a burial with spearheads of iron, and a warrior with a shield and spearhead was located in a primary barrow at West Knoyle (Wilts) (Gaz. 617).

It is difficult to decide whether or not two burials within low barrows with penannular ditched enclosures, excavated by Pitt-Rivers at Winkelbury Hill, Berwick St. John (Wilts) (Gaz. 620) were primary or secondary. The first was in a 'chamber' 8'6" x 6'10" x 3'6" deep, with four stake-holes at each corner, at the east end of which were irons recorded as coffin clamps. The second had a grave 5'6" x 2'3" x 2'8" deep, paved with tabular flints and containing two interments one of which was W-E with a knife. Both were located near a flat cemetery of W-E graves, some with iron knives, one with silvered bronze discs with cruciform decoration, and one crouched S-N burial. It is possible in view of the finding of a bronze awl and sherds of 'British' pottery at one site that the penannular ditches may originally have surrounded Bronze-Age barrows, and the burials recorded were the result of later ?seventh-century re-use, similar to the situation at Conygar, Winterbourne Stoke (Wilts) (Gaz. 594, 795, 796), and the barrow excavated in the seventeenth century at East Kennet (Wilts) (Gaz. 785) where a burial with a sword and knife was recovered in a (probably prehistoric) stone cist. At Ford (Wilts)¹ (Gaz. 1168) a penannular ditched enclosure with an eastern entrance (Fig. 80) and with a central grave 8' x 4' x 3' deep, contained a seventh-century W-E warrior burial accompanied by two spears, one shield-boss, one seax with silver-mounted pommel inset

¹ J. Musty, 'The Excavation of two barrows, one of Saxon date, at Ford, Laverstock, near Salisbury, Wiltshire', *Ant.J.* 49, pt. i. pp. 98-117.

with garnets in a decorated sheath, one double-tongued buckle with garnets, a double sided bone comb, and a bronze hanging-bowl containing vegetable matter. Decayed wood indicated that the bowl may have been inside a bucket.

It is appropriate at this point to comment on chamber and possible chamber graves (Fig. 79). It can be seen from the overall distribution map (Fig. 48) that in Wessex, chamber graves form a discrete group which coincides with the general location of two Romano-British examples and with the chamber or mausoleum at Wells (Som) and the mausolea at Poundbury (Dor) (Fig. 6), suggesting, as was the case with examples in the east of the country, that this was traditionally seen as an appropriate manner in which to bury personages of high status, especially warriors. Where dating evidence is present it suggests that the burials took place in the late seventh century, and it may even be possible that the revival of the tradition was prompted by the re-use for burial in this period of the area immediately surrounding the Wells Cathedral mausoleum or chamber grave.

Warrior burials accompanied by bronze bowls or wooden metal-bound buckets in the region include those already mentioned in barrow burials (Gaz. Nos. 586, 592, 596, 611, 618, 1168); a burial with a sword, shield-boss, spears, and a bronze vessel in the cemetery at Noah's Ark, Cookham (Berks) (Gaz. 500); and two warrior burials, among several in the cemetery at Black Patch, Pewsey (Wilts) (Gaz. 1206), which were each accompanied by a bucket. A hanging-bowl with no other known associations was found during drainage works at Wilton (Wilts) (Gaz. 794), and a Byzantine bowl found on the seashore at Boscombe Chine (Dor) (Gaz. 799) may have been associated with an a burial washed out from the cliffs.

Decapitate and prone burials in this region do not conform to the norm as

recognised elsewhere in the country. At four sites the burials concerned were headless, suggesting executions with the heads buried elsewhere; these include Purton (Wilts) (Gaz. 580), Winterbourne Gunner (Wilts) (Gaz. 593), Newtown Plantation, Heytesbury (Wilts) (Gaz. 615), and four headless skeletons without grave goods, carelessly buried at Knook Long barrow, Knook (Wilts) (Gaz. 811). A female burial which had the head twisted on to the chest at Buckland Denham (Som) (Gaz. 604) may represent a possible attempt at *post-mortem* decapitation. Over 20 decapitate burials with the heads placed beneath or between the legs, or on top of the body, have been recorded in two adjacent sites at Roche Court Down, Winterslow (Wilts) (Gaz. 581, 583), where in one instance 12 out of 17 skeletons were decapitate, and in the other, 9 or 10 out of 17 were decapitate. One articulated skeleton was prone at the first site, and at the second, two were prone. This unusually high proportion of mutilated burials in one small area suggests that some very peculiar situation must have prevailed in that particular community.

Stone lining or packing, and occasionally wood stains indicating the presence of plank-lining or covers, occurred in graves at Harnham Hill, Salisbury (Wilts) (Gaz. 571), Petersfinger, Clarendon (Wilts) (Gaz. 587), Winterbourne Gunner (Wilts) (Gaz. 783) Bradford Peverell (Dor) (Gaz. 1129) and Bargates, Christchurch (Dor) (Gaz. 1144).

The penannular ditch surrounding a SW-NE burial at Bargates (Fig. 81) had a south-facing entrance, but also had a post-hole outside the enclosure on the north-east side¹ in line with the foot of the grave. Parallels for this can be observed at Finglesham (Kent) (Gaz. 686) (Fig. 62), perhaps indicating Kentish connections for the introduction of this type of burial into the region. Bargates is also one of the very few sites in the

¹ K.S. Jarvis, *Excavations in Christchurch 1969-1980*, DNHAS Monograph 5 (Dorchester, 1983) p. 105.

region with cremation burials, which also suggests connections outside Wessex.

Some anomalous burials in the region include a male burial with a ninth-century sword and a horse found at Reading (Gaz. 514); a sixth-century female skeleton with a knife, buckles and three beads, deposited in a 23' deep Roman well at Poulton Downs, Mildenhall (Wilts) (Gaz. 579) with a sarsen stone thrown down on top of the body; graves described as radiating from a common centre 'like spokes from a wheel' recorded at Great Bedwyn (Wilts) (Gaz. 779); three child burials at Black Patch, Pewsey (Wilts) (Gaz. 1206) which had iron collars; and carbonised seeds and grain found in g.145 in the seventh-century cemetery at Field Farm, Burghfield (Berks)¹ (Gaz. 2180). This latter is an interesting find when it is noted that the cemetery at Portway, Andover (Hants) (Gaz. 1110) which contained a similar phenomenon, is located due south-west from Burghfield along a Roman road. Also at Burghfield it was noted that in some burials, grave goods (usually knives) appeared to have been deposited in small bundles, probably wrapped or contained in leather bags.

Summary

Although initially this region was divided by me into two groups for ease of handling a large body of material, it has transpired that the two regions display some fundamental differences in burial rite.

Possible evidence for the presence of, or contact with, indigenous people is dispersed throughout the northern region, whereas in the southern region, while there is some evidence for an indigenous presence in the central area, the main British presence

¹ C.A. Butterworth & S.J. Lobb, *Excavations in the Burghfield Area, Berkshire*, Wessex Archaeology Report 1 (1992), p. 65.

is concentrated in the western areas between Selwood Forest and the Bristol Channel.

Both regions, north and south, have a high proportion of secondary burials in prehistoric monuments and in both regions these burials are located away from the western areas, a possible indicator of the limit of Anglo-Saxon expansion, especially in the early period. In the northern region primary barrow-burials are generally located apart from secondary burials in prehistoric monuments, whereas in the southern region the two are usually combined.

The relatively higher proportion of cremations in the northern part points to stronger contacts with Anglian regions than in the south. It is noted however, that two cemeteries on the south coast may contain evidence for contacts with other regions.

The primary barrow burials at Asthall (Gaz. 432) and Lowbury Hill (Gaz. 510) may be located on boundaries, and in the latter case this may mark the final boundary between Mercia and Wessex.

Both areas have a fairly high proportion of warrior burials, many of which were accompanied by high-status artifacts such as bronze bowls and wooden metal-bound buckets.

The practice of decapitation where the head was present but in an incorrect anatomical position is much more prevalent in the northern region, the only instances in the southern region being localised in one place. This is interesting given that the upper Thames Valley is an area where this rite was widely practised in the late Roman period (compare Figs. 2 and 82), and perhaps its use during the Anglo-Saxon period is an indication of some sort of stability of population in the region during the transition period.

Although there is burial evidence to support the tradition that the Gewisse were

converted to Christianity by the mid-seventh century, there is also evidence in both areas, north and south, that pagan-type burial practices such as the late seventh-century warrior burials at Lowbury Hill, and at Ford (Wilts) with its food offerings, were still being tolerated, as was continued burial in ancestral cemeteries.

CHAPTER 6

POSSIBLE ANGLO-SAXON BURIALS IN IRELAND¹

Possible Anglo-Saxon burials in Ireland may add a physical dimension to the historical evidence. It should be stated at the outset however, that the burials in question are likely to represent those Anglo-Saxons who perhaps lived and died among the local secular communities, rather than the clerics and nobles referred to by Bede and Aldhelm,² who, if they died in Ireland, would most likely have been buried at monastic cemeteries, few of which are available for excavation.

The burial rite which had become the norm in Ireland from about the fourth century AD,³ and which still exists to-day, is that of extended supine inhumation, orientated west-east, with no grave goods, either in an unprotected dug grave or in a grave lined with stones or with slabs, with or without covering stones. A search of all records of excavations and chance finds for burials throughout Ireland, in the National Museum of Ireland and in the archaeological literature, has revealed only 11 sites containing burials which do not conform to the norm. At these sites, the anomalous burials are located among, and are apparently contemporary with, 'normal' burials.

These anomalous burials may be divided into four categories:

- (a) where the body was crouched rather than extended at burial;
- (b) where the body was clothed rather than shrouded on burial, usually indicated by the presence of a belt-buckle, knife, and/or brooches;

¹ Part of the material in this chapter has already been published by me: E. O'Brien, 'Contacts Between Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England in the Seventh Century', *ASSAH* 6 (Oxford, 1993), pp. 93-102.

² *HE* iii. 27; *Aldhelm Prose*, pp. 154-5, 160-64.

³ See above, pp. 55-6.

(c) where the body may have been shrouded, but accompanied by an object such as a knife or bead or by burnt grain;

(d) where a grave has unusual features, for example a surrounding penannular enclosure.

The first example is a female, in a tightly crouched position, in an unenclosed cemetery at Betaghstown (Meath)¹(Fig. 85). The area excavated contained two crouched, 12 extended supine inhumations in unprotected dug graves and two in stone-lined graves. One of the crouched burials had no grave goods, but the other, a female, was accompanied by goods which consisted of (Fig. 86A) (a) two iron penannular omega-type brooches on the shoulders; (b) a stone amulet at the neck; (c) an oval belt buckle at the waist; and (d) an oval copper-alloy disc with end perforations and traces of net adhering to one surface, found in the region of the head. While brooches certainly formed part of Irish dress at this period, they were worn singly, by females on the breast, and by males on the shoulder.² The wearing of brooches in pairs was a custom foreign to the Irish. The omega-type penannular brooches at Betaghstown are of Fowler type-B,³ probably late-Roman, but they were worn in an Anglo-Saxon fashion. The bulk of Anglo-Saxon burials using this type of brooch fall into the second half of the fifth, and early to middle sixth century.⁴ The stone amulet was probably suspended between the brooches. The buckle is similar to two other such buckles found with burials in Ireland (Fig. 86B), parallels for which can be found in the majority of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries

¹ I am grateful to Mr E. Kelly of the National Museum of Ireland for permission to refer to and to reproduce line drawings of the artifacts from this unpublished excavation.

² see above p. 75.

³ E. Fowler, 'The Origin and Development of the Penannular Brooch in Europe', *PPS* 26 (1960), pp. 149-177.

⁴ White, *Celtic Objects*, p. 23

of the seventh century. The oval copper-alloy disc is a hair ornament which had been worn in conjunction with a hair-net. A radiocarbon date of 1565 ± 60 bp (GrN), which would calibrate to between the fourth/seventh centuries, has been obtained for bone from this burial.

Two extended supine burials of a male and a female were recovered in a ringfort at Raheenamadra (Limerick)¹ (Figs. 85,87). The male had a belt buckle at the waist (Fig. 86B), and both had knives placed beside the skulls (?hidden). (Fig. 86C). Three rather unsatisfactory radiocarbon dates, obtained from oak posts in a nearby souterrain, calibrate to AD 340-870, 560-1000, and 540-990 (Upsala). Examples of knives being placed (possibly surreptitiously) with the dead are also known from seventh/eighth-century cemeteries in England.²

Records in the National Museum of Ireland for a cemetery which occupied the fourth and final phase of an enclosed sandhill settlement site at Dooey, Co. Donegal,³ (Fig. 85) include details of an extended skeleton in a slab-lined grave excavated by the late Professor Duignan in 1945, which contained two fragments of an item described as a 'ferrule' at the right hip. This site was further excavated in 1959⁴ when over 100 unaccompanied burials, the majority in unprotected dug graves, were recorded, and the records in the N.M.I.⁵ contain a reference to a broken large knife (scramasax) (Fig.

¹ M. Stenberger, 'A Ringfort at Raheenamadra, Knocklong, Co. Limerick', *PRLA* 65C, pp. 37-64.

² See above, pp. 109-110.

³ Permission to refer to this site, and all other sites referenced 'N.M.I.' has kindly been granted by the National Museum of Ireland. The line drawings illustrating artifacts from these sites were drawn by the writer and re-produced with permission from the N.M.I.

⁴ A.B. Ó Riordán, and E. Rynne, 'A Settlement in the Sandhills at Dooey, Co. Donegal', *JRSAI* 91 (1961), pp. 58-64.

⁵ Permission to refer to the notes deposited with the N.M.I. has kindly been granted by Mr Ó Riordán and Professor Rynne.

86C) found on the breast of skeleton 30 with the point towards the chin, and an iron hook (in three parts) in the grave fill near the knees. An iron belt-buckle (Fig. 86B)¹ was found at a depth of 30cm. in the fill of another grave. High precision radiocarbon dates have now been obtained from bone at this site, which place the burials in the seventh/eighth centuries.²

An extended skeleton in a slab-lined grave was discovered beneath a mound in 1944, at Aghalahard, near Cong (Mayo) (Fig. 85).³ The skeleton was destroyed on discovery, but a knife which accompanied the burial has survived (Fig. 86C) the tang of which has traces of wood-like residue at the narrow end.

In 1971, during work at a quarry at Killaree, (Kilkenny) (Fig.85)⁴ workmen uncovered unprotected extended supine skeletons ranging for about 25 yards along a cutting. All were unaccompanied except one which had an iron knife near the femur (Fig. 86C), and a fragment of a whetstone with a roughly incised interlace pattern was found nearby. Also in Co. Kilkenny, at Sheastown (Fig. 85)⁵ 12 unprotected extended supine inhumations were found during quarrying; again all were unaccompanied except one, an adult male, which had an iron knife beside the left hand (Fig. 86C). This knife also bore traces or impressions of the grain of a wooden handle.

Some 'non-conforming' burials were included in three previously unknown

¹ Orla O'Sullivan, 'Buckles of the First Millenium A.D. from Native Irish Sites', unpublished M. Phil thesis, Department of Archaeology, University College, Dublin, 1984.

² Calibrated at 2 sigma range the dates are: AD 552-665; AD 641-773; AD 610-757; personal communication from Catryn Power, University College, Cork.

³ J. Raftery, and A. Moore, 'Two Prehistoric Burials in Co. Mayo', *JRSAI* 74 (1944), pp. 171-6.

⁴ N.M.I. IA 119.71.

⁵ N.M.I. IA 6.74.

cemeteries discovered in 1989 during excavations carried out in conjunction with the laying of the natural-gas pipeline through the territory of Brega, between Dublin and Drogheda. These were located at Kilshane and Westreave (Dublin), and Colp (Meath) (Fig. 85).¹

At Kilshane, 130 burials were excavated of which all except two were west-east, and five were crouched or flexed.² One burial had a tanged iron knife (Fig. 86C) which was recovered from the grave-fill among the back-bones of the rib cage. Nineteen of the graves in this cemetery were characterised by the presence of stones used to support the skull ('ear-muffs'). This feature is not one which occurs often in Irish contexts at this early period, although it is known occasionally from the high medieval period. It is however a familiar feature in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries; for instance, at Castle Green, Hereford (Hereford & Worcester) (Gaz. 1177) two burials in the middle-Saxon levels had stones at either side of the head; at St. Peter's Church, Barton-upon-Humber (Humberside) (Gaz. 1122) at least a dozen burials exhibited this 'ear-muff' feature; and a further example was found in the secondary inhumation cemetery at Winwick (Cheshire) (Gaz. 1152). A footnote in the report for the latter site suggests that though 'ear-muffs' are a common later Anglo-Saxon feature, examples from the seventh and eighth centuries are known.³

Three burials from Kilshane, two adults and a child, had burnt grain deposited around the skulls (the child was especially carefully buried, its head protected by a small

¹ I am grateful to the excavator Margaret Gowen for permission to refer to these excavations, and to reproduce drawings in advance of publication.

² The excavator is of the opinion that these were buried in *rigor mortis*.

³ D.J. Freke, R. Holgate and A.T. Thacker, 'Excavations at Winwick, Cheshire, in 1980', *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, 70 (1987-88) p. 33 n.4.

'head-cist'). There is only one other recorded case of the presence of burnt grain with a burial in Ireland, and this consists of a sample preserved in the National Museum¹ listed as having been discovered in a grave at Levinstown (Kildare) in 1943. Unfortunately no record of the actual burial is extant. The association of burnt grain with death appears to be a peculiarly Anglo-Saxon custom which is condemned in the *Penitential of Theodore*,² but is never included in Irish penitentials of the same period, not even those which otherwise include many regulations corresponding to those in *Theodore*. The admonition refers to grain burnt in a house, but the archaeological evidence suggests that at least some of this grain may have been placed with the burial.

The presence of a blue glass bead with another child burial at Kilshane, also carefully buried in the same manner as the burial with grain, is also worth noting. One or more beads sometimes occur in child burials in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries,³ and in the Northumbrian phase at Whithorn (Gaz. 2154) two children wore single amber beads around their necks. When worn by children, beads probably performed an amuletic function. A single occurrence of an anomalous feature at Kilshane might be regarded as coincidence, but the accumulative evidence suggests an intrusive presence in the cemetery.

The cemetery at Colp is located on a slope above the south bank near the mouth of the River Boyne and is probably associated with the original site of *Inber Colpdi*, a landing-place which has a history and tradition going back to the earliest historic period. The site, of which only a portion was available for excavation, consisted of a large pre-

¹ N.M.I. 1943.222

² For discussion of this matter see above pp. 118-9.

³ S. Crawford, 'Children, Death and the Afterlife in Anglo-Saxon England' *ASSAH* 6 (Oxford, 1993), pp. 83-91.

cemetery habitation area enclosed within a deep circular ditch, with the cemetery located in the south-eastern part of the enclosure. The enclosure ditch contained in its fill imported B and E ware, indicating high-status occupation of the site in the fifth to seventh centuries, and may also reflect the importance attributable to the presence of an important trading port at the mouth of the Boyne.¹

The primary feature in the cemetery was a penannular enclosure, diameter 15 metres, with an opening at the south-west in which a post-hole was located (Fig. 88 F35). There is no obvious central burial, but the deepest burial (No. 65) was a male which appeared to be accompanied by Nos. 110 and 84 (female). The penannular enclosure formed the focal point for the cemetery with many further burials (in some cases the same graves were used on successive occasions) inserted into the enclosure and into the fill of the ditch, but few were placed outside the enclosure ditch except in the area of the entrance where burial spread to the south and possibly to the west. No radiocarbon dates are yet available for this site, but the presence of E-ware in the habitation levels suggests that the earliest date for burial must lie around the seventh century.

The earliest feature at Westreave was also a small penannular enclosure about 9.50 metres in diameter (Fig. 89). The primary central burial (B32) had a larger-than-necessary grave-cut, and was aligned on the entrance feature. It appears that this enclosure with its primary burial became the focus for the cemetery. Burials were inserted within and up to the fringes of the enclosure, some actually cutting into the ditch but not venturing outside, except in the area of the entrance from which burial spread in a south-westerly direction. One of the burials (B29) was clothed, since it had a buckle

¹ As suggested by C. Thomas, 'Gallici Nautae de Galliarum Provinciis. A Sixth/Seventh Century Trade with Gaul Reconsidered', *Med. Arch.*, 34 (1990), pp. 1-26.

at the midriff area (Fig. 86B). Burial B38 contained small iron fragments which may represent the remains of coffin nails, and burial 21 produced very poorly preserved remains of possible oak timbers beneath the skeleton, perhaps a wooden bier. Some of the early unlined graves in this cemetery also contained large blocky stones, some of which seem to have been carefully placed. These may represent the equivalent of a ledge or stone packing sometimes found in Anglo-Saxon graves, either to support a stretcher or bier or a covering plank or lid. It is conceded that their presence in this cemetery may be coincidental.

A further example of a penannular enclosure (8 metres in diameter), with a south-facing entrance, has recently been excavated at Greenhills, Kilcullen (Kildare)¹ (Figs. 85, 90). In this small unenclosed cemetery there were 16 extended supine inhumations, W-E, without grave-goods, in simple shallow pits cut into sand, with in some cases an outline of stones around the grave, in some of which a thin layer of charcoal lay between the skeleton and the surrounding stones. The penannular enclosure contained the burials of an adult female and a child. Radiocarbon dates were obtained for bone from two burials lying outside the penannular enclosure which would calibrate at 1 sigma to between the fourth and seventh centuries.²

In Ireland the issue of enclosures around burials in the early Christian period is a complex one. The use of circular burial enclosures was widespread in the late Bronze Age and Iron Age periods; in the seventh century Tírechán certainly regarded them as pagan, but adaptable to Christian use for burial of high-ranking individuals.³ But the

¹ V. Keeley, 'Archaeological Excavation of a Burial Ground, Greenhills Townland', *JKAS* 17 (1991), pp. 180-201.

² Burial 6: GRN 18242 - 1610±35 BP; Burial 12 GRN 18243 - 1534±35 BP.

³ See above, pp. 122-3.

fact remains that the three examples discussed above are the only examples of penannular burial enclosures dateable to the early Christian period currently known in Ireland. All are located in Brega, and I am inclined to equate them with similar enclosures in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Scotland and in Anglo-Saxon England where although the number of examples is greater, they are confined to certain regions and are the exception rather than the rule. A telling point may be the inclusion at Colp of a post-hole in the entrance to the enclosure, which is similar to a feature which occurs for example at the cemeteries at St. Peter's Tip, Broadstairs (Gaz.1133) (Fig. 61) and at Finglesham (Kent) (Gaz. 686) (Fig. 62). In the seventh century, and perhaps even beyond, all burials in secular or ancestral cemeteries were similar in outward appearance, so certain burials could only be identified by the presence of a grave marker, in the case of Christians probably a wooden cross. There is at present no way of telling whether the form of these enclosures was due to internal influences, or to influences from Kent, Scotland or Gaul, but when all the combined evidence is taken into account an Anglo-Saxon influence seems highly possible. All three of the Irish examples appear to form a focal point in the cemetery, suggesting that the primary burial or burials were of people of sufficient status to attract subsequent burial, perhaps a particularly noteworthy person, or perhaps a person who established a family line.

As for burials accompanied by a knife, a buckle and knife, or just a buckle, there are two cemeteries in Britain where an Anglo-Saxon presence is archaeologically recognisable only by the presence of several burials accompanied by such objects. These are the Romano-British cemetery at Cannington (Somerset) (Gaz. 606) where knives were associated with 16 out of 542 mainly unaccompanied burials. Radiocarbon dates for this cemetery show that burial started in the second or third century, and continued until about

the ninth century, and dates for two of the burials with knives, centre on the sixth/seventh centuries. The second case is at Yeavering (Northumberland) (Gaz. 631) where only a tiny minority of the otherwise unaccompanied burials have knives. I would suggest therefore, bearing these cases in mind, that when occasional burials with knives, or buckles, or burnt grain, or within penannular enclosures, occur in Ireland among otherwise 'normal' burials, there is a very strong possibility that these represent burials of Anglo-Saxons.

A final interesting and perhaps significant factor is the distribution of these burials in Ireland. Those identified so far are grouped in areas where a known Anglo-Saxon presence is historically attested in the seventh/eighth centuries (Fig. 85).

CONCLUSION

Whatever rite of disposal of the dead was practised by the indigenous population of Britain between about 1,000 and 300 BC, it was archaeologically invisible. About 300BC, a detectable rite emerged in the form of crouched inhumation burial, usually aligned north-south; this was a widespread and homogeneous cultural tradition (pp. 1-2; Fig. 1). There was a noticeable absence of grave-goods (Table 1: pp.43-4); in the minority of cases when these were present, they usually consisted of one brooch worn around the shoulder/neck area, bracelets, rings, combs, pottery, occasionally knives (Fig. 9A), spears, very occasionally swords, and the remains of meat-joints of lamb or pork. Towards the end of the Iron Age new elements, including extended inhumation, cremation, and the enclosure of burials either in chamber-graves (pp. 32-3; Figs. 6,7), in ditched enclosures (p. 37; Fig. 7) or within four-post structures (pp. 35-36) became more widespread.

Despite changes introduced during the Roman period, by the end of the fourth century burial rites had stabilised (Table 2) and extended supine inhumation, usually with the head at the west and without grave-goods, had become the statistical norm in heavily Romanised areas, although north-south and south-north burial continued to be practised especially in rural areas (Table 3). Among Christians, west-east burial was probably a recognised rule. The use of nailed wooden coffins had become common in cemeteries in heavily Romanised areas (Table 4). When grave-goods were present (pp. 46-8), the only jewellery consisted of a single brooch, generally in the shoulder or chest area. (Figs.11, 12). Other grave goods included pottery, knives (Figs. 9B, 10), bracelets, coins, and hob-nailed footwear (Fig. 13).

Several Iron Age burial traditions, crouched inhumation, north-south orientation, multiple burial, burial within enclosures and chamber burial, survived the upheavals of the Romano-British period (Table 2 and 3)

Burial in Ireland followed a somewhat similar pattern to that in Britain, and by the fourth century AD the normal rite practised was that of extended supine inhumation, oriented west-east, without grave-goods, deposited either in unprotected dug graves or in stone-lined cist graves. The similarity between the development of burial practices may be explained by influence from Britain upon Ireland (pp. 52-6).

Burial practices established in Britain by the late fourth century remained unchanged throughout subsequent centuries in those areas not affected by Anglo-Saxon incursions of the fifth, sixth and early seventh centuries (Chapter 2, Table 5). Some cemeteries in these areas saw the emergence of identifiable 'founder' or 'special' graves (Table 5), often distinguished by the presence of a stone grave markers as at Cannington (Fig. 15B), or by special enclosures (Figs. 14, 15A, 16 A,B) which attracted subsequent burial. The practice, also occasionally present in Iron Age and Roman Britain, of placing burials in and around prehistoric monuments continued to be observed (Figs. 17, 18).

A general absence of burials characteristic of either the Iron Age or Roman periods in areas along the Welsh borders, and in north-west and north-east Britain, must be attributable to the survival in those areas of the 'invisible' rites of disposal which applied in all areas prior to about 300 BC.

Historically attested contacts between Ireland and England, and between Ireland, England and Gaul, can be shown to have been particularly strong during the conversion period (Chapter 3; Figs. 25, 26), and references to various burial practices in early written Irish and English sources help to throw some light on the background, purpose,

or rationale behind many early burial practices (Chapter 4).

To judge from the burial evidence, the Anglo-Saxon presence in Bernicia, including Yeavinger, and in Elmet in the fifth, sixth and early seventh centuries was minimal (Chapter 5, pp. 135-142, 162-3; Figs. 28, 35). In regions with stronger Anglo-Saxon burial traditions the indigenous presence appears as a small minority, usually represented by unaccompanied crouched or extended burials, or burials accompanied by one penannular brooch. Examples can be found for instance at Sleaford (Lincs) (Gaz. 145) p. 169; Spong Hill (Norf) (Gaz. 121) pp. 226-7, (Fig. 49); Morning Thorpe (Norf) (Gaz. 1192) pp. 227-8. (Fig. 51a) . In south-west Mercia, at the cemeteries of Wasperton (Warw) (Gaz. 1233), and Stretton-on-Fosse (Warw) (Gaz. 1225) pp. 190-2, there is significant evidence for an indigenous Romano-British presence, in the form of burials with hobnails and other Romano-British attributes among Anglo-Saxon burials.

However, while they had adopted Anglo-Saxon dress and burial traditions, certain members of the indigenous population may still have retained knowledge of ancient traditions. In specific regions, practices attested earlier in Britain such as the use of chamber graves, and decapitated burial where the head was placed usually around the legs (compare Figs. 6, 48; 2, 82), survived or re-emerged in an Anglo-Saxon milieu. The continuation of such earlier British practices within cemeteries characterised by grave-goods constitutes an archaeological argument for an historical thesis, namely that Britons survived to an extent under Anglo-Saxon rule and that they adopted Anglo-Saxon practices such as clothed burial. However in much of Northumbria and parts of western England, British practices remained dominant because the Anglo-Saxon presence was not sufficiently strong in numbers to change burial norms. Artifacts with enamelling and sometimes millefiori, especially in Lindsey, Mercia, Middle Anglia, and Wessex, and

hanging-bowl escutcheons, demonstrate contacts with British craftsmen or workshops.

A practice evident to a greater or lesser extent in all regions is the re-use for burial purposes of prehistoric burial monuments, and the construction of imitative monuments, probably as a means of legitimising claims to sovereignty by creating links with the ancestors of the indigenous population (See distribution maps for individual regions).

Several possible seventh-century sentinel warrior burials which have been identified on frontier or border areas, particularly in Mercia, Middle Anglia and Wessex, may reflect the establishment and defence of the borders of these kingdoms, and the necessity for rulers to maintain control over their lands.

Kent has the largest concentration of penannular ditched enclosures in England (Table 15; Fig. 57), and it is possible that this type of monument either evolved in the area, or was introduced in the seventh century through contacts with Merovingian Gaul (pp. 269-70). Kent also has an abnormally large number of graves robbed in antiquity, and it is suggested that this may reflect the combination of two factors, the introduction of Christianity and the continuing use of grave goods under Frankish influence.

The withdrawal of grave-goods throughout much of England in the later seventh century was a widespread cultural phenomenon, one of the contributing factors to which may have been the introduction of Christianity and the influence of Irish missionaries: their dead were shrouded on burial. Similarly, the inclusion of rich grave goods, some with Christian motifs, especially in Kent and in Kentish influenced areas, was probably due to Frankish connections. Both types of burial can sometimes occur in the same cemetery.

The occurrence of Christian burials in pagan cemeteries, as at the sixth/seventh

century cemetery at Lechlade (Glos), is indicative of the reluctance of newly converted Christians to abandon their ancestral burial places, and W-E, supine, extended burial without grave-goods can be found as much in non-ecclesiastical as in ecclesiastical cemeteries, making it difficult to distinguish pagan from Christian burials. However, if the prevalence of such burials in Ireland by the fourth century was due to British influence, their prevalence in England by the eighth/ninth century, almost certainly due to spreading Christianity, may owe something to the teaching of Irish or Irish influenced missionaries.

By restoring on a universal scale, burial rites which had prevailed in the late and post-Roman period, ironically probably introduced by missionaries from the 'Celtic' Church, a full-circle was completed with English burial rites reflecting Romano-British traditions.

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