Chapter 7: Cemetery Analysis 2 – Ethnicity, Stature, Stress Markers and Status

This chapter will outline how Scandinavian burials of the 9th and 10th centuries have been traditionally identified in the archaeological record. It will then discuss how osteological and stable isotope data can be used to identify immigrant people, and their potential for identifying Scandinavian burials not marked out by the use of material culture.

The chapter goes on to discuss methods of stature estimation, and how estimates of stature have been used both to identify immigrants and investigate past health. Subsequently, stress markers will be introduced, and this discussion will highlight how the prevalence rates of stress markers can be used to investigate health status and potentially social status. In addition, skeletal pathology will also be briefly introduced, and the burial treatment of individuals with severe skeletal pathologies in the early medieval period will be discussed.

Finally, the results of a stress marker study for two of the cemeteries discussed in detail in Chapter 6 (Swinegate and Barrow-on-Humber) will be presented, establishing the potential of using stress markers to investigate if social status influenced burial provision in the late Anglo-Saxon period.

7.1 Identifying Scandinavian burials

One of the more difficult and contentious aspects of early medieval archaeology is the identification of migratory people. Generally speaking, the migrations of Germanic people in the 5th and 6th centuries has attracted more interest and research than the settlement of parts of England by Scandinavians in the 9th and 10th centuries. However, it is the identification of Scandinavian settlers in the burial record that is more important for the present study. The historical and archaeological evidence of Germanic and
Scandinavian migrations, and the possible numbers of people involved, are discussed in Sections 2.2 and 2.2.3 respectively (see above). Traditionally, migratory people have been identified by the types and styles of artefacts found in their graves (see Section 1.3, above). This is especially true for the late Anglo-Saxon period, when the inclusion of any grave goods whatsoever (be these Scandinavian or British in origin) at a time when grave good deposition was unusual, has been enough for some researchers to identify graves as those of Scandinavians (see Section 1.5.2, above). However, a more rigorous interpretation of the evidence suggests that grave good deposition did continue, albeit occasionally, in the late Anglo-Saxon period, and that the deposition of grave goods (either Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian in style) does not necessarily indicate that the individual in the grave was of Scandinavian descent (Halsall 2000: 262-268). In addition, less than 25 burial sites dating to 800-1000 AD have been identified, so far, as Scandinavian (Richards 2002: 156). This small group of Scandinavian burial sites includes many isolated burials, for example at Romanby near Northallerton and Camp Hill in Carthorpe parish (both N. Yorks.), or are single ‘Scandinavian’ graves within late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, for example the sword burial at Heysham (Lancs.) and a burial containing a knife and a necklace at Saffron Walden (Essex) (Richards 2002: 156). If this small number of burials is representative of the number of Scandinavian immigrants, it ‘would reduce the Micel Here to almost “Magnificent Seven” proportions’ (Halsall 2000: 269). It is apparent that many of the Scandinavians who eventually settled in northern and eastern England must have been buried in Christian style graves in established cemeteries (Halsall 2000: 270; Richards 2000: 151). If many Scandinavians were not buried in a distinctive manner, and the few distinctive graves containing grave goods were not necessarily those of Scandinavians, then any attempt to identify the burials of Scandinavians in the archaeological record must utilise lines of evidence other than the form and character of burials. The other evidence present in the graves that could  

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41 This cemetery is also known as Bedale.
be potentially used to identify immigrants are the skeletons themselves. Thus future study could take the form of a bio-anthropological analysis of the skeletal morphology of different populations, or a chemical analysis investigating the elements incorporated into the body during childhood, or a biomolecular study of their genetic affinities. The potential of using biodistance studies and isotopic analysis to identify the graves of Scandinavians will now be discussed.

7.1.1 Biodistance studies and the identification of migratory populations
Measures of biodistance can assess the similarity of two or more skeletal populations and can be calculated using both metric and non-metric data (Mays 2000: 279; Tyrrell 2000b: 301). These methods assess aspects of skeletal variation that are highly influenced by genetic inheritance, and thus can be used to investigate the biological relationships between different skeletal samples. Thus biodistance studies may be usefully employed to research the impact of population migration (Mays 2000: 285). It should be noted that biodistance studies cannot be used to investigate ethnicity: ethnic groups are socially defined and constructed, and can be adopted, manipulated and changed by individuals (Tyrrell 2000a: 142).

7.1.1.1 Metrical analyses of biodistance
The measurement of bones, and skulls in particular, have played a central role in the identification of past populations (Brothwell 1972: 73; Mays 2000: 277). Initial studies focussed on simple indices or ratios between two (usually linear) measurements, used to quantify differences in bone shape (Brothwell 1972: 88-91) and later developments of the method utilised multivariate analyses of multiple measurements (Brothwell and Krzanowski 1974). These indices were applied to both cranial and post cranial bones, although craniometrics were used more frequently in the study of population history (Brothwell 1972: 88-91; Mays 2000: 277). This is partly due to the general preoccupation with skulls in the 18th and 19th centuries, but more
importantly this is because the shapes of skulls are less likely to be influenced by environmental factors than post cranial bones, making cranial measurements more appropriate for the study of biodistance and genetic inheritance (Brothwell 1972: 73; Mays 2000: 278). Craniometric analyses fell out of favour following the rejection of the invasion hypothesis in the 1960s (Clarke 1966; Mays 2000: 277), and the justifiable abhorrence of determinist views and the study of human 'races' (Tyrrell 2000a: 141). However, craniometric studies are not necessarily 'politically questionable' and can shed valuable light on biological relationships between past populations (Mays 2000: 278-279). Any biodistance (or other population genetic) study would have to utilise large, valid sample sizes, and compare archaeologically justifiable populations - either from the same period but a different geographical area or cemetery, or from different time periods but a similar geographical area - to reduce the chances of misinterpreting the results of the biodistance study.

Previous studies have usefully shown that skull shape changed dramatically from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age in Britain (Brothwell 1972: 88-9; Brothwell and Krzanowski 1974: 255-6; Mays 2000: 281, see Figure 7.1); that skulls associated with the Iron Age Arras Culture in East Yorkshire were different from Bronze Age, Roman and Anglian material in Yorkshire (although the Yorkshire material was not compared with Iron Age skulls from elsewhere in Britain) (Mays 2000: 284); that Iron Age and Roman skull shapes were similar, supporting the interpretation of a high level of population continuity in the Roman period (Brothwell and Krzanowski 1974: 256); and that skull shape changed from the Anglo-Saxon to the Medieval period (Brothwell and Krzanowski 1974: 257-8). Little craniometric work has been undertaken to investigate Anglo-Saxon migrations (Mays 2000: 285), however it has been used to investigate a supposedly Scandinavian cemetery at Repton (Derbs.) (Biddle and Kjolbye-Biddle 2001: 77-8). The craniometric analysis showed that the individuals buried in the charnel deposit
(interpreted as members of the 'great heathen army') had different skull morphology from individuals buried around in the churchyard of St Wystan's (the broadly contemporary cemetery believed to contain the burials of indigenous and Scandinavian people, see Figure 7.2), but showed some similarities with contemporary Scandinavian populations (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2001: 77). It should be noted that the results of any craniometric analysis of the Scandinavian population were not incorporated into the relevant figure or presented in the text, but were merely alluded to by the authors: 'parallels to the mound ratios can be found in Scandinavian Viking-Age populations' (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2001: 77). However, the craniometric evidence was used by the authors to support the suggestion that the individuals in the charnel deposit were of Scandinavian descent (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2001: 78). This study appears to be the only published craniometric study of Scandinavian settlers in Britain. Although some aspects of the results remain questionable (the lack of supporting evidence for the comparison with the Scandinavian results, which is still 'forthcoming', and the misuse of non-metric trait data, discussed below), it indicates that craniometric analysis may yet shed light on the Scandinavian settlement of eastern and northern England. Any future study should compare local populations from consecutive time periods (to establish if skull shape did change, suggesting the presence of incomers). In addition, these populations could be compared with contemporary populations elsewhere in Europe, to determine if they were more similar to the indigenous or alien populations.

7.1.1.2 Non-metrical analyses of biodistance
Non-metric traits are normal skeletal and dental variations that cannot be measured. These include variations in muscle attachments, articular facets, foramina, bone fusion and bone development (Mays 1998: 102-5). Non-metric traits are caused by a complex combination of genetically inherited and environmental factors, and each trait develops if the body reaches a
particular biological threshold. Thus although non-metric traits are either present or absent, their development (or absence) is dependent on continuous biological data (Tyrrell 2000b: 290-1). The complex combination of aetiologies for non-metric traits means that individuals with a similar genetic inheritance may develop different non-metric traits depending on their environment (Tyrrell 2000b: 291). Consequently the study of non-metric traits can provide information on both population genetics and past activities, depending on the groups of traits selected for analysis (Mays 1998: 110).

Some non-metric traits are particularly suitable for the study of biodistance. These are usually traits that develop early and that are unlikely to be affected by environmental factors. Such traits are frequently associated with highly canalised structures (i.e. those structures given priority during development) (Tyrrell 2000a: 151; Tyrrell 2000b: 394). Most cranial and dental non-metric traits are suited to biodistance analysis. Unfortunately, many dental non-metric traits are variations in cusp number and morphology, which are often obliterated by the high levels of dental wear typical of past populations (Tyrrell 2000b: 296). Thus studies of biodistance using non-metric traits should focus on cranial non-metric traits that are not affected by environmental factors (such as mastication) or post-partum growth and development (Tyrrell 2000b: 294).

Once suitable non-metric traits have been identified, these should be compared at a population level, as small environmental changes may affect the 'heritability of a trait without affecting its mean frequency within a population' (Tyrrell 2000b: 296). Measures of biodistance between populations are usually calculated using the mean measure of divergence and should always be taken from large samples (Tyrrell 2000b: 301). Non-metric traits cannot be used to measure the relatedness of individuals within a population due to the complex aetiology of non-metric traits and the
environmental factors contributing to their development. Assuming two individuals in a population who share a small number of non-metric traits are related 'is as facile as walking into a party and assuming you are related to everyone who shares your eye or hair colour' (Tyrrell 2000a: 153).

Previous studies incorporating non-metric trait data have frequently oversimplified matters to such an extent that the resultant theories are useless. Heinrich Härke's (1990) study of weapon burials (discussed in Section 5.1 and below) suggested that males buried with weapons were taller on average than males buried without weapons, and that these two groups of individuals shared different non-metric traits. This evidence was then used to support the argument that males buried with weapons were of Germanic descent, whereas those buried without weapons were of British descent (Härke 1990: 40-3). Härke employed just six non-metric traits in this analysis. Of these, only one, the unspecified 'dental anomaly', is unlikely to have been affected by environmental factors$^{42}$ and was not associated with post-partum growth patterns$^{43}$ (Tyrrell 2000a: 151), making this analysis redundant on two counts - the small number of traits included in the study, and the inappropriate selection of those traits. A similar claim has been made about what are believed to be Viking skeletons. In the analysis and interpretation of the skeletal material from Repton (see above), the disarticulated skeletal elements from the charnel deposit apparently shared 'several non-metric traits' with a contemporary Scandinavian population (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2001: 77). In this case the only 'non-metric trait' mentioned was the pre-auricular sulcus, a skeletal feature of the ilium more commonly associated with the female sex (Mays and Cox 2000: 118)!

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$^{42}$ The foramen olecranon, sixth lumbar vertebra and spina bifida occulta are all post-cranial non-metric traits and are unlikely to have been buffered from the environment.

$^{43}$ Both wormian bones and the metopic suture develop due to variations in post-partum growth and development.
Although these studies appear to be fundamentally flawed, non-metric traits may yet shed light on population migration during the early medieval period. Non-metric traits can be used to measure biodistance, but should always use large samples sizes and must utilize a wide range of traits that are unlikely to be affected by environmental factors (Tyrrell 2000b: 301).

7.1.2 Isotopic analysis and the study of migratory people

Stable isotopes in teeth can be used to identify (broadly) the geographical area where an individual was born and spent their early childhood (Pitts et al. 2002: 138). Thus by analysing isotopic data from teeth it is possibly to identify first-generation settlers. As their descendents would be born and spend their early childhood in the area settled, second generation and later immigrants cannot be identified in this way.

The human permanent dentition develops during the first few years of life. During the development of the teeth, stable isotopes that reflect the underlying geology and climate of the area where an individual is living are incorporated into the teeth via food and water ingested by that individual. Unlike bone, teeth do not remodel, which means that any stable isotopes incorporated into the enamel during development are preserved in dental enamel and dentine until death (or the loss of that tooth!). In addition, dental enamel is resistant to change after death, which means that the stable isotopes in the teeth also remain unchanged in the burial environment (Pitts et al. 2002: 138).

Different rocks contain different ratios of lead (Pb) and strontium (Sr) isotopes. As the rocks in different regions vary, so do the stable isotopes in these rocks, giving an 'isotopic signature' for different geographical areas. These isotopic signatures of different regions are taken up by biological systems and incorporated into developing tissues (including teeth) with little change, leaving the isotopic signatures intact. The ratios of $^{87}\text{Sr}$ and $^{86}\text{Sr}$,
and the ratios of 206Pb, 207Pb, 208Pb and 204Pb in dental enamel can be compared with the ratios of these stable isotopes present in different geological areas. These can then be used to locate where an individual was when their teeth were forming (Pitts et al. 2002: 138). Oxygen stable isotopes in meteoric water vary according to climate rather than geology. Oxygen stable isotopes from drinking water are also taken up by the body and incorporated into teeth (Pitts et al. 2002: 138). Thus the ratios of oxygen isotopes in teeth can also be used to locate where an individual spent their childhood (Pitts et al. 2002: 138-9).

Isotopic analysis has been used to identify both Germanic and Scandinavian immigrants in Yorkshire. At West Heslerton, oxygen isotopes were used to identify two groups in the cemetery population that had spent their early childhood in different locations. Unfortunately, these two groups did not have different ratios of strontium isotopes, probably because the ratios of strontium isotopes are similar across much of the UK and northern continental Europe (Budd et al. 2002). Stable isotopes have also been used to prove that a decapitated individual buried at Stonehenge in the 7th century spent their young childhood in the area local to Stonehenge (Pitts et al. 2002: 139). More recently, analysis of a female skeleton from Adwick-le-Street (S Yorks.) has shown that this woman, buried with Scandinavian artefacts including a pair of tortoise brooches, was probably of Norwegian descent (Pitts 2004). At Riccall, a group of six immigrants, possibly from Norway, were identified on the basis of the ratio of oxygen isotopes in their teeth (Hall 2002). The Riccall study is ongoing, but highlights the potential of using isotopic analysis in the identification of Scandinavian settlers in the UK. This project is significant because Riccall was not previously listed among Scandinavian cemeteries of the late 9th and 10th centuries, due to the lack of ‘diagnostic’ grave goods.
7.1.3 Ancient DNA analysis and the study of migratory people
Another possible method for investigating the Scandinavian migrations is the analysis of Ancient DNA. Ancient DNA has been successfully used to investigate the settlement of the New World, Polynesia and China and Japan (Evison 2000: 288; Brown 2001: 309). It must be noted that ancient DNA studies will not be able to identify individual Scandinavians, but instead could be used to infer the 'broad genetic affinities' of a population (Evison 2000: 288). However, one of the main drawbacks of using ancient DNA to study populations in northern Europe is that populations in adjacent countries have similar DNA profiles, making it difficult to distinguish between different European populations (Evison 2000: 280, 289). Other problems are posed by the contamination of samples, the fact that ancient DNA analysis is very expensive (Brown and Brown 1992; Brown 1998) and poor levels of ancient DNA survival in Britain (Brown 2000: 461; Evison 2000: 288; Smith et al. 2001: 771-2). As yet no successful investigation of population affinities through the study of ancient DNA has been published for the early medieval period in Britain. Indeed, ancient DNA has had little impact on population studies in the Old World (Brown 2001: 309). However, if the problems outlined above can be overcome, ancient DNA may yet be of use in the investigation of population migrations.

7.1.4 Identifying immigrants – conclusions and future potential
This section has shown how measures of biodistance (using craniometry and suitable non-metric trait data), isotopic analyses and potentially ancient DNA can be used to identify immigrants. At present, no extensive project has been published using any one or a combination of these methods in great detail for the Anglo-Scandinavian period. One must await with anticipation the full publication of the biodistance study of the Repton population, and the completion of the isotopic and osteological analysis of the Riccall population, which is ongoing. However, these three methods, used in conjunction, may
in the future shed more light on the numbers of Scandinavians who settled in northern and eastern England, and the manner in which they were buried.

Having discussed the potential for identifying immigrants in archaeological populations, this chapter will now turn to the investigation of health and status in cemetery populations, through the study of stature and stress markers.

7.2 Stature estimation

Estimates of stature have been used to investigate both genetic descent and health in past societies, because achieved adult height is determined by both genetic inheritance (potential height is determined by the genes inherited from parents) and nutrition and post-natal health (which will determine whether or not an individual will reach this potential height). This section will discuss methods of stature estimations, and how stature estimates have been used to investigate both migratory people and health and social status.

Living stature or height is probably most accurately estimated using Fully’s method (Fully 1956, cited in Lundy 1988: 534). This method measures the articulated height of a skeleton by adding together the following measurements: basi-bregmatic height of the cranium, height of vertebral bodies C2 to S1, physiological lengths of the femur and tibia and the articulated height of the calcaneus and talus, and adding a soft tissue correction factor. This method has been found to produce highly accurate estimates of stature, however its applicability for use on archaeological skeletons remains limited, as it requires a complete, well preserved axial skeleton and lower limb (Lundy 1988: 538).

Stature can also be estimated from the length of limb bones using regression equations (Trotter and Gleser 1952; 1958). These rely on the assumption that long bone length is linearly related to height. As with all regression
equations, there is a certain degree of spread from the estimation, in this case expressed as a standard error. The equations of Trotter and Gleser (1952: 495) provide regression data for American whites and blacks. Whilst these equations are population specific, they are frequently applied to archaeological material (Ubelaker 1989b: 61-2; Bass 1995: 32).

These regression equations are published with error margins indicating the degree of spread from the central tendency of actual heights from long bones of a particular length. These are given in Table 7.1, below, and are usually in the order of ±3 to 4cm, giving an estimated stature a range of c.6 to 8cm. These error margins must always be considered when comparing statures within and between skeletal populations. The error margins also reveal that estimates from leg bones, particularly those from the femur and tibia, produce more accurate estimates of stature (Krogman and Isçan 1986: 348), as these bones contribute to actual stature.

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<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
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<tr>
<td>Equation</td>
<td>Standard error</td>
<td>Equation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.08 Humerus + 70.45</td>
<td>± 4.05</td>
<td>3.36 Humerus + 57.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.78 Radius + 79.01</td>
<td>± 4.32</td>
<td>4.74 Radius + 54.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.70 Ulna + 74.05</td>
<td>± 4.32</td>
<td>4.27 Ulna + 57.76</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.38 Femur + 61.41</td>
<td>± 3.27</td>
<td>2.47 Femur + 54.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.52 Tibia + 78.62</td>
<td>± 3.37</td>
<td>2.90 Tibia + 61.53</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.68 Fibula + 71.78</td>
<td>± 3.29</td>
<td>2.93 Fibula + 59.61</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.30 (Fem + Tib) + 63.29</td>
<td>± 2.99</td>
<td>1.39 (Fem + Tib) + 53.20</td>
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Table 7.1: Regression equations of Trotter and Gleser (1952: 495) with standard errors. Measurements and resulting statures are in centimetres.

The equations of Trotter and Gleser (1952) were applied to the material excavated from Christ Church, Spitalfields. Whilst the living stature of the individuals in the population was not known, this analysis provided some interesting insights. Molleson and Cox (1993: 24) compared the stature estimates provided from different long bones. They found that statures
estimated from the arm bones, especially the radius and the ulna, were up to 8-10cm lower than those estimated from the leg bones. In contrast the estimates provided by the tibia were greater than for the femur, indicating that the Christ Church, Spitalfields population had longer tibia in relation to height than those of the population used by Trotter and Gleser to develop the standards.

This study highlights the fact that limb proportions vary amongst populations, and consequently intra-populational comparisons of stature estimations need to utilise estimates from one regression equation (i.e. from one bone) only. This will, in effect, reduce the sample size within a population, but will also reduce the possibility of producing meaningless results.

The regression equations of Trotter and Gleser, however, require complete long bones. Whilst this is rarely a problem from complete well-preserved skeletons, it poses a problem for the analysis of fragmentary material. Subsequently regression equations have been published that allow the maximum lengths of long bones to be estimated from fragmentary remains (Steele and McKern 1969). These maximum lengths can then be used to establish stature using the formulae of Trotter and Gleser. However this methodology is problematic. Firstly, by using two regression formulae to obtain the end result of estimated stature, a larger margin of error is introduced. Steele and McKern (1969: 224) did not quantify the error margins for their method, but instead stated that living stature could be estimated 'with a reasonably limited degree of error.' In addition, many of the osteological landmarks utilised in this method are difficult to identify, and this introduces further inaccuracies. Consequently it was decided to estimate stature in the current study only when complete long bones were present, using the formulae of Trotter and Gleser (1952: 495) for white males and females.
7.2.1 The effect of genetic inheritance and environmental influences on stature

Genetic inheritance and external environmental pressures determine adult stature. At birth people have a genetically predetermined maximum adult height, however childhood growth and maturation can be retarded by environmental stresses such as malnutrition and exposure to disease (Humphrey 2000: 23). If these individuals survive childhood their growth period is prolonged. However, this period of 'catch-up growth' may not be sufficient for them to achieve their genetic potential (Schweich 2001). This means that whilst high status individuals (who were probably buffered from environmental stress) may achieve their genetic potential for growth, if they had short ancestors then they may be no taller than those with tall ancestors who suffered from retarded growth, and did not achieve their maximum potential height. Despite this potential problem, estimated statures have been used to make inferences about health, status and descent in past populations.

7.2.2 Previous interpretations of stature data

Heinrich Härke's (1990) interpretation of weapon burials dating to the 5th to 7th centuries has already been discussed (in Section 5.1 and this chapter, above). Härke argued that as males buried with weapons were, on average, taller than males buried without weapons, and the two groups had similar prevalence rates of enamel hypoplasia, those buried with weapons were the descendants of (taller) Germanic people, rather then individuals of a higher status, who would, in theory, have a lower rate of enamel hypoplasia (Härke 1990: 38-40). Unfortunately this argument was flawed on three counts: firstly the difference between the average height of the two groups was smaller than the standard error given in the stature estimation formulae. Secondly, the exact relationship between retarded growth and the occurrence of enamel hypoplasia is unknown – it is possible that individuals may not reach their full potential height due to malnutrition without developing enamel
hypoplasias. Thus the difference in stature observed by Härke may still be caused by difference in nutrition rather than ethnicity. Thirdly, Härke’s analysis compared the average heights rather than the distribution of different statures within each burial group. With only small numbers of weapon burials present in most cemeteries, a single tall individual could skew the results, producing an average value that could suggest that all of the individuals buried with weapons were taller than those buried without weapons. This evidence should have been supported by using graphs showing the degree of overlap in height between the two groups.

Thus apparent differences in average stature between different population groups should always be examined with reference to the formulae and errors used to provide the stature estimate. The use of different limb bones to estimate stature could also decrease levels of reliability, so any analysis should only incorporate statures estimated from the same bone and formula. Finally, the production of charts showing the spread of statures within a group would indicate how many individuals in the ‘tall’ group were, in fact, taller than those in the ‘shorter’ group. Ultimately, until the influences of nutrition and genetic inheritance on adult stature are known and more fully understood, care must be taken when interpreting stature based results - as we can only confidently suggest that taller people were more likely to have a particular burial rite. Whether this difference in stature was influenced by status or ethnicity remains to be proven. For this reason, no analysis comparing the stature of individuals in more elaborate and plain earthen graves was undertaken in the present study. However, providing all estimates of stature in a future study are based on a single regression equation (and thus a single skeletal element), and the frequencies and ranges of estimated statures, rather than population means, are used for comparison; and that any study is done in conjunction with an analysis of dietary stress markers (as an indicator of population nutrition) and isotopic assessments of population mobility (to control for the impact of immigrants),
stature may shed useful light on the nutrition and genetic inheritance of different skeletal populations.

7.3 Skeletal indicators of stress and status

Stress markers or stress indicators are osteological abnormalities that result from episodes of stress, such as malnutrition, disease and arrested growth. In modern societies, members of socio-economically deprived classes may be subjected to poor living conditions, inferior nutrition, and higher levels of disease (Robb et al. 2001: 213), which may contribute towards the formation of skeletal indicators of stress. It is possible that similar differentiation in the standard of living may have been present in past stratified societies, resulting in poorer levels of health of the lower classes than for the social elite. Given that poorer people in modern populations 'often have poorer health, smaller adult body size and shorter life-spans than well-off people' (Robb et al. 2001: 213), it is possible that questions about social status in past societies could be explored through the examination of stress markers.

Several previous studies, including analyses of skeletons from the Mayan site of Tikal in Guatemala, Mycenean cemeteries in Greece and burials from the Mississippian site of Etowah Mounds, Georgia, USA, that compared stress markers for individuals given distinctive burial rites (interpreted as high- and low-status burials) have revealed that some social elites were healthier, had access to a better diet or were taller than the rest of the population (Haviland 1967: 320-1; Angel 1984: 66; Cohen 1989: 122-7). Studies of other cemetery populations including classic Zapotec burials from Monte Albán, Oaxaca, Mexico and Mississippian burials at Moundeville, Alabama, USA have suggested that people afforded more elaborate burial rites did not enjoy better levels of health (Wilkinson and Norelli 1981: 755-6; Powell 1988: 196-7).
The relationship between elaborate forms of burial and social status in life is not straightforward: elaborate burial rites may not have been either predominantly or exclusively for the social elite, but could have been related to other aspects of identity such as profession in life, role in the family or the circumstances of death, or just be down to the personal choice of the mourners (Ucko 1969; Hodder 1980; Parker Pearson 1982). Thus any study comparing stress markers in burials with differential funerary practice should investigate the skeletal differences between the two groups of the burial population, and not simply assume these two groups to be from different social classes. Any analysis must also consider that even if the burial practices do reflect different social groups, the stress markers will only differ between the two groups if they had different levels of health and nutrition in life, and that the level of difference is sufficient to stimulate bony changes in the ‘low status’ group (Robb et al. 2001: 213). In addition, it must always consider the ‘osteological paradox’ - that is that healthy individuals may live longer and therefore accumulate more osteological evidence of disease on their skeletons, indicating that they have survived periods of ill health. In contrast, some younger skeletons with no evidence of disease may have had lower levels of health, resulting in an early death from an acute disease before the bone had time to manifest the disease (Wood et al. 1992). With these caveats in mind, it is possible to explore levels of health for groups accorded different funerary practices.

The following section will introduce different stress markers: porotic hyperostosis, cribra orbitalia, periosteal reactions and enamel hypoplasia. The affect of childhood malnutrition on final adult stature will also be discussed. Each of these sections will discuss the appearance of the stress markers on bone and their aetiology.
7.3.1 Porotic hyperostosis and cribra orbitalia

Porotic hyperostosis and cribra orbitalia are the skeletal manifestations of anaemia. Both are characterised by the widening of the diploic space, thinning and porosity of the outer table and increased vertical trabeculation, giving a 'hair-on-end' appearance on radiographs (Stuart-Macadam 1989a: 215, 217; Grauer 1993: 203, see Figure 7.3). These changes are caused by the expansion of red blood marrow to increase the levels of red blood cell production, compensating for iron deficiency (Stuart-Macadam 1985: 394).

Porotic hyperostosis refers to lesions of both the cranial vault and the orbital roof, whereas cribra orbitalia refers to the orbital lesions only (see Figures 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5). The exact relationship between the orbit and vault lesions is unclear, however vault lesions are generally seen in association with orbital lesions, and may indicate a more severe episode of anaemia (Stuart-Macadam 1989b: 191). Anaemia is caused by iron deficiency, parasitic infection, genetic anaemia (thalassaemia and sickle-cell anaemia) or by the body as a response to a heavy pathogen load, as most pathogens require high levels of iron to ensure survival in the body (Stuart-Macadam 1992: 40-1; Roberts and Manchester 1995: 166-7). Despite this complicated aetiology, anaemia is often used as an indicator of stress. Genetic anaemia is rarely seen in northern Europe today, so it is probable that most anaemia observed in British archaeological material was acquired as the result of either iron deficiency, an increased pathogen load or parasitic infection (Grauer 1993). It is difficult to determine whether these are associated with a lower health status, as adults with healed lesions obviously survived pathological episodes, rather than dying as a result (Grauer 1993: 207-8).

It has been hypothesised that porotic hyperostosis is a childhood manifestation of anaemia, as active lesions are generally only seen in sub-
adult skeletons. Active lesions in adults are very rare, and are more likely to be the result of a genetic anaemia (Stuart-Macadam 1985).

Cribra orbitalia was recorded using a modified version of the Stuart-Macadam (1991) system, used on the material from Poundbury Camp. This is outlined in Table 7.2, below. Orbits that were either absent or damaged were recorded as unobservable. Porotic hyperostosis was recorded on a presence/absence basis, and was rarely seen in material under study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stuart-Macadam score</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Capillary impressions</td>
<td>Slight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Scattered fine foramina</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Large and small isolated foramina</td>
<td>Severe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Foramina have linked into trabecular structure</td>
<td>Very severe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Outgrowth in trabecular form from the outer table surface</td>
<td>Very severe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.2: Terms used for recording cribra orbitalia (after Stuart-Macadam 1991)

In a recent survey of palaeopathological reports for early Medieval Britain, cribra orbitalia was recorded in 404 of 5334 Anglo-Saxon skeletons, giving a prevalence rate of 5.7% (Roberts and Cox 2003: 185). Most of the prevalence rates reported by Roberts and Cox (2003: 186-7) were crude prevalence rates (calculated using the total number of individuals present) rather than true prevalence rates (calculated using the number of individuals with observable orbits present). For the late Anglo-Saxon period, the crude prevalence rates range from 2.3% at Jarrow (Tyne), 2.4% at North Elmham (Norf.) 4.3% at Monkwearmouth (Tyne) 7.4% at Ailcy Hill Ripon (N Yorks.), 8.9% at Addingham (W Yorks.), 10% at York Minster, 10.8% at Raunds (Northants.), 13.5% at Tanner's Row Pontefract (W Yorks.) to 18% at Caistor-on-Sea
(Norf.), although crude prevalence rates as high as 50% (at Tidworth, Salisbury Plain, Wilts.) were recorded for the early medieval period. True prevalence rates of 35.0% and 22.3% were reported for Dunmisk Fort, Carrickmore (Co. Tyr.) and Worthy Park, Kingworthy (Hants.) respectively, for the same period (Roberts and Cox 2003: 186-7).

7.3.2 Periosteal reactions
Periosteal reactions or periostitis are caused by inflammation of the periosteum that covers bone. It appears as layers of new bone formation over the bone cortex (see Figure 7.6), and is caused by infection, haemorrhage, or can be secondary to trauma and ulcers (Ortner and Putschar 1981: 129-38). As infection is not the only aetiology of periosteal reactions, the term periostitis (implying infection) has not been used here. Active periosteal reactions appear as deposits of woven bone on the bone surface. With time, these heal and appear as striated lamellar bone. Many periosteal reactions, particularly those of the lower limbs, are symptomatic of specific infections such as leprosy and syphilis. However, where they occur in isolation from other bony changes symptomatic of specific infections, or if the bony changes visible across the skeleton do not follow the distribution of bony changes characteristic of that disease, they should not be used to diagnose these diseases (Rogers and Waldron 1989).

Periosteal reactions secondary to trauma are generally unilateral, and in most cases evidence of the trauma will also be visible macroscopically. Those resulting from ulceration of the soft tissue generally follow the shape of the ulcer (Ortner and Putschar 1981: 131). Bilateral distributions that are not associated with other pathological changes may be caused by the haemorrhaging that accompanies scurvy (vitamin C deficiency). Scurvy also causes haemorrhaging in the orbits, jaw, and in the joints (Roberts 1987: 203; Stuart-Macadam 1989a; Roberts and Manchester 1995: 171-2). In archaeological specimens, periosteal reactions on the tibia and fibula have
been associated with scurvy (Stuart-Macadam 1989a: 206). Care should always be taken to note that scurvy is only one of several possible aetiologies for this phenomenon, and that scurvy is notoriously difficult to identify in dry bone (Brickley 2000: 187). Periosteal reactions of the lower limbs were observed in 22.4% of the population from St Helen-in-the-Walls, York and were interpreted as possible cases of endemic syphilis (Grauer 1993: 208-9), although a differential diagnosis of scurvy would seem to be a possible alternative. Periosteal reactions on the tibia and fibula may also be caused by a blow to the leg that did not cause other injury to the bone, as the bone lies close to the surface of the skin (Wells 1964: 77; Brothwell 1972: 134). It is probable that periosteal reactions caused by a blow to the leg would be unilateral. Whatever the aetiology of periosteal reactions (and these are likely to be mixed), they have frequently been used as an indicator of stress (e.g. by Robb et al. 2001).

Periosteal reactions of the lower limb is relatively common in Anglo-Saxon populations: at Raunds (Northants.), prevalence rates of 34.4% for tibiae, 25% for fibulae and 11% for femurs were recorded for osteitis, which is probably describing both osteomyelitis and periosteal reactions (Powell 1996: 120); at North Elmham, ten individuals had periosteal reactions of the tibia and fibula (Wells and Clayton 1980: 274); and at St Nicholas Shambles (London) periosteal reaction of the longbones was ‘the manifestation of pathology most widely encountered in the unstratified human skeletal remains’ but the number of cases in articulated skeletons was described as ‘unremarkable’ (White 1998: 43). The common occurrence of periosteal reactions of the lower limb in Anglo-Saxon populations has caused many interpretations of the aetiology to be suggested, ranging from knocking legs on agricultural implements, walking over rough ground and ulceration and chaffing of the

44 A total of 196 individuals were present in the cemetery, but the number of individuals with leg bones present was not given, so a true prevalence rate cannot be calculated, however this section of the bone report refers to the high frequency of periosteal reactions in Anglo-Saxon populations.
lower legs caused by wearing leggings, tight boots and infrequent washing (Wells 1964: 78; Harman 1990: 186)!

Cases of periosteal reaction were used as a potential indicator of stress in this present study. Changes were recorded as active (woven bone), healed (lamellar bone) and healing (mixed woven and lamellar bone). Cases of striated long bones were not recorded as periosteal reactions unless clear areas of woven bone or layering of lamellar bone were observed, although it is possible that these represent cases of well-healed periosteal reactions.

7.3.3 Enamel hypoplasia
Enamel hypoplasias are areas of reduced enamel thickness that disrupt the contour of the tooth crown. They are caused by a reduction of ameloblast (enamel forming cells) activity, following a period of physiological stress (see below) (Goodman and Rose 1991: 281; Hillson 1996: 177). They can be in the form of grooves, furrows and pits, although linear enamel hypoplasias (LEH) are more frequently seen in archaeological populations (Skinner and Goodman 1992: 157; Hillson 1996: 166, see Figure 7.7). Different teeth have been found to have different prevalence rates of enamel hypoplasia, with maxillary central incisors and mandibular canines usually having the most hypoplasias (Goodman and Armelagos 1985: 480, 482).

Hypoplasias are created during the development of the tooth crowns, and are a record of childhood stress episodes. Methods have been developed to estimate the timing of these stress episodes more accurately. These rely on the assumption that tooth crowns grow at a regular rate. By dividing the tooth into a series of bands representing either yearly or half-yearly intervals, the age at which the individual was exposed to stress can be calculated (Massler et al. 1941: 44-58; Swärdstedt 1966 cited in Goodman et al. 1980: 519; Hillson 1996: 172). This has to be calibrated against total crown height. However the methodology has been criticised for not taking into account the
possible variation in the velocity of crown development, the rate of which may not be linear (Hillson 1996: 173). There may also be a gap of up to one year from initial matrix formation and completed mineralization, thus potentially underestimating the timing of the stress episode (Skinner and Goodman 1992: 159).

Enamel hypoplasias are caused by local trauma, malnutrition and disease (Goodman and Armelagos 1985: 479; Skinner and Goodman 1992: 162; Hillson 1996: 165-6). Their exact aetiology is unknown, however they have a higher prevalence in malnourished children (Goodman and Rose 1991: 162-2). These individuals are also more likely to suffer from increased levels of disease and infection, and generally have a lower socio-economic background (Goodman and Rose 1991: 162). This means that enamel hypoplasias can be used as an indicator of physiological stress, and potentially as an indicator of social status. It is unlikely that every individual from a lower socio-economic group would have enamel hypoplasias, and likewise those of a higher social status would not be totally immune. However, the incidence rate of enamel hypoplasia should in theory be lower for a group of high status individuals, providing there was differential access to food within that society.

Prevalence rates for enamel hypoplasia can be given either as an absolute frequency (total number of teeth affected divided by total number of teeth present) or as a prevalence rate for each individual or each tooth type. Calculating prevalence rates based on the numbers of individuals (with teeth present) affected is problematic. This is because certain teeth are more likely to have enamel defects, and some skeletons with teeth available for observation may only have a small number of teeth surviving, reducing the likelihood that any enamel hypoplasias once present can be recorded. During the Anglo-Saxon period, enamel hypoplasias have been reported for 640 people, giving a crude (per individual) prevalence rate of 8.9%. The
absolute frequency, based on the number of teeth affected, has been calculated as 7.4% (Roberts and Cox 2003: 185). Crude prevalence rates from late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries range from 0.9% at Monkwearmouth (Tyne), 11.2% at Jarrow (Tyne), 11.9% at Raunds (Northants.), 14.8% at Ailcy Hill Ripon (N Yorks.) to 20.2% at Tanner's Row Pontefract (W Yorks.) (Roberts and Cox 2003: 187-8).

Linear enamel hypoplasias were recorded on a presence/absence basis in this study. The number of teeth that could not be recorded due to dental wear, presence of calculus or poor preservation was noted. Whilst the location of the hypoplasias was recorded approximately by drawing them onto a dental diagram, their exact location was not measured, as the timing of the stress episode was not required for this research.

7.4 Results of stress marker study

A small study examining stress markers was undertaken for the Swinegate and Barrow-on-Humber skeletons. It was not possible to undertake the study on the remaining skeletal populations studied in depth in this thesis due to the reburial of the skeletal material from St Mark's Lincoln, the timing of when access was granted to study collections and time constraints on data collection. This study aimed to establish if the prevalence rates of stress markers shed light on the burial practice for different social status groups at these two cemeteries, and provided an opportunity to compare a rural and an urban skeletal population, and to assess the appropriateness of the methodology outlined above.

This study works on the premise that individuals of a higher social status would have access to a better diet and nutrition than those of a lower social

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45 This was calculated on the basis of data from five sites: Addingham (W Yorks.), Binchester (Dur.), Castledyke South (Lincs.), Edix Hill Barrington (Cambs.) and St Paul's Square Bedford. The true prevalence rate was not recorded for any other Anglo-Saxon cemetery.
status. If this were the case, then a group of individuals of low social status would have higher prevalence rates of stress markers than a group of individuals of a higher social status. If individuals buried in more elaborate graves (i.e. not plain earth) were of a higher social status than those buried in a plain earth grave, then it would be expected that the group would have lower prevalence rates of the stress markers than the group of individuals buried in plain earth graves. Thus the prevalence rates of three stress markers (cribra orbitalia, periosteal reactions of the tibia and enamel hypoplasia) were compared for individuals buried in elaborate (coffins, planks, stone-lined) graves and individuals buried in plain earth graves. The two cemeteries were analysed separately, and were then combined to increase the sample size in the analysis. The two prevalence rates (for individuals in plain and elaborate graves) were then compared using chi-squared tests to determine if any differences in prevalence rate were statistically significant. The resultant statistical tables are given in Appendix VII.

7.4.1 Cribra orbitalia at Swinegate and Barrow-on-Humber
The presence of cribra orbitalia was recorded for all skeletons (including subadults) at Swinegate and Barrow-on-Humber using the recording system outlined in Table 7.2, above. Throughout this study, true prevalence rates\(^\text{46}\) of cribra orbitalia were calculated, using the number of observable orbits present. A summary of the number of orbits present for analysis is given in Table 7.3. However, the crude prevalence rate is also given, to allow for comparison with other cemeteries.

\(^{46}\) As opposed to the crude prevalence rate, calculated using the number of skeletons present. The crude prevalence rate is a less accurate measure of the prevalence of a disease. The crude prevalence rate assumes that all individuals without a skeletal element were not affected by the disease, when in reality it is impossible to determine if those individuals suffered from the pathology.
Chapter 7: Cemetery Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Swinegate</th>
<th>Barrow-on-Humber</th>
<th>Both cemeteries combined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of skeletons</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left orbit present</td>
<td>38 (38%)</td>
<td>35 (36.1%)</td>
<td>73 (37.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right orbit present</td>
<td>37 (37%)</td>
<td>39 (40.2%)</td>
<td>76 (38.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just one orbit present</td>
<td>11 (11%)</td>
<td>8 (8.2%)</td>
<td>19 (9.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both orbits present</td>
<td>32 (32%)</td>
<td>33 (34%)</td>
<td>65 (33%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.3: Orbits present at Swinegate and Barrow-on-Humber

As several individuals in both populations only had one orbit present, it was necessary to test that the presence of cribra orbitalia was not different for the left and right sides. As cribra orbitalia is usually bilateral, it would be expected that the prevalence would be the same for the left and right sides. This was confirmed through chi-squared tests that compared the presence/absence of cribra for the left and right sides for both cemeteries, and for the two cemeteries combined, for all individuals with both orbits present. The full statistical tables are given in Appendix VII (Tables VII.1 to VII.6), and the results are summarised in Table 7.4, below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>X²</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swinegate</td>
<td>32.000</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrow-on-Humber</td>
<td>29.011</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both cemeteries</td>
<td>61.117</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.4: Chi-square tests between presence/absence of cribra orbitalia on left and right sides

These results reveal that there was a statistically significant relationship between the presence of cribra orbitalia on the left and right sides of individuals with both orbits present (i.e. few individuals only had cribra present on one orbit). This result means that when only one orbit was present, the presence or absence of cribra orbitalia on that orbit can be used to infer if cribra orbitalia was present or not for both sides in that individual. From this point forward, the data for left and right sides were combined. If cribra orbitalia was recorded as present on either the left or right side of an
individual, it was treated as a presence of cribra orbitalia. In the following analyses prevalence rates were calculated based on the number of individuals (with at least one orbit present and recordable) affected by cribra orbitalia.

The true prevalence rate (TPR) and crude prevalence rate (CPR) of cribra orbitalia were now calculated for both cemeteries independently and for the two cemeteries combined. These are given in Table 7.5, below. The crude prevalence rates were compared with those given in (Roberts and Cox 2003: 186-7), discussed in Section 7.3.1, above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TPR</th>
<th>CPR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swinegate</td>
<td>46.5%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrow-on-Humber</td>
<td>56.1%</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both cemeteries</td>
<td>51.2%</td>
<td>21.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.5: TPR and CPR for cribra orbitalia

The crude prevalence rate of cribra orbitalia at both cemeteries is quite high (but by no means are the highest) in comparison with many of the early medieval cemeteries with recorded prevalence rates for cribra orbitalia (Roberts and Cox 2003: 186-7). The wide range of prevalence rates recorded by Roberts and Cox (2003) probably reflects the different recording protocols used by many different researchers. For the present study 'scattered fine foramina' were recorded as cribra orbitalia, following the methodology of Stuart-Macadam (1991). Such fine foramina may have been overlooked in older palaeopathological reports, or have been interpreted as 'within the bounds of normal variation' by other researchers, leading to reduced prevalence rates for some cemeteries.

The true prevalence rates of cribra orbitalia were compared for elaborate (coffins, planks, stone-lined etc) and plain graves at Swinegate and Barrow-on-Humber (Table 7.6, below). Interestingly, the prevalence rate was
substantially higher for individuals buried in more elaborate graves than for individuals buried in plain earth graves at Barrow-on-Humber, whereas at Swinegate individuals in plain earthen graves had a slightly higher prevalence rate of cribra orbitalia than individuals buried in coffins or with planks. When these results were compared using chi-squared tests, the differences in prevalence rates were not statistically significant (see Tables VII.7 to VII.12, Appendix VII and Table 7.6, below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TPR plain</th>
<th>TPR elaborate</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swinegate</td>
<td>52.9%</td>
<td>42.3%</td>
<td>0.467</td>
<td>0.494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrow-on-Humber</td>
<td>52.9%</td>
<td>83.3%</td>
<td>1.928</td>
<td>0.165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both cemeteries</td>
<td>52.9%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>0.794</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.6: True prevalence rates of cribra orbitalia and results of chi-squared tests for individuals buried in plain and elaborate graves

This result shows that even when the prevalence rates of cribra orbitalia for individuals buried in elaborate graves are substantially different (as at Barrow-on-Humber), the difference between the two prevalence rates is not statistically significant. The non-significant result for Barrow-on-Humber is probably due to the small number of individuals buried in identifiably elaborate graves in the cemetery. If just two of those individuals did not have cribra orbitalia, the prevalence rates of cribra orbitalia for plain and elaborate graves would have been very similar. A larger sample size with the same ratio of individuals with and without cribra orbitalia in elaborate graves probably would have produced a statistically significant result. It should be noted that this problem with sample sizes was not anticipated at the outset of this study, as the total number of skeletons available for analysis was high (n=100 at Swinegate and n=97 at Barrow-on-Humber). However, due to variable levels of skeletal preservation, the individual elements required for analysis reduced sample sizes to 32 individuals at Swinegate and 33 individuals at Barrow-on-Humber. This problem is commonly encountered in palaeopathology, and will affect the analysis of all cemetery
populations, particularly when skeletal preservation is poor or when many burials were inter-cutting.

The statistically insignificant difference between prevalence rates of cribra orbitalia for individuals buried in plain and elaborate graves at these cemeteries indicates that either elaborate graves were not reserved for individuals of a higher social status than those buried in plain earth graves, or that there was no social differentiation in the prevalence rates of cribra orbitalia, suggesting equal access to iron-rich food and/or equal exposure to intestinal parasites.

7.4.2 Periosteal reactions of the tibia at Swinegate and Barrow-on-Humber

Periosteal reactions on the shafts of the tibiae were recorded on a presence/absence basis in the present study. Subadults were excluded from the analysis, as normal new bone formation due to the growth of sub-adult longbones looks very similar to adult periosteal reactions. Active and healed lesions were both treated as a presence of periostitis. The true prevalence rates were calculated using recordable tibiae, rather than numbers of tibiae present, as periosteal reactions are difficult to identify on poorly preserved bone. Two right and four left tibiae from Barrow-on-Humber, and one right and two left tibiae from Swinegate were classified as unrecordable. A summary of the number of adult tibiae suitable for analysis is given in Table 7.7, below. The crude prevalence rate (using numbers of adults present in the cemetery) was also calculated and compared with prevalence rates of tibial periosteal reactions in other late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.
Periosteal reactions of the tibiae are frequently, but not always, bilateral. A chi-squared test was undertaken comparing the presence of periostitis on the left and right sides of individuals with both tibiae present and categorised as recordable. The results of these tests are summarised in Table 7.8, below. The full statistical tables are given in Appendix VII (Table VII.13 to VII.17).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Swinegate</th>
<th>Barrow-on-Humber</th>
<th>Both cemeteries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of adults in population</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left tibiae recordable</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right tibiae recordable</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals with one tibia recordable</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals with both tibia recordable</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.7: Summary of adult tibiae analysed in present study

It was not possible to undertake a chi-squared test for presence of periosteal reactions on the left and right tibiae at Barrow-on-Humber as no individual with both left and right tibiae present had periosteal reaction on the right side (see Table VII.15). At Swinegate and for the two cemeteries combined there was a statistically significant relationship between the presence of periosteal reactions on the left and right sides. From this point forward the data for left and right sides were combined for the analyses of the Swinegate material and for both cemeteries combined. As the relationship between the left and right sides could not be established for Barrow-on-Humber, all
subsequent analyses were undertaken twice, once for the left and once for the right tibia.

The crude prevalence rates for periosteal reactions of the tibia are presented in Table 7.9, below. When compared with the prevalence rates of periosteal reactions at other late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (see Section 7.3.2), the rate of periosteal reactions at Swinegate appears to be normal for the period, whereas that for Barrow-on-Humber was fairly low. This large variation in prevalence rates for the two cemeteries suggests a difference in health status between the urban population at Swinegate and rural population at Barrow-on-Humber. Both cemeteries have a lower prevalence rate of periosteal reactions of the tibia than was recorded for the rural cemetery at Raunds (34.4%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TPR</th>
<th>CPR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swinegate</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrow-on-Humber (R)</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrow-on-Humber (L)</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both cemeteries</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.9: True and crude prevalence rates of periosteal reactions of the tibia

The true prevalence rates were the compared for individuals in plain and elaborate graves. Chi-squared tests were undertaken to determine if any differences in prevalence rates were statistically significant (see summary in Table 7.10 below. Full statistical tables are given in Appendix VII, Tables VII.18 to VII.25).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TPR Plain</th>
<th>TPR elaborate</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swinegate</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
<td>0.175</td>
<td>0.676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrow-on-Humber (R)</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.038</td>
<td>0.845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrow-on-Humber (L)</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.087</td>
<td>0.768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both cemeteries</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.914</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.10: True prevalence rates of periosteal reactions for individuals buried in plan and elaborate graves

There was a higher prevalence rate of periosteal reactions for individuals in plain graves than elaborate graves at Swinegate, and only individuals buried in plain earth graves at Barrow-on-Humber had evidence of periosteal reactions. The chi-squared tests revealed that these differences in prevalence rate were not statistically significant, probably due to the small numbers of individuals with tibiae suitable for examination at the two cemeteries.

7.4.3 Enamel hypoplasia at Swinegate and Barrow-on-Humber
The presence of linear enamel hypoplasia was recorded for each tooth. Several teeth had multiple hypoplasias, however the incidence was calculated on a presence/absence basis regardless of the number of hypoplasias present. The absolute prevalence rate (APR) of enamel hypoplasia for both sites was calculated using the total number of teeth present and the total number of teeth affected, for comparison with other cemeteries. Enamel hypoplasia affects different teeth more frequently than others in the same jaw. Consequently the likelihood of observing enamel hypoplasia in any given skeleton will depend on which teeth were present in that skeleton’s jaw. This potential source of bias was circumvented by using the lower permanent canine for all subsequent analyses. Table 7.11, below, gives the number of mandibular permanent canines available for analysis.
Swine ate Barrow-on-Humber Both cemeteries
Total numbers of skeletons present 100 97 197
Number of left canines 28 17 45
Number of right canines 26 21 47
Number of individuals with one canine present 10 14 24
Number of individuals with two canines present 22 12 34

Table 7.11: Summary of numbers of teeth present for analysis

Enamel hypoplasia is usually bilateral. To enable the combination of data from left and right canines, chi-squared tests were performed, testing the relationship between the presence of enamel hypoplasia on the left and right sides of individuals with both canines present. The results are summarised in Table 7.12, below. The full statistical tables are given in Appendix VII (Tables VII.26 to VII.31). The statistically significant results indicate that enamel hypoplasia was bilateral in the populations being analysed. This means that the presence/absence of enamel hypoplasia for individuals with just one canine present can be combined with the data for individuals with both canines for all subsequent analyses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>X²</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swinegate</td>
<td>17.967</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrow-on-Humber</td>
<td>12.000</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both cemeteries</td>
<td>30.222</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.12: Chi-squared tests between presence of enamel hypoplasia on the left and right canines

The true prevalence rate for enamel hypoplasia of the permanent mandibular canine was calculated for each population. In addition, the absolute prevalence rates (APR) of enamel hypoplasia in all teeth and the crude
prevalence rate of number of skeletons affected by enamel hypoplasia were calculated. These are summarised in Table 7.13, below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APR</th>
<th>CPR</th>
<th>TPR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swinegate</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrow-on-Humber</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
<td>15.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both cemeteries</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.13: Absolute prevalence rate (for all teeth), crude prevalence rate (for all individuals) and true prevalence rate (for present canines) of enamel hypoplasia

The absolute prevalence rates for enamel hypoplasia at both cemeteries was higher than that calculated for the early medieval period (7.4%) by Roberts and Cox (2003: 188). The crude prevalence rates (percentage of skeletons affected by enamel hypoplasia) fall within the range for the early medieval period (see section 7.3.3 above). The high true prevalence rates for lower permanent canines reflect the increased likelihood of enamel hypoplasias forming on this tooth (Goodman and Armelagos 1985: 480, 482).

The true prevalence rates of enamel hypoplasia on the lower permanent canine were calculated for individuals in plain and elaborate graves. The differences between prevalence rates were then tested for significance using chi-squared tests. These results are summarised in Table 7.14, below. The full statistical tables are given in Appendix VII, Tables VII.32 to VII.37.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TPR plain</th>
<th>TPR elaborate</th>
<th>X²</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swinegate</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>0.700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrow-on-Humber</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0.763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both cemeteries</td>
<td>54.1%</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
<td>1.366</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.14: Comparison of prevalence rates of enamel hypoplasia for individuals in plain and elaborate graves

There was a large difference in percentage prevalence rates of enamel hypoplasia for individuals at Swinegate and for the two cemetery
populations combined. These differences follow the pattern that would be expected if individuals buried in more elaborate graves were of a higher social status than those in buried plain graves. The pattern seen at Barrow-on-Humber, where all of the individuals buried in a more elaborate grave had enamel hypoplasia is misleading, as only one individual with lower canines was buried in a more elaborate grave. Despite the large differences observed in the prevalence rates, these were not statistically significant. This lack of significance is probably due to the small number of individuals present at each cemetery with permanent lower canines.

7.4.4 Summary of stress marker study

The stress marker study compared the prevalence rates of cribra orbitalia, periosteal reactions of the tibia and enamel hypoplasia for individuals buried in plain and elaborate graves at Swinegate and Barrow-on-Humber. The study aimed to investigate the differing health status of these two groups, to determine if more elaborate graves were used by members of higher social status than those in plain earth graves. The results of this analysis are summarised in Table 7.15, below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cribra orbitalia</th>
<th>Periosteal reactions</th>
<th>Enamel hypoplasia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plain</td>
<td>Elaborate</td>
<td>Plain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swinegate</td>
<td>52.9%</td>
<td>42.3%</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrow-on-Humber</td>
<td>52.9%</td>
<td>83.3%</td>
<td>3.7% (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both cemeteries</td>
<td>52.9%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.15: Summary of prevalence rates of stress markers for individuals in plain and elaborate graves

At the urban cemetery of Swinegate all of the prevalence rates were higher for individuals buried in plain earth graves than for individuals buried in coffins or with planks. This would appear to support the above-mentioned hypothesis, that individuals of a higher social status were more likely to be buried in coffins or with planks than in plain graves, however all of the chi-
squared tests indicated that these differences in prevalence rates were not statistically significant. The non-significant results may, in part, be due to the small sample sizes used in the analysis — with just 100 excavated skeletons, once preservation of the correct skeletal element reduced the sample size to between 32 and 38 individuals. Thus only a small number of individuals with (or without) the stress marker could reverse the pattern in prevalence rates.

The results for the rural cemetery of Barrow-on-Humber were much more erratic. This is probably because few of the Barrow-on-Humber skeletons were buried in identifiably elaborate graves. Once skeletal preservation was taken into account the number of individuals available for analysis from elaborate graves ranged from just one individual (for cribra orbitalia and periosteal reactions) to six individuals (for enamel hypoplasia). Unsurprisingly, no statistically significant relationship was found between the occurrences of stress markers for different grave types.

Overall the results for Swinegate suggest that stress markers may yet shed light on social status and burial, providing elaborate graves have been successfully identified (for most cemeteries this would mean waterlogged conditions preserving coffins, unless coffined burial was not common in that cemetery), and a larger number of graves or more complete skeletons have been excavated, creating larger, statistically viable, sample sizes.

7.5 Skeletal pathology

Evidence of skeletal pathology visible macroscopically was recorded during the present study. These were identified using the descriptions given by Ortner and Putschar (1981) and Roberts and Manchester (1995). Many of the diseases recorded during palaeopathological research would not have had a severe impact on the life of the individual concerned, however some pathologies are so severe that individuals affected may not have been able to
live a normal life, and may therefore have been cared for by their communities. Would these individuals have been treated in the same way as the rest of the population in death?

During the later medieval period many lepers were ostracized from society (Roberts and Cox 2003: 286-9) and were buried in separate hospital cemeteries, such as the excavated cemetery of St James and St Mary Magdalene, Chichester (Magilton and Lee 1989; Roberts and Manchester 1995: 145). However, the majority of excavated medieval cemeteries containing lepers were, in fact, non-hospital churchyards, with the lepers buried with the rest of the population (Roberts 2002: 213-4). At St John, Timberhill Norfolk, a medieval cemetery with no documented hospital, 24 lepers have been identified in the skeletal population of 181 (Roberts 2002: 214). Leprosy was not common during the early medieval period, with just 18 cases of leprosy identified at 13 sites (Roberts 2002: 218; Roberts and Cox 2003: 218). Most of these cases were buried within normal cemeteries, for example at York Minster47 and Raunds (Roberts and Cox 2003: 218).

Individuals with severe pathological conditions were frequently buried within normal cemeteries, but sometimes they were given a different burial rite from the rest of the cemetery population. At North Elmham Park (Norf.) just one burial (Grave 10) was found outside of the cemetery boundary. This burial also had a reversed orientation, with the head placed at the east end of the grave (Wade-Martins 1980: 191). Analysis of the skeleton revealed that this individual suffered from either an infection or septic arthritis (Figure 7.8) that resulted in a severely deformed left knee (Wells and Clayton 1980: 274). Was this individual deliberately buried in a different manner because of their

47 The probable case of leprosy at York Minster was not identified by Lee (1995) in the palaeopathological report in the excavation publication, but was identified at a later date by Manchester and Roberts (1986, cited in Roberts and Cox 2003: 219) in an unpublished survey of leprosy and tuberculosis in British archaeological samples.
severe pathology? Was this possibly because they were dependent on the care of others in life?

7.5.1 Skeletal pathology at Swinegate and Barrow-on-Humber
One of the aims of this study was to investigate if any individuals with severe pathologies were treated differently from the rest of the population in death. Thus evidence of skeletal pathologies was recorded during osteological analysis. This chapter does not aspire to be a detailed pathology report, but rather an investigation of different types of burial practice using osteological and palaeopathological data. Thus only very severe cases of pathology, that almost certainly would have affected the life of the individual dramatically, will be commented on in detail here.

A wide range of skeletal pathology was observed during the present study. Evidence of degenerative joint disease, trauma, non-specific infection and metabolic disease were found at Swinegate and Barrow-on-Humber. However, no examples of neoplastic disease, leprosy, tuberculosis or syphilis were recorded at either cemetery. Just one case of pathology that would certainly have affected the life of the individual was recorded. Skeleton 3505 from Swinegate was partially excavated, with most bones located above the 10th thoracic (T10) vertebra recovered (the lower end of the grave extended beyond the limits of the excavation). This individual, a male aged between 30 and 50 years, was suffering from ankylosing spondylitis, a progressive disease that results in the fusion of the vertebrae and ribs (Aufderheide and Rodríguez-Martín 1998: 102-4). Ankylosing spondylitis typically affects males, with an age of onset between 15 and 35 years (Aufderheide and Rodríguez-Martín 1998: 102). In this case, the spine and ribs of the individual were fused from the 6th cervical vertebra (C6) down to T10 (the lowest vertebra recovered, see Figure 7.9). As ankylosing spondylitis typically originates in the sacro-iliac joint and progressively moves up the spine, it is likely that the spine was completely fused below C6. The upper
cervical vertebrae were affected by severe osteoarthritis, with evidence of osteophytes, porosity and eburnation. The severity of the spinal fusion means that movement of the spine and upper body would have been severely restricted, with simple movements such as bending and twisting virtually impossible. Any twisting movement could only have been achieved by turning the entire body using the hips, or by turning the neck. This reliance on the movement of the upper vertebrae probably resulted in the osteoarthritis mentioned above. Given this lack of mobility, this individual must have been unable to partake in many everyday activities and was probably at least partially dependent on the care of friends and family. How was he treated in death? Was he given a different burial rite, like the individual with septic arthritis of the knee from North Elmham? Skeleton SWG 3505 was buried in a coffin with a lid, in one of the rows of burials in Trench 3, on the same alignment as the remainder of the Swinegate population. This would indicate that although he probably relied upon the care of others for survival, he was not buried in a different manner than his friends and family.

7.6 Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed different ways in which osteological evidence can answer questions about cemetery populations that are more complex than the relationship between age and sex and burial provision. Three possible methods for identifying immigrants within a population were reviewed, and their potential for identifying Scandinavian settlers was assessed. The relationship between stature, genetic inheritance and health status was discussed, outlining the difficulties in interpreting stature data given the variety of factors affecting achieved adult stature.

Stress markers and their potential for investigating social differentiation were also discussed, hypothesising that individuals of a higher social status may have a better health status and thus a lower prevalence of nutrition- and
stress-related disease. Analysis of the skeletal material from Swinegate revealed that individuals buried in coffins or with planks did have a lower prevalence rate of three different stress markers than individuals buried in plain earth graves at the same site, however, these differences were not statistically significant. In addition, a single individual with severe skeletal pathology from Swinegate was buried in a grave typical for that cemetery, indicating the same level of care in funerary treatment was undertaken for a disabled individual as for the remainder of the burial population. Despite the lack of statistically significant results from the present investigation, the differences in prevalence rates of stress markers for individuals accorded different mortuary treatment at Swinegate do, nonetheless, hint at the potential of this approach. A larger study for a cemetery with good organic preservation (leading to the preservation of wooden coffins) and a high number of well-preserved skeletons may, potentially, shed further light on the issue of social status, health status and burial provision, and produce statistically significant results.
Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion

8.1 Site survey

This section will briefly recap the results of the site survey, concentrating on the mid to late Anglo-Saxon period. The number of sites in each date category will be given, and some results regarding the distribution of the cemeteries will be briefly outlined. Problems with data collection will be discussed briefly. The different types of cemetery dating to the mid to late Anglo-Saxon period, and the numbers of sites identified in each of these categories will also be recapped, and will be compared with contemporary cemeteries outside of the present study area.

8.1.1 Discussion of the site survey results

The survey of early medieval and undated burial sites in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire recorded a total of 464 Anglo-Saxon and undated burial sites. Just over one third of the total number of burial sites were undated burials (171, or 36.9%) and a small number of these were considered by the present author unlikely to be Anglo-Saxon in date (4 or 0.9% of the total number of sites). A further 42.2% of the burial sites dated to the early (104, or 22.4%) or the early to mid (92, or 19.8%) Anglo-Saxon period. Of the remaining ninety-seven burial sites (20.9% of the total), twenty-eight (6%) dated to the mid Anglo-Saxon period, seventeen (3.7%) dated to the mid to late Anglo-Saxon period and fifty-two (10.4%) dated to the late Anglo-Saxon period. Thus the great majority of burial sites identified in the present survey of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire dated to the early or early to mid Anglo-Saxon period, or were undated. There are several reasons why so few late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have been identified. Firstly, early to mid Anglo-Saxon burial are (and were) much more visible to antiquarians, metal detectorists and present day archaeologists alike, than the unfurnished burials of the late Anglo-Saxon period. Secondly, an unquantifiable number of mid and late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries may lie hidden below medieval churchyards, although this may
represent just a fraction of the unidentified cemeteries. Thirdly, a substantial proportion of the undated burials may be mid or late Anglo-Saxon in date, but will only be securely dated to the mid to late Anglo-Saxon period by a concerted radiocarbon dating programme (see Section 3.8).

A similar pattern to that observed for Lincolnshire and Yorkshire has been revealed during a survey of early medieval cemeteries in Wessex (see Figure 8.1). The percentages of sites belonging to most date categories closely mirror those from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. The main differences in the two data sets concern the percentages of burial sites dating to the mid to late Anglo-Saxon period and the percentage of undated burial sites identified in the two surveys. It must be noted that these differences may be methodological, as 71 of the 84 sites attributed to the mid to late Anglo-Saxon period in the Wessex survey are either insecurely dated or undated, but probably date to the 7th to 11th centuries as they are unaccompanied secondary barrow burials (Annia Cherryson, pers. comm.). These sites would probably have been categorised as undated by the present author, which would have resulted in very similar percentages in these two date categories for the two surveys. This overall similarity in datasets highlights the fact that most known early medieval cemeteries from across England date to the 5th to 7th centuries, when the deposition of grave goods has enabled burials to be dated relatively easily by archaeologists. In both regions, relatively few burial sites securely dating to the 8th to 11th centuries have been identified. While many burials of this date may lie beneath later medieval churchyards, it remains probable that many of the undated burials in both regions are of mid to late Anglo-Saxon date.

The present survey of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire also revealed that there were fewer known burial sites to the north and west of the study area. This
is due to several different factors: firstly, the lack of identifiably early medieval cemeteries to the north and west of the study area caused by a lack of distinctive material culture (although cemeteries could be dated to the early medieval period with radiocarbon dates); secondly, the lack of sites was due to patchy SMR coverage, and the lack of undated burials recorded on the North Yorkshire SMR in particular; and thirdly, the soils to the north and west of the study area are less conducive to bone survival than areas in the east of the study area.

This general pattern of an uneven distribution pattern of early medieval burial sites was similarly noted in the survey of Wessex, where far fewer burial sites were identified in the counties of Devon, Dorset and Somerset than in the counties further east – Berkshire, Hampshire, the Isle of Wight, Wiltshire and the areas of Oxfordshire located south of the Thames. This lack of identified early medieval burial sites in western Britain is due to the predominance of unaccompanied burials during the 5th to 7th centuries in particular, and poor levels of bone preservation in the western areas of Britain in general. Indeed, at Kenn Valley (Dev.), a cemetery was identified on the basis of empty grave cuts – no bone survived in the graves excavated at all.

The survey of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire also revealed that whilst the majority of burial sites (94.6%) are recorded on regional SMRs, many burial sites (25%) were not initially found through SMR searches (see below). Records of the majority of the burial sites initially identified during the literature search were later found on the regional SMR (19.6% of the total number of sites, 78.4% of those not initially identified on the SMR). The search of the NMR for sites dating the early medieval period identified just 61 burial sites, 20.5% of the total number of dated burial sites (n=297)

48 I am extremely grateful to Annia Cherryson for providing this information prior to publication and the submission of her PhD, provisionally entitled 'In the shadow of the church: early Medieval burial
identified during the entire survey. In comparison, the nearly all of the burial sites identified in the Wessex survey were on the regional SMRs, many were recorded on the NMR, including several burial sites not on the regional SMR, and further burial sites were identified during a literature search (Annia Cherryson, pers. comm.).

The results of both of these surveys reveal that although the majority of burial sites dating to the early medieval period are recorded on regional SMRs, the records of many of these sites may not be picked up during an initial search of SMR databases. Due to funding constraints and regional political issues, many SMRs are not completely computerised (if they are computerised at all), with records of archaeological sites only present in parish files, rather than on computer databases. In addition, the search criteria used in any database search will limit the results of that search and potentially miss sites. For example, many medieval church cemeteries that were founded in the early medieval period are categorised as 'medieval' on the SMR databases, causing these sites to be missed in a search of early medieval cemeteries (the “Dark Age/early medieval” date category employed in most SMR computer databases has a date range of 410 to 1065 AD, and the “medieval” date category spans the period from 1066 to 1539 AD, so unless a site is entered on the database as both early medieval and medieval, a search of early medieval sites will miss those sites categorised as medieval, even if a cemetery foundation date prior to 1066 is recorded in the description field). These problems highlight the need for detailed national surveys of (any type of) site to encompass literature searches, SMR and NMR searches, and the problems of relying on any one data source.

8.1.2 Types of mid- to late-Anglo-Saxon cemetery
The types of burial site dating to the 7th century and later recorded in the survey of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire are representative of the types of burial

practice in the Wessex heartlands c.600-1100 AD. The results presented here are preliminary.
site in the rest of the country. Accompanied burials\textsuperscript{49} dating to the 7th and early 8th centuries are common in the east and south of England. Twenty-two burial sites containing graves with a high proportion and wide variety of grave goods characteristic of the conversion period were identified in the present study of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Comparable cemeteries have been excavated at Winnall (Hants.), Chamberlain’s Barn Leighton Buzzard (Beds.), Westgarth Gardens Bury St Edmunds (Suff.), Didcot (Oxon.) and Apple Down (W Suss.). This group of cemeteries includes 7th-century barrow burials, which contain many rich grave goods and are frequently isolated. This type of burial is sometimes referred to as ‘princely’ (Geake 1992: 85-6). The only example of a richly furnished 7th-century barrow burial in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire is at Caenby. Examples from outside the present study area include Benty Grange (Derbs.), Taplow (Bucks.), Sutton Hoo and Snape (both Suff.), Oliver’s Battery (Hants.), Lowbury Hill (Berk.) and Ford Laverstock and Swallowcliffe Down (both Wilts.). These cemeteries are discussed in detail by Helen Geake (1997), so will not be discussed further here.

During the 8th to 11th centuries, some cemeteries were located next to a known church (as at St Martin’s Wharram Percy and St Andrew’s Fishergate) but others were not immediately adjacent to a church (as at Addingham and Fillingham). In the latter case it is sometimes uncertain if the cemetery was once located around a church that has not been identified archaeologically (for example, at Fillingham and Swinegate), or were some distance from a known church (for example, at Addingham and Great Hale). In some cases it is apparent that the cemetery was not located immediately adjacent to a

\textsuperscript{49} It should be reiterated that this group of cemeteries does not include all 7th- and early 8th-century burials containing grave goods, as occasional grave goods are frequently found in many mid to late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, including those in churchyards. Thus the presence of an occasional knife, buckle or finger ring within a burial does not merit inclusion of a site in this group of cemeteries. Rather, the cemeteries included in this group contained a higher proportion and wider variety of grave goods characteristic of the conversion period including amber beads, pendants, chatelaines, annular brooches, seaxes, hanging bowls and coins as well as the ubiquitous buckles and knives.
church, as at Thornton Steward (N Yorks.), where the cemetery was located 100m to the west of the known church and geophysical survey did not reveal a church in the vicinity of the cemetery (although a geophysical survey is unlikely to have revealed evidence of a wooden church). Both churchyard cemeteries and cemeteries without churches dating to the 8th to 11th centuries are present across Britain. Examples of cemeteries next to churches include sites where the church (usually a later church built on the same site) is still standing today, for example at Winchester Old Minster (Hants.), Exeter Cathedral (Dev.) Worcester Cathedral (Worcs.), Wells Cathedral (Som.), Monkwearmouth and Jarrow (both Tyne.); churches that went out of use during the medieval or post-medieval period, for example at St Nicholas Shambles London and Trowbridge (Wilts.); and churches that went out of use during the Anglo-Saxon period or shortly after the Norman conquest, for example Staunch Meadow Brandon (Suff.), SOU 13 Southampton, Cherry Hinton (Cambs.), Yeavering (Northumb.), Raunds (Northants.) and Castle Green Hereford (Herfs.).

Cemeteries dating to the 8th to 11th centuries without evidence of a church include Staple Gardens Winchester (Hants.), Newark Castle (Notts.), Cook Street Southampton, Cannington (Som.), Bevis Grave Bedhampton (Hants.), Chimney (Oxon.) and Winwick (Warr.). At Staple Gardens, Newark Castle, Blackgate and Cook Street, no evidence of a church was located during the excavations, however as these cemeteries were not fully excavated it remains possible that evidence of a church may be present outside of the excavated areas. Indeed, documentary evidence suggests that a church was located close to the Staple Gardens cemetery in Winchester and it remains possible that this church was located in one of the areas of the cemetery that were left unexcavated (Annia Cherryson, pers. comm.). The cemetery at Cannington was founded in the late Roman or post-Roman period, and was used until the 7th or 8th century. No early medieval church was identified during the excavations, although the remains of a Roman temple were excavated (Rahtz
et al. 2000: 406-409). No evidence of any church structure has been identified at Bevis Grave, Chimney or Winwick, and it is unlikely that a church ever stood at any of these cemeteries: the 7th- to 10th-century cemetery at Bevis Grave is associated with a Neolithic long barrow, with no evidence of a structure nearby (Webster and Cherry 1975: 222; Annia Cherryson, pers. comm.); the 10th- to 11th-century cemetery at Chimney was not adjacent to a church, but was on land attached to the church at Bamford, located approximately 3 miles away (Blair 1994: 73); no clear evidence of a church was identified archaeologically at the mid to late Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Winwick (which was focussed on a Bronze Age barrow), although the foundations of a small building, possibly a chapel, were identified in the north-east corner of the cemetery (Freke and Thacker 1988).

The majority of mid to late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries are either located adjacent to a church or have the same characteristics as churchyard cemeteries (i.e. unaccompanied burials that are west-east aligned, supine and extended, are frequently arranged in rows and have evidence of plain earthen graves, coffin, stone linings, charcoal burials and/or pillow stones etc.) but are not located next to a church. However, two other types of burial, execution burial and Scandinavian burials should also be discussed. These are either found within their own cemetery or within one of the above types of cemetery (churchyard or church-less).

Scandinavian burials have traditionally been identified on the basis of Scandinavian (or in some cases Anglo-Saxon) artefacts within the burials. Burials believed to be of Scandinavians on the basis of grave goods have been identified at six sites in the present survey of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. These have been located in churchyards, for example the seven or eight accompanied burials at Kildale, two burials from the churchyard at St Mary Bishophill Junior York and a single burial with a sword in the churchyard at Wensley; and in barrows, as at Bedale in Northallerton parish
and at Romanby, also close to Northallerton. The identification of Scandinavian burials on the basis of grave goods has recently been questioned, as grave goods should not be used to identify the ethnicity of the individual with which the artefacts are buried, as anybody (wherever they originated from) could theoretically be buried with Scandinavian artefacts (Halsall 2000). Despite this uncertainty surrounding the identification of Scandinavian burials, two cemeteries have been excavated that almost certainly contain the burials of Scandinavians. At Repton (Derbs.) a series of accompanied burials have been excavated in St Wystan’s churchyard. Several of these graves contain artefacts of Scandinavian style or manufacture, including a silver Thor’s hammer amulet, Scandinavian-style swords, knives and coins dating to the 870s. These burials are within a massive D-shaped ditch dating to the 9th century, interpreted by the excavators as the boundary of the Viking army’s winter camp of 873-4 AD (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1992). A large mausoleum located nearby in the vicarage garden may contain the disarticulated remains of further Scandinavians (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2001, although see my caveats in Section 7.1, below). A second Scandinavian cemetery has been located at Heath Wood Ingleby, just 4km away from Repton. This cemetery originally contained 59 barrows, many of which contained evidence of a funeral pyre or a cremation burial. Artefacts recovered from the site include two mutilated swords, iron buckles, wire embroidery similar to that found at Birka in Sweden and a Hiberno-Norse ring-headed pin (Richards et al. 1995; Richards 2000: 146-8). More recently, the isotopic analysis of a female burial containing Scandinavian artefacts from Adwick-le-Street (S Yorks.) has shown that this woman was probably of Norwegian descent (Pitts 2004), indicating that (at least) some graves containing these distinctive grave goods were, indeed, the burials of Scandinavians.

Other burials have been identified as Scandinavian on the basis of just one or two grave goods. A cluster of Scandinavian burials, frequently in mounds,
are present in the north-west close to the Irish Sea, an area settled by Norse in the 10th century (Richards 2002: 157). These include a cairn burial from Hesket-in-the-Forest (Cumb.) containing several deliberately mutilated weapons and cremated animal bones (but no human skeleton); a mound burial containing two brooches used back to back as a container for two beads and a molar tooth, a sword, a spear, a hammer, an axe and a brooch made from a Carolingian mount from Claughton Hall Garstang (Lancs.); and a barrow containing an inhumation, a sword and a spearhead at Beacon Hill Aspatria (Cumb.). The Scandinavian barrow burials from Bedale and Northallerton (and possibly the burial in the natural hill at Camphill near Bedale in Carthorpe parish) are probably outliers of this regional group (Richards 2000: 142-6; Richards 2002: 157-60).

Elsewhere in Britain, burials identified as probably Scandinavian were frequently located in churchyards and have been labelled as Scandinavian because they contain grave goods. These burials include a burial at Saffron Walden (Essex) containing a knife and necklace of 10th-century silver pendants, probably made in Scandinavia; two male burials at Sonning near Reading buried with a sword, an Anglo-Saxon knife, six arrowheads and a Scandinavian ring-headed pin; and a burial containing four knives, two buckles, a whetstone, a spur and an earscoop from Middle Harling (Norf.) (Richards 2002: 160-2).

Although artefacts have been (questionably) used to identify some Scandinavian burials, the numbers of possible Scandinavian burials are still too few to account for the Scandinavian settlement of the Danelaw (Halsall 2000: 269). The reuse of wood from boats for coffins, seen at York Minster, St Peter’s Barton-on-Humber (Lincs.) and Caistor-by-Sea and Thorpe-by-Norwich (both Norf.) may have been an adaptation of the Scandinavian custom of ship burial (Richards 2002: 162-3). In addition, sculpted hogback grave covers may also have been used to mark the graves of Scandinavian
immigrants and their families, and are found in the north of Britain, in areas settled by the Hiberno-Norse (Richards 2002: 164). It is also likely that many Scandinavian settlers would have been buried in the same manner as the indigenous population. Isotopic work undertaken on the 9th-to 10th-century cemetery at Riccall Landing (N Yorks.) has identified six immigrants, probably from Norway, who had been buried in what appears to be, in all other respects, a normal cemetery (Hall 2002). This research highlights the potential of identifying Scandinavian immigrants within ordinary cemetery populations of the 9th and 10th centuries.

Three sites containing execution burials were identified in the present survey: the execution cemetery at Walkington Wold; the single skull found during the excavation of the Anglo-Scandinavian settlement at Cottam; and several burials that were interpreted by the excavator as mutilated or decapitated at Lamel Hill, York. A recent survey of Anglo-Saxon execution cemeteries has revealed many more sites in the south of England (Reynolds 1998), for example at South Acre (Norf.), Staines (Sur.), and Old Dairy Cottage Littleton and Stockbridge Down (both Hants.). Execution cemeteries that probably date to the mid to late Anglo-Saxon period include Guildown (Sur.), Meon Hill (Hants.) and Old Sarum and Roche Court Down (both Wilts.) (Reynolds 1997; forthcoming). Execution burials and gallows dating to the 7th to the 10th or 11th centuries have been excavated around Mound 5 at Sutton Hoo (Carver 1998: 137-40), and an isolated decapitation burial dating to the 7th century has been excavated at Stonehenge (Wilts.) (Pitts et al. 2002). Although possible execution burials have been identified in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, specific execution cemeteries appear to have been founded from the 7th century onwards (Reynolds 1997: 38). Execution cemeteries are usually in rural locations, are frequently inserted into or located next to prehistoric earthworks (usually barrows), and are often visible from major route ways and close to hundred boundaries (Reynolds 1997).
A series of identification criteria for mid to late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were developed during this research. These were then used to select a series of previously undated sites for a radiocarbon dating programme. The results obtained indicate that sites that fit several of the criteria outlined in Section 3.7, above, are likely to date to the 7th to 11th centuries. A similar radiocarbon dating programme utilising these identification criteria, undertaken on undated and insecurely dated burials in Wessex has also shown that most of the burials selected for dating did, indeed, date to the mid to late Anglo-Saxon period.

8.1.3 Conclusions to discussion of site survey
The results of these two surveys have highlighted the need for a national survey of early medieval cemeteries. Although the similarity of the results of the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire survey and the Wessex survey suggest that the surveys are potentially representative of what would be found in a national survey, this has not been proven. The Wessex survey has emphasised the differences in cemetery present in the 5th to 7th centuries in the eastern and western areas of Britain, and these need to be investigated further. By the 8th century cemeteries across Britain appear to be more similar to each other than in earlier periods, with similar burial rites present in cemeteries as far apart as Winchester, Llandough, Whithorn and Newcastle (see Section 8.2, below). The results of the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire survey and the Wessex survey indicate that late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries are vastly underrepresented in the lists of known early medieval burial sites, and that many cemeteries dating to this period were not located next to a church. However, the use of targeted radiocarbon dating has been shown to be an effective way of increasing the number of identified cemeteries dating to the 8th to 11th centuries.
8.2 Variation in burial rites

This section will summarise briefly the types of burial rites present in late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. It will then consider variation in burial rites in a national context, by reviewing burial rites at late Anglo-Saxon-period cemeteries across Britain. Naturally this discussion will not be exhaustive, so will focus on a series of well-known and published cemeteries, namely St Nicholas Shambles London, Raunds, Winchester Old Minster and Staple Gardens Winchester, North Elmham, Castle Green Hereford, St Oswald's Minster Gloucester, Exeter, Jarrow, Monkwearmouth and Whithorn, although will occasionally refer to further cemeteries as appropriate.

8.2.1 Burial rites in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire

The late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire have a wide range of grave types, including plain earth graves, wooden coffins, iron bound coffins (some of which had locks, and have been interpreted as domestic chests), clinker-built wooden coffins, sarcophagi, lead coffins, burials containing planks or biers, stone-lined graves, tile lined graves and mortar lined graves. Other burial rites (here termed grave variations) were used in combination with different grave types. Grave variations included charcoal burials, pillow stones, white quartz pebbles placed in the graves, other stones or pebbles placed in the grave deliberately, grave markers (both wooden and stone, and occasionally carved or inscribed), grave covers (both plain and carved), wooden rods placed in the grave, the occasional deposition of artefacts including coins, gold and silver finger rings, the use of shrouds (indicated by the presence of shroud pins or green staining on the skeleton) and the presence of artefacts believed to indicate clothed burial including buckles, knives and gold wire thread or embroidery.

Most of the cemeteries studied in depth in this thesis contained two or three main different grave types (for example plain earth graves, coffins and
planks at Swinegate, or plain earth graves, coffins and stone-lined graves at St Mark’s Lincoln and Barrow-on-Humber), and the occasional use of a small range of grave variations, often in a small number of graves, for example the use of pillow stones and wooden rods at St Peter’s Barton-on-Humber or charcoal burials and grave markers at St Mark’s Lincoln. In contrast to the small levels of variation in burial practice present at most of the cemeteries analysed in depth, there was much more variation in both grave types (plain earth graves, coffins, chests, plank burials, stone-, tile- and mortar-lined graves and a sarcophagus) and grave variations (charcoal burials, grave covers, grave markers, pillow stones) at the high status cemetery of York Minster. In addition, larger numbers of stone sculptures tend to be present in high status cemeteries.

The present research has investigated the relationship between variables in burial practice with osteological data. The research indicated that grave types and grave variations were not dependent on the sex of the deceased. It also determined that all age groups could be accorded the majority of grave types and grave variations observed within the sample analysed, but that adults were more likely to be buried in a an elaborate grave than children. The relationship between age group and grave type was statistically significant at St Peter’s Barton-on-Humber, and for all of the cemeteries combined. The spatial analysis of the cemeteries showed that certain grave types (for example chest burials at York Minster) and grave variations (for example ‘wand’ burials at St Peter’s Barton-on-Humber) were located in clusters within the cemetery, however most grave types and grave variations were not placed into cemetery zones. No cemetery zoning by sex was evident in most of the cemeteries analysed, however at St Mark’s Lincoln more females than males were buried south of the church and more males than females were buried north of the church. Most of the cemeteries

50 Some grave types and grave variations were very rare, so no significance can be attached to a lack of individuals within an age group buried in that manner.
(Swinegate, York Minster, St Mark's Lincoln and St Peter’s Barton-on-Humber) contained clusters of burials of infants and young children. At St Peter’s Barton-on-Humber and St Mark’s Lincoln, the burials of children were located close to and under the church respectively. As no evidence of a church building was excavated at Swinegate and York Minster it is impossible to determine if the clusters of children in these cemeteries were close to any church. An analysis of the prevalence rates of three different stress markers (enamel hypoplasia, cribra orbitalia and periostitis of the tibia) at Swinegate and Barrow-on-Humber showed that more individuals buried in plain earth graves suffered from the stress markers than individuals buried in elaborate graves at Swinegate. The results for Barrow-on-Humber were more varied than those at Swinegate, probably due to the small numbers of elaborate graves identified at this cemetery. None of the differences in prevalence rates at either Barrow-on-Humber or Swinegate were statistically significant, but analysis of stress markers has the potential to shed light on status and burial.

8.2.2 Grave types across Britain

This section will summarise the evidence of different grave types present in cemeteries dating to the 8th to 11th centuries from across Britain. These are referred to as late Anglo-Saxon period cemeteries, although some of the sites mentioned lie in areas of Britain believed to be under 'British', rather than 'Anglo-Saxon' control. This discussion will focus on the cemeteries at St Nicholas Shambles London, Raunds, Winchester Old Minster and Staple Gardens Winchester, North Elmham, Castle Green Hereford, St Oswald’s Minster Gloucester, Exeter, Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Llandough and Whithorn.

Plain earth graves are found in most, if not all, late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. It must be noted, however, that some plain earth graves may once have contained coffins that have left no visible trace, especially if the coffins were
held together with wooden dowels like those at Swinegate and St Peter’s Barton-on-Humber. At both North Elmham and Jarrow all of the excavated graves were plain, with no clear evidence of coffins or grave linings, although at North Elmham dark stains that could be interpreted as coffin stains were found in two graves and iron stains that may have been from coffin nails were found in a third grave (Cramp 1969: 45; Wade-Martins 1980: 188).

Evidence of coffins has been found at many late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and there was a great deal of variation in coffin form. The majority of late Anglo-Saxon coffins were made from planks held together using nails or dowels. Evidence of this type of coffin ranged from preserved wood or coffin stains with no evidence of coffin nails (for example at the Guildhall site and St Nicholas Shambles in London, Monkwearmouth, Whithorn, Staple Gardens Winchester and Winchester Old Minster), occasional nails in the grave (as at St Nicholas Shambles, Staple Gardens Winchester and St Oswald’s Minster Gloucester) or many nails, sometimes outlining the shape of the coffin (for example at Exeter, Monkwearmouth, Castle Green Hereford, Winchester Old Minster and St Oswald’s Gloucester) (Cramp 1969: 33; Shoesmith 1980: 30; Henderson and Bidwell 1982: 155; Schofield et al. 1988: 18; Kipling and Scobie 1990: 8; Kjælbye-Biddle 1992: 223; Boddington 1996: 11; Bateman 1997: 117; Hill 1998: 73; Heighway and Bryant 1999: 202). Coffins could also be made from hollowed-out logs, as seen at Whithorn (Hill 1981: 70). In some cemeteries, the presence of coffins was inferred from burials with skeletons arranged in a ‘parallel’ position, where the arms are placed parallel to the torso, suggesting they were constrained from moving into a different position by the sides of a coffin or a shroud (as suggested for Raunds and St Oswald’s Gloucester), or from the tumbling of bones that were displaced within a coffin when the body decayed (as seen at Raunds) (Boddington 1996: 13; Heighway and Bryant 1999: 216). Evidence of coffins was also found at Llandough (Glam.), but the published excavation summary does
not specify if this was in the form of nails or coffin stains (Thomas and Holbrook 1996: 76).

Some late Anglo-Saxon coffins were held together with roves or clinkers, often used in the construction of ship, seen for example at Caister-on-Sea and Thorpe-by-Norwich (both Norf.) (Rodwell 1993: 254), or by iron straps and brackets, as seen at St Oswald’s Gloucester and Castle Green Hereford, and occasionally had hinges and locks, as seen at Winchester Old and New Minsters (Shoesmith 1980: 32; Kjølbye-Biddle 1995: 517-8; Heighway and Bryant 1999: 206-13). The iron straps used for the construction of coffins often had shaped ends, as described in the reports for York Minster, Castle Green Hereford and St Oswald’s Gloucester (see Figures 8.2, 8.3 and 8.4), indicating the straps were ‘decorative rather than utilitarian’ (Shoesmith 1980: 38) and that these coffins were designed to be seen (although these iron-bound coffins or chests may have been used for domestic purposes prior to being used as a coffin). Iron-bound coffins or chests were usually only found in a small number of graves in any cemetery and are more common in high status cemeteries (York Minster, Winchester Old Minster and St Oswald’s Gloucester) and consequently have been interpreted as a high status grave type, particularly when found in conjunction with charcoal, as discussed below (Shoesmith 1980: 36). The interpretation of iron-bound coffins as a high status burial rite usually accorded to adult males is highlighted by St Oswald’s Gloucester, where the twelve iron-bound coffins clustered close to the walls of the minster; they were not used for the burial of children; and only one of the nine sexed adults buried in an iron-bound coffin was female (Heighway and Bryant 1999: 208-10).

Wooden planks or biers have also been found in late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. In cases where wood preservation is poor it can be difficult to distinguish between a bier or a poorly preserved coffin base, however the evidence from Swinegate, a site with good wood preservation, indicates that
biers or planks were used for burial alongside coffined burials. Evidence for planks or biers has been found at Monkwearmouth (Cramp 1969: 33) and planks or biers have been suggested as an alternative interpretation of the possible coffined graves at Castle Green Hereford (Shoesmith 1980: 24).

Another form of grave commonly found in late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries is the stone-lined grave. These could be built using large stone slabs or smaller stones, occasionally organised into courses, and are sometimes referred to as cist graves. The great majority of stone-lined graves are built using dry stone, but occasionally mortar was used to bind the stones, as for example at St Nicholas Shambles (Schofield et al. 1988: 18). Stone-lined graves have been excavated at Castle Green Hereford, St Nicholas Shambles, Raunds, Llandough and St Oswald’s Gloucester (Shoesmith 1980: 29; Schofield et al. 1988: 18-19; Boddington 1996: 40; Thomas and Holbrook 1996: 76; Heighway and Bryant 1999: 206, 218). The only stone-lined grave containing an adult at Castle Green Hereford had stones placed much closer together at the sides of the head, mimicking the supportive shape of pillow stones (Figure 8.5). This narrowing of the stone lining around the skull was also seen at Fillingham (Lincs.). Late Anglo-Saxon graves were also occasionally lined with mortar or tile, as seen at York Minster, or had a mortar or pebble base, as seen at St Nicholas Shambles (Schofield et al. 1988: 18-19; Phillips and Heywood 1995a: 88). In addition, two graves at Raunds were described as having a clay lining (Boddington 1996: 41). In western Britain and Scotland, variations on stone-lined graves known as ‘lintel graves’ have been excavated. Lintel graves are lined with timber or stone and have either a timber or stone cover or ‘lintel’. It is this capping stone that distinguishes lintel graves from stone-lined graves or cists (James 1987: 59). It is possible that some stone-lined graves with capping stones have been described as stone-lined or cist graves at other cemeteries, and that capping stones or timbers may have been disturbed at some sites prior to excavation. According to Hill (1998: 73), at Whithorn ‘the decay of the timber and consequent collapse of the grave
structure make them appear very different from stone-built graves, although they were originally similar in appearance, and served an identical function’. Lintel graves have been excavated at Whithorn and at the 7th-century cemetery at Caer Bayvil, Dyfed (James 1987: 59; Hill 1998: 73).

Stone sarcophagi and lead coffins are relatively uncommon grave types. At Raunds one sarcophagus was found in situ (although the original burial had been removed), and the remains of up to five further sarcophagi were used as building material for the second church. Four reburied skeletons found in the north of the churchyard were interpreted as the original occupants of these coffins. The sarcophagus found in situ at Raunds was located just 2m from the church, close to the west doorway (Boddington 1996: 43) in what must have been a prestigious location. At Winchester Old Minster many sarcophagi were excavated and were frequently found in prestigious locations either inside or close to the church (Kjolbye-Biddle 1975: 106-7; Kjølbye-Biddle 1992: 227-8). A single burial in a lead coffin dating to the late Anglo-Saxon period has been excavated under modern conditions and has been published in several summaries and interim reports. The burial was excavated at Staple Gardens Winchester and was radiocarbon dated to 791 to 895 AD, cal 2 sigma (Figure 8.6). The lead coffin was placed on a thick layer of charcoal and contained the skeleton of an adult male with flint pillow stones and preserved fragments of cloth, presumably from a shroud (Kipling and Scobie 1990: 9; Scobie 1994: 6; Annia Cherryson, pers. comm.). Crypts and mausoleums may also have been used for burial during the late Anglo-Saxon period. At Repton, the crypt at St Wystan’s has been interpreted as a focus of the cult of St Wystan (or Wigstan), who was buried in the mausoleum of his grandfather, Wiglaf (Biddle 1986: 16, 22). A second mausoleum at Repton has been excavated 80m to the west of St Wystan’s church in the vicarage garden. This two-celled structure contained the disarticulated remains of a minimum of 264 individuals, interpreted as members of the Viking army that over-wintered in Repton in 873-4, although the structure itself dated to the
late 7th or early 8th century and may originally have been another mausoleum of the Mercian royal family (Biddle 1986: 22; Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2001: 67-80). A central grave in a stone coffin was allegedly found in the two-celled structure when it was first opened in the late 17th century. This burial has been tentatively interpreted by the excavators as that of Iguuar or Ivar beinlausi, a leader of the Viking army who died in 873 (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2001: 81-4). Due to the time spent constructing sarcophagi, lead coffins and crypts, and their association with high status cemeteries or prestigious locations within other cemeteries, it is likely that these grave types and funerary structures were used for the burial of the highest echelons of society.

Little systematic work has been undertaken comparing grave types with the age and sex of the deceased prior to the present research, although Annia Cherryson is currently investigating this relationship for cemeteries in Wessex. Consequently the discussion presented here is based on the few comments made in published excavation reports. At St Nicholas Shambles stone-lined graves and graves with chalk or mortar floors were used for the burial of males, females and subadults (Schofield et al. 1988: 18-19). There is little discussion of the age and sex of individuals in different grave types at Raunds, although some observations on age and sex patterns relating to grave variations will be presented in section 8.2, below. It is apparent, however that children were accorded stone-lined graves in this cemetery, as it is noted that five young children were buried in graves with a complete stone lining (Boddington 1996: 40). At Winchester Old Minster, only two of the twenty-one iron-bound coffins found inside or around the east end of the church contained adult females or children, although nine of the remaining nineteen skeletons were confidently sexed as males (Kjølbye-Biddle 1992: 228). It is apparent that children were buried in plain earth graves, stone-lined graves and in coffins at Castle Green Hereford, although the nearly all of coffins in this cemetery contained adults (Shoesmith 1980: 24-30, 38, 45).
At St Oswald's Gloucester, it was noted that none of the excavated iron-bound coffins contained the burial of a child and eight of the sexed adults were male (Heighway and Bryant 1999: 210, 215), however no comment was made regarding the age and sex of individuals buried in normal coffins.

Overall it is apparent that the grave types observed in late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire were similar to those used throughout Britain. Some regional variations are apparent, for example the use of 'lintel graves' in western and northern Britain. Many of the grave types described here were only found in a small number of graves in many cemeteries (for example stone-lined graves and graves with mortar floors or linings, although these grave types were common in some cemeteries). Other grave types were common (plain earth graves and coffins), while some are only present in high status cemeteries (for example the high proportions of iron-bound coffins at Winchester Old Minster, Exeter and St Oswald's Gloucester) and others are extremely rare (for example, lead coffins). It remains possible that these grave types may be present in more cemeteries, but that the excavation of selected portions of any cemetery may have left certain grave types unexcavated, particularly those that are frequently found in clusters (iron-bound coffins, for example). There is no strong difference between the range and types of grave types present in rural and urban cemeteries, however urban high status cemeteries frequently contain a wider range of grave types, and a higher proportion of more elaborate graves. In some cases these more elaborate graves appear to have been preferentially used for the burial of adults, and in some cases of adult males in particular.

8.2.3 Grave variations across Britain
Grave variations are found in conjunction with each other and different grave types. The main grave variations found in late Anglo-Saxon period cemeteries are pillow stones and other stones placed in the grave, charcoal burials, grave covers, grave markers, and the inclusion of artefacts in the
The presence of grave variations in cemeteries across Britain will now be discussed.

Pillow stones are found in several different arrangements: under the skull (like a pillow), at one or both sides of the skull (sometimes referred to as 'ear-muff stones'), and around the skull forming a small 'head cist'. Pillow stones have been found in many cemeteries dating to the 9th to 12th centuries including Exeter Cathedral, St Nicholas Shambles, Staple Gardens Winchester, Winchester Old and New Minsters, Raunds, Llandough and St Oswald's Gloucester (Henderson and Bidwell 1982: 155; Schofield et al. 1988: 21; Kipling and Scobie 1990: 9; Kjolbye-Biddle 1992: 227; Boddington 1996: 39-40; Thomas and Holbrook 1996: 76; Heighway and Bryant 1999: 205). Pillow stones have been found in plain earth graves, coffins, stone-lined graves and in the lead coffin from Staple Gardens, and are frequently found in conjunction with layers of charcoal. At Raunds, 101 burials had pillow stones, and these were found in both plain earth and coffined burials. In eleven of the burials with pillow stones at Raunds, further stones had been placed over the face of the body, possibly protecting the face of the deceased from the back fill of the grave. None of these eleven burials contained evidence of a coffin, possibly because the wooden lid of a coffin would perform the same protective function, rendering these face-cover stones unnecessary (Boddington 1996: 39). In addition, charcoal smears were found under the heads of two individuals and under the feet of a third individual at Raunds, which were interpreted as decayed organic pillows by the excavator (Boddington 1996: 37). At Castle Green Hereford, at least three graves with pillow stones were excavated. These were found in both plain and coffined burials, and in coffined charcoal burials. In the stone-lined grave of an adult at the same site, the stone lining narrowed around the head, supporting the skull in a similar manner to 'ear-muff' style pillow stones. In addition, the grave of one adult at Hereford, possibly dating to the 12th century, had clay packed around the head and shoulders, which may have been a variation on
the pillow stone burial rite (Shoesmith 1980: 45). At St Oswald’s Gloucester, twenty-eight burials had pillow stones, placed in an ‘ear-muff’ arrangement, three burials had both ear-muff style pillow stones and a stone pillow for the feet, and foot pillows were found in a further three graves, although it was impossible to determine if these burials also had ear-muff style pillow stones due to disturbance of the head end of the grave. The pillow stones at St Oswald’s Gloucester were found in plain graves, coffined burials and charcoal burials (Heighway and Bryant 1999: 205). The relationship of the use of pillow stones in the graves of males and females, children and adults appears to vary from cemetery to cemetery: at St Nicholas Shambles two-thirds of the individuals buried with pillow stones were adult females (Schofield et al. 1988: 21); at Raunds males were twice as likely as females to be buried with stone arrangements (including pillow stones, but also other stones placed in the grave – see below) (Boddington 1996: 40); whereas at St Oswald’s Gloucester, pillow stones were in the graves of individuals of all ages and both sexes (Heighway and Bryant 1999: 205).

Pillow stones are present in many late Anglo-Saxon period cemeteries, however occasionally stones were deliberately deposited elsewhere in the grave. White quartz pebbles have been found in several late Anglo-Saxon period graves, and are believed to have been deposited deliberately. The meaning of these white quartz stones is not understood, but it has been suggested that the white colour may have been a symbol of purity (Freke 1988: 90; Daniell 1997: 165). Examples include Kellington churchyard and Whitby Abbey Headland (N Yorks.), Llandough and Whithorn (Mytum 1994: 21; Nenk et al. 1996: 292; Thomas and Holbrook 1996: 76; Hill 1998: 74). Scatters of white quartz stones have also been found on the top of graves at Capel Maelog (Powys) and Whithorn (Britnell 1990: 54; Hill 1998: 74). Whilst these distinctive white stones would be reasonably easy to spot during excavation, several late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries contain graves with what appear to be deliberately deposited stones or pebbles that could be mistaken
for unusually placed constituents of the grave fill. At Fillingham in Lincolnshire, two of the skeletons had stones placed in their mouths and one skeleton had small flat stones placed over the eyes (Buckberry and Hadley 2001b: 15-16). At St Nicholas Shambles four skeletons, all mid to old or old adults, had stones placed in their mouths (Schofield et al. 1988: 18), and at Raunds the skeleton of an adult male, who suffered from poliomyelitis in his youth and later in life suffered from tuberculosis, also had a stone placed in his mouth (Boddington 1996: 41-2).

Larger stones were also deliberately placed in graves. At Raunds stones were placed on top of bodies, particularly over the head or chest, clustered around different areas of the grave and skeleton, or were used to support parts of the body. In addition, one individual, probably buried in a shroud, was placed on top of several stones and a single skull, raising the body up away from the grave floor (Boddington 1996: 28, 38-42). In two cases, clusters of stones used to support the body may have been placed for medical reasons: in the grave of a juvenile with periostitis of the right fibula, stones were placed over the fibula and around the knee; and in the grave of an adult male with an enlarged tibia head, the affected knee was supported by a group of stones (Boddington 1996: 42). At Raunds, the placement of stones in graves (including stone grave linings and pillow stones) was more common in adult graves than in the graves of children. One coffined burial at Castle Green Hereford had a row of stones placed alongside the skeleton, inside the coffin (Shoesmith 1980: 25). At St Nicholas Shambles, three burials had Roman tiles placed over the body, which may be a local variation of the placement of stones on the body seen at Raunds. A single burial at St Bride's Fleet Street London, also had a Roman tile placed over the body (Schofield et al. 1988: 25). The meaning and symbolism of the deposition of stones in graves is not yet understood, however care must be taken during the excavation of late Anglo-Saxon period cemeteries (and indeed cemeteries of
any other period) that any stones which may have been placed in the grave deliberately are recorded.

Charcoal burials are commonly excavated in late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and are frequently used to aid the dating of cemetery deposits. Charcoal burials have been excavated at Castle Green Hereford, Exeter Cathedral, Winchester Old and New Minsters, Staple Gardens Winchester and St Oswald's Gloucester (Shoesmith 1980: 25-7, 45; Henderson and Bidwell 1982: 154-5; Schofield et al. 1988: 19; Kipling and Scobie 1990: 9; Kjølbye-Biddle 1992: 228; Heighway and Bryant 1999: 202). No charcoal burials were excavated at the rural cemeteries of North Elmham and Raunds (Wade-Martins 1980; Boddington 1996). Charcoal burials were particularly common at the high status cemeteries Exeter Cathedral (61/107 or 57%), Winchester Old Minster (74/743 or 10%), Winchester New Minster (22/56 or 39.3%) and St Oswald’s Gloucester (34/159 or 21.4%) (Henderson and Bidwell 1982: 154-5; Kjølbye-Biddle 1992: 229; Heighway and Bryant 1999: 202). The charcoal burials at Winchester Old and New Minsters were frequently located close to or inside the minster buildings (Kjølbye-Biddle 1975: 106; Kjølbye-Biddle 1992: 229). All but one of the charcoal burials at St Oswald’s Gloucester were located close to the church buildings (Heighway and Bryant 1999: 202). A cluster of five charcoal burials was excavated at Staple Gardens Winchester, which have been interpreted as a possible family group (Kipling and Scobie 1990: 9), although this clustering may alternatively indicate that charcoal burials were only fashionable for a short period of time. Two groups of charcoal burials from different phases were excavated at Castle Green Hereford (Shoesmith 1980: 25-7), indicating that the deposition of charcoal in graves at this site was not a short-lived phenomenon. Graves containing both pillow stones and layers of charcoal have been excavated at Exeter Cathedral, Castle Green Hereford and Staple Gardens (Shoesmith 1980: 25-7; Henderson and Bidwell 1982: 155; Kipling and Scobie 1990: 9). Burials with deposits of charcoal were frequently coffined, and many charcoal burials at
Exeter Cathedral, Winchester Old Minster, Castle Green Hereford and St Oswald's Gloucester were in iron bound coffins. In addition, the lead coffin at Staple Gardens Winchester also lay on a layer of charcoal (Kipling and Scobie 1990: 9).

Charcoal burials could be used in the burial rites for individuals of both sexes and all ages, however some age- and sex-related patterns do exist. At St Oswald's Gloucester only one of the charcoal burials was of a child, but roughly equal numbers of males and females adults were buried with charcoal (Heighway and Bryant 1999: 202). In contrast, the only charcoal burial excavated at St Nicholas Shambles was of an infant (Schofield et al. 1988: 19). At Winchester Old Minster all of the charcoal burials dating to before the mid-10th century were of male or unsexed adults. However, from the mid-10th century onwards, women and occasionally children were accorded charcoal burials. At Winchester New Minster, which was in use from the 10th century onwards, more females than males were accorded charcoal burials (Kjølbye-Biddle 1992: 231). At Castle Green Hereford, all of the five charcoal burials excavated in 1960 were of adult males. These burials pre-dated a west-east aligned stone building, and probably date to the same period as burial group 2 or 4. Of the eight charcoal burials excavated in 1973, those in burial group 2, dating to the 8th to 10th centuries, were adults (one male, one female and two unsexed), whereas the four burials in group 4, dating to the late 10th to 12th centuries, included one infant, one juvenile and one young adult (Shoesmith 1980: 25-7, 45-8).

Charcoal may have been deposited in graves to absorb fluid and odours as the body decayed, to make the grave visible and thus less likely to be disturbed by later grave digging or as a symbol of penitence and humility (Kjølbye-Biddle 1992: 231; Daniell 1997: 158-9; Hadley 2001a: 99; Thompson 2002: 420). The high numbers of charcoal burials at high status cemeteries, the association of charcoal burials with iron bound and lead-lined coffins,
and the proximity of charcoal burials to churches at Winchester Old Minster and St Oswald's Gloucester indicates that charcoal burial was a high status burial rite, whatever its symbolism.

At Winchester Old Minster one grave located inside the church contained a layer of yellow or orange sand (Kjølbye-Biddle 1975: 106; Kjølbye-Biddle 1992). This may have been a variation of the charcoal burial rite. At Raunds, seventeen graves contained deposits of clean clay that was not the same as the back fill of other graves, and has been interpreted as a deliberately different deposit by the excavator. These deposits of clean clay were often found in conjunction with the deliberate deposition of stones in the grave (Boddington 1996: 40). At Castle Green Hereford a single adult was provided with a clay pillow (see above), which may be a variation on the clay burial rite seen at Raunds (Shoesmith 1980: 45).

Evidence of grave markers, both wooden and stone, has been found at many late Anglo-Saxon period cemeteries. Graves were marked with upright plain stones, placed at either the head or foot of the grave, as seen at Raunds (Figure 8.7), Whithorn, Newark Castle (Notts.) and St Oswald's Gloucester (Boddington 1996: 40; Hill 1998: 73; Samuels 1998; Heighway and Bryant 1999: 197). Six graves were covered with flat stones at Raunds, one of which was a plain stone coffin lid belonging to the in situ sarcophagus (Boddington 1996: 46). At Castle Green Hereford a plain stone slab laid horizontally within a row of excavated graves may have once marked a grave (Figures 8.8 and 8.9), however this stone was not removed and any such grave was not identified or excavated (Shoesmith 1980: 12). Scatters of white quartz pebbles over two graves at Capel Maelog, and mounds of white quartz and granite stones over graves at Whithorn may have also have been deposited as grave markers (Britnell 1990: 54; Hill 1998: 74). Post-holes indicative of wooden grave markers and slots, possibly for stone grave markers, have been found at Staple Gardens Winchester and Raunds (Kipling and Scobie...
1990: 8; Boddington 1996: 46). In many other instances, graves were arranged in rows, which indicates that graves with no other evidence of a grave marker must have been marked in the past, as seen at Castle Green Hereford, Whithorn and Raunds (Shoesmith 1980: 51; Boddington 1996: 11; Hill 1998: 73).

More elaborate carved grave covers and grave markers have been found in many church buildings, and must have once been used to mark a grave, for example at Monkwearmouth (Cramp 1969: 33). Occasionally carved or inscribed grave markers and covers are found in situ, as at Monkwearmouth, Winchester Old Minster, York Minster and Raunds (Cramp 1969: 35; Kjølbye-Biddle 1992: 227; Phillips and Heywood 1995a: 84; Boddington 1996: 45). At Winchester Old Minster grave covers were usually found inside or close to the church building (Kjølbye-Biddle 1975: 107; Kjølbye-Biddle 1992: 228). At Raunds the two stone grave covers were found close to each other (Figure 8.10). The more elaborate interlace grave cover was over a grave located in its own plot. A stone footing at the head of this grave may have been for a carved stone cross. This grave was interpreted as a 'founder's grave' by the excavator (Boddington 1996: 11). The second grave cover, above the grave of a child, was decorated with a wheel cross on one side, and a simple, crude cross on the other, suggesting that it was reused from an earlier burial, possibly that of an adult, which was cut by the grave of the child (Boddington 1996: 45). One grave at Raunds may have been marked by a stone cross, and the fragments of two further stone crosses and a third grave cover indicate that up to three more burials may have been marked by a stone sculpture (Boddington 1996: 46). It should be noted that many more pieces of stone sculpture are found at high status cemeteries such as Winchester Old Minster and York Minster than at ordinary cemeteries like Raunds.
Artefacts have been found in several late Anglo-Saxon graves across the country. This section will not discuss larger grave goods frequently used to identify the graves of Scandinavians, as these are discussed in Sections 1.5.2, 3.6.3 and 8.1.2, above. Instead, this section will deal with artefacts not associated with Scandinavian burials that are commonly found in late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. In many cases these artefacts appear to indicate the burial of clothed rather than shrouded individuals, for example knives found at Bevis's Grave\(^5\) (near Bedhampton, Hants.) and Whithorn (Webster and Cherry 1976: 161; Hill 1998: 74); a buckle found in a grave at Ailcy Hill Ripon (Hall and Whyman 1996: 83, 89); gold thread embroidery found at York Minster, Monkwearmouth and Repton (Phillips and Heywood 1995a: 88-92; Geake 1997: 185); and items of jewellery including a gold finger ring found at Exeter Cathedral (Henderson and Bidwell 1982: 154) and the finger rings, dress pin and gold earrings found at York Minster (Phillips and Heywood 1995a: 88-92). Both Anglo-Saxon and Roman coins are frequently found in graves, although it can sometimes be difficult to establish if these were deliberate deposits or accidental inclusions in the grave fill. Deliberate deposits of coins were found at Monkwearmouth; Repton, where a coin of c.725 was found in the hand of a skeleton (Hadley 2001a: 96); and at Staple Gardens Winchester, where several Roman coins were found placed in the hands and in the abdominal area of skeletons (Kipling and Scobie 1990: 8; Geake 1997: 185; Hadley 2001a: 96). Boar's tusks have been found in single graves at Monkwearmouth and St Oswald's Gloucester (Geake 1997: 185; Heighway and Bryant 1999: 202). Occasionally wooden rods or 'wands' have been found in late Anglo-Saxon graves, although these only survive in waterlogged deposits, for example at St Peter's Barton-on-Humber and the Guildhall site in London (Rodwell and Rodwell 1982; Bateman 1997: 117-8). No strong relationship between the deposition of artefacts with males and females, adults and children have been mentioned in published excavation.

\(^5\) This burial was recently dated to 890-1020 AD (cal 2 sigma) by Annia Cherryson.
reports, however it should be noted that gold finger rings and earrings are particularly common in high status cemeteries.

Overall it is apparent that the same grave variations are present in cemeteries from across Britain. Most late Anglo-Saxon period cemeteries contain some evidence of at least one grave variation, with grave markers, pillow stones and charcoal burials being present in many cemeteries. Some grave variations are particularly common in high status cemeteries, including charcoal burials, stone sculpture (crosses, grave covers and grave markers), jewellery (finger rings and earrings) and gold thread embroidery. These grave variations are present in many lower status cemeteries, but are usually found in fewer graves than at high status cemeteries. High status cemeteries also tend to contain a wider range of grave variations. As discussed above for grave types, little systematic work comparing grave variations with osteological data has been published to date, although some patterns have been identified in individual cemetery reports. These patterns seem to vary from cemetery to cemetery, highlighting the importance of undertaking any analysis for different cemeteries independently of each other. This can be demonstrated by examining the data for pillow stones: at St Nicholas Shambles more females were given pillow stones than males; at Raunds more males had pillow stones than females; and at St Oswald’s Gloucester pillow stones were found in the graves of individuals of all ages and both sexes. Charcoal burials appear to have been reserved for adult males before the mid-10th century at Winchester Old Minster, with adult females and occasionally children being accorded charcoal burials at a later date. A similar pattern appears to have occurred at Castle Green Hereford, however this is difficult to prove, as the five adult male charcoal burials excavated in 1960 have not been dated accurately. At Winchester New Minster more females than males were accorded charcoal burials, whereas at St Oswald’s Gloucester, all but one of the charcoal burials contained adults, but were equally likely to have contained individuals of both sexes.
8.2.4 Spatial organisation of cemeteries across Britain

Few systematic spatial analyses of late Anglo-Saxon period cemeteries have been undertaken to date, other than the spatial analysis of the churchyard at Raunds. Thus this discussion will start by summarising the results of the Raunds spatial analysis, and comparing it to the analyses undertaken as part of the present research. Following this discussion will be a short summary of observations made regarding the spatial analysis of other late Anglo-Saxon period cemeteries.

The cemetery at Raunds was divided up by the excavator into zones based on the interpreted development of the graveyard. The primary zone, or Zone 1, contains the initial burials close to the church. Initially, no burials were located within 2.5-3m of the church walls, however as the graveyard filled up grave were dug closer to the church walls, in Zones 1A and 1B. The area closest to the church walls (Zone 1B) only contained the burials of infants. As Zone 1 became full of graves, the cemetery was extended to the east (Zone 2) and west (Zone 3). Subsequently the cemetery extended further to the east (Zone 4), and finally expanded to the south-east (Zone 5), see Figure 8.11 (Boddington 1996: 54). These burial zones were used to investigate the spatial distribution of different grave types and the age and sex of the skeletons. A grid system was also used for spatial analysis, but only to investigate ‘non-zonal trends such as grave depth’ (Boddington 1996: 26). Only the first spatial analysis, examining the distribution of age groups, sexes and grave types will be summarised here. The excavation report states that statistical tests were undertaken during the spatial analysis (Boddington 1996: 26), but few statistics are given in the published report. The present author has assumed that in cases where the results of statistical tests are not presented in the excavation report then either no statistical test was undertaken, or any tests performed were not statistically significant.
The primary zone (Zone 1) was organised in rows and contained evidence of wooden and stone coffins, two decorated grave covers (one over the possible 'founder’s grave') and the base for a free-standing stone cross (Boddington 1996: 11). The part of Zone 1 located south and east of the church was interpreted by the excavator as a particularly prestigious location for burial, as burial was particularly dense in this area, and it contained both of the graves with carved covers (Boddington 1996: 36-7). In contrast, stone arrangements, including pillow stones and other stones placed in the grave, were found throughout the cemetery (Boddington 1996: 57).

The cemetery at Raunds contained more males than females in all zones apart from Zone 3. The proportion of male burials was particularly high in Zone 1, leading the excavator to suggest that females were more likely than males to be buried in the overspill areas once Zone 1 began to fill up (Boddington 1996: 55). Within Zone 1, male burials were concentrated to the south of the church, and more females were buried to the north of the church (Boddington 1996: 13, 55). This sex-related pattern was not supported with a statistical test, implying that if a test was undertaken, it was not statistically significant. The excavator also noted that few infant burials were located in Zones 4 and 5, but that the eaves-drip area (Zone 1B) was used for the burial of infants and children (Boddington 1996: 13, 55). This age-related pattern in grave distribution is more distinct52 than the sex-related pattern described above, although again this argument was not supported by a statistical test.

The pattern of more elaborate burials being located close to the church seen at Raunds was also evident at Winchester Old Minster and St Oswald’s Gloucester. At Winchester Old Minster, sarcophagi, iron bound coffins and charcoal burials were more common inside and close to the church and in the vicinity of St Swithun’s grave, than in other areas of the cemetery. Indeed, in

52 When examining the figures given in tables 21 and 22 and the cemetery plans in figures 67 and 68 (Boddington 1996: 55-6).
Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion

Trench XXIX, located to the west of the apse, no stone-lined graves, elaborate coffins or charcoal burials were identified (Kjølbye-Biddle 1975: 98, 105-6; Kjølbye-Biddle 1992: 223, 228). The area close to the church also contained about 20% more males than females (Kjølbye-Biddle 1992: 227). At St Oswald’s Gloucester, all but one of the charcoal burials and all of the iron bound coffins were located close to the church (Heighway and Bryant 1999: 202, 215). The evidence from Raunds, Winchester Old Minster and St Oswald’s Gloucester shows that burials close to the church tended to be more elaborate, indicating that high status burials were preferentially located in this burial location and were frequently quite elaborate.

Clusters of infant burials close to the walls of a church, as seen in Zone 1B at Raunds, have also been noted at Castle Green Hereford, where all of the eleven burials excavated close to the nave and chancel were of infants or small children (Shoesmith 1980: 47), and were identified at St Peter’s Barton-on-Humber and St Mark’s Lincoln in the present study. In other cemeteries, clusters of infant burials have been identified that were not adjacent to a church, although in some cases this is because the location of the church is not known. Examples include Whithorn, Winchester Old Minster and Jarrow (Crawford 1993: 88), and at York Minster and Swinegate (see Sections 6.7.1 and 6.7.2, above).

8.2.5 The influence of age and sex on funerary provision – comparison with early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries

The present study has shown that social status and the age of the deceased did affect the funerary rite chosen by the mourners, but that the sex of the deceased did not influence the choice of funerary rite. This section will compare the age and sex-related funerary rites of the late Anglo-Saxon period with those of the early Anglo-Saxon period. The (largely) inhumation cemeteries at Castledyke South (Lincs.) and Sewerby (E Yorks.) will be used to illustrate the following discussion, as both cemeteries are well known, extensively excavated, fully published and had moderate to good levels of
bone preservation. Categorisation of burials into the four grave good assemblage types was undertaken using the criteria outlined by Sam Lucy (1998: 8).

The effect of age and sex on the deposition of grave goods in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries has frequently been investigated (see Section 5.1). Many grave goods belonged to either a weapon or dress-accessory assemblage, which were used to signal the gender (masculine and feminine respectively) of the deceased (Lucy 1997a: 157). This pattern was evident at both Castledyke South and Sewerby (see Figures 8.12 and 8.13). All of the individuals buried with weapons at both cemeteries were either male or unsexed. Most of the individuals of known sex buried with jewellery at both cemeteries were female, however a small number of males at both cemeteries (six at Castledyke South and three at Sewerby) were also buried with jewellery. Five of the 'cross-gendered' burials (four at Castledyke South and one at Sewerby) contained few items that would place them within the 'jewellery' burial category (for example, a single brooch, a single pin or a single latchlifter), which may indicate that when these grave goods are found in isolation they may not symbolise the feminine gender, or that they are more likely to be found in the grave of a male. The remaining four 'cross-gendered' burials had many grave goods that would typically be found in the grave of a female, for example grave 38 at Sewerby, which contained two annular brooches, 39 amber beads, four sleeve clasps, three latchlifters, two girdle hangers, a bronze girdle ring, a complete pot and an iron knife. However, in three of these four cases (including SW38, described above), the skeletal remains were not confidently sexed as male. Indeed only three skull fragments were used to sex the individual in grave 38 at Sewerby as possibly male! The fourth burial in this group (CDS 137) was confidently sexed as male both in the published report (Drinkall and Foreman 1998: 75) and by the present author, and was buried with a pair of annular brooches, a single cruciform brooch, five amber beads, and a bone pin. It would be difficult to
dispute that this final example was the burial of a man with what were ordinarily feminine grave goods.

Approximately equal numbers of males and females were buried with 'gender-neutral' grave goods (other accompanied on the graphs), and without grave goods (unaccompanied) at both cemeteries. Overall, these graphs show that individuals buried with weapons were always male (or were unsexed) at both of these cemeteries, and that most sexed individuals buried with jewellery were females. This sex-related pattern in grave good deposition was statistically significant at Castledyke South and for the two cemeteries combined ($\chi^2 = 26.248$, $p < 0.001$ and $\chi^2 = 31.241$, $p < 0.001$ respectively), but was not statistically significant for Sewerby alone ($\chi^2 = 5.706$, $p = 0.131$), possibly due to the smaller numbers of sexed skeletons at this cemetery (see Tables VIII.1 to VIII.6 in Appendix VIII).

In many early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, the age of the deceased restricted the types of grave goods deposited (see discussion in Sections 5.3 and 5.5): infants were rarely given grave goods, and children under the age of twelve were rarely buried with gendered grave goods such as weapons and jewellery (Crawford 1999: 26-9). The graves of young adults tend to contain the highest number and widest range of grave goods, and frequently contain gendered grave goods, but certain grave goods were only placed in the graves of mid and old adults (Stoodley 2000: 459-61). Many individuals, both adult and subadult were not given any grave goods, and others, frequently children but also adults, were buried with grave goods that were not exclusively buried graves goods found with either of the gendered grave good groups. The cemeteries at Castledyke South and Sewerby were also analysed to determine if any age-related patterns in grave good deposition were present (Figure 8.14 and 8.15). At Castledyke South none of the infants and few of the children (under twelve) had gendered grave goods. The age group with the highest proportion of gendered grave goods was the young
adults, with the percentage of individuals buried with either weapons or jewellery decreasing for the mid and old adult age groups. No infant burials were found at Sewerby. Two-thirds of the children at Sewerby were accompanied by jewellery, and the remainder had 'gender neutral' grave goods. All of the adult age categories contained unaccompanied, jewellery and 'gender neutral' grave good assemblages, but weapons were only deposited in the graves of mid and old adults. Thus the pattern of grave good deposition with individuals of different ages at Castledyke South broadly agrees with the pattern seen in many cemeteries across England. At Sewerby more children are buried with jewellery, and very few individuals were accorded weapon burials than in many early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. These differences are probably due to local variations in funerary practice. Although there is some age-related patterning in grave good assemblage type, Kruskal-Wallis tests indicated that the relationship between age group and grave good assemblage was not statistically significant (Castledyke South $H=2.444, p=0.485$; Sewerby $H=1.944, p=0.584$; both cemeteries $H=2.105, p=0.551$, see Tables VIII.7 to VIII.12).

These results are important, as they show that there was a shift in emphasis in the aspects of social identity reflected in burial practice from the early to the late Anglo-Saxon period, alongside the changes in funerary practice. During the early Anglo-Saxon period, gender was symbolised in many (but not all) graves through the deposition of grave goods. These were mostly the graves of adults, but occasionally included the graves of children. This relationship between the different burial rite (grave good assemblage) and the sex of the deceased has been shown to be statistically significant. There was some relationship between age groups and grave good assemblage, but this was not statistically significant. During the late Anglo-Saxon period, no statistically significant relationship between sex and grave type, grave variation or location of the grave in the cemetery has been demonstrated. There was, however a statistically significant relationship between age and
grave type, and age and grave location in several cemeteries, suggesting that during the late Anglo-Saxon period, the age of the deceased was more important when choosing the funerary rites than the sex of the deceased. However, the evidence from the high status cemeteries at York Minster, St Oswald's Gloucester and Winchester Old Minster, and of the more elaborate graves present at Raunds and other cemeteries indicates that social status had a greater bearing on funerary practice than either sex or age, with individuals of a higher status being buried in high status cemeteries, in more elaborate graves and in prestigious locations inside or close to churches.

8.2.6 Summary of discussion of variations in burial rites
The present research into late Anglo-Saxon burial rites in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire and this comparison with contemporary cemeteries from across Britain has shown that there was a great deal of variation in burial rites during the 7th to 11th centuries. Most of the different grave types and grave variations described above are found in cemeteries over a large geographical area. There do not appear to be any strong differences in the numbers and variety of different grave types and grave variations employed in rural and urban cemeteries, however high status cemeteries such as York Minster, St Oswald's Gloucester and Winchester Old Minster contain both a wider range of different burial rites and a higher number of individuals buried in more elaborate graves, especially close to or inside the church. A small study comparing the prevalence rates of stress markers for individuals buried in plain and elaborate graves has shown that those buried in elaborate graves were healthier, and thus possibly were of a higher status. However, the results were not statistically significant, possibly due to the small sample sizes employed. Future studies utilising stress marker data could further investigate the relationship between health and status within cemetery populations.
The analysis of six cemeteries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire has shown that both grave form and grave location were not governed by the sex of the deceased. This theory has been borne out by the survey of evidence from contemporary cemeteries across Britain. The only examples where sex-related patterning in funerary rite have been identified are the high numbers of males buried in iron bound coffins with layers of charcoal at St Oswald’s Gloucester and Winchester Old Minster; the increased numbers of male burials close to the church at Winchester Old Minster; and the increased proportion of males buried south of the church within the primary zone at Raunds. This indicates that adult males were more likely to be accorded elaborate burial in a prestigious location during the late Anglo-Saxon period, but does not indicate that adult females and children could not be buried in elaborate graves or in a prestigious location. Comparison of funerary rite and the age of the deceased has shown that individuals in all age groups could be accorded most of the different grave types and grave variations, but that they were more likely to be buried in a more elaborate manner with increasing age. The spatial analysis has shown that infants and young children were frequently buried in particular locations within the cemetery, and in some cemeteries the graves of infants and young children cluster around the walls of the church. Comparison with age- and sex-related variations in burial practice in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries has indicated that different aspects of social identity were influencing funerary practice in the 8th to 11th centuries. Gender does not appear to have been important in determining burial practices in the later Anglo-Saxon period. This is, perhaps, not surprising given the decrease in the number of graves in which gender was signalled in the 7th century (Stoodley 1999a: 101-3). This was a period when, as Nick Stoodley observed, there was a concomitant emphasis of the masculine gender in more elaborate graves, especially those close to or under barrows (Stoodley 1999a: 101-3). This change has been interpreted as a

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53 It should be noted that the males in elaborate graves and/or buried close to the church at Winchester Old Minster may have been monks.
shift in emphasis to the elaboration of the burials of the (usually male) elite, with inheritance and authority passing through the male line (Stoodley 1999a: 104-5). This point was expanded on by Dawn Hadley, who suggested that later Anglo-Saxon burials were not symbolising solely gender (or age), but that family status, frequently symbolised through adult male burials, was more important (Hadley forthcoming-b). She has also drawn attention to the masculine symbolism on some 10th-century sculptures and has suggested that these monuments, which are few in number, may have served to commemorate the family as much as individuals. David Stocker has also commented on the symbolism of so-called hogback monuments, many of which have house-like features (including a roof) and which may also have served to commemorate the family (Stocker 2000: 198). This change in social organisation through the 7th century led eventually to the lack of gender specific burial practices in the late Anglo-Saxon period, and the occasional association between adult males and particular grave types, and the occurrence of clusters of male burials in prominent positions in certain cemeteries.

8.3 Further work

The survey of cemeteries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire highlighted the need for more a comprehensive survey and database of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Many gazetteers of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have previously been produced on both a regional and national scale since Audrey Meaney’s gazetteer (Meaney 1964), but little research of cemeteries dating to the 8th to 11th centuries has been published to date, although several late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were included in Helen Geake’s gazetteer of conversion period cemeteries. While the NMR and regional SMRs do collate information on Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (along with all other archaeological sites), the present research has shown that the list of sites on the SMRs and the NMR in particular is not exhaustive due to problems both with funding and with patchy data collection. It is recognised that a national database covering the
entire early medieval period for Britain would be greatly beneficial to researchers investigating the early medieval period (Lucy and Reynolds 2002: 7). Hopefully the gazetteer of sites in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire presented here in Appendix III, and the ongoing collection of data from Wessex by Annia Cherryson will form a strong base for the creation of a national database. A national survey would also ascertain if the conclusions of the present discussion regarding the similarity of mortuary practices over a wide geographical area from the 8th century onwards are representative of the whole country.

Both the present research and that by Annia Cherryson have highlighted the importance of gathering data on previously undated burials. A huge number of undated burials are recorded on SMRs and in various archaeological journals, and many are ascribed an arbitrary or multiphase date in the records and are not researched further. The identification criteria presented in Section 3.7 have been used successfully to date securely many of these cemeteries (both previously undated or described as possibly medieval, possibly late Anglo-Saxon or possibly Roman) to the late Anglo-Saxon period. At present, not all small isolated cemeteries without grave goods or a church structure that date to the late Anglo-Saxon period are being recognised as such, so it is imperative that this part of the present research becomes known to the wider archaeological community. The application of radiocarbon dating programmes using the identification criteria outlined above (Section 3.7) will help to confirm the date of possible late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and to redefine and improve on the identification criteria themselves.

The present research has highlighted the importance of comparing osteological and funerary data. Further work should be undertaken to ascertain if the age and sex related patterns in funerary practice identified in the current research are present in other cemeteries, and in other regions.
Detailed analysis should be undertaken comparing the funerary practice, demography and health of populations buried in both high and low status cemeteries. In particular the inconclusive results of the stress marker study presented here should not be taken as an indication of the failure of this methodology. Instead, a larger scale study of a cemetery with good bone preservation, surviving organic material including coffins and a large number of excavated burials should be undertaken. The cemetery of St Peter's Barton-on-Humber would be ideal in this respects, and would offer the opportunity to extend the time period of the study to include both medieval and post-medieval burials.

8.4 Conclusions

In sum, this research has investigated the variety of types of cemeteries and burials dating to the 8th to 11th centuries. The survey of cemeteries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, presented in Chapter 3 and Appendix III, has shown that while many early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have been identified archaeologically, comparatively few late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have been identified or excavated. The survey of late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries has shown that many graveyards were not located underneath or around medieval cemeteries as has frequently been assumed, but that many cemeteries did not have a church, or were located adjacent to churches that went out of use in the Anglo-Saxon or medieval period and that do not survive as standing buildings today. Evidence for the location of late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries can also be gained by studying the distribution of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture, which is frequently found at later medieval churches, with no other evidence of Anglo-Saxon activity at the site.

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54 It was not possible to perform a more detailed analysis of the St Peter's Barton-on-Humber material as part of the present research due to problems in gaining access to the material after the untimely death of Juliet Rogers.
Many of the smaller cemeteries not located around a church are difficult to date with certainty to the late Anglo-Saxon period, and are frequently recorded as undated or possibly medieval burials. A series of identification criteria for late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were developed as part of this research, and have been used to select a series of previously undated or insecurely dated cemeteries for radiocarbon dating. This radiocarbon dating was hugely successful, dating five out of seven site to the 7th to 11th centuries.

The present research identified and dated one late Anglo-Saxon execution cemetery, and recorded the presence of execution victims at two further sites. In addition, the evidence of Scandinavian burial in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire was assessed, and the potential of using isotopes, alongside traditional osteological techniques, to identify Scandinavian (and other) immigrants buried within normal cemeteries was highlighted.

It was shown in Chapter 6 that late Anglo-Saxon funerary practice was varied and was not egalitarian, and that the form and location of a grave, and the use of above ground markers were used for social display. Indeed, it was noted that high status cemeteries contain a wider variety of burial rites and a larger number of stone sculpture than lower status cemeteries. However, no striking differences were noted between rural and urban cemeteries.

This thesis concentrated on the importance of comparing osteological and funerary evidence. It showed that the choice of grave types and the presence of grave variations were not dependent on the sex of the deceased, and that all age groups, including the very young, could be accorded most burial rites. However, adults, and older adults in particular, were more likely to have an elaborate grave.

The pilot stress-marker study presented in Chapter 7 attempted to assess the importance of social status in determining burial rite at Swinegate and
Barrow-on-Humber. Although the prevalence rates at Swinegate appear to support the hypothesis that those of a higher social class, who were probably better nourished than the rest of the population, were buried in more elaborate graves, statistical testing indicated that this result was not significant. As noted above, further work should be undertaken on a larger sample size to determine if this statistically negative result was due to the small sample size.

Finally, the spatial analysis of five cemeteries presented in Chapter 6, and the discussion of further cemeteries presented in section 8.2.4, above, has shown that certain elaborate grave types and grave variations are sometimes located in clusters, or are usually close to the church or a focal point in the cemetery. In addition, the graves of infants and young children were often placed in particular locations within the cemetery, either close to a church building, or in designated areas of the cemetery.

Overall the present study has shown that the social status and age of the deceased was considered when choosing funerary practice. This differs from the early Anglo-Saxon period, when sex and probably social status were signalled through burial practice more clearly than age (although age still determined some aspects of burial rite).
Appendix I: Abbreviations

This appendix contains tables of abbreviations used throughout this thesis.

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<td>Norf.</td>
<td>Norfolk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northants.</td>
<td>Northamptonshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northumb.</td>
<td>Northumberland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notts.</td>
<td>Nottinghamshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxon.</td>
<td>Oxfordshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Som.</td>
<td>Somerset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S Yorks.</td>
<td>South Yorkshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staffs.</td>
<td>Staffordshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suff.</td>
<td>Suffolk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sur.</td>
<td>Surrey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyne</td>
<td>Tyne and Wear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warr.</td>
<td>Warrington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W Loth.</td>
<td>West Lothian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W Mids.</td>
<td>West Midlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W Suss.</td>
<td>West Sussex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W Yorks.</td>
<td>West Yorkshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilts.</td>
<td>Wiltshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worcs.</td>
<td>Worcestershire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table I.1: Abbreviations used for county names
The following abbreviations have been used for cemetery names. When used in conjunction with a number this denotes a skeleton from that cemetery, for example YM 79 is York Minster skeleton number 79.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Cemetery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BW</td>
<td>Barrow-on-Humber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDS</td>
<td>Castledyke South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FCR</td>
<td>Fillingham Chapel Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GH</td>
<td>Great Hale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMS</td>
<td>Kilham Middle Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW</td>
<td>Sewerby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAF</td>
<td>St Andrew's Fishergate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SML</td>
<td>St Mark's Lincoln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPB</td>
<td>St Peter's Barton-on-Humber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWG</td>
<td>Swinegate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WW</td>
<td>Walkington Wold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YM</td>
<td>York Minster</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table I.2: Abbreviations used for cemeteries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Name of Work</th>
<th>Translation and Edition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>De Excido</td>
<td>De Excidio Britonum by Gildas</td>
<td>Winterbottom 1978)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bede HE</td>
<td>Ecclesiastical History of the English People by Bede</td>
<td>(Colgrave and Mynors 1969)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nennius HB</td>
<td>Historia Brittonum by Nennius</td>
<td>(Morris 1980)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephanus VSW</td>
<td>The Life of St Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus</td>
<td>(Colgrave 1927)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASC</td>
<td>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</td>
<td>(Whitelock 1955)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historia Regum</td>
<td>History of the Kings attributed to Symeon of Durham</td>
<td>(Whitelock 1955)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taliesin</td>
<td>Poems by Taliesin</td>
<td>(Pennar 1988)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anon VSC</td>
<td>Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert</td>
<td>(Colgrave 1940)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bede VSC</td>
<td>Bede's Life of St Cuthbert</td>
<td>(Colgrave 1940)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table I.3: Abbreviations used for historical documents
### Appendix I: Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SMR Code</th>
<th>SMR name</th>
<th>SMR location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SY</td>
<td>South Yorkshire</td>
<td>Sheffield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LC</td>
<td>Lincoln County Council</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SL</td>
<td>South Lincolnshire</td>
<td>Heckington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEL</td>
<td>North east Lincolnshire</td>
<td>Grimsby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL</td>
<td>North Lincolnshire</td>
<td>Scunthorpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YC</td>
<td>York City</td>
<td>York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WY</td>
<td>West Yorkshire</td>
<td>Wakefield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEY</td>
<td>South east Yorkshire</td>
<td>Hull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYM</td>
<td>North Yorkshire Moors</td>
<td>Helmsley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NY</td>
<td>North Yorkshire</td>
<td>Northallerton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YD</td>
<td>Yorkshire Dales</td>
<td>Bainbridge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table I.4:** Abbreviations used for SMR offices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Unit name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CLAU</td>
<td>City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAP</td>
<td>Humber Archaeological Partnership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAU</td>
<td>Humber Archaeological Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YAT</td>
<td>York Archaeological Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEG</td>
<td>York Excavation Group</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table I.5:** Abbreviations used for archaeological units

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OS</td>
<td>Ordnance Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MNI</td>
<td>Minimum Number of Individuals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMR</td>
<td>Sites and Monuments Records</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMR</td>
<td>National Monuments Records</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table I.6:** Further abbreviations used in this thesis
Appendix II: Historical Sources

From the Ecclesiastical History of the English People by Bede (c. 731 AD)

i: 15 In the year of our Lord 449 Marcian, forty-sixth from Augustus, became emperor with Valentinian and ruled for seven years. At that time the race of the Angles or Saxons, invited by Vortigern, came to Britain in three warships and by his command were granted a place of settlement in the eastern part of the island, ostensibly to fight on behalf of the country, but their real intention was to conquer it. First they fought against the enemy who attacked from the north and the Saxons won the victory. A report of this as well as of the fertility of the island and the slackness of the Britons reached their homes and at once a much larger fleet was sent over with a stronger band of warriors; this, added to the contingent already there, made an invincible army. The new-comers received from the Britons a grant of land in their midst on condition that they fought against their foes for the peace and safety of the country, and for this the soldiers were also to receive pay.

They came from three very powerful Germanic tribes, the Saxons, Angles and Jutes. The people of Kent and the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight are of Jutish origin and also those opposite the Isle of Wight, that part of the kingdom of Wessex which is still today called the nation of the Jutes. From the Saxon country, that is, the district now known as Old Saxony, came the East Saxons, the South Saxons, and the West Saxons. Besides this, from the country of the Angles, that is, the land between the kingdoms of the Jutes and the Saxons, which is called Angulus, came the East Angles, the Middle Angles, the Mercians and all the Northumbrian race (that is those people who dwell north of the Humber) as well as the other Anglian tribes (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 49-51).

i: 34 At this time Æthelfrith, a very brave king and most eager for glory, was ruling the kingdom of Northumbria. He ravaged the Britons more extensively than any other English ruler. He might indeed be compared with Saul who was once king of Israel, but with this exception, that Æthelfrith was ignorant of the divine religion (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 117).

ii: 1 ‘What is the name’, he [Pope Gregory] asked, ‘of the kingdom from which they have been brought?’ He was told that the men of the kingdom were called Deiri. ‘De ira! good! Snatched from the wrath of Christ and called to his mercy. And what is the name of the king of the land?’ He was told that it was Ælle; and playing on the name, he said, ‘Alleluia! The praise of God the Creator must be sung in those parts.’ So he went to the bishop of Rome and of the apostolic see, for he himself had not yet been made pope, and asked him to send some ministers of the word to the race of
Appendix II: Historical Sources

the Angles in Britain to convert them to Christ (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 135).

ii: 9 At this time the Northumbrian race, that is the English race which dwelt north of the river Humber, together with their king Edwin, also accepted the word of faith through the preaching of Paulinus already mentioned (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 163).

ii: 14 So King Edwin, with all the nobles of his race and a vast number of the common people, received the faith and regeneration by holy baptism in the eleventh year of his reign, that is in the year of our Lord 627 and about 180 years after the coming of the English to Britain. He was baptised at York on Easter Day, 12 April, in the church of St. Peter the Apostle, which he has hastily built of wood while he was a catechumen and under instruction before he received baptism. He established an episcopal see for Paulinus, his instructor and bishop, in the same city. Very soon after his baptism, he set about building a greater and more magnificent church of stone, under the instructions of Paulinus, in the midst of which the chapel which he had first built was to be enclosed. The foundations were laid and he began to build this square church surrounding the former chapel. But before the walls were raised to their full height, the king was slain by a cruel death and the work left to his successor Oswald to finish...

Other children of his [Edwin’s] by Queen Æthelburh were baptised later on, namely Æthelthryth and a second son Uscafrea; the first two were snatched from this life while they were still wearing the chrisom and are buried in the church at York...

Nevertheless, in Campodonum where there was also a royal dwelling, he built a church which was afterwards burnt down, together with the whole of the buildings, by the heathen who slew King Edwin. In its place, later kings built a dwelling for themselves in the region known as Loidis. The altar escaped from the fire because it was of stone, and is still preserved in the monastery of the most reverend abbot and priest Thrythwulf, which is in the forest of Elmet (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 187-189).

ii: 15 So great was Edwin’s devotion to the true worship, that he also persuaded Eorpwold, son of Rædwand and king of the East Angles, to abandon his idolatrous superstitions and, together with his kingdom, to accept the Christian faith and sacraments. Indeed his father Rædwald had long before been initiated into the mysteries of the Christian faith in Kent, but in vain; for on his return home, he was seduced by his wife and by certain evil teachers and perverted from the sincerity of his faith, so that his last state was worse than his first. After the manner of the ancient Samaritans he seemed to be serving both Christ and the gods whom he had previously served; in the same temple he had one altar for the Christain sacrifice and another small altar on which to offer victims to devils. Ealdwulf, who was ruler of our kingdom up to our time, used to declare that
the temple lasted until his time and that he saw it when he was a boy. Rædwald, who was noble by birth through ignoble by deeds, was the son of Tytil, whose father was Wuffa, from whom the kings of the East Angles are called Wuffingas (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 189-191).

ii: 16 Now Paulinus also preached the word in the Kingdom of Lindsey, the first land on the south bank of the River Humber, bordering on the sea. His first convert was the reeve of the city of Lincoln called Blæcca, he and his household. In this city he built a stone church of reasonable workmanship; its roof has now fallen either through long neglect or by the hand of the enemy, but its walls are still standing and every year miracles of healing are performed in this place, for the benefit of those who seek them in faith (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 191-193).

ii: 20 The head of King Edwin was brought to York and afterwards placed in the church of the Apostle St. Peter, which he himself had begun to build and his successor Oswald completed, as we have said before. It was placed in the chapel of the holy Pope Gregory from whose disciples he himself had received the word of life (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 205).

iii: 1 After Edwin had been killed in battle, the kingdom of the Deiri, the cradle of his race and the foundation of his royal power, passed to a son of his uncle Ælfric whose name was Osric; he had received the mysteries of the faith through the preaching of Paulinus. But the Northumbrian race was originally divided into two portions, and the other kingdom, that of the Bernicians, went to a son of Æthelfrith named Eanfrith, who derived it from both his lineage and his claim to the throne. During the whole of Edwin’s reign the sons of King Æthelfrith his predecessor, together with many young nobles, were living in exile among the Irish or the Picts where they were instructed in the faith as the Irish taught it and were regenerated by the grace of baptism. On the death of their enemy King Edwin they were allowed to return to their own land, and the eldest of them, Eanfrith, as we have said, became king of the Bernicians. But no sooner had these two kings gained the sceptres of their earthly kingdom than they abjured and betrayed the mysteries of the heavenly kingdom to which they had been admitted and reverted to the filth of their former idolatry, thereby to be polluted and destroyed.

Very soon afterwards, Cædwalla, the king of the Britons, killed them both, executing just vengeance on them, though with unrighteous violence. First in the following summer he killed Osric, who had rashly besieged him in a fortified town; he broke out suddenly with all his forces, took Osric by surprise, and destroyed him and all his army. After this he occupied the Northumbrian kingdoms for a whole year, not ruling like a victorious king but ravaging them like a savage tyrant, tearing them to pieces with fearful bloodshed. Finally when Eanfrith came to him unadvisedly to make peace,
accompanied by only twelve chosen thegns, he destroyed them as well... After his brother Eanfrith was killed, Oswald came with an army, small in numbers but strengthened by their faith in Christ, and destroyed the abominable leader of the Britons together with the immense force which he boasted was irresistible, at a place which is called in the English tongue, *Denisesburn*, that is the brook of the *Denise* (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 213-215).

**iii: 11** Among these stories I think I ought not to pass over in silence the miracles and heavenly signs which were shown when his [Oswald’s] bones were discovered and translated to the church in which they are now preserved... There is a famous monastery in the kingdom of Lindsey called Bardney, which was greatly loved, venerated and enriched by the Queen and her husband Æthelred and in which she wished to place her uncle’s honoured bones. The carriage on which the bones were borne reached the monastery towards evening. But the inmates did not receive them gladly. They knew that Oswald was a saint but, nevertheless, because he belonged to another kingdom and had once conquered them, they pursued him even when dead with their former hatred. So it came about that the relics remained outside all night with only a large tent erected over the carriage in which the bones rested. But a sign from heaven revealed to them how reverently the relics should have been received by all the faithful. All through the night a column of light stretched from the carriage right up to heaven and was visible in almost every part of the kingdom of Lindsey. In the morning the brothers in the monastery who has refused the relics of God’s beloved saint the day before, now began to pray earnestly that the relics might be lodged with them. The bones were washed, lain in a shrine constructed for the purpose, and placed in the church with fitting honours; and in order that the royal saint might be perpetually remembered, they placed above the tomb his banner of gold and purple, pouring out the water in which the bones had been washed in a corner of the sanctuary. Ever afterwards the soil which had received that holy water had the power and saving grace of driving devils from the bodies of people possessed (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 245-247).

**iii: 14** After Oswald had been translated to the heavenly kingdom, his brother Oswiu succeeded to his earthly kingdom in his place, as a young man of about thirty, and ruled for twenty-eight troubled years...

At the beginning of his reign Oswiu has as a partner in the royal dignity a man called Oswine, of the family of King Edwin, a son of Osric who has already been mentioned. He was a man of great piety and religion and ruled the kingdom of Deira for seven years in the greatest prosperity, beloved by all. But Oswiu, who ruled over the rest of the rest of the northern land beyond the Humber, that is the kingdom of Bernicia, could not live at peace with him (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 255-257).
iii: 21 At this time the Middle Angles, that is the Angles of the Midlands, accepted the faith and the mysteries of the truth under their chief Peada who was the son of King Penda. As he was a most noble youth, worthy both of the name and office of king, he was placed by his father on the throne of the kingdom of the Middle Angles... When he [Penda] was killed and the Christian King Oswiu had gained the throne of Mercia, as we shall describe later, Diuma, on of the four priests already mentioned, was consecrated bishop of the Middle Angles and the Mercians by Bishop Finan, since a shortage of bishops made it necessary for one bishop to be set over both nations (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 279-281).

iii: 23 When Cedd had been bishop in the kingdom for many years and had borne the responsibility of this monastery [Lastingham], whose rules he had established, he happened to come to it when the plague was raging there, fell sick and died. He was first of all buried outside the walls, but in course of time a stone church was built in the monastery in honour of the blessed Mother of God, and his body was buried in it on the right side of the altar (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 289).

iii: 24 About this time King Oswiu was exposed to the savage and insupportable attacks of Penda, so often mentioned before, the king of the Mercians who had killed Oswiu's brother... The battle [of Winwaed] was joined and the heathen were put to flight or destroyed; of the thirty royal ealdormen who had come to Penda's help nearly all were killed... The king Oswiu, in fulfilment of his vow to the lord, returned thanks to God for the victory granted to him and gave his daughter Ælfflæd, who was scarcely a year old, to be consecrated to God in perpetual virginity. He also gave 12 small estates on which, as they were freed from any concern about earthly military service, a site and means might be provided for the monks to wage heavenly warfare and to pray with unceasing devotion that the race might win eternal peace. Sic of the estates which he gave were in Deira and six in Bernica. Each estate consisted of ten hides so that there were a hundred and twenty hides altogether. Oswiu's daughter who had been dedicated to God entered the monastery named Heruteu (Hartlepool), that is the island of the heart, over which Hild was then abbess. Two years later she gained possession of ten hides in the place known as Streanæsæhealth (Whitby) and there built a monastery; in it the king's daughter was first a pupil and then she became a teacher of life under the rule; then, about the age of 60, the blessed virgin departed to be united with her heavenly bridegroom. She is buried in this monastery together with her father Oswiu, her mother Eanfæd, her grandfather, and many other nobles, all in the church of the holy apostle Peter. King Oswiu brought the campaign to a close in the district of Loidis (Leeds) on 15 September in the thirteenth year of his reign, to the great benefit of both peoples; for he freed his own subjects from the hostile devastations of the heathen people and converted the Mercians and
the neighbouring kingdoms to a state of grace in the Christian faith, having
destroyed their heathen ruler.
The first bishop in the kingdom of Mercia, of Lindsey, and the Middle
Angles was Diuma: as has already been said, he died and was buried among
the Middle Angles. The second bishop was Ceollach... The third bishop was
Trumhere... King Oswiu ruled over the Mercian race, as well as the rest of
the southern kingdoms, for three years after King Penda was killed. Oswiu
also subjected the greater part of the Pictish race to the dominion of the
English.

At this time Oswiu gave Peada, son of Penda, the kingdom of
Southern Mercia because he was his kinsman. It was said to consist of 5,000
hides, being divided by the river Trent from Northern Mercia, which is 7,000
hides in extent. But Peada was most foully murdered in the following spring
by the treachery, or so it is said, of his wife at the very time of the Easter
festival. Three years after King Penda's death the ealdormen of the Mercian
race, Immin, Eafa, and Eadberht, rebelled against King Oswiu and set up as
their king Wulfhere, Penda's young son, whom they had kept concealed; and
having driven out the ealdormen of the foreign king, they boldly recovered
their lands and their liberty at the same time (Colgrave and Mynors 1969:
289-295).

iii: 25 When this question of Easter and of the tonsure and other
ecclesiastical matters was raised, it was decided to hold a council to settle the
dispute at a monastery called Streanæhealh (Whitby), a name which means
the bay of the lighthouse; at this time Hild, a woman devoted to God, was
abbess...

When the king had spoken, all who were seated there or standing by,
both high and low, signified their assent, gave up their imperfect rules, and
readily accepted in their place those which they recognized to be better

iv: 3 At this time King Wulfhere was ruling over the kingdom of
Mercia... Chad accepted the position of Bishop of the Mercian race and of the
people of Lindsey and, following the example of the early fathers, he
administered the diocese in great holiness of life. King Wulfhere gave him
fifty hides of land to build a monastery, in a place called Adbaruae, that is At
the Grove (Barrow), in the province of Lindsey, where up to the present day
traces of the monastic Rule which he established still survive (Colgrave and

iv: 11 Sebbi, King of the East Saxons died... They had prepared a
stone sarcophagus for his burial, but when they came to lay his body in it
they found that it was longer than the sarcophagus by a hand's breadth. So
they chipped the stone so far as they could, adding about two inches space.
But still it would not take the body. So in view of the difficulty of burying
him they debated whether they should look for another coffin or by bending
the knees shorten the body so that it would fit the coffin. But an amazing thing happened, certainly the work of heaven which made both of these alternatives unnecessary. Suddenly as the bishop stood by, together with Sigeheard (who reigned after Sebbi with his brother Swaefred and was the son of the royal monk) as well as a large crowd of men, the sarcophagus was found to be of the right length to fit the body, so that a pillow could even be put in behind the head, while, at the feet, the coffin was four inches longer than the body. He was buried in the church of the blessed doctor of the Gentiles, through whose teachings he had learned to aspire to heavenly things (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 367-369).

iv: 12 In the year of our Lord 678, the eighth year of the reign of King Ecgfrith, there appeared during the month of August a star which is known as a comet... In addition Eadhaed was consecrated bishop of the kingdom of Lindsey, which King Ecgfrith had recently won by conquering Wulfhere and putting him to flight. This was the first bishop of its own that the kingdom had, the second one being Aethelwine, the third Edgar and the fourth Cyneberht, the present bishop (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 371).

iv: 19 When she [Æthelthryth] died she was buried by her own command in a wooden coffin in the ranks of other nuns, as her turn came... After Æthelthryth had been buried for sixteen years, the abbess [Seaxburh] decided that her bones should be raised and placed in the church in a new coffin; she therefore ordered some of the brothers to look for some blocks of stone from which to make a coffin for this purpose...so the maidens washed her [uncorrupt] body, wrapped it in new robes, carried it into the church, and placed it in the sarcophagus which they had brought, where it is held in great veneration to this day. This sarcophagus was found to fit the virgin's body in a wonderful way, as if it had been specially prepared for her; and the place for her head, which was cut out separately, seemed to be exactly shaped to its size (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 393-7).

iv: 21 In the ninth year of Ecgfrith's reign a great battle was fought between him and Æthelred, king of the Mercians, near the river Trent, and Ælfwine, brother of Ecgfrith was killed... Archbishop Theodore, beloved of God, trusting in God's help, completely extinguished this great and dangerous fire by his wholesome advice. As a result, peace was restored between the two kings and between their peoples and no further lives were demanded for the death of the king's brother, but only the usual money compensation which was paid to the king to whom the duty of vengeance belonged. So peace was maintained for a long period between these kings and their respective kingdoms (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 401).

v: 5 ...one of his servants who lay dangerously ill, so that he had lost all the use of his limbs and seemed to be at the point of death. In fact a coffin
had already been made in which he was to be buried... (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 465).

v: 6 He [John] continued in the bishopric for 33 years and then he ascended to the heavenly kingdom and was buried in the chapel of St. Peter in his monastery called Beverley, in the year of our Lord 721 (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 469).

v: 19 The same year that they left Britain, the famous Wilfrid ended his days in the district called Oundle, after he had been bishop for 45 years. His body was placed in a coffin and carried to the monastery at Ripon, where it was buried in the church of St. Peter the apostle, with the honour befitting so great a bishop... He was carried by the brothers to his first monastery at Ripon and buried in the church of the blessed Apostle Peter close to the altar on the south side. (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 517-29).

v: 22 The monks of Iona accepted the catholic ways of life under the teaching of Egbert, while Dúnchad was abbot, about eighty years after they had sent Bishop Aidan to preach to the English. The man of God, Egbert, remained for thirteen years on the island which he had consecrated to Christ, lighting it once more, as it were, with the gracious light of ecclesiastical fellowship and peace. In the year of our Lord 729, when Easter fell on 24 April, after he had celebrated a solemn mass in memory of the Lord’s resurrection, he departed to be with the Lord on the same day (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 555).

v: 23 In the same year [729] the holy man of God Egbert, went to be with the Lord on Easter Day as has already been described; and soon after Easter, on 9 May, Osric, king of the Northumbrians, departed this life when he had reigned eleven years, after appointing Ceolwulf, brother of his predecessor Cenred, as his successor (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 557-9).

Continuations

735. Nothhelm was consecrated archbishop [of Canterbury] and Bishop Egbert [of York], having received the pallium from the apostolic see, became archbishop, the first after Paulinus. He consecrated Frithuberht and Frithuwold bishops. The priest Bede died (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 573).

From the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

641 E In this year Oswald, king of the Northumbrians, was slain by Penda, the Southumbrian, at Maserfeld on 5 August, and his body was buried at Bardney. His holiness and miracles were afterwards made known in manifold ways throughout this island, and his hands are undecayed at Bamburgh. In this year Cenwealh succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons and held it for 21 years. The same Cenwealh had the church of
Winchester built, and he was the son of Cynegils. And the same year that Oswald was killed, his brother Oswiu succeeded to the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and he reigned for two years less than thirty (Whitelock 1955: 151).

709 D (E) And Cenred was there until the end of his life. And that same year Bishop Wilfrid died in Oundle, and his body was taken to Ripon. He was bishop for 45 years, and Bishop Ecgfrith previously drove him to Rome (Whitelock 1955: 158).

721 D (E) In this year Daniel went to Rome; and in the same year Ine slew Cynewulf the atheling. And in this year the holy Bishop John died, who had been bishop for 33 years, eight months and 13 days; and his body lies in Beverley (Whitelock 1955: 159).

738 In this year Eadberht, son of Eata, son of Leowold, succeeded to the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and held it for 21 years. And his brother was archbishop Egbert, son of Eata; and they are both buried in the city of York, in the same chapel (Whitelock 1955: 161).

793 D In this year dire portents appeared over Northumbria and sorely frightened the people. They consisted of immense whirlwinds and flashes of lightning, and fiery dragons were seen flying in the air. A great famine immediately followed these signs, and a little after that in the same year, on 8 June, the ravages of heathen men miserably destroyed God’s church on Lindisfarne, with plunder and slaughter. And Sigca died on 22 February (Whitelock 1955: 167).

794 D And Ealdorman Æthelheard died in 1 August. And the heathens ravaged in Northumbria, and plundered Ecgfrith’s monastery at Donemuthan; and one of their leaders was killed there, and also some of their ships were broken to bits by stormy weather, and many of the men were drowned there. Some reached the shore alive and were immediately killed at the mouth of the river (Whitelock 1955: 167-168).

835 (832) In this year heathen men ravaged Sheppey (Whitelock 1955: 172).

836 (833) In this year King Egbert fought against the crews of 35 ships at Carhampton, and a great slaughter was made there, and the Danes had possession of the battle field. And two bishops, Herefrith and Wigthegn, and two ealdormen, Duda and Osmod, died (Whitelock 1955: 172).

876 (877 C) In this year the enemy army slipped past the army of the West Saxons into Wareham; and then the king made peace with the enemy and they gave him hostages, who were the most important men next to their king in the army, and swore oaths to him on the holy ring – a thing that they
would not do before for any nation – that they would speedily leave his kingdom. And then under cover of that, they – the mounted army – stole by night away from the English army to Exeter.

And that year Healfdene shared out the land of the Northumbrians, and they proceeded to plough and support themselves (Whitelock 1955: 179).

877 (878 C) In this year the enemy army from Wareham came to Exeter; and encountered a great storm at sea, and 120 ships were lost at Swanage. And King Alfred rode after the mounted army as far as Exeter, but could not overtake them. And they gave him hostages there, as many as he wished to have, and swore great oaths and then kept a firm peace. Then in the harvest season the army went away into Mercia and shared out some of it, and gave some to Ceolwulf (Whitelock 1955: 179).

880 (881 C) In this year the army went from Cirencester into East Anglia, and settled there and shared out the land. And the same year the army which had encamped at Fulham went overseas into the Frankish empire to Ghent and stayed there for a year (Whitelock 1955: 181).

920 (923 A) In this year before midsummer, King Edward went with the army to Nottingham, and ordered to be built the borough on the south side of the river, opposite the other, and the bridge over the Trent between the two boroughs.

Then he went from there into the Peak district to Bakewell, and ordered a borough to be built in the neighbourhood and manned. And then the kings of the Scots and all of the people of the Scots, and Ragnald, and the sons of Eadwulf and all who live in Northumbria, both English and Danish, Norsemen and others, and also the king of the Strathclyde Welsh and all the Strathclyde Welsh, chose him as father and lord (Whitelock 1955: 199).

954 D E In this year the Northumbrian’s drove out Eric, and Eadred succeeded to the kingdom of the Northumbrians (Whitelock 1955: 204).

1055 D In this year Earl Siward dies at York, and he lies at Galmaho in the church which he himself had built and consecrated in the name of God and Olaf (Rollason 1998: 175).

1069 D Here passed away Ealdred, archbishop of York, and is buried there at his bishop’s seat. And he died on Protys and Hyacinthus’s Day; and he held the arch-seat with great dignity for ten years all but fifteen weeks (Rollason 1998: 198).
From Historia Brittonum by Nennius (early 9th century55)

Chapter 57 But Oswy had two wives, of whom one was called Rieinmellt, daughter of Royth, son of Rhun, and the other was called Eanfeld, daughter of Edwin, son of Aelle (Morris 1980: 36).


Chapter 63 Four kings fought against them, Urien, and Rhydderch Hen, and Gwallawg and Morcant. Theodoric fought vigorously against Urien and his sons. During that time, sometimes the enemy, sometimes the Cymry were victorious, and Urien blockaded them for three days and three nights in the island of Lindisfarne. But during this campaign, Urien was assassinated on the instigation of Morcant, from jealousy, because his military skill and generalship surpassed that of all the other kings.

Aethelferth the Artful reigned 12 years in Bernicia and another 12 in Deira. He reigned 24 years in the two kingdoms, and gave Din Guaire to his wife, Bebba, and it was named Bamburgh from his wife’s name.

Edwin, son of Aelle, reigned 17 years. He occupied Elmet and expelled Ceretic, king of that country (Morris 1980: 38).

From De Excidio Britonum by Gildas (c. 540)

22 And they convened a council to decide the best and soundest way to counter the brutal and repeated invasions and plunderings by the peoples I have mentioned.

23 Then all the members of the council, together with the proud tyrant, were stuck blind; the guard – or rather the method of destruction – they devised for our land was that the ferocious Saxons (name not to be spoken!), hated by man and God, should be let into the island like wolves into the fold, to beat back the peoples of the north...

Then a pack of cubs burst forth from the lair of the barbarian lioness, coming in three keels, as they call warships in their language. The winds were favourable; favourable too the omens and auguries, which prophesised, according to a sure portent among them, that they would live for three hundred years in the land towards which their prows were directed, and that for half the time, a hundred and fifty years, they would repeatedly lay it to waste.

55 The earliest surviving manuscript has been dated to 828/9, however this is thought to be a second edition of the work (Morris 1980: 1).
On the orders of the ill-fated tyrant, they first of all fixed their dreadful claws on the east side of the island, ostensibly to fight for our country, in fact to fight against it...

The barbarians who had been admitted to the island asked to be given supplies, falsely representing themselves as soldiers ready to undergo extreme dangers for their excellent hosts. The supplies were granted, and for a long time 'shut the dog's mouth'. Then they again complained that their monthly allowance was insufficient, purposely giving a false colour to individual incidents, and swore that they would break their agreement and plunder the whole island unless more lavish payment were heaped on them. There was no delay: they put their threats into immediate effect (Winterbottom 1978: 26-27).

From The Life of St Cuthbert by Bede (c. 721)

Chapter 37 And when God has taken my spirit, bury me in this dwelling by my oratory towards the south, on the eastern side of the holy cross which I have erected there. Now there is hidden on the north side of this same oratory a sarcophagus hidden under the turf, which the venerable Cudda once gave me. Place my body in this, wrapping it in the cloth which you will find there. I was unwilling to wear the cloth while alive but, out of affection for the abbess Verca, a woman beloved of God, who sent it to me, I have taken care to keep it to wrap my body in (Colgrave 1940: 273).

From the Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert (699-705)

iv: 13 But after Bishop Cuthbert of holy memory had taken communion and lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, he commended his soul to the lord, and, sitting there, he breathed his last, and without a sigh went in the way of his fathers. He was carried by ship to our island; but first his whole body was washed, his head wrapped in a head cloth and an obley placed upon his holy breast. He was robed in his priestly garments, wearing his shoes in readiness to meet Christ and provided with a waxed shroud. His soul rejoicing in Christ, his body remained uncorrupt, resting as though asleep in his stone coffin; and so they placed him with honour in the church (Colgrave 1940: 131).

From The Life of St Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus (early 8th century)

Chapter 20 Thereupon after this victory King Ecgfrith, ruling the people with the bishop of God, in righteousness and holiness, strong like David in crushing his enemies yet lowly in the sight of God, breaking the necks of the tumultuous tribes and their warlike kings, emboldened as he was by the help of God, in all things always gave thanks to God. Now Wulfhere, King of the Mercians, proud of heart and insatiable in spirit, roused all of the southern nations against our kingdom, intent not merely on
fighting but compelling them to pay tribute in a slavish spirit. But he was not guided by God. So Ecgfrith, King of Deira and Bernicia, unwavering in spirit and true-hearted, on the advice of his counsellors trusted God, like Barak and Deborah, to guard his land and defend the churches of God even as the bishop taught him to do, and with a band of men no greater than theirs attacked a proud enemy, and by the help of God overthrew them with his tiny force. Countless numbers were slain, the king put to flight and his kingdom laid under tribute, and afterwards, when Wulfhere died through some cause, Ecgfrith ruled in peace over a wider realm (Colgrave 1927: 43).

Chapter 24 For on that day twelvemonth the body of the slain King Ælfwine was carried into York and all the people with bitter tears tore their garments and their hair, while his brother [Ecgfrith] who survived him reigned, but gained no victory until the day of his death (Colgrave 1927: 51).

Chapter 64 For on a certain day the abbots came from every quarter, some to carry away the holy body and to clothe it carefully and honourably as was fitting; and they obtained permission to do so. Then a certain abbot named Bacula spread out his robe upon the ground, and the brethren laid the holy body upon it, after washing it with their own hands, and clothing it in ecclesiastical robes, and so they carried him to the appointed place with hymns and canticles in the fear of god... Then they put up a tent outside, bathed the holy body and emptied the bath on to the ground in the same place. The people who inhabited the monastery afterwards built a wooden cross on the spot, and the lord used to perform many marvels there. The our brethren clothed the holy body in linen, placed it in a carriage, and setting forth singing psalms, came to the monastery at Ripon. Forthwith all the community came to meet them bearing holy relics. Hardly any of them could keep from tears and weeping. Raising their voices in hymns and canticles, they brought in the body of the most holy man with honour and placed it in the church which our holy bishop had once built and dedicated it to the honour of St. Peter the Apostle. He was in his seventy-sixth year, and who can tell how many bishops, priests and deacons he had ordained, and how many churches he had dedicated during the forty-six years of his episcopate? His praise remains forever. The abbots surrounded and lead in his worthy heir the priest Tatberht, according to our holy bishop's command (Colgrave 1927: 143).

From Felix's Life of St Guthlac (early 8th century)

Chapter 50 But when Beccel asked him to entrust his parting words to him before he died, the man of God raised his weary shoulders from the wall for a little while, and with a sigh said: 'My son, since my time now draws near, listen to my last commands. After my spirit has left this poor body, go to my sister Pega and tell her that I have in this life avoided her presence so that in eternity we may see on another in the presence of our Father amid
eternal joys. Tell her also to place my body in the coffin and wrap it in the
cloth which Ecgburh sent me. While I was alive I was unwilling to cover my
body with any linen vestment, but out of affection for the virgin beloved of
Christ who sent me this gift, I have taken care to keep it to wrap my body in'.

On the next day they came to the island with the command of the
blessed man, and found the whole place and all the dwellings filled with a
sort of ambrosial odour. The handmaiden of God [Pega] 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 (Colgrave 1956: 155-161).

From the Chronicle of St Æthelweard (late 10th century)

Book 2:15 [738] After a period of four years, Eadbyrht succeeded to
the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and his brother Ecgbyrht enjoyed the
rank of archbishop, and now both rest in the city of York under the roof of
one chapel (Campbell 1962: 22).

Book 4:3 [895] When the course of one year was at an end Guthfrid,
king of the Northumbrians, died on the nativity of St. Bartholomew, the
apostle of Christ [24 Aug]. And his body is entombed in the city of York in
the high church (Campbell 1962: 51).

From History of the Kings attributed to Simeon of Durham (late 12th
century)

796 And a little while after, that is on 10 August, Archbishop Eanbald
died in the monastery which is called Æt Lxte, and his body was conveyed to
the city of York, with a large multitude attending it, and honourably buried
in the church of the blessed Apostle Peter (Whitelock 1955: 249).

799 Also at the same period, Osbald, once ealdorman and patrician,
and for a time king, then indeed abbot, reached his last day, and his body
was buried in the church of the city of York (Whitelock 1955: 250).

919 King Ragnald took York by storm (Whitelock 1955: 252).

From Chronicle of the Archbishops of York (early 12th century)

He lived as archbishop for almost thirty years, and on the octaves of St
Martin, that is 18 November, he died at Ripon. His body was brought to
York, and he was buried in the church next to his predecessor of blessed
From Deeds of the Kings of England by William of Malmesbury (12th century)

His body [Tostig], being known by a wart between the shoulders, obtained burial at York (Rollason 1998: 210).

The Tribal Hidage

Myrcna landes 30,000 hides
Wocen landes 7,000 hides
Westerna the same (i.e. 7,000 hides)
Pecsaetna 1,200 hides; the Peak dwellers
Elmed setna 600 hides; Elmet dwellers; Barwick and Sherburn in Elmet (Yorks.)
Lindesfarona 7,000 hides mid haep feld land; Lindsey and Hatfield Chase
Su p gyrva 600 hides Jarrow (Durham); Crowland (Lincs.);
Nor p gyrva 600 hides } Peterborough (Northants.)
East Wixna 300 hides
West Wixna 600 hides
Spalda 600 hides; Spaldwick (Hunts.); Spalford (Notts.); Spalding (Lincs.);
Spaldington, Holme on Spalding Moor (Yorks.)
Wigesta 900 hides
Sweedora 300 hides
Gifla 300 hides
Hicca 300 hides
Whit gara 600 hides
Nox gara 5,000 hides
Oht gara 2,000 hides
Hwinca 7,000 hides
Chiltern setna 4,000 hides
Hendrica 3,500 hides
Uneung ga 1,200 hides
Aro setna 600 hides
Færpinga 300 hides
Bilmiga 600 hides; ? (Bilston Staffs.; Billing, Northants.; Horbling,
Billingborough, Billinghamay, Lincs.; Billingley, Yorks.; Billington, Lancs.)
Widerigga the same (i.e. 600 hides)

East Willa 600 hides
West Willa 600 hides

East engle 30,000 hides
East sexena 7,000 hides

56 The suggested locations for groups located in Lincolnshire or Yorkshire, or possibly located in Lincolnshire or Yorkshire, are given in parentheses, along with other possible locations. The date of the original text is uncertain, however the Tribal Hidage survives in manuscripts dating to the early 11th century (Davies and Vierck 1974: 224-225).
Cant warena 15,000 hides  
Sup sexena 7,000 hides  
West sexena 100,000 hides (Davies and Vierck 1974: 230-234).

From History of the English by Geffrei Gaimar (early 12th century)

When King Swein had conquered all,  
And saw the country that was his,  
He went to Gainsborough  
And for a while tarried there.  
While tarrying there he departed.  
At York he was buried;  
But then after ten years or more  
The Danes took up his bones;  
They were carried to Norway,  
To St Olaf, there they were laid.  
In St Peter’s Minster he lay  
When the Danes took him away (Rollason 1998: 174).

From poems by Talesin (6th century surviving in an 11th century manuscript)

Extract From ‘The Spoils of Taliesin’

I saw Easter  
with its myriad lights  
and myriad plants.  
I saw leaves  
as they are wont to sprout;  
I saw branches  
equally laden with flowers:  
I saw the attributes  
of a most generous king...  
I saw the lord of Catraeth  
across the flat-lands.

Let my lord  
who doesn’t seek misfortune,  
give me the worth of my song,  
great will be the bounty  
of his gifts.  
The chief of warriors,  
procurer of vast booty  
commands my attentions:  
a spear of ash is my sacred muse,  
shields before a shining lord  
is my smile upon you.
Magnificent,
bravest of braves,
is Urien (Pennar 1988: 91).
Appendix III: Gazetteer

This gazetteer summarises each of the 464 sites identified in this study. The methodology for data collection was summarised in Chapter 2. It should be reiterated, however, that while undated burials were searched for on the SMR (Sites and Monuments Record) databases and in the literature, they were not searched for on either of the NMR (National Monument Record) databases, as this was regarded as being unfeasible for such a large area by the NMR officer who dealt with the enquiry.

The SMR numbers used in this gazetteer usually relate to the computer record number. If a site was not on the SMR database then the OS card reference was used, or reference was made to a parish file. The code prefixing the SMR number indicated which SMR the information was from. These codes were created for the purposes of this study, and are given in Table III.1, below. The NMR number refers to the number on the NMR sites database, and the NMR monarch number refers to the code used on the NMR activity database (which records excavations, surveys, watching briefs and desk-top assessments). Where these fields are left blank, no record was found of the site on the relevant database.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SMR code</th>
<th>SMR name</th>
<th>SMR location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SY</td>
<td>South Yorkshire</td>
<td>Sheffield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LC</td>
<td>Lincoln County Council</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SL</td>
<td>South Lincolnshire</td>
<td>Heckington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEL</td>
<td>North East Lincolnshire</td>
<td>Grimsby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL</td>
<td>North Lincolnshire</td>
<td>Scunthorpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YC</td>
<td>York City</td>
<td>York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WY</td>
<td>West Yorkshire</td>
<td>Wakefield</td>
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<td>SEY</td>
<td>South East Yorkshire</td>
<td>Hull</td>
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<tr>
<td>NYM</td>
<td>North Yorkshire Moors</td>
<td>Helmsley</td>
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<tr>
<td>NY</td>
<td>North Yorkshire</td>
<td>Northallerton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YD</td>
<td>Yorkshire Dales</td>
<td>Bainbridge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table III.1: SMR codes used in this study
Various literature searches were undertaken to identify further sites (discussed in Chapter 2). In addition all references to individual sites were consulted where possible, including unpublished excavation reports and watching briefs. These references have been included after the site description in the gazetteer. For sites where no references have been included, all of the information was gained from the SMR, NMR or both. It should be noted that for many sites, little evidence was available about sites or burials (from the SMR, the NMR or the literature), leading to a very short entry in the gazetteer. It should also be mentioned that several of the sites are described in Antiquarian literature and other local interest studies written in the 18th and 19th centuries, which may have used unusual or older spellings of words. When these sources have been quoted, the original spellings have been retained.

The sites are organised into modern counties, in the following order: Lincolnshire (including North Lincolnshire and North East Lincolnshire), East Yorkshire, North Yorkshire (including the City of York), South Yorkshire and West Yorkshire. The sites are then organised according to the parish or township they are in, followed by other names that the site is known by. Grid references have been provided for all sites, however several sites can not be located accurately. For these sites an approximate grid reference, based on the centre of the named parish, has been provided. These estimated grid references have been suffixed by an asterisk in the gazetteer.

A date range for each cemetery has also been given in the gazetteer. These are based on the descriptions and information provided by the literature, SMR or NMR. For sites of uncertain date, find spots and more ambiguous entries these have been prefixed by a question mark.

When describing the alignment of burials, the first compass point used denotes the head end of the grave. In cases when it is unclear from the
sources which end of a grave the head was located, this has been noted in the gazetteer. The abbreviation MNI refers to the minimum number of individuals present in a skeletal assemblage. All other abbreviations used in the gazetteer are given in Appendix I.
Lincolnshire

Ancaster

Early Anglo-Saxon
SK 9825 4330

An early Anglo-Saxon cemetery was found at Ancaster prior to 1870. About 40 urns and several skeletons were recovered in 1870, and a further urn in 1929. Several urns from this cemetery have been dated to c.500AD (Myres 1952: 70-72, 74, 80), although some of both the cremations and the inhumations may date to the Roman period.

(Trollope 1870: 4; Phillips 1934: 141; Myres 1952: 70-72; Meaney 1964: 151; Leahy 1993: 39)

Ancaster
SMR number LC 30334
NMR number

? Early Anglo-Saxon
SK 9740 4445

Blue glass beads, a ‘bracelet clasp’ and bronze tweezers, all possibly Anglo-Saxon, have been recovered from a sandpit in Ancaster parish. They may be from a cemetery as they are representative of grave goods of the period.

Asgarby and Howell

Asgarby
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
TF 3445 6669

A number of accompanied early Anglo-Saxon inhumations have been discovered in Asgarby in 1811 and 1915. The burials date to the 6th and 7th centuries, based on the styles of grave goods. The grave goods from the warrior burial found in 1915 were similar to those excavated at Caenby.

(Phillips 1934: 145; Meaney 1964: 151; Eagles 1979: 175, 353; Field 1988: 87; Leahy 1993: 39)
Aslackby and Laughton

Undated Bones
TF 075 314

In 1976 it was reported that human burials were found at this location c.1910.

Asterby

Undated Bones
TF 2630 7950

Three human skeletons and a ‘dirk’ were found at Hall Close in 1821. (White 1856: 734)

Bardney

Undated Bones
TF 1185 7053

Human remains were found in a field to the east of Bardney abbey prior to 1964. These were located close to a ‘road’ (18’ wide and 18’ deep) consisting of stones, fossils and shells found at a depth of 11 feet. The SMR notes that this ‘road’ may be a pleistocene river channel. The relationship between this feature and the burials remains unknown.

Barrow on Humber

Undated Bones
TA 0676 2127

A large number of human bones were found on the surface after ploughing. It is thought that these bones came from Barrow churchyard, the soil having been moved to fill in a hollow in 1969. (Wilson 1970: 14)

Barrow on Humber
Former Gas House
? Mid to Late Anglo-Saxon

TA 0736 2169

The discovery of a stone coffin, a gold ring and an iron object at the former Gas House was reported by White (1856: 687). The SMR also records that many west-east aligned inhumations and several gold rings were found at
this site c.1880. This cemetery was traditionally associated with the monastery of *Aet Baeruw* prior to the excavations held in 1977 and 1978 at the 'St Chad's site', which was interpreted as St Chad’s 7th-century monastery until the site was shown by radiocarbon dating to be later in date (see below).

Excavations at the Gas House site in 1977 did not reveal the 7th-century monastery either. However the remains of several later medieval buildings, interpreted as barns, were discovered. It is possible that the burials found at the Gas House c.1880 date to the middle to late Anglo-Saxon period, and they may have been from the monastic cemetery.

(White 1856; Webster and Cherry 1978: 255; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 184)

Barrow-on-Humber  
"St Chad’s"; "Aet Baeruw"  
Late Anglo-Saxon  
TA 074 217

The cemetery at Barrow-on-Humber was excavated in 1977 and 1978. At the time of excavation the site was heralded as the cemetery of the lost Anglo-Saxon monastery of *Aet Baeruw*, founded by King Wulfhere and St Chad in 669 AD (Boden and Whitwell 1979: 66). However, radiocarbon dating has shown that the cemetery was actually of 10th- to 12th-century date (see Table III.2) and thus was not that of the monastery of St Chad’s (although the site is still frequently referred to as St Chad’s).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Laboratory Number</th>
<th>Skeleton Number</th>
<th>Radiocarbon Age (BP)</th>
<th>Calibrated date range (1σ)</th>
<th>Calibrated date range (2σ)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HAR-3123</td>
<td>Charcoal</td>
<td>1030±80</td>
<td>Cal AD 900-1150</td>
<td>Cal AD 780-1210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAR-3124</td>
<td></td>
<td>880±80</td>
<td>Cal AD 1030-1260</td>
<td>Cal AD 990-1290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAR-3125</td>
<td>BW 111</td>
<td>1130±80</td>
<td>Cal AD 780-1000</td>
<td>Cal AD 680-1030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAR-3126</td>
<td>BW 74B</td>
<td>1090±70</td>
<td>Cal AD 880-1020</td>
<td>Cal AD 770-1160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAR-3127</td>
<td></td>
<td>970±80</td>
<td>Cal AD 990-1170</td>
<td>Cal AD 890-1250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAR-3128</td>
<td></td>
<td>1080±80</td>
<td>Cal AD 880-1030</td>
<td>Cal AD 770-1160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table III.2: Radiocarbon dates from Barrow-on-Humber

Approximately 75 partial and complete skeletons were excavated, along with some disarticulated material (Figure III.1). Many of these were post-dated by an 11th to 12th-century apsidal church (Grainger unpublished). One of the graves contained nails and a second metal fittings, indicating that at least

57 Skeleton number of sample given where known. Sample HAR-3123 is of the charcoal found beneath BW60A. Due to the confused nature of the archive it was not possible to establish which skeletons the remainder of the dates referred to.
two of the burials were coffined. Five individuals were buried in stone-lined graves. Two coins of c.870 were also recovered from the site.

(Webster and Cherry 1978: 147; White 1978: 76; Boden and Whitwell 1979; Grainger unpublished)

Barrow on Humber
The Island
Undated Bones
TA 073 215

Barrow on Humber
SMR number NL 400
NMR number
NMR monarch

Between 30 and 40 skeletons were found at this location during house construction in 1961. All of the burials were west-east aligned. No associated artefacts were recovered. The SMR records that all of the skeletons were male, and that no sub-adult remains were recovered, however only two skulls were examined.

(Loughlin and Miller 1979: 184)

Barrowby

Barrowby
SMR number SL SK06.22
NMR number
NMR monarch

Undated Bones
SK 8855 3525

Human bones have been found at this location at an unspecified date. Barbed and tanged arrow heads also have been recovered in the vicinity.

Barton-on-Humber

Barton-on-Humber
SMR number NL 431
NMR number
NMR monarch

Undated Bones
TA 0308 2116

A single male burial in a wooden coffin was found during August 1954. No other finds were recorded.

Barton-on-Humber

Barton-on-Humber
SMR number NL 10867
NMR number
NMR monarch

Undated Bones
TA 0342 2190

A small excavation in 1981 next to the new Vicarage close to St Peter's Church revealed evidence of middle Anglo-Saxon occupation. A north-south aligned ditch was excavated at the west end of the trench, which was a predecessor to the present boundary wall. This may have marked an ancient boundary and it is possible that it may have been re-cut over many centuries. At the very bottom of the ditch (or possibly immediately under its base) lay an adult human skeleton. The exact stratigraphic relationship between the
ditch and the burial could not be determined, and there was no dating evidence for the burial or the cutting of the ditch. The presence of 18th- and 19th-century pottery in the upper layers of the ditch fill indicated that it had been backfilled during the 19th century.

Barton-on-Humber  SMR number  NL  413
Castledyke South  NMR number
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon  NMR monarch 657940; 657941; 657942; TA 0319  2174

The cemetery was discovered in 1959 when five graves were disturbed during the construction of air raid shelters. Excavations between 1975 and 1990 revealed a further 196 graves containing 227 individuals, one of which was a cremation (Figure III.2. Drinkall and Foreman 1998: xxi, 1). The cemetery was in use from the late 5th or early 6th century to the late 7th century (Drinkall and Foreman 1998: 330). Helen Geake identified 45 conversion period graves on the basis of the grave goods. Some of the 63 unfurnished graves from Castledyke South may also date to the 7th century, however none has been dated securely (Geake 1997: 159-60).


Barton-on-Humber  SMR number  NL  401
St Peter’s Church  NMR number 79025; 1208934
Late Anglo-Saxon to Medieval  NMR monarch
TA 0347  2194

Between 1978 and 1985 the church and cemetery of St Peter’s Barton-on-Humber was excavated by the Department of Environment, following the closure of the church in 1970, under the direction of Warwick and Kirsty Rodwell. These excavations revealed the foundations of a three-celled church, probably of 10th-century date, with the standing tower forming the central cell (Rodwell and Rodwell 1981: 210; 1982: 288). The site had been used as a settlement in the early Anglo-Saxon period, prior to the foundation of a cemetery in the late 8th/early 9th century that predated the first church. This cemetery was located outside a sub-circular enclosure marked by a bank and ditch, thought to be the boundary of a manorial complex (Rodwell and Rodwell 1982: 290).

620 burials from the cemetery have been attributed to phase E, dating from the late 8th to the 12th centuries (Figure III.3). Many of these burials were in early Norman coffins (previously dated to the late Anglo-Saxon period). Some of these had been built using a clinker construction, usually used for
constructing boats. Further burials contained nails or roves, indicating that coffins had once been present. In addition, several individuals were buried with single planks, rather than a full coffin. Other grave variations included pillow stones, and the presence of 'wands' was also recorded.


Barton-on-Humber
Barton Poor Farm; West of Barton-on-Humber

? Early Anglo-Saxon
TA 012 219

Metal detectorists have found three small-long brooches, a sleeve clasp, a fragment of a girdle hanger and pieces of two cruciform brooches at this location. These finds may point to the presence of an early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery.

(Leahy 1993: 39)

Baston

Early Anglo-Saxon
TF 110 137

An early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery was discovered in Baston in 1851. Excavations by Trollope c.1863 revealed ten cremation urns. These urns contained cremated bone, iron shears, and a fragment of a bone comb. A bronze brooch had been found in an urn at this location at an unspecified date prior to Trollope's excavations.

Further excavation in 1966 produced evidence for a small mixed rite cemetery dating to the mid 5th to late 6th centuries. Of the 44 cremation urns recovered, only 16 were found in situ. Two west-east aligned inhumation burials were also excavated, one of which was accompanied by a pot. Excavations in 1989 established that the full extent of the cemetery had been excavated in 1966.

(Trollope 1863; Phillips 1934: 142; Myres 1952: 96; Meaney 1964: 151-2; May 1967: 22; Whitwell 1967: 41; May 1968: 19; Beeby 1974; Mayes and Dean 1976)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>NMR number</th>
<th>NMR monarch</th>
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<td>Thetford DMV</td>
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<tr>
<td>Undated Bones</td>
<td>TF 108 149</td>
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Burials have been found at Thetford DMV in 1887, 1904 and 1965. Inhumations also have been frequently disturbed during building work on a local farm. Over 35 undated burials have been reported at various times.

Belchford

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<tr>
<th>Location</th>
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<tr>
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<td>TF 309 763</td>
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A skeleton and an iron knife were found in a chalk pit next to Blue Stone Heath Road in 1966. The SMR reports that Kevin Leahy identified this burial as possibly Anglo-Saxon in date – this was presumably on the basis of the style of the knife.

(Whitwell 1967: 42; Eagles 1979: 355)

Belton and Manthorpe

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<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>? Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon</td>
<td>SK 9309 3966</td>
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</table>

At least five fragmentary iron knives and a spearhead were found in the rectory garden at Belton in 1883. These items may have come from an early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery.

(Meaney 1964: 152)

Benniworth

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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</table>

The SMR records that human skeletons were found in this area during the second world war.
Boothby Graffoe  SMR number  LC  SK95NE-G
Undated Bones  NMR number
SK 982  593

The grave of a child aged 11 to 12 years was found in Boothby Graffoe c.1963. The burial was approximately west-east aligned and had no accompanying grave goods.

Boston  SMR number  LC  12646
? Blackfriars  NMR number
Undated Bones  NMR monarch
TF 3319  4396

Several human skeletons and a lead coffin were found while altering the stands at the football ground in 1964-65. The burials were re-interred. These are thought to belong to the cemetery of the medieval priory, which lay just to the west.

(Camfield and Fenning 1990)

Boston  SMR number  SL  B05.041
Greyfriars  NMR number
Undated Bones  NMR monarch
TF 3304  4374

Burials were found at this location when the school was extended before 1978. The school bursar reported to the community archaeologists that skeletons and lead coffins had been found there previously. These burials are thought to belong to the Franciscan Friary and therefore are probably medieval.

(Harden 1978: 25)

Boston  SMR number  SL  B05.039
Liquorpond Street  NMR number
Undated Bones  NMR monarch
TF 327  436

The remains of four skeletons were found in Liquorpond Street during roadworks in 1988. The SMR records that burials had also been found in this vicinity 135 years previously.
Skeletons have been found in Rowley Road during commercial excavations in 1959, 1967 and 1975. These are thought to belong to the Franciscan Friary, and thus are likely to be medieval in date.

(Whitwell and Wilson 1968: 36; Harden 1978: 25)

Skeletons have been found in Schoolfriars Lane in 1935, 1964 and 1976. In addition, a stone coffin was found in this vicinity in 1816. These have been attributed to the cemetery of the Dominican Friary and are probably medieval.

(Camfield and Fenning 1990: 25-6)

Some undated human remains were found when laying a watermain in Boston in 1954. The bones were disarticulated. The SMR states that these remains may be connected with the hospital of St Leonard, which indicates they may be later medieval in date.

The remains of several adult skeletons were found during drainage work at the rectory in 1962.
An Anglo-Saxon spearhead, sword, shield and a damaged hanging bowl were found while digging a water pipeline on Bloxholme Lane in Bracebridge in 1998. The digger driver reported the finds in 1999, and although he did not report the finding of any human bones, these items are likely to have come from an inhumation burial.

**Bracebridge Heath**

SMR number LC 60962
NMR number

? Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
SK 996 662

**Branston and Mere**

SMR number LC 61656
NMR number

Branston

? Early Anglo-Saxon

TF 0251 6816

An early Anglo-Saxon spearhead was found at this location in 1958.

(Wilson and Hurst 1959: 297; Meaney 1964: 152; Eagles 1979: 405)

**Brigg**

SMR number NL 19677
NMR number

Undated Bones

SE 999 072

A human skull and other bones were found in a gas main trench in 1977. These were thought to be old due to the depth of the find and the preservation of the bones. Associated 'crockery' was discarded at the time of discovery.

**Brocklesby**

SMR number LC 53803
NMR number

? Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon

TA 13 11

Metal detecting in the 1980s led to the discovery of 13 pieces of early Anglo-Saxon metalwork, including several brooch fragments. None of the material was burnt, suggesting that this was once the site of an inhumation rather than a cremation cemetery.

(Leahy 1993: 39)
A poorly preserved, fragmentary skeleton was found during excavations at Castlethorpe. The burial was closely associated with a north-south 10th-century boundary ditch. Unfortunately the stratigraphic relationship between the burial and the ditch could not be established, so the burial may have been contemporary with the ditch, earlier (and disturbed by the ditch) or later (dumped in the ditch fill). There was some prehistoric activity on the site, with a possible barrow located, leading to the speculation that this may have been the primary interment.

Three west-east aligned inhumation burials were found during the laying of electricity cables on the site of the old theological college in 1969. No artefacts were found in association with the burials. Further graves may have been present at the site. It has been suggested that these burials may have belonged to the old medieval church, which was demolished in the 16th century.

A human skull, some pottery and flints were found in 1976 in a drainage ditch just to the south of where a Roman burial was found in 1961.

A crouched inhumation burial and further disturbed burials were excavated at Cock Hill (described as a tumulus) by Rev. G. Swalwell in 1933. The burial was accompanied by a bronze buckle dated to the late 6th or early 7th century. This has been interpreted as a barrow burial (e.g. Leahy 1993: 39). More recently this interpretation of the site as an Anglo-Saxon barrow has been
questioned by White (1977), who suggested that the burials recovered by Swalwell may have been disturbed when the mound was either constructed or enlarged in the post medieval period for cockfighting, and may even have been moved with the extra soil from elsewhere in the parish. However, this interpretation seems unlikely given that one of the burials was described as crouched and was therefore articulated.

(Swalwell 1933; Phillips 1934: 143; Meaney 1964: 152; White 1977b; Eagles 1979: 176, 358; Leahy 1993: 39)

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<tr>
<td>SK 9640 7460</td>
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In 1864 at Burton Hill Top Quarry a large oval grave was discovered containing human bones and twelve stone coffins. In 1870 a further 3 coffins were dug up, made out of burnt clay. A note on the ordnance survey card held at the SMR states ‘this sounds like Roman work’, but no reason for this conclusion is offered.

(Eagles 1979: 359)

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<th>Location</th>
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<td>Burton upon Stather</td>
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<tr>
<td>SE 905 184</td>
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Inhurnation burials, including some crouched individuals, have been reported in Burton upon Stather parish.

(Loughlin and Miller 1979: 194)

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<tr>
<th>Location</th>
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<td>SE 905 171</td>
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</table>

Many early Anglo-Saxon funerary urns were found during ironstone mining c.1928. One of these contained fused glass beads and an ivory armlet. Several inhurnations and a Francisca axe were also found, but the size of the cemetery is unknown. The surviving urns date from the 5th to 6th century.

(Dudley 1949: 224-6; Eagles 1979: 360; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 193; Leahy 1993: 39)
Burton upon Stather  SMR number NL 1982
Flixborough; Flixborough Warren  NMR number
? Early Anglo-Saxon  NMR monarch
SE 886 139

An early Anglo-Saxon cremation urn was found by ironstone workers in a low mound on Flixborough Warren before 1949.

(Dudley 1949: 226; Myres 1952: 76, 97; Meaney 1964: 154; Eagles 1979: 360; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 235)

Cadney  SMR number NL 2349
Cadney-cum-Howsham  NMR number
Undated Bones  NMR monarch
TA 0182 0636

A small barrow located 200 yards south of the manor house was removed 'some years ago' (pre 1979). Human bones were found in the barrow, but no associated urns or grave goods. Another human skeleton was found close to this location in 1967, again with no associated finds.

(Loughlin and Miller 1979: 195)

Caenby  SMR number LC 50430
Mid Anglo-Saxon  NMR monarch
SK 9703 8896

An Anglo-Saxon barrow was excavated at Caenby crossroads in 1849 by E. Jarvis. The barrow had a circumference of 340 feet and was eight feet high at the time of excavation. The eastern side of the barrow has been disturbed by a saw pit c.1838 and by an undated lime kiln, however this activity did not disturb the centre of the barrow. It contained a single burial accompanied by grave goods including a bronze buckle, a sword and a shield with silver mounts and possible helmet fragments (Figure IIIA). The skeleton was described as being arranged in a 'sitting position'. This burial was originally interpreted as a Danish burial, but is now recognized as a 7th-century princely burial.

(Jarvis 1850; Meaney 1964: 152; Eagles 1979: 164, 361; Leahy 1993: 39; Geake 1997: 167)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Caistor
Fonaby, Hundon?
Early Anglo-Saxon
TA 1104   0313

An early Anglo-Saxon cemetery was discovered at Fonaby in 1956. Local excavators salvaged a number of grave groups and unstratified finds before the site was partially excavated by North Lincolnshire Museum. 31 graves and 12 cremations were found in situ. However, 49 inhumation grave groups and 28 Anglo-Saxon pots and funerary urns have been identified from the site (presumably from the material recovered prior to excavation). In addition there are a large number of unstratified finds that may represent further graves. Most of the grave goods were of 6th-century date, however some of the pots may be earlier.

(Wilson 1957: 147; Meaney 1964: 155; Eagles 1979: 168, 361; Cook 1981; Leahy 1993: 40)

Caistor
Fonaby, Hundon
? Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
TA 1139   0243

The NMR records an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Hundon. This may be confused with the cemetery at Fonaby in Caistor parish, however a comment in a letter from P. Gathercole indicates the cemetery may be separate to that which he excavated in Fonaby:

‘The cemetery we are watching is at Fonaby. The site at Hundon ... has, according to local gossip, yielded Saxon material fairly recently, but I have never found anything there except some quite indeterminate sherds and some brick which was impossible to date ...’

This extract from the NMR entry suggests that Hundon is a second cemetery (indeed the two sites have different grid references), however both sites are recorded as being excavated by Gathercole between 1956 and 1958. It seems unlikely that he excavated two Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in that time, so Hudon is probably a different name given to the Fonaby cemetery.

Caistor
Navigation Lane
Undated Bones
TA 1130   0110

Two human skeletons were found in 1969 while digging foundations at the Navigation Lane sewage works. Previously, in 1964, two other skeletons
(one crouched) had been found 60 yards to the west of the 1969 burials. No artefacts were found with any of these burials. The SMR records that these burials lay just outside the walls of the Roman town, and may be Roman in date.

(Wilson 1970: 10; Esmonde Cleary 1987: 20)

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<tr>
<td>TA 118 015</td>
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Two human skeletons were discovered near North Street car park in 1989. The coroner's letter states that the bones were more than 400 years old.

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<tr>
<td>SK 9360 4555</td>
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Four brooches dating to the 6th century were found at this location prior to 1930 (Meaney 1969: 153). Meaney also reports that a female skeleton accompanied by a necklace of 30 beads and bronze tweezers was found in a barrow in Carlton Scroop parish. In addition, the SMR records an 'unsubstantiated report' of 30 to 40 skeletons being found at the same location 'some years ago'.

(Phillips 1934: 147; Meaney 1964: 153; Leahy 1993: 39)

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<th>LC</th>
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? Early Anglo-Saxon

SK 9520 4540

A spearhead was ploughed up in a field to the east of the church in 1973. There were some local reports of burials found in this area in about 1900 during ironstone quarrying. There is some confusion between this site and another, where 4 Anglo-Saxon brooches dating to c.500 were found.

(Phillips 1934: 147)

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<td>Castle Bytham</td>
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Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon

SK 9900 1800

A 7th-century burial was found at this location in 1850. Grave goods
included a quoit brooch, a beaver incisor in a metal setting, a wire slip-knot ring, a piece of jet with two perforations and several glass beads.

(Birch Reynardson 1853; Phillips 1934: 147; Meaney 1964: 153; Geake 1997: 168)

Caythorpe

Early Anglo-Saxon

SK 939 473

An early Anglo-Saxon cemetery was destroyed by ironstone mining at this location in 1899. Grave goods recovered included ring brooches, square headed brooches, cruciform brooches, spearheads, a shield boss and buckles. The presence of stamp decorated urns suggests that this was a mixed rite cemetery.

(Phillips 1934: 147; Myres 1952: 76; Meaney 1964: 153; Leahy 1993: 39)

Cleethorpes

Beacon Hill

? Early Anglo-Saxon

TA 299 080

A black globular vase was found during the excavation of a Bronze Age barrow at Cleethorpes c.1935. The vessel is thought to have come from a secondary Anglo-Saxon inhumation burial. Myres (1952: 97) suggests that this was dated to the late 6th or early 7th century.

(Sheppard 1935; Hawkes 1946: 89-90; Myres 1952: 97; Meaney 1964: 153; Eagles 1979: 363)

Coleby

Early Anglo-Saxon

SK 9748 6121

An early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery was found at an unknown location in Coleby parish in 1833. Over 80 skeletons with associated grave goods were recorded. Pottery vessels were also recovered, but it is unclear if these were cremation urns or accessory vessels.

(Tempest 1897; Phillips 1934: 145; Meaney 1964: 153; Eagles 1979: 405-6; Leahy 1993: 40)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Croft

SMR number LC 41727
NMR number NMR monarch

Undated Bones

TF 4991 6341

A human skeleton, a 13th-century pot and a flint scraper were found at Croft in 1954.

(Thompson 1955: 13)

Crowland

SMR number LC 22010
NMR number NMR monarch

Undated Bones

TF 2385 1015

Workmen found a human skeleton in Albion Street. Medieval and Romano-British pottery was also discovered.

(Whitwell and Wilson 1968: 32)

Cumberworth

SMR number LC 44039
NMR number NMR monarch

Late Anglo-Saxon to Medieval

TF 5062 7373

Excavations c.1992 in the west end of St Helen’s church, Cumberworth revealed a late Anglo-Saxon cemetery and church under the medieval church. The earliest archaeological evidence from the site was a possible sunken featured building dating to the 8th or 9th century. Following the disuse of this building a layer of soil (045) built up over the site. 26 intercutting graves were cut into this deposit. The remains of 20 individuals, including 5 sub-adults, were identified. Several of these graves contained preserved plank-built wooden coffins. In addition, 7 iron coffin nails were recovered. One of the burials contained a pair of copper alloy tweezers dating to the 9th century, although the excavator thought these were redeposited when the grave was cut by the foundations of the later stone church. An inscribed lead plaque was recovered from the graveyard soil, and has been dated on stylistic grounds to the 10th or 11th century. This cemetery was sealed by a layer of soil (065) 600mm thick and covered by a thin layer of lime plaster. This built-up layer has been interpreted as a deliberately constructed platform. A series of post holes were inserted into this layer, possibly belonging to a timber church. The first stone church was constructed in the 10th or 11th century (dated on the basis of 10th-century pottery). This was a two-celled structure with a nave measuring 9 x 6m with a smaller chancel (not fully excavated). A fragment of a late 10th or 11th-century grave cover is built into the present fabric of the church. Further
phases of church construction and burials dating to the 12th to 15th centuries were also recovered. The presence of the copper alloy tweezers and the inscribed lead plaque indicates that Cumberworth may have been of high status as they are usually associated with monastic sites.

(Green 1997)

**Denton**  
SMR number  LC  30019  
NMR number  
? Early Anglo-Saxon  
NMR monarch  SK  8759  3094

Two inhumations were found in a Roman villa in 1950. One of the burials was associated with a sherd of 6th-century pottery. A 6th-century urn was previously recovered from the site in 1948.

(Meaney 1964: 153-4)

**Donington**  
SMR number  LC  20039  
NMR number  
? Early Anglo-Saxon  
NMR monarch  TF  21  36*

Fragments of funerary urns and human bones are recorded at the SMR as being found ‘in a field known by the name of ringlands’. The location and date of this cemetery is uncertain, but this may be the site of an early Anglo-Saxon mixed rite cemetery.

**Donnington on Bain**  
SMR number  LC  40725  
NMR number  
? Early Anglo-Saxon  
NMR monarch  TF  2610  8260

Fragments of funerary urns and partially burnt and unburnt human bone were frequently ploughed up in a field near Donnington-on-Bain prior to 1833. This cemetery has been interpreted as either Roman or early Anglo-Saxon in date.

(Meaney 1964: 154)
Eastoft

SMR number  NL  10901
NMR number
NMR monarch
SE  805  162

Oak logs and a human skeleton were found in a sewer trench, 20 feet deep, during the 1960s.

Edlington

SMR number  LC  40273; 43191
NMR number
NMR monarch
TF  235  715

Human skeletons have been found at this location between 1900 and 1927. One further burial and several grave cuts were recorded during a watching brief in 1994. These were west-east aligned and appear to have been bounded to the west by a north-south ditch. The burials have been assumed to be associated with a medieval chapel, as the land belonged to Bardney Abbey during the early 12th century. However this connection is far from certain and the burials may conceivably be earlier (or later) in date.

(Nenk et al. 1995: 227)

Elsham

SMR number  NL  2302
NMR number
NMR monarch
TA 0374  1314

Human bones found at this location c.1958. These have suggested to be of late Anglo-Saxon date (Barley 1958: 5). A pottery vessel, probably of Roman date, was found close to the human remains, but not definitely associated with them.

(Barley 1958: 5; Petch 1960: 18)

Elsham

SMR number  NL  2305
NMR number
NMR monarch  630648
Middlegate Lane
TA 046  125

Early Anglo-Saxon

An early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery was excavated by G.C. Knowles and F. Berisford in 1975 and 1976 alongside Middlegate Lane, Elsham. They recovered 625 cremations and five inhumations dating to the 5th and 6th centuries. The full extent of the cemetery was established on all but the western side. The urns contained shears, tweezers, knives, bone comb fragments, fused glass beads, brooches, spindle whorls and bone counters.
Appendix III: Gazetteer

(White 1976: 60; Webster and Cherry 1977: 209; Eagles 1979: 365; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 197; Leahy 1993: 40)

Fillingham

SMR number

NMR number

? Early Anglo-Saxon

NMR monarch

SK 9367 8590*

White (1842: 480) reports that Roman coins, broken spears, swords and a stone coffin have been found in the park at Fillingham. In addition, human bones have been ploughed out of a field on the east side of Ermine Street c.1932.

These finds may be from a Romano-British settlement in Owmy by Spital parish (SMR number LC 51413), where an Anglo-Saxon small-long brooch has also been found (Eagles 1979: 336). Kevin Leahy (1993: 40) also records that a cruciform brooch has been found at this location, and suggests that these may have come from an inhumation cemetery (SMR number LC 51412).

(White 1842: 480; Eagles 1979: 336; Leahy 1993: 40)

Fillingham

SMR number LC 51110

Chapel Road58

NMR number

Late Anglo-Saxon

NMR monarch

SK 9452 8592

In 1953 a stone-lined grave was discovered in the garden of Lakeside Cottage, Fillingham, approximately 250m to the west of the village church. Two further stone-lined graves and a charnel pit were excavated in 1982 just to the south of this area by North Lincolnshire Archaeology Unit (Figure III.5). A further 10 graves were identified but left unexcavated.

In 2000 two short excavations by the Department of Archaeology and Prehistory at the University of Sheffield identified a 7th to 8th-century ditch and excavated six of the graves identified in 1982 (Figure III.6). Five of these graves had stone linings, and 4 also contained pillow stones. The burials were arranged in two rows, indicating that the cemetery was planned. In addition to the discrete burials, over 1700 fragments of disarticulated human bone was recovered from the fill of a post-medieval quarry, indicating that much of the cemetery had been disturbed. The presence of 2 inter-cutting graves and disarticulated bones in the fills of several of the graves showed

58 This road name refers to a post-medieval chapel, and does not suggest that an earlier chapel was located in this area of Fillingham.
that the cemetery had been in use for a considerable length of time. Three of the burials were radiocarbon dated to the 7th to 11th centuries (Table III.3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Laboratory Number</th>
<th>Skeleton Number</th>
<th>Radiocarbon Age (BP)</th>
<th>Calibrated date range (1σ)</th>
<th>Calibrated date range (2σ)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OxA-10812</td>
<td>001</td>
<td>1071±30</td>
<td>Cal AD 900-1020</td>
<td>Cal AD 895-1025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OxA-12343</td>
<td>002</td>
<td>968±24</td>
<td>Cal AD 1020-1155</td>
<td>Cal AD 1015-1160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OxA-10811</td>
<td>004</td>
<td>1018±35</td>
<td>Cal AD 980-1035</td>
<td>Cal AD 900-1160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table III.3: Radiocarbon dates from Fillingham

(Field 1983; Buckberry 2000a; Buckberry and Hadley 2001b)

**Flixborough**
- SMR number: NL 1965
- NMR number: 61128
- Mid Anglo-Saxon
- NMR monarch: SE 886 139

In 1988 eleven inhumation burials and an 8th-century sceat were found during a watching brief at a sand quarry in Flixborough. The burials were west-east aligned and two of the graves contained Anglo-Saxon coffin hinges. The burials inter-cut indicating that the cemetery had been in use for a considerable period of time. The cemetery was clearly more extensive, however time and financial constraints meant that the remainder of the cemetery could not be excavated prior to its destruction by further quarrying.

An adjacent area was excavated between 1989 and 1991 revealing a middle Anglo-Saxon settlement (Figure III.7). 14 timber buildings and high status finds dating to the 7th to 10th centuries were recovered. One building (building 1) was identified as a possible church or mortuary chapel. Four burials were found within this building, and a 5th was found just outside it. These burials were on the same alignment as the building (northwest-southeast) and did not contain grave goods or coffin fittings. Four of the burials were extended and supine and one burial was crouched. An inscribed lead plaque was associated with a later building, thought to have succeeded the probable church.

Several styli (Anglo-Saxon writing implements) and an alphabet ring were recovered from the site. These, along with the lead plaque which was inscribed with a list of seven male and female Anglo-Saxon names (Figure III.8), has led to the suggestion that this was the site of a monastery for all or part of its period of occupation. Alternatively the site may have been a secular or ecclesiastical estate centre.

Foston

? Early Anglo-Saxon

SK 863 440

Fragments of an Anglo-Saxon square headed brooch were found by a metal detectorist at this location in 1994. Since this date a further four brooches have been found. These may have come from an early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery.

Friskney

? Early Anglo-Saxon

TF 46 53

In 1896 Pitt-Rivers purchased an Anglo-Saxon spearhead and a comb from a site in Friskney parish, however no details are known of their original discovery. These presumably came from an early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery.

(Meaney 1964: 155; Eagles 1979: 366)

Gainsborough

? Anglo-Saxon

SK 81 89

Three skeletons were found in 1875. They were ‘lying north east at full length in a grooved stone and covered by another not grooved. The first stone was supported by 4 smallish ones’ (Meaney 1964: 155). The SMR records that these may be Anglo-Saxon in date.

(Meaney 1964: 155)

Gainsborough

Lord Street

Undated Bones

SK 8130 8980

A human skeleton was found at either the corner of Lord Street and Bright Street or possibly the corner of Lord Street and Caskgate Street in 1981.
Gainsborough

Silver Street

Undated Bones

SK 8140 8980

Two human skeletons were found 3'6" below the pavement of Silver Street, Gainsborough in 1969. Further human bones have reportedly been found in the vicinity in the past.

Goxhill

Undated Bones

TA 12 22

The SMR reports that human remains were found on Chapel Farm, Goxhill at an unspecified date.

Grantham

Avenue Road

Undated Bones

SK 9174 3576

A femur and cranial fragments were found during the construction of a path off Avenue Road close to the River Witham in 1989.

Grantham

Barrowby Road

Undated Bones

SK 89 36

A human skull and other bones were found at a site on Barrowby Road, Grantham. These were deposited in Grantham Museum by the Police.

Grantham

Belton Lane, Grantham II

? Early Anglo-Saxon

SK 921 370

Fragments of 6th-century pottery were found in Belton Lane prior to 1951. These probably came from an early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery.

(Myres 1952: 89, 92; Meaney 1964: 155)
Grantham
Blue Bell public house
Undated Bones
SK 9119 3621

Human bones, including a skull and upper limb bones, were found on the site of the Blue Bell public house during the construction of the Grantham inner relief road in 1996. The SMR records that the finder suggested that they ‘may be medieval’, although no evidence is given to support this statement.

Grantham
London Road, Grantham III
? Early Anglo-Saxon
SK 9164 3528

An Anglo-Saxon spearhead and part of a bronze buckle with a rivet were found on the site of Flower’s Brewery, London Road, Grantham prior to 1969.

(Meaney 1964: 156)

Grantham
New Somerby, Grantham I
? Anglo-Saxon
SK 921 354

Inhumation burials and pottery sherds were found at New Somerby prior to 1934. These were probably Anglo-Saxon in date.

(Phillips 1934: 168; Myres 1952: 86, 91, 97; Meaney 1964: 155)

Grantham
Spitalgate, Spittlegate
Early Anglo-Saxon
SK 9189 3488

In 1904 a human skull accompanied by a small pottery vessel was discovered in Spitalgate. Later two iron spears were recovered from the same location. Various other early Anglo-Saxon grave goods have been recovered from this cemetery and deposited in Grantham Museum, including iron spearheads, knife blades, shield bosses and bronze square-headed fibulae (Meaney 1969: 163).

Phillips (1934) reports that many urns were said to have been found at this cemetery, however it is noted on the SMR record and by Meaney (1969: 163)
that these urns could have been confused with those from New Somerby.

(Phillips 1934: 142, 167; Meaney 1964: 163)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>NMR number</th>
<th>NMR monarch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grantham Trent Road</td>
<td>LC 30551</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undated Bones</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SK 907 356</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The police reported the finding of one or more skeletons and a pot in Trent Road, off Dysart Road, Grantham to the SMR in September 1981. No further details are known.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>NMR number</th>
<th>NMR monarch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Grayingham</td>
<td>LC 50752</td>
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<tr>
<td>Undated Bones</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>SK 9350 9617</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Human bones (at least 2 adults) were found by workmen scattered throughout a pipe trench 50m from the churchyard boundary in November 1976. There were no finds directly associated with the burials, however 12th-century pottery was found in disturbed layers, suggesting that these burials may be medieval in date.

(White 1978: 77)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>NMR number</th>
<th>NMR monarch</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Grayingham Church</td>
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<tr>
<td>? Anglo-Saxon</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>SK 9340 9610</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

A skeleton with a necklace of amber beads was found at the north end of the church c.1888. This burial may have been early Anglo-Saxon in date.

(Wilson 1972: 10; Eagles 1979: 368; Leahy 1993: 40)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Great Hale
SMR number LC 60865
NMR number
NMR monarch
TF 1494 4288

Eight west-east aligned burials were found in Great Hale in 1981 immediately north of the Methodist Chapel, 70m to the east of the parish church. An undated iron buckle and an unidentifiable bronze object were also recovered. One of the four burials recovered has subsequently been radiocarbon dated to 1280 ± 40BP (660-865 AD, cal 2 sigma).

(White 1982: 76; Youngs et al. 1987: 150; Buckberry and Hadley 2001c)

Great Limber
SMR number LC 50589
NMR number
NMR monarch
TA 1332 0890

A barrow was discovered when the mausoleum was erected in Brocklesby Park in 1787. The barrow contained cinerary urns, burnt bones and ashes, rings, combs and beads. It is thought that 2 urns containing cremated bone were found in situ, one of which also contained a bone comb. The site has been recorded as either Roman or Anglo-Saxon, but an early Anglo-Saxon date seems more likely.

(Eagles 1979: 175, 369)

Grimsby
SMR number NE 855
Abbots Way
NMR number
Undated Bones
NMR monarch
TA 2694 0879

In 1988 builders discovered human bones in Grimsby. The SMR records that the site was visited by a representative from Welholme Galleries, who reported his findings to the coroner. Seven or eight west-east aligned adult inhumations were recorded in an area 13.5m square. Iron nails and wood fragments indicate that at least one of the burials was coffined. Human remains have also been found in this area c.1825 and in 1968. The report submitted to the SMR by P. Wise states that the cemetery has been associated with Wellow Abbey, which was founded in 1123 and dissolved in 1536, however this connection is far from certain.
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Grimsby

SMR number NE 780
Toot Hill
NMR number
Undated Bones
NMR monarch
TA 2480 0888

Skeletons and ‘earthenware’ were found in a low mound at this location during the 19th and early 20th centuries. The site has now been completely levelled. A mandible is held at Grimsby Municipal Offices labelled “from Danish tumulus, Toot Hill, 1904”, however it has been suggested more recently that this was a Bronze Age barrow.

(Loughlin and Miller 1979: 228)

Hackthorn

SMR number LC 51488
Aisthorpe, Brattleby
NMR number
Undated Bones
NMR monarch
SK 9720 8080

Numerous human skeletons were found while lowering and levelling the centre of Ermine Street between Hackthorne Lodge and Aisthorpe Lodge in 1829. Two further burials, probably from the same cemetery, were found in 1956 while levelling Ermine Street in advance of extending a runway on the border of Hackthorn and Aisthorpe parishes. It is unclear if these burials were sealed by the Roman road or dug through its surface. (A duplicate of the second find has also been reported for Brattleby parish).

(Eagles 1979: 369)

Haxey

SMR number NL 19773
Undated Bones
NMR number
SK 769 998

Undated human remains were discovered at Haxey Memorial Hall in August 2002. At least three adults were represented.

Haxey

SMR number NL 17417
Undated Bones
NMR number
SK 7659 9968

A field at this location was found to be littered with fragments of human bone and teeth, and with medieval and early post-medieval pottery in November 1982.
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Heckington
Butts Hill
Early Anglo-Saxon
TF 142 437

An early Anglo-Saxon cemetery has been recorded in this area. In 1815 Butts Hill was partially levelled, revealing bone, a funerary urn and some socketed spearheads. Several inhumations with grave goods were subsequently found in 1821. This cemetery may have been deliberately located around the mound.

(Creasey 1825: 241; Phillips 1934: 144; Meaney 1964: 156; Leahy 1993: 40)

Hibaldstow
Undated Bones
SE 965 035

Inhumation burials were found during deep ploughing in 1929. Cremation urns, including one with a lid were also recorded, however it is unclear if these are Romano-British or Anglo-Saxon in date.

(Meaney 1964: 156; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 199)

Holme
Bottesford
? Early Anglo-Saxon
SE 90 07

An annular brooch and a cruciform brooch were found near Bottesford, Holme parish, some time prior to 1993. The discovery of a funerary urn containing burnt bone and a comb during the 19th century suggests that this may have been a mixed rite cemetery.

(Leahy 1993: 39)

Holton-le-Clay
St Peter’s
Late Anglo-Saxon to Medieval
TA 2865 0277

Excavations in 1973 at St Peter’s showed that the first stone church was rectangular, with a tower inserted into the west end, and dated to the 11th century. In 1975 further excavations revealed 15 late Anglo-Saxon inhumations to the north of the tower (Figure III.9). Two of these burials were cut by the 11th-century tower foundations. A further four graves
Appendix HL Gazetteer

(including one double grave) were located to the north of the chancel, one of which was also cut by the 11th-century foundations. Further burials of Anglo-Saxon and medieval date had been found to the south of the tower. None of the early medieval burials inter-cut, suggesting that they had once been marked in some way. A fragment of an early 10th-century grave cover was used in the construction of the tower arch. In addition, three copper alloy pins (dating to c.900, c.900 and c.850-1100AD) and a buckle, needle and strap end (all dating to c.900) were found during excavations. Only one of these was associated with a burial, having been found a "few inches from the left shoulder of the skeleton in grave 8" (Sills 1982: 31). The presence of over 30 sherds of mid-Saxon pottery and a chalk surface indicated that the church overlay an area of mid Anglo-Saxon occupation.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Horncastle</th>
<th>SMR number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early Anglo-Saxon</td>
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<td>LC 41394</td>
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<tr>
<td>TF 260 695</td>
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</table>

An early Anglo-Saxon burial with a sword and two spearheads was found in Horncastle c.1918.

(Meaney 1964: 156; Eagles 1979: 372; Leahy 1993: 40)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Horncastle</th>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>LC 41856</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bryant Close</td>
<td>NMR number</td>
<td>LC 41856</td>
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<tr>
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<td>LC 41856</td>
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<td>TF 2606 6933</td>
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</table>

Skeletons were found at a depth of 2 to 3 feet during building work on the north side of Bryant Close in 1960. No artefacts were found associated with the burials.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Horncastle</th>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>LC 42214</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Street</td>
<td>NMR number</td>
<td>LC 42214</td>
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<td>NMR monarch</td>
<td>LC 42214</td>
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<tr>
<td>TF 2597 6967</td>
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In 1980, two human skeletons were uncovered during drainage work in a yard in High Street. One of these burials was accompanied by a bronze annular brooch, beads and an iron knife.

Appendix III: Gazetteer

Hough on the Hill
Lovedon Hill
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
SK 9078 4582

SMR number LC 30288; 30289
NMR number 325833
NMR monarch 632165

The early Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Lovedon Hill was first discovered in 1921, when a cremation was found during ironstone workings. In 1925 and 1926 a barrow at the site was excavated, revealing 45 cremations and 4 inhumations. These were dated to the late 6th and early 7th centuries. Deep ploughing in 1955 led to further excavations, which continued until 1963. During these excavations at least 270 cremations and 8 inhumations were excavated. Further fieldwork in 1972 revealed an additional 1245 cremations and 32 inhumations. In total at least 1700 cremations and 45 inhumations have been recovered from the site.

Grave goods dating to the 5th to early 7th centuries have been recovered, including the following high status items: glass vessels, two 7th-century hanging bowls and part of a carved whetstone sceptre, similar to that from Mound 1, Sutton Hoo. Aerial photography has revealed a ring ditch in the area of the cemetery, which may belong to the barrow excavated in 1925/26.


Ingham
SK 95 84*

An Anglo-Saxon wrist clasp and a cruciform brooch were found at this location in Ingham parish, suggesting the presence of an Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery. More recently a hanging bowl was found in the parish, but it is unclear if this item came from the same location.

(Leahy 1993: 40)

Irby on Humber
Welbeck Hill
Early Anglo-Saxon
TA 217 042

SMR number NE 1234
NMR number
NMR monarch 630821

An early Anglo-Saxon cemetery was excavated at this location by Gordon Taylor between 1962 and 1979. 72 inhumations and 5 cremations were recorded. Grave goods included cruciform, square headed, small-long and
annular brooches, sleeve clasps, girdle hangers, beads, silver bracteates, knives and spearheads, all dating to the mid 5th to late 6th centuries.


Keelby

SMR number LC 53804

NMR number

? Early Anglo-Saxon

NMR monarch

TA 16 09*

Metal detectorists have found seventeen cruciform brooches, four small-long brooches and a sleeve clasp dating to the late 5th to 6th centuries at this location. The presence of a burnt cruciform brooch and burnt tweezers suggest that this was a mixed rite cemetery.

(Leahy 1993)

Kettlethorpe

SMR number LC 50093

NMR number

Undated Bones

NMR monarch

SK 8468 7576

A fragment of a human skull was found while digging a sewer in Kettlethorpe in 1970.

(Wilson 1971: 14)

Kirkby-la-Thorpe

SMR number LC 62057

NMR number

Mid Anglo-Saxon

NMR monarch

TF 10647 45772

A 7th-century Anglo-Saxon cemetery was partially excavated in Kirkby-la-Thorpe parish in advance of the construction of a gas pipeline from Hatton to Silk Willoughby between 1997 and 1998. Nine inhumations orientated approximately west-east and arranged in north-south rows were excavated. Only three of the burials contained grave goods, including a knife, a seax, a possible bone knife handle and animal bones. The burials overlay two prehistoric ring ditches (it is not clear if these dated to the Bronze Age or the Iron Age).

(Network Archaeology Ltd 1999; Bonnor and Allen 2000)
Two undated human burials were discovered during building work at the Hoplands. A Roman coin was also found, but was not directly associated with the burials.

A human femur was found on a building site north of Spa Hill, Kirton-in-Lindsey in October 1998.

Five human skeletons were discovered on Park Farm, Knaith, in 1972. Further burials were discovered during building work on the farm at an unspecified later date, representing between 5 and 12 individuals. These were originally thought to have come from a possible DMV site, which has been identified subsequently as a deserted Cistercian nunnery (Haynings Priory). Thus these burials are probably later medieval in date.

A late 6th-century inhumation was found in a sandpit on the northern boundary of Laceby parish in 1934. One further burial and various finds dating to the late 6th to early 7th centuries were found between 1935 and 1939.

(Marjoram 1973: 35; Everson et al. 1991: 112-3)

(Myres 1952: 89, 98; Thompson 1956: 184-189; Meaney 1964: 157; Eagles 1979: 175; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 197; Leahy 1993: 40)
Some time before 1928 human skeletons and scythes were found at Langton.

Romano-British pottery, bronze fragments and human remains were found near the boundary of Leadenham parish in 1912. Eagles (1979: 177) suggests that although the pottery is Romano-British the burials may be Anglo-Saxon in date. However this interpretation seems to rely on the fact that the burials were on the parish boundary.

(Eagles 1979: 177, 406)

An undated skeleton was found in a garden in Boultham Park Road in 1972. A Dupondius of Marcus Aurelius (161-180AD) was found in the same garden, but was not directly associated with the burial.

(Majoram 1973: 41, 45)

A stone coffin and a large quantity of bones were found on the premises of Mr Kay, Millwright in 1845. White’s Directory of Lincoln places this in Bradgate.

(White 1856)
Four or five west-east aligned stone-lined burials were found in front of Broadway Garage in 1954. A second report of seven west-east aligned stone-lined burials found during roadworks may refer to the same find, or further burials in the vicinity. The burials were in the area formerly occupied by St John the Baptist church.

(Whitwell 1966: 52)

Human remains were discovered during the extension of the Tourist Information Centre in Cornhill Square in 1999. Subsequent archaeological excavation revealed medieval occupation and part of a cemetery, believed to be that of the church of St John the Evangelist, probably founded in the 10th century and dissolved c.1552. A stone coffin found in the square in 1848 probably came from this cemetery. The burials recovered probably date to the medieval period, however the cemetery was probably founded in the late Anglo-Saxon period, along with the church.

(City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit 1999)
The SMR records that the cemetery of All Saints-in-the-Bail was situated behind the former Black Horse Inn in Eastgate, west of James Street. This cemetery was being encroached upon by housing from 1163, and the last requested burial in the cemetery was c.1290. The church was finally demolished in 1639.

About twenty stone-lined graves were found under a pavement on the west side of Ermine Street while laying electricity cables from Elvin’s cottages in the 1930s. The burials were west-east aligned.

(Whitwell 1966: 52)

Some rows of stone coffins were found while building the Great Northern Station in 1848. These burials probably belonged to the churchyard of St Mary-le-Wigford and may be late Anglo-Saxon or medieval in date.

Meaney (1964: 157) reports the discovery of various finds of pottery and metalwork in the vicinity of the Cathedral between 1880 and 1957. On the basis of this evidence she suggests there may have been an early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery under the east end of the Cathedral. Myres believed that the evidence for a Lincoln cremation cemetery is ambiguous, and thus should be treated with caution (1946: 87). However he has dated a bowl reportedly from this site (the exact location of this findspot is recorded as unknown) to the early Anglian period (1952: 98).

(Myres 1946: 85-7; Myres 1952: 76, 98; Meaney 1964: 157)
Lincoln
Queensway
Undated Bones
SK 98539 71987

A human skull was found in an electricity trench in Queensway, Lincoln in 1965.

Lincoln
Saltergate
Mid to Late Anglo-Saxon
SK 976 712

In 1973 to 1974 four graves were found dug into the rubble of a collapsed Roman building and sealed by 10th-century occupation. The burials were associated with late Saxon pottery. One of the skeletons had stone slabs laid around the upper body. In addition, part of an iron knife blade (too fragmentary to be dated) was found in one of the grave fills, and may be contemporary with the burial.

One of the burials was radiocarbon dated to 1174 ± 90 BP (660-1020 AD cal 2 sigma). However, it was later discovered that the sample sent for dating was contaminated by animal bone and thus may not accurately date the burial. Nonetheless, the radiocarbon date obtained was consistent with the stratigraphic evidence, which suggests the burials were post-Roman and probably pre 10th century in date (Jen Mann, CLAU, pers. comm.). The presence of the knife blade and Anglo-Saxon pottery would also support a middle to late Anglo-Saxon date.

(Reynolds 1979; Geake 1997: 169; Jen Mann, CLAU, pers. comm.)

Lincoln
St Catherine’s
Undated Bones
SK 97116 69401

A human skeleton was found in a pipe trench in St Catherine’s in 1980. No associated finds were recorded.
Human skeletons were found in a water pipe trench in 1952. These were close to the location of St Catherine’s priory, leading to the suggestion that they were medieval in date. No artefacts were found with the burials.

Lincoln
St Mark’s churchyard
Late Anglo-Saxon to Medieval
SK 9737 7081
SMR number LC 70276
NMR number 1142992
NMR monarch

The cemetery of St Mark’s church was excavated in 1976 and 1977 by Lincolnshire Archaeological Trust, revealing a number of burials dating from the 10th to the 19th centuries (Gilmour and Stocker 1986). Burials in phases VIII and IX were dated to the mid 10th to mid 12th centuries (see Figures III.10 and III.11). Since the initial publication of the site in 1986 the cemetery has been further analysed, with contexts grouped into ‘landuse blocks’ or LUBs (Steane et al. 2001). The LUBs represent ‘an area of land having a particular function for a specific length of time’ (Steane et al. 2001: 5). Thus the LUBs relating to phases VIII and IX may also include burials dating to the later medieval and post medieval periods. Indeed while all of the burials in LUBS 42 and 43 date to the late Anglo-Saxon cemetery, burials from LUBs 45 to 54 and LUB 59 could date from the late Anglo-Saxon period through to the post-medieval or modern period (depending on the chronological length of the LUB sequence).

The phasing in the original publication is presented in plans for each period of the cemetery. However, this does not fully correspond to the phase given to each skeleton in the osteological report. When comparing the plans with the bone report it becomes evident that 20 graves either did not contain human remains or that any remains present were not reported on. In addition 9 graves initially attributed to phase VIII are not present on any of the plans. Thus it is difficult to determine the exact number of burials assigned to phases VIII and IX, although a total of 127 burials (as opposed to graves) dating to these phases have been identified by the present author; 70 dating to phase VIII; 50 dating to phase IX; and 7 burials that dated to either phases VIII or IX (shown on both plans). The range of burial practice within this sample was varied, with examples of stone-lined graves, charcoal burials, possible evidence of coffins (although the nails recovered may have been residual Roman nails) and an in situ stone grave marker (Figure III.12). The first stone church on the site was dated to the 11th century, and post dated the earliest phases of the cemetery.

(Marjoram 1973: 42; White 1977a: 76; White 1978: 79; Gilmour and Stocker 1986; Steane et al. 2001)
Lincoln  
St Paul-in-the-Bail  
Mid to Late Anglo-Saxon
SK 976 719

The church and cemetery of St Paul-in-the-Bail was excavated between 1972 and 1979. A series of buildings and churches dating from the Roman to the Victorian period were excavated, along with burials dating from the late Roman/Anglo-Saxon to Georgian period (see Figure III.13). The Saxon church has been identified as that built by the reeve Blæcca in the 7th century (Bede HE ii:16). The site overlay the 1st-century principia and later Roman forum. Due to the complex nature of the site stratigraphy many features from the St Paul-in-the-Bail excavations cannot be dated and interpreted accurately. The site has been described using context groups (cg) and land use blocks (LUBs), similar to those used for the St Mark’s churchyard excavation, as explained in Chapter 1 (above).

Structure 3 was an undated timber slot rectangular building. It was succeeded by a stone-built apsidal building (structure 4). Stratigraphically both of these buildings could date from anywhere between the late Roman and middle Anglo-Saxon periods. Burials have been associated with structure 4 (although these may be later than its period of use). It is not clear if any burials were associated with structure 3, or if either of these buildings was an early church. Structure 4 was sealed by a layer of sandy loam and limestone chips (LUB 30), which in turn was cut by many inhumations (LUBs 32 to 42), several of which clearly predated the building of structure 5.1 (LUB 32), a single-celled stone church. The earliest possible date for the construction of structure 5.1 is the middle Anglo-Saxon period, however it is built of stone and therefore is more likely to be of late Anglo-Saxon date. A series of 9th-century artefacts (a silver strap end, a silver buckle, a gilt and silver buckle and a chip of a silver Lunette penny dating to c.863/4-875) were recovered from the graveyard around structure 5.1. Structure 5 was enlarged with the addition of a chancel in the second half of the 12th century.

The Cemetery
Radiocarbon dates have confirmed that the cemetery was founded in the late Roman or very early Anglo-Saxon period. The cemetery LUBs have been grouped together into four broadly chronological groups. Phase 1, consisting of just 14 graves, relates to burials that stratigraphically predated the construction of structure 5.1 in the mid to late Anglo-Saxon period. Phase 2 consists of burials that were earlier than the 14th-century church rebuild. While some of these are chronologically (based on radiocarbon dates) contemporary with, or possibly earlier than, structure 5.1, they cannot be clearly connected to the burials of phase 1 on stratigraphical evidence. Phase 3 burials were later than the 14th-century rebuild but earlier than the Georgian church, and phase 4 burials were contemporary with the Georgian
church. No burials dated to the Victorian period. This summary will only deal with cemetery phases 1 and 2.

Phase 1 consisted of two north-south aligned partial burials (LUBs 22 and 23) and 12 west-east aligned burials (LUB 32). LUBs 22 and 23 respected the foundations of apsidal structure 4, suggesting that they were later than the building. The burial in LUB 23 cut the burial in LUB 22. The early radiocarbon date of the burial in LUB 23 has been taken to indicate that this burial had been translated, as stratigraphically it must have been buried later than the radiocarbon date suggests. All of the 12 burials grouped together as LUB 32 were stratigraphically earlier than structure 5.1 and three of the burials were demonstrably later than the apsidal building (structure 4). All of these burials were plain earthen graves, with no surviving evidence of any grave furniture. The radiocarbon dates for burials in phase 1 are given in Table IIIA, below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land use block</th>
<th>Context group</th>
<th>Radiocarbon date (calibrated to 2 σ)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LUB 22</td>
<td>cg153</td>
<td>250 - 650 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUB 23</td>
<td>cg180</td>
<td>370 BC - 220 AD (interpreted as translated by the excavators)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUB 32</td>
<td>cg194</td>
<td>650 - 960 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cg250</td>
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<td>cg262</td>
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<td></td>
<td>cg264</td>
<td>550 - 860 AD</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cg266</td>
<td>390 - 860 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cg278</td>
<td>860 - 1160 AD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table III.4: Radiocarbon dates from Phase 1, St Paul-in-the-Bail, Lincoln.

A single stone-lined grave (LUB 24) was found at the centre of structure 5.1. This did not contain a skeleton, however a 7th-century bronze hanging bowl was found behind one of the stones lining the grave (see Figure III.14). It is unclear if the grave was placed within the single-celled church, if the church was deliberately placed over the grave, or if their location was fortuitous due to their central location within the Roman forum. Despite the lack of human skeletal remains this feature has been interpreted as a grave whose original inhabitant was later translated to a different location. As this grave was not stratigraphically earlier than structure 5.1 it was included in cemetery phase 2 by the excavators.

Many burials took place in phase 2, with at least 242 attributed to the ‘very late Roman to middle/late Saxon’ period.⁵⁹ All of the burials in phase 2

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⁵⁹ The exact number of burials in phase 2 was not recorded by the present author, as information regarding the early medieval period (12th to 14th centuries) was not collected during the archive visit.
predated the 14th-century church rebuild (LUB 91). The earliest radiocarbon date from phase 2 was from cg223 (30-380 AD, LUB 37). A second date from LUB 37 of 770-1030 AD (cg224) indicated that this land use block covers a long chronological period. The LUB 37 burials were described as earlier than or within structure 5.1, thus making it likely that burial cg223 predated the single-celled church, although this could not be demonstrated stratigraphically. This radiocarbon date, combined with those from LUBs 22, 23 and 32 indicate that the cemetery was founded in the late Roman or sub-Roman period and was in use throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.

As mentioned above, all of the burials in phase 1 were in plain earthen graves. Phase 2 of the cemetery produced evidence of coffins (in the form of nails and coffin stains), chest burials (angled strap bindings, straps and staples recovered from grave fills and unstratified from cemetery soils), and stone-lined graves (which were reportedly more common than coffins in phase 2). In addition the unpublished report records that ‘odd stones associated with inhumations were seen to be most popular before the 14th century’ although it is unclear if this refers to the use of pillow stones, or funerary practices of placing small stones on the eyes and in the mouths of corpses (as seen at Fillingham) or the more common tradition of placing white quartz stones in graves. Unfortunately the skeletal material from the cemetery was reburied after preliminary analysis prior to the presentation of a full bone report to the Lincolnshire Archaeological Trust, which did not later materialize.


Lincoln
Silver Street
Undated Bones
SK 9770 7130

Disarticulated human bones were recovered during a watching brief at 13-14 Silver Street in 2001. These burials were thought to have come from the church of St Edmund the King founded after the Scandinavian settlement, and which went out of use in the 16th century. Thus these burials are probably medieval in date.

(City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit 2000)
Lincoln
Steep Hill
Undated Bones
SK 97665 71570

Human skeletons were found in a garden on Steep Hill in 1973. These were probably from the churchyard of the medieval church of St Cuthbert.

Lincoln
Stonefield Cottage
Undated Bones
SK 9773 7223

A human skull and other bones (probably disarticulated) were found in the garden of Stonefield Cottage in 1968. A sherd of Roman-British pottery and a beaker rim were also found in the garden, but were not directly associated with the bones, which remain undated.

(Whitwell and Wilson 1969: 116)

Lincoln
Waterside South
Undated Bones
SK 9789 7106

A human skeleton was found in a drainage trench at Ruston’s Engineering Shop, Waterside South in 1977. The burial was associated with a sherd of 11th-century shelly ware.

(White 1978: 75)

Little Bytham
Sheep Wash Farm
? Mid to Late Anglo-Saxon
TF 0133 1792

Two human skeletons were found in a pipe trench to the south of Sheep Wash Farm, in Little Bytham village. These were excavated by Tony Hurley of Heritage Lincolnshire in March 1992, who suggested that the burials were late Anglo-Saxon in date, although confirmatory evidence was not forthcoming. The inhumations were of an adult, possibly female, and a child aged one to two years. The adult was orientated west-east, with the child laid east-west at her feet.

(Hurley 1992)
Two human skeletons were found while levelling one of the banks of the Carr Dyke near Helpringham some time before 1825.

(Creasey 1825: 259)

An Anglo-Saxon inhumation burial was recorded at this location prior to 1957. A shield boss, a gilt stud and a narrow seax from this location are held by Grantham Museum. These items suggest the presence of a mid Anglo-Saxon inhumation burial.

(Meaney 1964: 162; Geake 1997: 168)

A cruciform brooch was found by grave diggers in the town cemetery prior to 1933. Further artefacts including three small-long brooches have been found within the parish boundary by metal detectorists, presumably close to the findspot of the cruciform brooch. Kevin Leahy (1993: 40) suggests that this may be the site of an inhumation cemetery.

(Phillips 1934: 145; Meaney 1964: 158; Eagles 1979: 378; Leahy 1993: 40)

Seven or eight log coffins were found in Louth market place in 1822. One of these contained a well-preserved human skeleton. The SMR also reports that 'the Cragg manuscript notes 14 log coffins found and gold and silver coins in digging the cellars to a new house adjoining the market place', although it is unclear if this refers to the same or a different event.
Maidenwell  
SMR number LC 41935
Farforth  
NMR number
? Early Anglo-Saxon  
NMR monarch
TF 319 785

A bronze bound bucket was found at Farforth c.1862. Kevin Leahy (1993: 40) reports that more recently a cruciform brooch and a fragment of a square-headed brooch have been found. These would suggest the presence of an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

(Wellfit 1862; Meaney 1964: 155; Eagles 1979: 379; Leahy 1993: 40)

Manton  
SMR number NL 17881
Undated Bones  
NMR number
NMR monarch
SE 94 01

A human skull and some longbones were found at Parry’s Lime Works in 1911. The Lincolnshire Star reported that two boulders were upended at the head and foot of the grave, with a crosspiece of stone over the top ‘in the fashion of the old cromlech stone’. The SMR card records that although the style of burial described may be prehistoric, the burial may also be Anglo-Saxon or Romano-British. The SMR also records that Anglo-Saxon grave goods were found in the same area c.1920

Manton  
SMR number NL 683
Cleatham, Kirton-in-Lindsey I  
NMR number
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon  
NMR monarch
SE 938 007

In 1856 Richardson of Hibaldstow discovered 50 to 60 Anglo-Saxon cremation urns in a slight mound on the parish boundary of Manton and Kirton-in-Lindsey. These all contained cremated bone. In addition, grave goods including bronze tweezers, part of a bone comb and bronze fragments, probably from a pair of brooches, were recovered. These urns were dated by Myres to the late 5th to the late 6th century.

The cemetery was almost completely excavated by Kevin Leahy between 1984 and 1989. 1014 cremations and 64 inhumation burials were recovered. These dated from the 5th through to the 7th century. Almost half of the inhumation burials date to the 7th century on the basis of the grave goods, which include a 7th-century hanging bowl with a runic inscription.

(Dudley 1949: 226; Myres 1952: 73; Meaney 1964: 156-7; Eagles 1979: 164, 375; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 203; Webster and Cherry 1980: 225; White 1980: 72-
A group of grave goods consisting of an iron sword, spearhead and bridle bit, a seax and two small knives, human and possibly horse bones were found 'near the Kirton-Hibaldstow crossroads' c.1920. The grave goods have been dated to the late 7th century.


In 1939 a bronze hanging bowl wrapped in cloth was found on Manton Common or Warren between Scunthorpe and Kirton-in-Lindsey. This was dated to the 7th century and is thought to have accompanied an inhumation. Fragments of stamped pottery, probably from a settlement site, have been found at two locations close to the findspot of the hanging bowl.


Two mounts from an Anglo-Saxon hanging bowl were found in 1957. More recently metal detectorists have found three sleeve clasps and a fragment of a cruciform brooch in the same area (although not necessarily from the same site), suggesting the presence of an inhumation cemetery (Leahy 1993: 41).

(Wilson and Hurst 1958: 186; Meaney 1964: 160; Leahy 1993: 41)
Messingham  
Undated Bones  
SE 8888 0452  

Human and animal bones were found at a moated site on Chancel Farm, south of the church, while laying a sewage pipe in 1966. The remains were found in a small flat topped mound 4m in diameter with a slight depression in the west side.

(Loughlin and Miller 1979: 206)

Morton  
Undated Bones  
TF 1554 2473  

A human skull and other bones were found by the headmaster of Morton School in a plough furrow in 1964. It is unclear if these remains were found on school property.

Navenby  
Undated Bones  
SK 992 577  

The SMR records that human bones have been found in this vicinity. The date of the discovery was not given.

Navenby  
Undated Bones  
SK 988 579  

In 1953 an undated skeleton was discovered beneath a layer of stone slabs in a garden in Navenby. There were no grave goods.

Navenby  
Chapel Lane  
Mid Anglo-Saxon  
SK 9917 5757  

A watching brief south of Chapel Lane, Navenby from 1994 to 1998 revealed evidence of ceremonial and funerary activity from the Bronze Age to the middle Anglo-Saxon period. One Bronze Age and three Romano-British cremations were excavated, along with five inhumation burials, probably dating to the middle Anglo-Saxon period and eleven undated cremation
burials.

Burial 1 was accompanied by a copper-alloy penannular brooch (it was unclear if this brooch was Roman or Anglo-Saxon) and a narrow necked beaker dating to the 7th century. Burial 2 was accompanied by an iron knife, and had a nail in the grave fill, although it is unclear if the nail was residual. Burial 3 did not have any grave goods, however the rectangular shape of the grave and the presence of a single iron nail has been interpreted as evidence of a coffin. Burials 4 and 5 were also unaccompanied, although some Romano-British pottery was recovered from the grave fill of burial 4.

The inhumations were inter-cutting and densely packed, indicating a prolonged period of interment in a relatively small area. The excavators felt that these burials must have been marked in some way, perhaps by a barrow that has now been destroyed.

(Palmer-Brown 1996)

Netleton Fonaby; see also Caistor parish Early Anglo-Saxon
TA 1127 0087

An early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery was found halfway between Nettleton and Caistor c.1855. These burials had 5th to 6th-century grave goods. A further burial was found in 1857 containing a conversion period hanging bowl.

In 1972 a further 6th-century burial containing two annular brooches, beads, a knife and an iron ring was excavated in a garden in Nettleton Road, Caistor. This burial was in the same area as the burials found in the 19th century, and may belong to the same cemetery.


Nocton

Undated Bones
TF 0613 6423

A pit containing six or seven skeletons was found in Nocton in 1971. A stone-lined drain and a mortared wall were also discovered. The SMR records that this could be the site of the medieval church of St Peter's.
Normanby-le-Wold  
SMR number LC 50958  
NMR number

? Mid to Late Anglo-Saxon  
NMR monarch
TF 1260 9410

Human bones and unidentified metal objects, possibly coffin fittings initially discovered during agricultural work in 1967. Excavations in 1968 and 1969 established that the burials were east-west aligned. The bulldozer driver reported that horse burials were also uncovered (SMR). Sherds of Anglo-Saxon Maxey-type ware (mid Anglo-Saxon) were found in the same area. The excavations in 1968 and 1969 also revealed a rubble platform and further settlement evidence associated with this pottery (Addyman and Whitwell 1970: 96-98).

(Addyman and Whitwell 1970)

Normanton  
SMR number LC 35401  
NMR number 1326228  
NMR monarch 1325815

Hough-on-the-Hill  
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon  
SK 939 460

Excavations in 1998 prior to the laying of a replacement water main revealed an Anglo-Saxon cemetery. 30 inhumations were uncovered, overlying a series of late Roman ditches and pits. Grave goods including spearheads, knives, buckles, rings, brooches, sleeve clasps, girdle hangers, one complete pot, beads, a bone pin, and two fragments of glass vessels were recovered. Bone preservation was generally good.

(Lindsey Archaeological Services 1999a)

North Kelsey  
SMR number LC 53546, 53549  
NMR number

Churchview  
NMR monarch
TA 0438 0159

Human skeletons were found during building work in North Kelsey in 1995. The site was examined by Lindsey Archaeological Services who recorded all of the burials visible, and excavated then reburied those that would be disturbed by the building work. Approximately 30 burials were recorded, and included adults and subadults. The burials were west-east aligned and were arranged in rows. Inter-cutting burials revealed that at least three phases of burial activity were present, suggesting a long period of cemetery use. A robbed west-east aligned mortared wall had burials on either side, suggesting that it post-dated the cemetery. Two sherds of Saxon pottery were found in the backfill of this wall trench. One of the graves contained nails and a second contained wood fragments, indicating that some of the
burials were coffined. The excavators interpreted these as later medieval, possibly connected with the parish church, which lies 100m to the southeast (Lindsey Archaeological Services 1995). The SMR records that burials had been found on the site previously in 1932, and that the burials were possibly Roman, medieval or post-medieval in date.

Given the location of this cemetery, 100m from the parish church, the character of the burials and the presence of both Anglo-Saxon pottery and evidence of coffins, it seems likely that these burials were late Anglo-Saxon in date. The robbed wall may have been from an early church, although this is purely speculation. Unfortunately all of the human remains from the site were reburied, so it is not possible to obtain a radiocarbon date for the cemetery.

(Lindsey Archaeological Services 1995; Field and George 1996: 59)

Osgodby
Kingerby Hall
Unlikely
TF 056 928

Human bones were found during ground works at Kingerby Hall 1993. A subsequent watching brief revealed Roman and Anglo-Saxon occupation. In addition two burials were recovered, however one of these burials was stratigraphically earlier than features dating to the 2nd to 3rd centuries AD. Thus it is likely that all of the burials found at the site date to the Roman period.

(Field and George 1995: 45; Wragg 1995)

Osgodby
West of Kingerby Hall, Kingerby
? Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
TF 060 927

Various artefacts dating to the 6th to 8th centuries have been found by metal detectorists during a rally at this location. These may have come from Anglo-Saxon inhumation burials.

Owersby
Undated Bones
TF 061 947

Human bones found in association with 'well stooled stone blocks' and 'a very large trimmed stone receptable, possibly a holy stoop' 200 feet to the
west of St Martin’s church, prior to 1964 (Whitwell 1966: 40; Wilson 1970: 18-19). Romano-British and medieval pottery, a flint scraper, and iron arrowhead and a bronze belt fitting (probably Roman in date) have also been found while fieldwalking to the west of the church before 1970.

(Whitwell 1966: 40; Wilson 1970: 18-19)

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<th>NMR number</th>
<th>NMR monarch</th>
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<tr>
<td>Early Anglo-Saxon</td>
<td>TF 4225</td>
<td>6810</td>
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</table>

A barrow was disturbed by roadworks in Partney parish in 1950. The bones of at least two adults and two children were recovered, along with grave goods dating to the 6th to early 7th centuries.

(Thompson 1954; Meaney 1964: 160; Eagles 1979: 175, 386; Leahy 1993: 41)

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<td>Red Lion Inn Yard</td>
<td>TF 4120</td>
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</table>

Human skeletons were found while digging the foundation trenches of the Red Lion Inn, Partney in 1826 (White 1882: 528). A further two skeletons were found on the same (south) side of Skegness Road in 1967. Further burials were also found on the north side of Skegness Road at an unspecified date (Whitwell and Wilson 1968: 37).

(White 1882: 528; Whitwell and Wilson 1968: 37)

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<th>Location</th>
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<tr>
<td>Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon</td>
<td>TF 1865</td>
<td>0785</td>
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</tbody>
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Several skeletons, an urn, iron knife, fibula and beads were found at Riby Park in 1915 and 1916. The grave goods recovered are similar to those from Uncleby and Garton Slack, and include an amethyst bead, typical of burial deposits of the 7th century, indicating that this was a conversion period cemetery. The urn was originally thought to be prehistoric, but has subsequently been dated to the late 6th or early 7th century. This late date would suggest that it is not a cremation urn (published accounts do not mention if it contained burnt bone).

(Phillips 1934 148; Myres 1952: 88; Meaney 1964: 161; Eagles 1979: 175, 387;
A cist of ‘rough upright slabs of limestone, and covered with the same... placed east and west’ (Maclean 1849: 195) was found near the tower of St Mary (or St Mary Magdalene), Rothwell c.1849. The stone-lined grave contained a skeleton, reportedly male and of tall stature.

(Maclean 1849: 195)

The two cemeteries at Sheffield’s Hill were first identified by metal detectorists in 1990. An assessment of the site showed that it was being destroyed by deep ploughing and extensive rabbit activity, so the two cemeteries were excavated over a period of five years. Bone preservation was very poor, just leaving sand pseudomorphs. Coffin stains and stains of tree branches were visible in some of the graves, however the reports do not state which of the two cemeteries these occurred in.

Cemetery 1 lay 10m to the north of cemetery 2. Approximately 43 inhumations and 2 cremations were recovered, along with many grave goods dating to the 6th century. Two of the burials were surrounded by ring ditches, and each of these appeared to have been surrounded by children’s graves (no bones survived, but small accessory vessels were recovered). The burials were on varying orientations, with an overall disorganised cemetery plan (see Figure III.15).

Cemetery 2, dating to the late 7th century, was located 10m to the south of the earlier cemetery 1. Approximately 82 inhumations arranged into rough rows were excavated (Figure III.15). All but one of the burials were west-east aligned. Most of the graves contained few or no grave goods, however a cluster of burials were more richly furnished, containing gold and garnet pendants, silver bullae, amethysts and two pattern-welded swords (Figure III.16).

(Gaimster et al. 1998: 144; Leahy and Williams 2001)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Ruskington

SMR number LC TF05SE-M
NMR number 349211
NMR monarch 632795; 1310984
TF 0762 5141

‘Many human bones’ were discovered at this location prior to 1871. These were recognised as coming from an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery when two inhumations and a spearhead were found in 1871. Subsequent discoveries of material occurred in 1917, 1936 and 1938, totalling at least 6 skeletons, and many more discoveries of grave goods groups (Meaney 1964: 161). The cemetery was partially excavated between 1942 and 1945, revealing nine inhumation burials. A further 24 inhumations and 4 cremations were excavated in 1975, with an addition 9 inhumations excavated in 1977. A watching brief in 1986 recorded 7 inhumations visible in machined trenches. Leahy (1993: 41) states that a total of 180 identifiable burials and a small number of cremations have been found at this cemetery. It has been dated using the grave goods to the 6th to early 7th centuries.


Saxby

SMR number LC 51428
Saxby Church
NMR number
Undated Bones
NMR monarch
TF 0044 8608

Skeletons were found just to the south of Saxby church during grave digging. They were reported as being ‘laid on limestone slabs set on edge’ (Whitwell 1967: 53), raising the possibility that these were stone-lined graves.

(Whitwell 1967: 53)

Scampton

SMR number LC 54197; 54549
NMR number 326410
NMR monarch
SK 9549 7851

Human remains were recovered when Scampton Roman villa was excavated in 1795. One skeleton was found in room 26 and a second in room 28. The excavator reported that ‘upwards of 20 skeletons’ were found in room 1 (Illingworth 1810: 20), however only 11 of those are shown on his plan (Figure III.17). All of the burials were west-east aligned and several overlay the Roman foundations. Several of those buried in room 1 were in stone-lined graves. In addition, one of the burials had a bronze ring, supposedly dating to the Roman period, on one of its fingers. These burials have been
associated with the medieval chapel of St Pancras (Eagles 1979: 158), but may be later Anglo-Saxon in date.

In 1973 part of the villa was excavated under emergency conditions in advance of roadworks. In addition to remains of the Roman villa, the burial of a child was excavated.

(Illingworth 1810; Marjoram 1974: 21; Eagles 1979: 158)

Scopwick
Chapel Hill, Kirkby
Undated Bones
TF 0850 5778

Oliver (1846: 166) suggests that the Chapel Hill, Kirkby is artificial and stated that vast quantities of human bones were found while digging a sawpit in an adjoining farmyard.

(Oliver 1846: 165-6)

Scotter
Scotter school
Early Anglo-Saxon
SE 8868 0058

An Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery was found on the site of the new school prior to 1949. Dudley states that Doctor Eminson told him in a written communication that ‘bones, found with an Anglian knife and other remains’ had been found (Dudley 1949: 235). These may be the same skeletons as those described by Eminson (1892: 3) as having been found ‘in the fields between the present graveyard and the river, buried in the early Saxon manner, the upper part covered in by stones’.

(Eminson 1892: 3; Dudley 1949: 235; Meaney 1964: 162; Eagles 1979: 389)

Scotter
South Street
Undated Bones
SE 8861 0085

Human and animal bones were found in a sewer trench between the green and the corner of South Street, about 200 yards from the church. The trench was excavated by mechanical digger, and no associated finds were reported by the workmen. No record was made of the grave alignments or body positions. The SMR records that this could be an Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

(Whitwell 1967: 53)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

The SMR records that Cragg (1820: 174) stated that human bones were discovered ‘some years ago on lowering the hill on the town green’. These bones reportedly disintegrated once exposed to air. Eminson (1892: 3) reported that many skeletons, often in unusual positions were found prior to 1982 in gravely soil on the east side of the green. These reports may refer to the same event.

(Cragg 1820; Eminson 1892: 3)

Two early Anglo-Saxon long brooches were found at the steelworks before 1915.

(Meaney 1964: 154; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 235)

An extensive inhumation cemetery was found in a disused chalk pit at Searby in the 19th century. Many skeletons were disturbed, often accompanied by grave goods including annular brooches, cruciform brooches, disc brooches, girdle hangers and beads. A single radiate headed brooch set with garnets was also recovered. The cemetery was of late 5th to early 6th century date.

(Maclean 1864; Dudley 1949: 227; Meaney 1964: 162; Eagles 1979: 168, 392; Leahy 1993: 41)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Sixhills

SMR number LC 54302
NMR number
NMR monarch
TF 175 876

Florid cruciform brooches and fragments of square headed brooches found by metal detectorists indicate the site of an early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery at this location.

Sleaford

SMR number LC 60884
NMR number
NMR monarch
TF 076 458

An alleged early Anglo-Saxon inhumation is recorded at this location in a list of early Anglo-Saxon finds compiled by Hilary Healey in 1983. No further information about the burial is available.

(Wilson and Hurst 1960: 135)

Sleaford

SMR number SL NK57.14
NMR number 348815
NMR monarch 632781
TF 070 453

A large Anglo-Saxon cemetery was discovered when the railway was extended towards Boston in 1858. The cemetery was estimated to contain 600 burials. 241 of these inhumations and 6 cremations were excavated in 1882. These contained grave goods dating to the late 5th to 6th centuries, with some possibly dating to the 7th century. In addition, an area to the south west of the cemetery was almost devoid of grave goods, despite having more densely packed burials and may relate to a later phase of interment.

(Trollope 1858; Thomas 1887; Phillips 1934: 139; Meaney 1964: 162-3; Field 1988: 87-88; Leahy 1993: 41; Geake 1997: 168)

Sleaford

SMR number LC 60584
NMR number
NMR monarch
TF 0780 4590

A watching brief in 1995 recorded the presence of two human burials, stone structures, occupation deposits and a series of curved gullies and slots. Most of the artefacts recovered (which were largely unstratified) dated to the mid 3rd to late 4th centuries AD. A single sherd of middle Saxon pottery was also recovered.

(Field and George 1996: 60)
### Sleaford

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A mixed rite early Anglo-Saxon cemetery was found during gravel digging at this location in 1824 and 1828. Grave goods including spearheads, knives, beads and a horse harness were recovered. A possible Roman inhumation is suggested by the presence of a coin, a coffin lid and pottery from the site. J.N.L. Myres (1952: 94) dated the cremation urns to the first half of the 6th century, although the cemetery was used throughout the early Anglo-Saxon period.

(Myres 1952: 94, 98; Meaney 1964: 160; Leahy 1993: 41)

### Sleaford

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<tr>
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In 1916 a cruciform brooch, a wrist clasp and a belt plate were found when widening Mareham Lane in Old Sleaford. These items probably came from an inhumation burial and were dated to the early 7th century. The exact location of the burial is unknown, so it is unclear if this is an isolated burial or an outlier of the large early Anglo-Saxon cemetery discovered in 1858.

(Meaney 1964: 163)

### Sleaford

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Human remains were found at this location by builders in 1995. They were roughly west-east aligned. Hilary Healey visited the site and reported (note in the parish files at SL SMR) that Roman pottery was present, although it is unclear if this was in the graves or just close by. Either way, this would suggest that the burials are likely to be Roman in date.

### Sleaford

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Excavations in a water pipe trench adjacent to the former medieval church of
St Giles in 1996 revealed the foundations of a late Anglo-Saxon church (to the north of the site of St Giles) along with probable late Anglo-Saxon inhumations. One of these burials was cut by a lime-making pit, believed to be associated with the construction or repair of the second (medieval) church indicating that this burial was pre-Conquest. The remainder of the burials are probably medieval, although some may conceivably be late Anglo-Saxon in date. Two burials were in stone-lined graves. Only one of the burials was excavated, the remainder left in situ. Although the burials have not been dated independently, the presence of 9th-century pottery in the excavated wall trenches and a 10th- to 11th-century grave cover found during the excavations of medieval St Giles in 1960, support the interpretation of the church and parts of the cemetery as pre-Conquest.

(Trimble 1997)

South Elkington
Early Anglo-Saxon
TF 3121 8835

A 5th to 6th-century cremation cemetery was excavated in 1946 to 1947 in South Elkington. 204 cremations were excavated, 30 of which contained grave goods. The urns have been dated to c.500 AD. These burials were inserted in a barrow. It is thought that approximately a quarter of the cemetery was excavated.

(Webster 1951; Myres 1952: 65-9; Meaney 1964: 154; Wilson 1972: 18-19; Eagles 1979: 176, 393; Leahy 1993: 41)

South Ferriby
Ferriby Cliff
? Early Anglo-Saxon
SE 98 21

Seven 6th-century brooches were found at this location prior to 1949. They are thought to have been washed out of the cliff. More items have been found recently by metal detectorists. Sheppard (1907) refers to previous finds of human skeletal remains near the hall, with one of the burials containing beads.

(Sheppard 1907c; Sheppard 1907d; Sheppard 1909a; Sheppard 1909b; Phillips 1934: 148; Meaney 1964: 154; Leahy 1993: 41)
South Ferriby
Ferriby Cliff
Early Anglo-Saxon
SE 9900 2163

A single inhumation was excavated in 1972. The grave contained human and animal bones, an iron knife and a coin fragment. Sherds of Romano-British pottery were also found in and around the grave. The knife was dated to the early Anglo-Saxon period by Kevin Leahy.

(Sumpter 1972; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 215)

South Kelsey
Undated Bones
TF 05 99*

'A great number of human skeletons were found in 1880 in a field belonging to Mr Edmund Walker, and in the adjoining fields, many horse skeletons; one of the human skeletons has a spearhead transfixed in its head' (White 1882: 451).

(White 1882: 451)

South Kelsey
Winghale Priory Farm
? Mid to Late Anglo-Saxon
TF 029 971

A number of human skeletons have been found in a gravel pit on Winghale Priory Farm. Large quantities of middle Saxon pottery also have been recovered. Metal finds from the site, including coins, date to the late Anglo-Saxon period. A reference in Domesday Book to land held by the 'ecclesia of Wingeham' suggests that this may be the site of a pre-Conquest religious foundation, since Domesday Book rarely comments on the possessions of any but the most important churches. By the 13th century Winghale was a cell of the abbey of St Martin at Sées in Normandy (Everson et al. 1991: 170), and was possibly a refoundation of an Anglo-Saxon monastery. Thus these burials may be from the pre-Conquest monastic cemetery.

(Wilson 1971: 14; Everson et al. 1991: 170-171; Kevin Leahy, pers. comm.)
South Willingham

SMR number  LC  40557
NMR number

Early Anglo-Saxon
TF  20    83

Funerary urns were found in 1856 in a sand pit ½ mile from the Roman road from Caistor to Horncastle. Nothing more is known about this cemetery, which may be early Anglo-Saxon in date.

(Trollope 1856; Phillips 1934: 185; Meaney 1964: 165; Eagles 1979: 394; Leahy 1993: 41)

South Witham

SMR number  LC  33616
NMR number

Undated Bones
SK  9380    1870

Three skeletons, each accompanied with a long knife, were found in 1740 when Ermine Street was dug into on Witham common. Further bodies were reported to have been found. In 1746 human bones, urns and spears were found during gravel digging at Postwitham. Audrey Meaney suggested that these burials could be Anglo-Saxon, although a Roman date was suggested for the artefacts at the time.

(Meaney 1964: 165-6)

Spalding

SMR number  LC  23062
NMR number

Undated Bones
TF  2530    2340

In 1921 four skeletons were found while digging a well on the council houses site, near the gas works. The grass field in which the skeletons were found is about 1 mile from the market place and close to the banks of the river Welland.

Spridlington

SMR number  LC  51438
NMR number

Early Anglo-Saxon
TF  0081    8447

A partial skeleton was found at this location in 1974. The skeleton was associated with a shield boss, possibly of 6th-century date.

(Eagles 1979: 394)
Stainton-by-Langwith
Undated Bones
TF 0620 7777

Six or more human skeletons were found 18" below a road surface in the centre of Stainton-by-Langwith village in 1936.

Stainton-by-Langworth
Undated Bones
TF 0673 7842

A monolithic stone coffin and a skeleton were found during deep ploughing in 1975. The burial was orientated west-east, and was not accompanied by grave goods. White (1976: 61) suggests that the burial may be Roman on the basis of the sarcophagus. However this interpretation is far from certain.

(White 1976: 60-1)

Stamford
Early Anglo-Saxon
TF 0409 0760

An urn, a spear and further pottery fragments, along with fragments of human bone were found at this location in 1854. The urns were dated by J.N.L. Myres to the early-mid 6th century.

(Paradise 1869; Myres 1952: 76, 84; Meaney 1964: 163-4)

Stamford
? Anglo-Saxon
TF 0272 0659

The SMR records that this is a ‘possible site of Saxon burial’. No further information is given.

Stamford
Priory Road, Cherry Holt Junction
Undated Bones
TF 023 078

Between 10 and 12 undated skeletons were found while digging for a new sewer in Scotgate in 1966. These may belong to the medieval priory.

(Whitwell 1967: 49)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Stamford
Scotgate
Undated Bones
TF 025 072

Eight skeletons were found at Rock Close, Scotgate in 1816. The burials were described as lying face downwards, with their feet to the east.

(Simpson 1861: 169)

Stenigot
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
TF 2528 8208

A round barrow, probably dating to the 7th century was found at this location in 1954. Three adult skeletons and various grave goods dating to the late 6th or early 7th century were identified.

(Meaney 1964: 164; Eagles 1979: 394; Leahy 1993: 41; Geake 1997: 168)

Stow
Late Anglo-Saxon to Medieval
SK 8819 8200

Excavations in 1983 revealed the foundations of the 11th-century collegiate church founded by Eadnoth, Bishop of Dorchester on the site of an earlier church. The foundations of a structure, 2.2m by 9.2m, probably of a porticus attached to the nave of the pre-Conquest church, were discovered. Excavations in the 19th century prior to restoration of the Norman chancel had previously revealed the foundations of the 11th-century chancel.

Human burials were found both inside and outside the nave of the 11th-century church, the foundations of which cut through 17 burials. A less substantial stone wall found beneath the 11th-century church may be the foundations of its predecessor. A large spread of charcoal and burnt daub was also found, possibly indicating the presence of an earlier timber church beyond the limits of excavations. A rubble path containing re-used Roman tile was found beneath the burnt layer and the porticus foundations. This path sealed an earlier burial.

(Field 1984; Youngs et al. 1984: 226)
Several west-east orientated skeletons were found at Bransby c.1982.

In 1991 four graves were discovered while constructing a car parking place. These, along with several concentrations of disarticulated material, were recorded and left in situ. Sherds of 11th to 13th-century shelly ware and a fragment of a bone comb (possibly Anglo-Saxon in date) were also recovered. It was reported to the archaeologists that much pottery and some metalwork was found during the construction of the parking space, but this could not be verified. One of the burials was orientated west-east, with the other three orientated approximately SSW-NNE. Further burials were apparently discovered in the adjacent garden in the 1960s, and at the time were believed to have come from the graveyard of St Margaret’s church, which was demolished in 1658. However, the lack of a regular orientation led Naomi Field to suggest that the burials may in fact be pre-Christian in date.

(Field 1992)

Human remains were found while lowering a hillock (possibly a barrow) on Mr Stennet’s land in 1927. The exact site of this find is unknown.

Eight human skeletons were found by workmen in Swinderby Lane in 1840.
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Swinhope
Ash Hill Long Barrow
Late Anglo-Saxon
TF 2089 9611

SMR number LC 52926
NMR number
NMR monarch

An intrusive double burial was found in the north-west end of Ash Hill long barrow in 1986. The skeletal remains were of an adult female and an adolescent. The adult skeleton was radiocarbon dated to the 10th or 11th century (HAR-6399 1090 ± 70 BP, 885-1010 cal AD to 1 sigma, calibrated in 1985).


Swinhope
Wold Newton
Early Anglo-Saxon
TF 2263 9675

SMR number LC 51871
NMR number
NMR monarch

An Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery was found whilst digging for gravel in 1828. At least twenty cremation urns were found, inserted into a round barrow.

(Oliver 1849; Phillips 1934: 139; Meaney 1964: 166; Eagles 1979: 403; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 171; Leahy 1993: 42)

Syston
Syston Park
? Early Anglo-Saxon
SK 941 405

SMR number LC 30424
NMR number
NMR monarch

Meaney records that in 1811 glass and amber beads, possibly from an Anglo-Saxon cemetery, were found at Syston and recorded at the British Museum. Meaney (1964: 164) stated that these finds could not be found in 1934.

(Phillips 1934: 183; Meaney 1964: 164)

Tallington
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
TF 0960 0850

SMR number LC 33511
NMR number
NMR monarch

Four early to mid Anglo-Saxon inhumations were found by workmen in a pipeline trench to the south of the A16 in 1965. In 1966 Hilary Healey excavated to the north of the pipeline to determine the extent of the cemetery. This excavation revealed at least two inhumation burials which had been disturbed in the medieval period.
Excavations in 1997 revealed a further six complete and six disturbed inhumation burials. Nine of these burials were accompanied by grave goods dating to the late 5th and 6th centuries.


Tattershall Thorpe
Mid Anglo-Saxon
TF 23564 60868

An isolated grave was discovered during the excavation of a Neolithic settlement site. The burial was accompanied by metalworking tools and pieces of scrap metal, leading to the suggestion that this was the burial of a travelling smith (Hinton and White 1993). This burial has been dated to the 7th century or later.

(Hinton and White 1993; Geake 1997: 168)

Temple Bruer with Temple
High Grange/ Welbourn
Welbourn, Temple Bruer
Undated Bones
SK 9929 5361

The SMR records that four or more human skeletons were found close to the Roman road at High Dyke prior to 1950. In 1964 Mr Baker stated that the burials were fragmentary, but were not accompanied by grave goods. Anglo-Saxon metalwork has been found nearby more recently. Bruce Eagles records that an inhumation with a penannular brooch, possibly of Anglo-Saxon date, was found c. 1950 in the same area.

(Eagles 1979: 408)

Tetford
Tetford Hill
Mid Anglo-Saxon
TF 3332 7609

An Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery was found during deep ploughing at Tetford Hill in 1958. Excavations by G.V. Taylor revealed between eight and eleven west-east aligned grave cuts, six of which were excavated. The skeletons were poorly preserved, however some were accompanied by grave goods including iron knives. The cemetery was probably much more extensive. Helen Geake has identified this cemetery as mid Anglo-Saxon in
date on the basis of the grave goods.


Thimbleby
SMR number: LC 40267
NMR number: 7000

Early Anglo-Saxon
TF 2400

Two bow brooches and a long brooch from Thimbleby (believed to be this parish in Lincolnshire) were acquired by Manchester Museum in 1969. These have been dated to the mid 6th century. Two small-long brooches and a girdle hanger, found by a metal detectorist prior to 1993, may have come from the same cemetery.

(Meaney 1964: 164-5; Eagles 1979: 396; Leahy 1993: 41)

Thornton Curtis
SMR number: NL 2243
NMR number: 170

St Lawrence, Burnham
Late Anglo-Saxon to Medieval
TA 057

Excavation in the deserted medieval village of Burnham located the village church. Five phases of the church were identified, the earliest being a 10th-century timber church. An infant burial was found within this church, against the east wall. In the late 10th century this church was replaced by a two-celled stone church.

(White 1978: 81-2)

Threekingham
SMR number: LC TF03NE-AK
NMR number: 361

Undated Bones
TF 089

Large numbers of skeletons were found in this parish in the 18th and 19th centuries. These were reportedly accompanied by various iron objects. Audrey Meaney (1969: 165) notes that an iron spearhead from Threekingham is in the Cragg collection, however ‘there is no record that it was connected with these burials’.

(Phillips 1934: 183-4; Meaney 1964: 165)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Threeringham
Undated Bones
TF 0943 3669*

Human remains were recovered from charnel pits during a watching brief at this location. All of the bones were of adults, with a minimum number of eight individuals present, including both males and females. One piece of Torksey ware was recovered from the area of the burials, along with some fragments of iron, possibly coffin fittings.

(H. Healey, pers. comm.)

Thurlby
Northorpe
? Early Anglo-Saxon
TF 11 17

Metal detectorists have found fragments of six cruciform brooches and two sleeve clasps at this location, indicating the possible presence of a 6th-century inhumation cemetery.

(Leahy 1993: 41)

Toft Newton
Undated Bones
TF 0430 8828

In 1987 part of a human skull was found under a hedge on the road verge. The SMR records that there was no evidence of soil disturbance, but that the bone may have come from a telephone trench.

Torksey
Castle Farm
Late Anglo-Saxon
SK 8370 7870

Excavations at Castle Farm in 1990 revealed a pottery kiln, considerable amounts of Torksey ware and four west-east aligned burials. One of the graves was cut by a pit containing a hoard of 11th-century short cross pennies. The excavator speculated that these burials could belong to the lost parish church of All Saints (Field 1990).

Further excavations in 1994 revealed at least six more burials along with several 'grave like' features. A possible boundary ditch for the southern
edge of the cemetery was also discovered. In addition six more pottery kilns were excavated. These appeared to be contemporary with the 10th to 11th-century cemetery.

(Field 1990b; Field and George 1995: 49-50; Palmer-Brown 1995)

Uffington

Undated Bones

TF 069 074

A contracted inhumation was found on the north of the A16 between Uffington and Tallington c.1964. A cylindrical jet or shale bead was reportedly found with this burial, but it disintegrated when it dried out.

(May 1966: 8)

Uffington

Uffington Estate Golf Course

Undated Bones

TF 0625 0735

A small inhumation cemetery consisting of at least three graves was located during an archaeological evaluation on the Uffington Estate. Only one of the graves was excavated, and little dating evidence was recovered. A few small sherds of late Iron Age or early medieval pottery was found in the upper fill of grave F105. The burial looks approximately west-east aligned on the excavation plan, however this is not clear and was not confirmed in the text of the excavation report. The SMR records that these burials could be Roman or Anglo-Saxon in date.

(Hall and Ford 1991; Ford and Hall 1993)

Ulceby

Ulsbee

Undated Bones

TA 105 145*

The OS card held at Lincoln SMR records that a ‘mound, now destroyed, lay to the south of “Ulsbee”’. This was reportedly a large barrow, hollow on top containing a large number of burials. The exact location of this mound is unknown, and no further details about the site were given.
Waddington

Early Anglo-Saxon
SK 9770 6398

Eleven early Anglo-Saxon inhumations including one female burial were found to the west of Grantham Road in 1947. Further grave goods from this cemetery were discovered in 1966 and 1972.

(Petch 1957: 19; Meaney 1964: 165; Whitwell 1967: 42; Marjoram 1973:42; Webster and Cherry 1973:146; Eagles 1979: 407; Leahy 1993: 41)

Waddington

Grantham Road

Mid Anglo-Saxon
SK 9770 6396

A watching brief of a water main trench in 1999 revealed three graves and the ends of two further grave cuts. The burials were west-east aligned. Two nails were recovered, indicating that coffins may have been used. In addition, one of the skeletons had a green stain on the left ulna and radius, indicating that a now decayed copper alloy object had been located by the left wrist. These burials have been dated to the 7th century on the basis of their alignment and the presence of coffin nails and the copper alloy object. In addition, eleven 6th-century burials were found nearby in 1947. The full extent of the cemetery remains unknown, however it appears to have been restricted to a band 12m wide.

(Lindsey Archaeological Services 1999b)

Walesby

Early Anglo-Saxon
TF 1400 9240

Excavations prior to the digging of a pipeline in 1990 have revealed 23 inhumations of adults, adolescents and children containing 6th to 7th-century grave goods. The full extent of the cemetery is not known.

(Trust for Lincolnshire Archaeology 1990; Leahy 1993: 41)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Welbourn

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A group of early Anglo-Saxon artefacts were found at High Dyke on Ermine Street in 1847. These probably came from an inhumation burial. The square headed brooch has been dated to c.600 AD.

( Meaney 1964: 165; Eagles 1979: 408; Field 1988: 87-88; Leahy 1993: 41)

Welbourn

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Eagles (1979: 408) reports that an inhumation burial with a penannular brooch was found at this location c.1950. This burial may be Anglo-Saxon in date.

(Eagles 1979: 408)

Welbourn

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Leadenham Quarry

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An undated north-south adult burial was recorded during a watching brief in Leadenham Quarry in 2001. A second individual was represented by an adolescent femur recovered from the quarry. The excavations also revealed a Neolithic pit alignment and two corn-drying ovens dating to the late 3rd to late 4th centuries AD.

( Archaeological Services WYAS 2001)

Welton

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Early Anglo-Saxon

| TF 0077 7980 |

A small early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery was excavated in 1971. Eleven graves were uncovered, containing various grave goods including annular brooches, amber beads, iron knives and two shield bosses.

Appendix III: Gazetteer

**Welton**
Norbeck Lane
Undated Bones
TF 02 81*

Thirteen skeletons were found in 1963 behind houses in Norbeck Lane, just to the east of the early Anglo-Saxon burial ground. Some of the burials were under stone slabs. The SMR records that these were ‘possibly Roman’.

**Welton le Marsh**
Candlesby
? Early Anglo-Saxon
TF 4576 6869

Human remains, ancient armour and other objects were found during excavation for a reservoir in Candlesby prior to 1882. This may be the site of an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery. A cruciform brooch found before 1934 probably came from the same site.

(White 1882; Phillips 1934: 154; Meaney 1964: 153; Leahy 1993: 39)

**Welton le Wold**
St Martin’s
? Late Anglo-Saxon to Medieval
TF 2734 8730

A watching brief at St Martin’s church in 2001 revealed 11 burials and 6 sherds of pottery dating to the 10th to 11th centuries. The presence of the pottery suggests that the cemetery may have been founded in the late Anglo-Saxon period. In addition, two pieces of 11th to 12th-century stonework were recovered.

(Field 2002)

**West Halton**
Undated Bones
SE 90 19

Two human skulls and further skeletal remains were found at the West Halton Mine. These may have all come from the same site, however this is far from certain.

(Loughlin and Miller 1979: 218)
An Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery was revealed by ploughing at this location in 1954. The site was excavated by G.V. Taylor, who recovered 21 urns complete with cremations. The urns were similar to those from South Elkington, but no associated grave goods were recovered. However, glass beads and pottery had been previously discovered at the site in 1930. A single iron girdle hanger was also recovered from the site in 1955, indicating that perhaps this was a mixed rite cemetery. Audrey Meaney states that the cemetery was in use from the late 5th and throughout the 6th century, presumably on the basis of the pottery recovered.


Six undated skeletons were found in a garden in Westborough in June 1976. These burials were reportedly of assorted ages and sexes, and one appeared to have been decapitated, according to the landowner.

(White 1977a: 71)

A possible Anglo-Saxon cemetery in Westborough was reported in 1975. However, the SMR only records the presence of pottery and not human remains. Sherds of Saxo-Norman shelly ware and green glazed pottery were found in the garden of The Old Tavern. Some of the pottery appeared to be earlier in date, with rosette stamps similar to cremation urns from Illington, Norfolk. Further pottery was reportedly found in the churchyard and to the west of the church.

(White 1976: 55)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Whitton
SMR number NL 2141
NMR number
NMR monarch

Undated Bones
SE 9020 2407

Romano-British and medieval pottery, three iron nails and undated human bones were found on a building site in Whitton in 1971.

(Wilson 1972: 9; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 219)

Whitton
SMR number NL 15616
NMR number
NMR monarch

Mid to Late Anglo-Saxon
SE 9000 2400

In 1987 eleven west-east aligned inhumations were found in a garden 50m from the parish church. The burials inter-cut, indicating that the cemetery had been in use for some time. The cemetery was further investigated by the Department of Archaeology and Prehistory at University of Sheffield in 2001 and 2002. Approximately 50 burials were identified during the excavations (both in 1987 and in 2000/2001). Two subadult burials contained iron fittings (Figure III.18), and one included a latch similar to those recovered from chest burials at York Minster and Ripon Ailcy Hill. Iron-replaced wood attached to one of the brackets has been identified as oak. Other iron fittings were found around the cemetery, indicating that further individuals had been buried in chests or coffins. In addition, several of the skeletons appear to have been tightly constrained, indicating they may have been buried in shrouds, however, no shroud pins were recovered during the excavations. One skeleton was buried on its side with the legs flexed, so it is unlikely that this individual was buried in a coffin or a shroud. Burials from the cemetery have been radiocarbon dated to 560-780 AD, 620-780 AD and 680-960 AD, all calibrated to 2 σ.

(Field 1988: 82; Hadley 2001; 2002; 2003; forthcoming)

Willoughton
SMR number LC 50942
NMR number
NMR monarch

? Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
SK 938 928

The remains of an Anglo-Saxon hanging bowl were found on a ploughed field c.1932. A bronze buckle and another bronze fragment have been found since at the same site. These remains probably came from an Anglo-Saxon inhumation burial or cemetery.

(Rudkin 1932; Phillips 1934: 144-5; Dudley 1949: 232; Meaney 1964: 165)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Winceby

? Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
TF 3128 6960

Approximately 18 skeletons were found when a road was widened near Winceby in 1932. The burials were under ‘small hills’, probably barrows. The skeletons were reported as being buried with metal bowls (possibly Anglo-Saxon shield bosses) and two spearheads. These are probably from an early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery, although local tradition has associated the burials with the battle of Winceby in 1643.

(Phillips 1934: 145; Meaney 1964: 165; Leahy 1993: 42)

Winteringham

Undated Bones
SE 9499 2118

Five or six crouched burials were found during ground levelling c.1930. No associated artefacts were recorded. The remains were left in situ.

Winteringham

Gatemoor Hill

Undated Bones
SE 945 212

A cemetery was found in 1934 at Gatemoor Hill. Six west-east aligned burials were located. One of these was buried ‘in a sitting position’, however the position of the other burials was not described. The only associated find was ‘a flat heart shaped stone around 1 foot long and 1 inch thick, a sandstone smooth and well made’. Further bones were found in the vicinity, suggesting the presence of further burials.

(Loughlin and Miller 1979: 220)

Woolsthorpe

Brewer’s gravefield,
Woolsthorpe-by-Belvoir
Early Anglo-Saxon
SK 846 330

In 1885 ten early Anglo-Saxon inhumation burials accompanied by spearheads, brooches, buckles, glass beads, shield bosses, and a series of Anglo-Saxon cremation urns were discovered while stripping land in the ‘Brewer’s gravefield’, Woolsthorpe (Lincoln and Nottingham Architectural
Society 1885: 133). The brooches from this cemetery have been dated to the early 6th century.

(Lincoln and Nottingham Architectural Society 1885; Phillips 1934; Meaney 1964)

**Woolsthorpe**

SMR number  LC  30578

Woolsthorpe-by-Belvoir

NMR number

Undated Bones

NMR monarch

SK  8435  3258

Ten human skeletons were found on the east side of Sewestern Lane by ironstone diggers prior to 1930. Audrey Meaney associated these burials with the early Anglo-Saxon cemetery, which was located nearby.

(Meaney 1964: 166)

**Worlaby**

SMR number  NL  2331

NMR number  1156809

Early Anglo-Saxon

NMR monarch  630714

TA 0170  1430

Twelve 6th-century inhumation graves were excavated at this site in 1965 and 1966. These burials were accompanied by spearheads, a shield boss and mount, annular and cruciform brooches, scutiform pendants, sleeve clasps and beads. Two of the burials lay over the debris of a Romano-British building. A disturbed cremation was found accompanied by a bone comb, a knife, tweezers, a bead and a buckle, all of which were unburnt. There was no trace of a cremation vessel. Further burials had been disturbed by ploughing.

(Wilson and Hurst 1967: 268; Eagles 1979: 168, 403; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 224; Leahy 1993: 42)

**Wyville-cum-Hungerton**

SMR number  SL  SK84.06

Sycamore Farm

NMR number

Undated Bones

NMR monarch

SK  883  292

Human bones were disturbed by a JCB and reported by the farmer to the South Lincolnshire community archaeologists. The site had been badly damaged, however three adult femurs and some subadult ribs were recovered. The remains of two possible 'stone-lined coffins' were also recorded.
East Yorkshire

Aldbrough

Early Anglo-Saxon
TA 246 389

Two Anglo-Saxon burials were recovered from a garden on Seaside Road in 1988 and 1989. The grave goods were similar to those from Sewerby and Hornsea, and have been dated to the 5th to 6th centuries.

Barmston

Anglo-Saxon
TA 1630 5874

Two burials were excavated at this location in 1982 by HAU. One of the burials contained an Anglo-Saxon bronze pin. A rectangular building, probably dating to the medieval or post medieval period, was also excavated.

Beeford

Undated Bones
TA 1078 5496

The SMR records that a human skeleton was found in a 'rude oak coffin' to the west of Westfield Farm prior to 1979.

(Loughlin and Miller 1979: 75)

Beverley

Undated Bones
TA 053 398

In 1829 a human skeleton was found while building a small dock on the banks of the river Hull.

Beverley

Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
TA 03 7 392

Meaney reports that some early Anglo-Saxon brooches from Beverley are held at Hull Museum. These were found before 1912 and probably came
from inhumation graves. In addition, Meaney reports that the Natural History Museum had two skulls from Beverley, found in 1874 and 1880, that may be Anglo-Saxon in date.

(Meaney 1964: 282)

Beverley
Library Gardens
Undated Bones
TA 034 393
SMR number EY 19537
NMR number
NMR monarch

The SMR records that a row of skeletons were found in the library gardens, Beverley by a gardener c.1920.

Beverley
North Bar Within
Undated Bones
TA 030 398
SMR number EY 672
NMR number
NMR monarch

In 1927 workmen found several skeletons while digging foundation trenches in North Bar Within.

(Oliver 1829: 287)

Beverley
St John’s Street
Undated Bones
TA 036 392
SMR number EY 671
NMR number
NMR monarch

In 1889 human remains were found during drainage work in St John’s Street and others surrounding the Minster. Sixty years previously Oliver (1829: 26) referred to a stone sarcophagus found ‘recently’ in the Minster Yard.

(Oliver 1829: 26)

Bishop Wilton
? Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
SE 8242 5694
SMR number EY 3834
NMR number
NMR monarch

In 1868 Mortimer excavated barrow number 114. He found two large adult inhumations, one flexed and one crouched. No grave goods were discovered but he interpreted them as secondary Anglo-Saxon inhumations.

(Mortimer 1905: 169; Eagles 1979: 222, 423; Lucy 1998: 127)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Bishop Wilton
Bishop Wilton Wold; Garrowby Wold
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
SE 8123 5634

A partial Anglo-Saxon inhumation was discovered during the excavation of Beacon Hill barrow, Garrowby Wold in 1866 (Mortimer number 69). The burial was accompanied by an iron spearhead and some shears.

(Mortimer 1905: 144; Meaney 1964: 288; Eagles 1979: 208, 423; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 76; Lucy 1998: 127)

Bishop Wilton
Kitty Hill Barrow
? Early Anglo-Saxon
SE 7805 5648

In 1876 Mortimer found many pieces of iron including an umbo and a flat piece of iron from an Anglo-Saxon shield while excavating Kitty Hill (barrow number 199). The iron may have come from a secondary inhumation burial, and was found just to the west of the centre of the mound.

(Mortimer 1905: 149; Eagles 1979: 208, 423; Lucy 1998: 127)

Boynton
Early Anglo-Saxon
TA 125 674

An inhumation accompanied by a shield boss and a spear was found by a farmer in 1951. Further burials were left in situ by the farmer, but the exact location of these is unknown. A bronze annular brooch and some beads exhibited at the East Riding Archaeology Society in 1918 came from an inhumation that may have belonged to the same cemetery.

(Meaney 1964: 282; Eagles 1979: 222, 424; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 79; Lucy 1998: 127)

Brandesburton
Brandesburton Barff
Undated Bones
TA 103 474

Three crouched burials were found near the crown of the hill known as Brandesburton Barff before 1840. They were accompanied by several iron
artefacts including knives and daggers. Further extended and crouched burials also have been found.

Brantingham
SMR number EY 2953
NMR number
Undated Bones
SE 933 289

An undated burial was found at this location prior to 1979.

(Loughlin and Miller 1979: 25)

Bridlington
SMR number EY 492
NMR number
Sewerby
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
NMR monarch 629679; 645504
TA 206 691

Forty-nine graves were excavated just to the east of Sewerby village in the parish of Bridlington in 1958 and 1959 by Philip Rahtz, with a further ten excavated in 1974 (see Figure III.19). The majority of these burials dated to the 6th century, with one possible late 5th century grave (Hirst 1985: 95). Susan Hirst described two 7th-century graves, although a further three were identified by Helen Geake on the basis of the types of grave goods present (Hirst 1985: 95; Geake 1997: 159). The conversion period graves were located to the south of the excavated area.


Bridlington
SMR number EY 551
St Olinda Road
NMR number
Undated Bones
NMR monarch
TA 180 666

An undated female skeleton was found during the excavation of house foundation trenches in St Olinda Road at an unspecified date. The SMR reports that traces of a bronze armlet were also discovered.

Burton Fleming
SMR number EY 12057
NMR number
Undated Bones
NMR monarch
TA 0814 7201

Two human skeletons were found at this location in 1977.
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Burton Pidsea
Mid Anglo-Saxon
TA 252  311

Two Anglo-Saxon inhumations were found at Burton Pidsea in 1818. One of the burials was accompanied by two earrings and a plain gold ring. These grave goods have been dated to the conversion period (Geake 1997: 157). An unspecified number of human bones were recovered from an adjacent garden at about the same time.


Cottam
Late Anglo-Saxon
SE 975  667

An isolated skull was found in a pit associated with an enclosure ditch on the settlement site at Cottam (see Figure III.20). Finds in the backfill of the ditch included a coin dating to 858-862. Radiocarbon dates indicate the skull was already old when it was deposited in the pit (1295 ± 60 BP, 647-877 cal 2 sigma), and it may be contemporary with the first phase of Anglian settlement. The skull did not have a mandible and the frontal and parietal bones of the skull had been weathered, indicating that the skull may have been exposed prior to burial. It has been suggested that the skull may have come from an execution victim (although there was no evidence of decapitation) and was buried close to the gallows site. Thus the pit may have been from the gallows.

(Richards 1999: 34-37, 92-4)

Cottam
Cowlam; Kemp Howe
Mid Anglo-Saxon
SE 9616  6628

Kemp Howe barrow, Cowlam was excavated in 1878 by Mortimer (Barrow number 209). Six unaccompanied burials were discovered to the southeast of the barrow. Five of these were orientated northwest-southeast, with the 6th orientated west-east. Two of the burials were crouched, the remainder were slightly flexed. Mortimer interpreted these as Anglo-Saxon due to the orientation and narrowness of the graves and the position of the bodies.

Further excavations in 1967-8 by Brewster for the Department of
Environment revealed 12 further burials cut into the ditch of the round barrow (the number of burials excavated by Brewster varies between different summaries of this site, however his excavation summary clearly states that there were 12). Five of these were in coffins, one of which contained iron corner brackets. Radiocarbon dates for the burials centred on 725 and 745 (cal). A further uncalibrated date of 570 AD was also obtained.


Driffield
Cheesecake Hill
Early Anglo-Saxon
TA 0423 5782

Between ten and fifteen skeletons and grave goods were found in Cheesecake Hill (Mortimer barrow number C44) in 1845. A further eight skeletons, six of which had grave goods, were discovered in 1849 by the Yorkshire Antiquarian Club. In 1871 Mortimer excavated eleven Anglo-Saxon inhumations and one cremation, along with two Bronze Age burials.


Driffield
Driffield II; Recreation Ground;
King’s Mill Road
Early Anglo-Saxon
TA 0199 5749

Approximately twelve skeletons and Anglo-Saxon globular pots were found during ground levelling for a recreation ground in 1893. A single Anglo-Saxon cremation urn was also recovered. A central grave contained flint flakes, horse teeth and bones, a circular scraper and a flint knife, indicating that the slight rise was a Bronze Age barrow reused as an Anglo-Saxon cemetery. Further inhumations were excavated by C. and E. Grantham in 1953.

(Anon 1893: 4-5; Mortimer 1905: 294; Meaney 1964: 186-7; Eagles 1979: 217, 427; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 91; Lucy 1998: 127)
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Driffield
Driffield III; Driffield Cake Mill; Anderson Street
? Early Anglo-Saxon
TA 0297  5748

Several inhumations and a possible cremation were found while building a railway siding for Driffield Cake Mill in 1876. The burials were accompanied by iron fragments and Anglo-Saxon pottery. Mortimer (1905: 293) reported that traces of one or two cremations were present. He states that these burials were ‘apparently Anglo-Saxon’ (Mortimer 1905: 293).

(Mortimer 1905: 293; Meaney 1964: 287; Eagles 1979: 428; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 90; Lucy 1998: 127)

Driffield
Driffield IV; Gasworks
? Anglo-Saxon
TA 0243  5784

Workmen found at least eight unaccompanied skeletons at the gasworks in 1876. Further skeletons were found at the gasworks in 1882 and 1924. Mortimer (1906: 293-4) suggested these were Anglo-Saxon in date on the basis of the skulls. Meaney (1964: 287) included this as a ‘dubious’ site in her gazetteer, and the dating of the site as Anglo-Saxon should remain dubious.

(Mortimer 1905: 293-4; Meaney 1964: 287; Eagles 1979: 428; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 90; Lucy 1998: 128)

Driffield
Driffield IV; New Road; Wansford Road
Undated Bones
TA 0258  5794

In 1820 two undated skeletons were found by workmen at this location. Mortimer (1906: 293-4) suggested that these burials came from the same cemetery as the burials from the gasworks. Meaney described this site as ‘doubtful’. A watching brief by Humberside Archaeological Unit in Wansford Road in 1994 did not reveal any further burials.

(Mortimer 1905: 293-4; Meaney 1964: 287; Eagles 1979: 428; Tibbles 1994; Lucy 1998: 127)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Driffield
Driffield V; Bridge Street
Early Anglo-Saxon
TA 023  583

In 1858 burials and an Anglo-Saxon sword were found at Moot Hill. In 1882 approximately 12 skeletons in different positions and orientations were found by workmen in Scarborough Road near the east end of Bridge Street, which probably came from the same cemetery. It is thought that an Anglo-Saxon necklace found near the waterworks in 1833 may also have come from the same cemetery.


Driffield
Factory Lane
Undated Bones
TA 02  57

Nine human burials were found while gravel digging in a field by Factory Lane, Driffield, c.1843. A horse skeleton was also discovered.

Driffield
Hall Garth; Castle Hill
? Anglo-Saxon
TA 022  581

The SMR records that Anglo-Saxon burials were discovered at Castle Hill during gravel digging in 1920. The exact location of the find is unknown. Loughlin and Miller (1979: 90) indicate that the date of the burials is questionable, describing them as ‘Anglian or later?’

(Loughlin and Miller 1979: 90; Lucy 1998: 128)

Driffield
Routh Hall
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
TA 028  576

In 1935 a skeleton and a fragmentary pot dating to the Anglo-Saxon period were found near Routh Hall, Driffield.

(Eagles 1979: 428; Lucy 1998: 128)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Driffield
Shady Lane
? Anglo-Saxon
TA 019 580

Mortimer (1906: 294) records that two or more probable Anglo-Saxon skeletons were found in Shady Lane before 1906. It is unclear how he dated these skeletons.

(Mortimer 1905: 294)

Easington
Undated Bones
TA 40 10*

Two skeletons “in basketwork enclosed in clay with a circle of flat burned stones, constructed in peat” were found in Easington parish before 1979.

(Loughlin and Miller 1979: 52)

Elloughton
Mill Hill
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
SE 941 278

An unspecified number of Anglo-Saxon burials, Roman artefacts and a Bronze Age burial were found in the vicinity of Mill Hill in 1940. The Anglo-Saxon burials were dated to the conversion period on the basis of some 6th-century annular brooches, a sliver slipknot ring and various iron tools (Geake 1997: 157). Burials were reported as careless, placed ‘anyhow’, prone and decapitated. One child was possibly buried in a sack. This has led to the interpretation of this site as a battlefield cemetery (Meaney 1964: 287).


Etton
Kipling Coates
Undated Bones
SE 927 440

A crouched burial was discovered in a gravel pit at Kipling Coates c.1900. This discovery was recorded as occurring in 1966 in the HMSI record, however the SMR record states that these records probably refer to the same burial, which has not been dated.

(Page 1907: 365, 411; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 28)
A cemetery containing more than 50 burials was discovered while constructing the railway line between Market Weighton and Beverley in the mid 19th century. The site was investigated by Greenwell, who recorded that the burials were "unburnt and all doubled up" (Greenwell 1866:494). One male burial was accompanied by half a pair of bronze tweezers. According to Audrey Meaney (1964: 288), Greenwell dated these burials to the Anglo-Saxon period, however Meaney regarded this dating as 'dubious'.

(Greenwell 1866: 494; Meaney 1964: 288; Eagles 1979: 222, 430; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 29; Lucy 1998: 128)

At least six inhumations were discovered 80 yards to the southeast of Fimber church when excavating the foundation trenches for a cottage next to the Wesleyan Chapel in 1863. These were accompanied by fragments of iron and pottery and a tiny annular brooch. Some of the burials were crouched. These may be conversion period in date, however Geake (1997: 158) regarded this as 'doubtful'.


In 1869 a barrow containing two Bronze Age burials was discovered while excavating the foundations of the new church (Mortimer barrow number 133). Two burials were uncovered while excavating a drain close to the exterior of St Mary's church c.1870. One of the burials was associated with a late penannular brooch. It is thought that the burials described above were secondary Anglo-Saxon inhumations inserted into the Bronze Age barrow. This cemetery may be an extension of the cemetery found under the Wesleyan Chapel 80 yards to the southeast of the church.

Several cremations, urned and unurned, were found in a brickyard prior to 1905. Eagles interpreted these as possibly Anglo-Saxon, however Mortimer interpreted them as Romano-British.

(Mortimer 1905: 238; Eagles 1979: 433)

In 1865 labourers found a human skeleton 300 yards west of Garton station. The site was visited by Mortimer, who was told that the burial was accompanied by seven spearheads. Although the surrounding area was excavated in a search for further burials, none was found. Mortimer suggested that the spearheads and burial were Anglo-Saxon in date. Meaney (1964: 289) appears to indicate that in fact there was just one spearhead and six dartheads. She questioned the interpretation of the burial as Anglo-Saxon due to the unusual character of the spearheads.

(Mortimer 1905: 237; Meaney 1964: 289; Eagles 1979: 433; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 98)

Several skeletons were found between 1848 and 1852 during the construction of the Malton to Driffield railway. In 1870 Mortimer excavated two groups of burials to the north of barrow number C34. The burials were aligned on a linear earthwork running east-west from the Garton Gate House at the Green Lane Crossing (see Figure III.21).

The first group of burials contained 29 inhumations and a single cremation. All but 7 of the inhumations contained grave goods including pottery vessels, gold pendants, annular brooches, iron knives and buckles. These have been dated to the conversion period. The cremation was in an urn and had stone packing around it. The burials were aligned northwest-southeast
and were mostly flexed. The western end of this group of burials was cut by the railway. The finds made c.1848 would indicate that the cemetery had once extended further in this direction.

The second group of burials was located to the east of the first group. The two areas of burial were separated by an area of undisturbed land, approximately 46 feet wide. Meaney (1964: 289) suggests that there may once have been a barrow between the two groups of burials. A total of 32 burials are shown on the plan. These were west-east aligned (apart from one crouched burial that was east-west aligned). Most of the burials were extended or slightly flexed. One burial was prone. None of these burials contained any grave goods apart from a possible box in grave 50. Burial 33a was interred in a coffin with iron fittings. The presence of iron, wire and nails in grave 31 and pieced of ‘burnt’ wood in further graves suggests that further burials may have been coffined.

The SMR and NMR report that ‘a single Anglo-Saxon inhumation and finds associated with a dozen graves’ were found in the northwest corner of an adjacent airfield during its construction in the 1930s. These burials may have belonged to the same cemetery.


Garton
Garton on the Wolds; Garton
Slack I; Sledmere; Tatton Sykes Monument
Mid Anglo-Saxon
SE 9565 6185

Ten or twelve skeletons were found at this location c.1800 while levelling the Sledmere to Driffield road. In 1860 two further burials were found on either side of the road. In 1866 Mortimer investigated a mid Anglo-Saxon cemetery discovered while levelling the double dykes (Iron Age linear earthwork) next to the newly erected Tatton Sykes monument on the west side of the road. He recorded 42 west-east aligned burials interred along the base of the rampart (see Figure III.22). 28 of these were extended, one was ‘greatly doubled up’ and a further nine were ‘more or less doubled up’ (Mortimer 1905: 269). The positions of the remaining burials could not be ascertained. Few grave goods were recovered, although a bone comb and one or two knives were found with the burials. In addition, unstratified finds of a spearhead and an arrowhead were found. One of the burials may have been in a coffin. In 1872, three further burials from this cemetery were located on the other side of the road. These were all west-east aligned.
In 1959 excavations by C. and E. Grantham located a further seven burials in the banks of the double dyke (the child burial on the plan was dated to the Iron Age). Again these were all west-east aligned (see Figure III.23). One burial (number 5) contained an iron knife. Another burial (number 2) contained a group of eight silver sceattas deposited in a purse. These coins were probably deposited between c.740 and 750 (Anon 1960: 30), although Geake (1997: 158) states they were deposited after 720-725 (it is unclear why the date of deposition of the coins has changed).


Garton
Garton Station
Mid Anglo-Saxon
SE 980 577

In 1985/1986 the excavation of an Iron Age square barrow cemetery revealed 35 burials dating to the 7th to 8th centuries. The graves were located within a large square enclosure, cut into square barrows and between the prehistoric features. These were mostly west-east aligned and were often arranged in rows (Figure III.24).

The cemetery was dominated by a large square enclosure, initially thought to be an Iron Age large square barrow containing a chariot burial, following a geophysical survey. Excavation revealed that instead of an Iron Age burial, the enclosure contained eleven Anglo-Saxon burials. Ten of these were west-east aligned and arranged into two north-south rows. A single burial was orientated north-south. The central burial contained a large bronze cauldron and an iron cauldron stand.

The grave goods from the cemetery have been described as very rich, especially for Yorkshire, and included a fine gold pendant, a silver toilet set, silver rings, glass beads, a bronze hanging bowl, an iron ladle, and a spearhead. Knives, buckles and animal bones were found most frequently. These grave goods have dated the cemetery to the 7th to early 8th centuries.

The large square enclosure is unique and had prompted much discussion. Although interpreted as Iron Age in date by the excavator, John Blair has suggested that it may be Anglo-Saxon in date, and compares it to smaller square enclosures at Spong Hill and Morning Thorpe (both Norf.), and to the large enclosures at Tandderwen (Clywd). He suggests that the enclosure may be a cult site, or a cemetery enclosure.

**Haltemprice**

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Parts of a juvenile skull and longbone fragments were found by the house owner in 1997. An archaeologist visited the site and ascertained that the bones all came from the same individual. The house is situated close to the medieval churchyard, causing the burials to be interpreted as medieval or post-medieval in date. However, late Anglo-Saxon burials are frequently found within villages, outside medieval churchyards, and thus a late Anglo-Saxon date should not be discounted.

**Haltemprice Priory**

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A skeleton was found at this location prior to 1976.

**Hessle I**

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</table>

A cist built from chalk slabs was found under the tower of Hessle church before 1907. The burial was dated to the Anglo-Saxon period by Meaney (1964: 291). Although this date has not been confirmed, the location of the burial and the chalk lining would be consistent with a late Anglo-Saxon date.

(Sheppard 1907e: 64; Elgee and Elgee 1933: 181; Meaney 1964: 291; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 29; Lucy 1998: 129)

**Hessle II**

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In 1952 two strings of Anglo-Saxon beads and fragments of two accessory vessels were found at Tranby, Hessle. Although no bones were recovered, it is thought that these came from two Anglo-Saxon inhumation burials.

An Anglo-Saxon burial with an iron knife and pottery sherds was discovered in a gravel pit at Burnby Gates before 1979.

(Eagles 1979: 436; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 102; Lucy 1998: 129)

In 1913 Anglo-Saxon inhumations were discovered while levelling land to build a bowling green at the Hydro Hotel. The site was visited by T. Sheppard following the publication of a newspaper report. Twelve inhumations were found in a small area 4 x 12 yards. Ten of these were organised in an east-west row, with two further burials at either end of a parallel row just to the north (see Figure III.25). Seven of the burials were aligned south-north, and were extended or slightly flexed. The remaining burials had their heads positioned between southwest and north. Three of these burials, including one of a child, were crouched. Six of the burials were accompanied by grave goods (although further items may have been removed by workmen prior to Sheppard’s arrival on site), including wrist clasps, annular and cruciform brooches, beads, pottery vessels and an iron knife. The cruciform brooches were dated to the mid to late 6th century.

In 1982 excavations in advance of house construction revealed a further six burials focussed around an earlier ditch. These were not arranged in rows and were in a variety of positions including crouched and prone (see Figure III.25). The grave goods from these excavations dated to the 5th to 7th centuries, with the main period of burial in the mid to late 6th century.

In 1970 a single bone comb was found at the foot of the cliff indicating that part of this cemetery has been lost to coastal erosion. Indeed, it should be noted Hornsea would not have been on the coast during the Anglo-Saxon period. This and a report made to the SMR in 1993 that further skeletons had been found in the vicinity of the former hotel at an unspecified date, indicates that the cemetery was once much larger.

Hotham  SMR number  EY  13855  
South Newbald  NMR number  
Undated Bones  NMR monarch  
SE  904  355  

Eighteen human skeletons were found southwest of South Newbald prior to 1855.

Huggate  SMR number  EY  4578  
Early Anglo-Saxon  NMR number  
NMR monarch  
SE  858  559  

W.J. Varley found an Anglo-Saxon cremation urn in a chalk bank at Crossdykes prior to 1984. A fragment of Bronze Age pottery was also discovered.

(Dent 1984; Lucy 1998: 129)

Hull  SMR number  EY  2552  
Undated Bones  NMR number  
NMR monarch  
TA 058  394  

The SMR records that a skeleton, cobbles, pottery and glass bottles were found at this location at an unspecified date.

Hull  SMR number  EY  19638  
Campbell Street  NMR number  
Undated Bones  NMR monarch  
TA 086  286  

Four burials found at varying depths in Campbell Street were reported by some city architects in 1963. A sketch map of the burials revealed that they were west-east aligned and arranged in a row. There was no visible evidence of coffins or any artefacts.

Kilham  SMR number  EY  4010  
Kilham Lane  NMR number  
Early Anglo-Saxon  NMR monarch  
TA 079  659  

Anglo-Saxon urns, bones and grave goods including beads were found in a chalk pit two miles north of Kilham in 1814. In 1824 a human skeleton with Anglo-Saxon grave goods was found in a chalk pit, which is thought to be the same as the one described above. In 1953 C. and E. Grantham recovered further Anglo-Saxon pottery sherds in a field to the east of the 1824 site. The
grave goods from this cemetery have been dated to the 5th and 6th centuries.


Kilham
Middle Street
Mid to Late Anglo-Saxon
TA 0630 6432
SMR number EY 7437
NMR number
NMR monarch

In 1819 over 100 human skeletons were found on the site of the Methodist chapel on Middle Street. A further 40 skeletons were found at the same site in 1907. In 1928 two skulls and a possible lead coffin were found in the garden of the second house along from the Wesleyan chapel.

In 1976 excavations by J. Dent revealed west-east aligned burials disturbed by the foundations of a building at the rear of a house on Wesley Terrace. The burials were extended and several were inter-cutting. Further burials were excavated by J. Dent and D. Evans in 1989 on the corner of Wesley Terrace and Driffield Road. Ten articulated skeletons and at least 29 further individuals (identified from an analysis of disarticulated material) were recovered from the two excavations. Two of these burials were radiocarbon dated as part of the present research to 720 to 980 AD and 690 to 940 AD (cal 2 sigma).

Kilham
North of Back Lane
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
TA 057 646
SMR number EY 7436
NMR number
NMR monarch

A child burial accompanied by two annular brooches and a bronze pin was excavated by C. and E. Grantham prior to 1979. The burial was from a field to the north of Back Lane, Kilham. The grave goods have been dated to the 6th or 7th century.

(Eagles 1979: 438; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 109; Lucy 1998: 129)

Kilham
York Road
? Late Anglo-Saxon
TA 047 645
SMR number EY 7439
NMR number
NMR monarch

At least six burials were located by C. and E. Grantham in a water main trench in York Road at the west end of Kilham village in 1956. Some of these
were crouched, while others were in coffins. These burials have been interpreted as late Anglo-Saxon in date (Lucy 1998: 129).


**Kirby Underdale**

**Mortimer Barrow 4**

**Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon**

SE 823 582

In 1862 two extended skeletons were found when a chalk pit cut into a barrow (Mortimer barrow number 4). Excavations in 1870 revealed a disturbed skeleton and fragments of Anglo-Saxon pottery. A further skeleton was discovered in 1871. In 1876 Mortimer excavated the barrow and uncovered two burials, one of which was accompanied by an annular brooch, beads, a bronze workbox and a possible chatelaine, indicating this cemetery may date to the 7th century.

(Mortimer 1905: 114-7; Lucy 1998: 129)

**Kirby Underdale**

**Painsthorpe Wold**

**Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon**

SE 8246 5826

A secondary Anglo-Saxon inhumation was found in a Bronze Age barrow in 1867 (Mortimer barrow number 102). The burial had been partially disturbed by ploughing, but was described as crouched. It was accompanied by an iron knife.


**Kirby Underdale**

**Painsthorpe Wold I**

**Mid Anglo-Saxon**

SE 8221 5934

This barrow was investigated by Mortimer between 1860 and 1876 (1906: 113-7, barrow number 4). Twelve Bronze Age inhumations and a Bronze Age cremation were uncovered, along with between six and twenty Anglo-Saxon inhumations (Meaney 1964: 296, Geake 1997: 158 and Lucy 1998: 129 only record six Anglo-Saxon burials, but Loughlin and Miller (1979: 110), the SMR and the scheduling document all mention twenty Anglo-Saxon burials). The Anglo-Saxon grave goods have been dated to the 7th century (Meaney
Kirby Underdale  SMR number  EY 4228
Painsthorpe Wold II  NMR number
Early Anglo-Saxon  NMR monarch
SE 8297  5859

A secondary Anglo-Saxon inhumation was found in a barrow (Mortimer Barrow number 200) c.1866-7 when it was disturbed by the burial of three cattle. The barrow was partially excavated by Mortimer in 1877, who found a thin bronze cup and part of an iron spear from the above burial. Further burials may have been destroyed by the cattle grave.


Kirby Underdale  SMR number  EY 4211
Rolleston’s collection  NMR number
Undated Bones  NMR monarch
SE 806  585

Meaney (1964: 292) reports that five adult skeletons in Rolleston’s collection were from Kirby Underdale and considered to be Anglo-Saxon. However nothing is known about the discovery of these skeletons, although they may have been connected to the discoveries on Painsthorpe Wold.

(Meaney 1964: 292)

Kirby Underdale  SMR number  EY 4212
Uncleby; Kelleythorpe  NMR number
Mid Anglo-Saxon  NMR monarch
SE 822  594

Greenwell excavated two Bronze Age barrows in Kirby Underdale parish in 1868. Although the smaller barrow was empty (Mortimer barrow Z), the larger barrow (Mortimer barrow X) contained a Bronze Age cremation and 71 secondary Anglo-Saxon inhumations (some reports state 72 burials, however the full excavation report published by Smith in 1912 records just 71: burials 1 to 68 and a further three labelled I to III, but assumed to also be Anglo-Saxon in date in all subsequent reports). In addition, three collections of disarticulated bone were excavated.

The majority of the burials were accompanied by grave goods dating to the
7th century including brooches, pendants, beads, buckles, knives, a sword and a seax. Seven of the burials just contained an iron knife. Twenty of the burials were unaccompanied. The burials were in varying positions, some of which have been described as 'unusual', although the majority were crouched (see Figure III.26). A small number of burials were arranged in approximate rows. Outlines around burials on the cemetery plan would suggest that some individuals were buried in coffins.

(Greenwell 1877: 135-6; Mortimer 1905: 118; Smith 1912a; Elgee and Elgee 1933: 183; Meaney 1964: 302-3; Eagles 1979: 209, 439; Geake 1997: 159; Harrison 1997; Lucy 1998: 129)

Kirkburn
SMR number EY 7724
NMR number
NMR monarch

Undated Bones
SE 970 577

Mortimer barrow number 146a contained skeletons that were found and destroyed by the farmer before 1906. The SMR states that these may have been Anglo-Saxon in date.

(Loughlin and Miller 1979: 111)

Kirkburn
SMR number EY 4398, 4394
Eastburn; Kirkburn II
NMR number
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
NMR monarch
TA 000 563

In 1936 an Anglo-Saxon inhumation was discovered in the north west corner of Eastburn aerodrome. Further artefacts including a sword, six knives or seaxes, an iron buckle, a gold and garnet tab, two annular brooches and an iron key were found in dumped material from across the site. These probably came from disturbed graves, estimated to be twelve in number at the time of publication (Anon 1939). These burials are believed to be conversion period in date (Geake 1997: 158).

(Sheppard 1939: 44-7; Meaney 1964: 293; Eagles 1979: 218, 440; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 113; Geake 1997: 158; Lucy 1998: 129-30)

Kirkburn
SMR number EY 4408
Garton Slack
NMR number
? Anglo-Saxon
NMR monarch
SE 9717 5757

This Bronze Age barrow was excavated in 1872 by Mortimer (barrow number C46). A secondary extended inhumation accompanied by an iron
nail was discovered, and attributed to the Anglo-Saxon period.

(Mortimer 1905: 235; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 111; Lucy 1998: 130)

Kirkburn
Garton Slack II
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
SE 9866 5752

SMR number EY 4420
NMR number
NMR monarch

In 1868 Mortimer opened barrow number 112. He found several secondary burials that may be Anglo-Saxon in date. One adult inhumation was accompanied by an iron knife and a sharpening iron, dating to the Anglo-Saxon period. A further two adult burials were discovered. Neither of these contained any grave goods, but both were attributed to the Anglo-Saxon period by Mortimer. A decayed infant burial (undated) was found close to one of these burials. He also described the burial of a young child in conjunction with the above-mentioned burials. He did not specify if this was an Anglo-Saxon or Bronze Age burial, however it has been grouped with the Anglo-Saxon burials by subsequent authors (Meaney 1964: 290, Lucy 1998: 130). In 1872 Mortimer re-examined the barrow following the discovery of another Anglo-Saxon cemetery 200 yards to the north (Garton Slack I or Garton-on-the-Wolds). A further inhumation was discovered, accompanied by some pig bones. Although the position of the burial (crouched) was more common for Bronze Age burials, Mortimer attributed it to the Anglo-Saxon period on the basis of its skull morphology.


Kelleythorpe; Driffield I
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
TA 0170 5669

SMR number EY 4404
NMR number
NMR monarch

Human bones were found at this location prior to 1851 during ploughing. In 1851 the barrow (Mortimer barrow number C38) was excavated by Lord Londesborough. In addition to the primary Bronze Age burials he found seven secondary Anglo-Saxon inhumations and fragments of two urns dating to the Romano-British or Anglo-Saxon period.

Further excavations by Mortimer in 1870 and 1872 revealed a further 27 Anglo-Saxon inhumations, with grave goods dating to the 6th to 7th centuries. Thirteen more burials were found by workmen when the barrow was destroyed during the construction of a railway in 1887. Some of the grave goods may have been removed by workmen, but it is probable that all of the burials dated to the Anglo-Saxon period.
Appendix III: Gazetteer

(Londesborough 1852; Mortimer 1905: 271-83; Meaney 1964: 286; Eagles 1979: 218, 440; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 113; Lucy 1998: 130)

Kirkburn SMR number EY 4393
Kirkburn I NMR number
? Early Anglo-Saxon NMR monarch
TA 001 562

In 1870 Mortimer found a bronze cruciform brooch on the surface of a Bronze Age barrow (number C 37). This brooch probably came from an inhumation burial that had been destroyed by ploughing.

(Mortimer 1905: 262; Meaney 1964: 292-3; Lucy 1998: 130)

Kirkburton SMR number EY 4400
Undated Bones NMR number
TA 004 560

Loughlin and Miller (1979: 112) record that Romano-British or Anglo-Saxon burials were found in filled-in Romano-British ditches in Kirkburton at an unspecified date.

(Loughlin and Miller 1979: 112)

Lockington SMR number EY 3724
St Mary's NMR number 910693
Early Anglo-Saxon; NMR monarch
? Late Anglo-Saxon to Medieval
SE 9972 4684

Excavations in the burial vault of St Mary’s church in 1893 revealed 21 inhumations. At least 12 of these were described as ‘lying side by side, north and south, separated by stones at the sides of the heads’ (Moore 1893: 186). One of the burials was accompanied by a glass and amber necklace and a large bronze fibula. This burial and several others were cut by the Norman church foundations.

It is possible that the stones at the sides of the heads may be pillow stones, and that the majority of these burials were late Anglo-Saxon. Certainly the stratigraphic relationship with the Norman church would make this a strong possibility. However, the burial with the necklace is clearly early Anglo-Saxon in date. As it is impossible to ascertain if all of the burials were contemporary, the available evidence may indicate either longevity of use or reuse of the cemetery.
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Londesborough  
Early Anglo-Saxon  
SMR number EY 4360  
NMR number  
SE 8715 4624  
NMR monarch 631083  
(Moore 1893)

Mortimer (1905: 353) records that several Anglo-Saxon inhumation burials were found while quarrying for chalk between 1870 and 1895, including three accompanied burials that were discovered in 1880 (Meaney 1964: 294; Lucy 1998: 130). Many grave goods were recovered between 1870 and 1895, but were subsequently dispersed (although some appear to have made it into museum collections).

In 1895 a single grave was excavated by the East Riding Antiquarian Society. The burial was flexed and was accompanied by brooches, beads (including Roman melon beads) and a pottery vessel. An unknown number of burials were found in 1905. The grave goods from these burials were deposited in Hull Museum. One burial was described as prone and was accompanied by brooches, beads and girdle hangers.

Much has been written about a 3rd to 4th-century 'Alamannic' brooch from the Londesborough cemetery. In 1974 Todd demonstrated that the brooch type had a wide distribution, and thus was unlikely to be Alamannic. In 1977 Brown suggested that the 3rd to 4th-century brooch may have been used as an amulet, thus explaining its presence in a 6th-century grave.

(Mortimer 1905: 353; Meaney 1964: 294; Swanton 1964; Faull 1974: 10; Todd 1975; Brown 1977; Eagles 1979: 70, 208, 441; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 115; Lucy 1998: 130)

Market Weighton  
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon  
SMR number EY 7783  
NMR number  
SE 87 41  
NMR monarch  
(Sheppard 1907a; Sheppard 1909c: 67; Meaney 1964: 295; Geake 1997: 158)

Two Anglo-Saxon graves were found at this location in 1906. One burial contained a seax, knife and spear, while the other was accompanied by jewellery including three cruciform brooches and 28 beads. The grave goods date to the 6th and 7th centuries.
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Millington  
Givendale  
Undated Bones  
SE 811 546

Two human skeletons were found in a stone quarry at Givendale c.1816. The burials were associated with two iron swords. Loughlin and Miller (1979: 118) record that ‘spearheads etc’ were found at this location in 1817 (taken from the 1927 OS map), possibly referring to the same discovery. The 1854 OS map records that ‘human skeletons and spearheads found here’.

(Loughlin and Miller 1979: 118)

Nafferton  
Undated Bones  
TA 0601 5870

Anglo-Saxon pottery, knives and spindle whorls were recovered from this location by C. and E. Grantham in 1952-3. The SMR records that, according to the Granthams, the material came from both inhumations and occupation layers below the graves. Thus the burials may be early Anglo-Saxon or alternatively they may be later in date and have cut through early Anglo-Saxon occupation. These burials may belong to the cemetery discovered at the former brickyard between 1850 and 1855.

(Loughlin and Miller 1979: 121)

Nafferton  
Former Brickyard  
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon  
TA 0520 5915

Numerous inhumations with spears, knives, brooches and pottery were found in the former brickyard between 1850-1855. The remains were discarded.

(Mortimer 1905: 343-4; Meaney 1964: 295; Eagles 1979: 442; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 121; Lucy 1998: 130)

Newbald  
North Newbald  
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon  
SE 9095 3685

Two skeletons were found in a sandpit near North Newbald before 1901.
Two further individuals, one buried with a scramasax were discovered in 1901. Sheppard excavated a further three burials from the sand pit. One was accompanied by a seax, knife, spatulate tool and a possible awl. A second skeleton was buried with an annular brooch, beads, a knife and two keys. Sheppard described 'numerous skeletons buried in shallow graves in the sand' (Meaney 1964: 295), although it is unclear if these were additional to those described above. The presence of a seax would indicate a 7th-century date.

(Sheppard 1902: 103-7; Sheppard 1907b; Meaney 1964: 295 Eagles, 1979 #104: 207, 443; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 32; Geake 1997: 158; Lucy 1998: 130)

**North Cave**

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Human skeletons were found at the Everthorpe cutting of the Hull and Barnsley Railway prior to 1891. These were said to be accompanied by Roman helmets, however Eagles (1979: 443) has been suggested that these may in fact have been Anglo-Saxon shield bosses.

(Eagles 1979: 443; Lucy 1998: 130)

**North Frodingham**

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Many human bones were found in Vicarage Close prior to 1840. The proximity to the church, located 100m to the north, and the likelihood that Vicarage Close was church land has led to the suggestion on the SMR record that these burials were pre-Conquest in date, and may have belonged to a predecessor of the medieval church. No information is given as to the nature of the burials.

(Poulson 1840: 307)

**Nunburnholme**

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In 1851 three crouched burials were discovered in a chalk pit. All of the burials were accompanied by Anglo-Saxon grave goods, including brooches, wrist clasps, finger rings toilet implements and some beads.

(Eagles 1979: 61, 208, 444; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 122; Lucy 1998: 131)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Pocklington

Undated Bones
SE 8047 5012

Several undated skeletons were found here in 1949.

(Loughlin and Miller 1979: 123)

Rowley

Beverley Parks

Undated Bones
TA 0 3

A lidded coffin containing human bones was found in Beverley Parks in 1848. The coffin was hollowed from an oak log. The burial has not been dated. Although this find is recorded in Rowley parish by the SMR, Loughlin and Miller (1979:38) suggest the coffin was located in Woodmansey parish (this alternative location for the burial is also recorded on the SMR: EY 6616).

(Wright 1857: 116; Grinsell 1941: 365; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 35)

Rowley

High Hunsley

Undated Bones
SE 9495 3520

A row of 'headless' skeletons were observed during an archaeological excavation c.1940. These burials may be associated with a Romano-British settlement excavated in 1967-9, which included decapitated burials, and thus the burials are probably Romano-British in date.

Rudston

? Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
TA 0858 6778

During the investigation of barrow number 224 prior to 1877, Greenwell found a scatter of Anglo-Saxon pottery. Greenwell interpreted these as ploughed out burials. It is not clear if the sherds were from funerary urns or accessory vessels.

(Greenwell 1877: 497; Eagles 1979: 446; Lucy 1998: 131)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Rudston  
Morton Lane  
Undated Bones  
TA 0968  6757

The SMR records that a human skeleton was found behind the Wesleyan Chapel in Marton Lane. There is no record of when this discovery was made.

Rudston  
Rudstone I  
? Anglo-Saxon  
TA 107  666

Two barrows at Rudston were excavated by Greenwell prior to 1877. In the first (Greenwell barrow number 67), three extended burials arranged in a row were discovered, along with a single crouched burial and a fifth burial that had been disturbed by ploughing. None of the graves contained any goods, however Greenwell 'conjectured' that they dated to the Anglo-Saxon period (Greenwell 1877: 261). Greenwell also reported that a scatter of Anglo-Saxon pottery was discovered on a V-shaped barrow just to the north, which may have come from a ploughed out cemetery.

(Greenwell 1877: 257-262; Meaney 1964: 296-7; Eagles 1979: 446; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 126; Lucy 1998: 131)

Rudston  
Rudstone II  
? Early Anglo-Saxon  
TA 097  677

A pair of 5th-century cruciform brooches were found at Rudston prior to 1912. Meaney (1964: 297) suggests that these may have come from a burial.

(Elgee and Elgee 1933: 180; Meaney 1964: 297; Eagles 1979: 72, 445; Lucy 1998: 131)

Rudston  
Thorpe Hall; Rudstone  
Early Anglo-Saxon  
TA 112  672

An inhumation, an Anglo-Saxon urn and a spear ferrule were found at Thorpe Hall in 1960. In 1970 an Anglo-Saxon coin was found in a sandpit to the east of Thorpe Hall 'which had previously produced Anglo-Saxon inhumations' (Butler 1971: 197; Wilson and Moorhouse 1971: 135). This last
comment may refer to the discovery of urns, swords and spears (thought to be Anglo-Saxon) while extending the fishponds at the Hall in 1830, or to the discovery of an inhumation accompanied by an iron knife by the Grantham brothers prior to 1960 (Meaney 1964: 302).


Sancton NMR number 910730
All Saints NMR number 910730
? Late Anglo-Saxon NMR monarch
SE 8997 3946

The NMR records that 'a Christian burial ground is recorded on this site from the 7th century and a church and priest are mentioned in Domesday'. It is unclear if any burials dating to the mid to late Anglo-Saxon period have ever been discovered.

Sancton NMR number 2876
Sancton I; Grange Farm NMR number
Early Anglo-Saxon NMR monarch 629417; 629429; 629430;
SE 903 402

A large cremation cemetery dating to the 5th and 6th centuries has been excavated at Sancton. During the 19th century cremations were recovered on at least six occasions since 1873, with a minimum of 46 urns recovered (see Timby 1993 and Lucy 1998: 131). A further 240 urns were excavated by W. H. Southern between 1954 and 1958. From 1976 to 1980 excavations (in response to the destruction of the cemetery by deep ploughing) recovered between 90 and 95 urns. Several un-urned cremations have also been recorded. Grave goods including knives, tweezers, spindle whorls, combs, beads and brooches have been found. The cemetery has been dated to the 5th and 6th centuries on the basis of the styles of the cremation urns. A single inhumation dating to the 7th century was excavated between 1954 and 1958. It has been estimated that the cemetery once contained between 450 and 650 cremations.

Sancton SMR number EY 2875
Sancton II NMR number
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon NMR monarch
SE 899 395

Some time before 1882 cremation urns and burnt bones were found by M. Foster, half a mile closer to Sancton village than the earlier Sancton cremation cemetery. A total of seven skeletons were discovered, along with various grave goods dating to the 6th century.

Two inhumations and a cremation were found in the paddock belonging to T. Foster prior to 1912. Meaney (1964: 300) believed these came from the same site as the pre-1882 discoveries. In addition, she suggests that three skulls from Sancton held by Rolleston (c.1870-5) and artefacts in the Ashmolean Museum could also belong to this cemetery.

(Sheppard 1902: 105; Meaney 1964: 299-300; Faull 1976; Eagles 1979: 209, 446)

Skerne SMR number EY 9792
Copper Hall NMR number
Undated Bones NMR monarch
TA 0629 5471

An undated burial was found at this location in the 1970s.

Skerne and Wansford SMR number EY 9787
Cleave Farm NMR number
Undated Bones NMR monarch
TA 0616 5345

The crouched burial of an adolescent was found southeast of Cleve Farm in 1979. The burial was unaccompanied. Archaeologists were called to the site and cleared an area around the inhumation, but no further burials were discovered. Four more crouched burials had been found in the same area approximately 10 years previously.

Sledmere SMR number EY 9493
Fimber station NMR number
Undated Bones NMR monarch
SE 910 615

Human remains were discovered while quarrying for chalk to repair roads about 400 yards east from the crossroads towards Fimber station. Kevin Leahy has reported metal detectorist finds of 100-150 stycas and sceattas in this vicinity.

(Mortimer 1905: 192-3)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Sledmere
Fimber Station
Undated Bones
SE 9078 6130

Mortimer records that a labourer who worked for his grandfather recalled the discovery of human bones and a sword about 300 yards to the north of Fimber station.

(Mortimer 1905: 193; Eagles 1979: 448; Lucy 1998: 132)

South Cave
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
SE 90 30

The SMR records that Anglo-Saxon remains were found near South Cave in the early 20th century.

South Cave
Everthorpe; North Cave
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
SE 900 310

Two Anglo-Saxon inhumations were found in Everthorpe in 1958. These were accompanied by beads, a pendant, a bronze wire finger ring and an iron knife. Two unaccompanied burials found in 1954 at SK 901 311 may have come from the same cemetery. Helen Geake dated these burials to the conversion period on the basis of the grave goods.

(Meaney 1964: 288; Eagles 1979: 207, 443; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 35; Geake 1997: 158; Lucy 1998: 130)

Stamford Bridge
Burton Fields
Mid Anglo-Saxon
SE 733 556

A conversion period burial was found in a gravel pit in Burton Fields in 1937. The burial was accompanied by a bracelet and a toilet set was recovered from the spoil heap. A Romano-British burial had been found at the site previously.

(Kitson Clark 1942; Meaney 1964; Eagles 1979; Loughlin and Miller 1979; Geake 1997; Lucy 1998).
### Swine

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</tbody>
</table>

A plain Anglo-Saxon urn containing a cremation was found at this location before 1805.

(Sheppard 1909c: 66-7; Elgee and Elgee 1933: 180; Meaney 1964: 302; Eagles 1979: 449; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 60)

### Thwing

<table>
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<tbody>
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Excavations between 1973 and 1987 by T. Manby of a large Bronze Age circular earthwork revealed a high status Anglo-Saxon settlement and associated cemetery dating to the 8th and 9th centuries. The palisaded settlement contained a large hall and a range of high status and imported artefacts, leading to the interpretation of the site as an administrative centre or royal settlement.

A contemporary cemetery was located to the east of the centre of the enclosure. This contained 132 burials of adults and children. The graves were aligned west-east or west southwest-east northeast and were closely packed, frequently inter-cutting. Twenty six of the burials were coffined, identified on the presence of iron nails, hinges, corner brackets and a lock. In addition 26 burials were marked by wooden posts (nine of these also contained coffin fittings). Occasional artefacts were found in graves, including an amber bead, a glass bead and an iron knife in grave 8 and another knife, a firesteel, two keys and heckle teeth. Two massive postholes to the west of the cemetery have been interpreted as the sockets for free standing stone crosses. A rectangular timber structure has been interpreted as a mortuary chapel and a rubble platform may have provided the foundations for a timber church. The cemetery was bounded to the north by a timber palisade. Two decapitated burials orientated west-south-west to east-north-east were located outside the palisade.

(Loughlin and Miller 1979: 79; Manby 1988; Geake 1997: 159)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

**Tibthorpe**

Angas Farm

Undated Bones

SE 941 561

Several skeletons were found at Angas Farm in 1850. The SMR records that two skeletons had been found nearby in 1830. These burials were included in Sam Lucy's gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, however there is no evidence as to why she dated the burials to that period.

(Lucy 1998: 132)

**Ulrome**

Lissett; Lissett Airfield

Undated Bones

TA 132 577

In 1940-41 a large number of burials were found during work on Lissett airfield. No pottery or artefacts were discovered with the skeletons, but O'Neil (1948: 32) suggests that they may be Danish. There is no evidence that would back up this interpretation. An elliptical mound, post holes and pits were also found.

(O'Neil 1948: 32; Meaney 1964: 135; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 294)

**Walkington**

Walkington Wold

Mid to Late Anglo-Saxon

SE 9623 3571

Two Bronze Age barrows were excavated by J.E. Bartlett and R.W. Mackey on behalf of the East Riding Archaeological Society between 1967 and 1969. They discovered that the site had been occupied in the 4th century, possibly as a signal station. A series of twelve secondary inhumations were found that post-dated this occupation. Stratigraphically, these dated to anywhere between the late Roman and later Medieval period.

Two of these burials were complete, but the remaining ten had been decapitated. Only one of these burials was buried close to its skull. In addition, ten isolated skulls were recovered from across the barrow, four of which had clear blade injuries. Three of the isolated skulls were found with articulating vertebrae and mandibles, indicating they had been buried shortly after decapitation. The remainder did not have mandibles, and may have been displayed prior to burial.
These burials were interpreted as a 'massacre or series of executions' (Bartlett and Mackey 1973: 3) by the excavators, who dated them to the immediate post-Roman period on the basis of 'Germanic' metalwork found across the site. The site was subsequently interpreted as the temple of a Celtic head cult (Bailey 1985). More recently Andrew Reynolds identified the site as a probable late Anglo-Saxon execution cemetery. However, three of the burials from the site have subsequently been radiocarbon dated as part of the present research to 640-775 AD, 775-980 AD and 900-1030 AD (cal 2 sigma).

(Radley 1968: 117; Radley 1969: 247; Bartlett and Mackey 1973; Eagles 1979: 41, 72, 451; Bailey 1985; Reynolds 1997: 36; Buckberry and Hadley in prep-b)

Warter
Blanch; Blanch Farm
Early Anglo-Saxon
SE 899 531

A secondary inhumation burial accompanied by a sword and a pot was found in a round barrow at Blanch by J. Silburn (barrow number 12) in 1851. Mortimer (1905: 322) reported that the sword and skeleton were 'most probably Anglo-Saxon'.

(Mortimer 1905: 322; Eagles 1979: 451; Lucy 1998: 132)

Warter
Warter Priory
? Early Anglo-Saxon
SE 870 505

A grave digger at Warter Priory found a spearhead beneath later burials prior to 1979.

(Eagles 1979: 451; Lucy 1998: 132)

Welton
Melton Hill
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
SE 975 268

An inhumation accompanied by a bead and a small penannular brooch was found at Melton Hill near Ferriby in 1841.

(Sheppard 1904: 53; Sheppard 1907b: 64; Meaney 1964: 295; Eagles 1979: 452; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 37)
Withernsea

SMR number  EY  2657
NMR number
NMR monarch

Unlikely
TA 3410  2815

In 1907 fragments of probable funerary urns were found on the west side of Bannister Street, Withernsea. Sam Lucy (1998: 132) included these in her gazetteer of early Anglo-Saxon burials, however they were dated to the Roman period by Sheppard (1907: 74) shortly after their discovery.

(Sheppard 1907b: 74; Eagles 1979: 454; Lucy 1998: 132)
North Yorkshire including the City of York

Acklam
Acklam Wold
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
SE 792  612

In 1856 an Anglo-Saxon sword was found in a barrow on Acklam Wold, 'along with other sepulchral remains' (Whellan 1859: 209). In 1980 an inhumation accompanied by a pattern-welded sword and a plain pot was found on Greet's Hill Road, Acklam Wold. The sword was dated to the 6th or 7th century.

(Whellan 1859a: 209; Eagles 1979: 421; Ager and Gilmour 1988; Lucy 1998: 127)

Acklam
Greet's Hill; Acklam Wold
Mid Anglo-Saxon
SE 7919  6117

Human skeletons were found 500 yards southwest of Greet's Chalk Pit at various dates before 1866. In 1860 a labourer found one or two burials, glass and amber beads and a circular gold and garnet pendant. A few years later the same man found another burial accompanied by iron fragments, a knife, a sword, a ferrule, a sharpening iron and a buckle. Four crouched burials and two extended burials were excavated by Mortimer in 1878. Four of these burials contained iron knives and other iron objects. The grave goods have been dated to the conversion period, however the SMR records that a burial with two 5th-century glass vessels was also recovered from this cemetery.


Appleton-le-Street with Easthorpe
SE 7335  7147

A cist containing a skeleton accompanied by gold earrings, an amber necklace, a small vessel and a bone comb was found at Hebden Bank (called Hepton Hill by Audrey Meaney) near Easthorpe c.1834. Meaney dated this burial to the Anglo-Saxon period.

(Whellan 1859a: 210; Elgee and Elgee 1933: 181; Meaney 1964: 282; Eagles 1979: 415)
### Appendix M: Gazetteer

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<td>SD 9343 7169</td>
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In April 2000 a copper alloy reliquary box dating to the Anglo-Saxon period was found by a metal detectorist on Carr Farm. A small area of the site was excavated by K. Cale who discovered fragments of human bone within a disturbed layer, representing at least two individuals.

(Cale 2000)

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<tr>
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Four human skeletons were found in the grounds adjoining The Grange, Aysgarth c.1981. Part of an ‘ancient pavement’ were also discovered. Nothing further is known about the site.

(Speight 1897: 430)

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>NZ 83052 13006</td>
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Elgee (1930: 106) records that an Anglo-Saxon inhumation accompanied by an iron spearhead was found at the base of Lythe Stone. The SMR and Meaney (1964: 282) state that this burial was found at the base of Wade’s Stone, indicating that this standing stone has more than one name.

(Elgee 1930: 106; Meaney 1964: 282)

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<td>SE 824 629</td>
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In 1868 Mortimer excavated barrow 108 (Aldro group). He found a deposit of cremated bone with several bronze items including a bronze ferrule, and two pieces of bronze inset with glass or crystal. This deposit was dated to the Anglo-Saxon period by Sam Lucy (1998: 127), however there was no suggestion of an Anglo-Saxon date in Mortimer’s description of the finds.

(Mortimer 1905: 56-7; Lucy 1998: 127)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Boltby

Unlikely

SMR number NY 1340.01
NMR number
NMR monarch
SE 5068 8682

The SMR records that an inhumation was found in Boltby parish at an unknown date. It was located on the north side of a mound, indicating it may be a secondary barrow burial. The burial was accompanied by 120 beads, which have now been lost. However the SMR record states that the description of twelve of these beads as conical and V-perforated suggests that the burial was Bronze Age in date.

Boroughbridge

Aldborough

? Anglo-Saxon

SMR number NY 11327; 11354
NMR number
NMR monarch
SE 4052 6670

A disturbed human burial was found overlying the footings of a bastion at Roman Aldborough (Isurium Brigantium) prior to 1959. In addition an adult inhumation accompanied by an iron knife was found at another location at the same site. It has been suggested that these burials dated to the Anglo-Saxon period, however the excavators of the second burial stated that the knife could not be closely dated (Myres et al. 1959: 49). In addition, Meaney (1964: 282) records that Anglo-Saxon urns were found at Roman Aldborough c.1750.

(Wellan 1859a: 686; Myres et al. 1959: 49; Meaney 1964: 282)

Brompton on Swale

Catterick Bridge

Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon

SMR number NY 13152
NMR number
NMR monarch
SE 226 995

Two limestone cist graves were found cut into a 6th-century layer during excavations by John Wacher in 1972 (Figure III.28). Both graves contained a poorly-preserved child skeleton. The burials were orientated NNE-SSW, following the alignment of a Roman revetment. These burials were interpreted as possibly those of a Christian community in Catterick in the 6th century (Wilson et al. 1996: 52).

(Wilson et al. 1996: 45-6)
### Appendix M: Gazetteer

<table>
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<th>Location</th>
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An undated inhumation was found when rebuilding a garden wall next to the church at an unspecified date. The SMR states that this may indicate that the churchyard has shrunk.

<table>
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<td>SE 7709 7288</td>
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Eleven cremation urns were first found at this location prior to 1798. Further urns were discovered in 1802 and 1840. Five of these urns were donated to York Museum in 1823. These urns were initially thought to be Roman in date, however in 1853 those in York Museum were recognised as being Anglo-Saxon in date by Phillips. The various accounts indicate that at least eleven urns were discovered and that these contained cremated bone, 'bronze bridle-bits, comb, bone pins, jet rings, earrings, armlets, fibulae, gold finger rings, bronze lamps etc' (Kitson Clark 1935: 74).

(Hinderwell 1798: 15; Corder and Kirk 1928: 74-6; Elgee and Elgee 1933: 179; Kitson Clark 1935: 74; Meaney 1964: 282; Eagles 1979: 415)

<table>
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A large bronze bowl without attachments for hanging was found at Brough before 1940. This may have come from an Anglo-Saxon burial.

(Sheppard 1902: 103; Meaney 1964: 282)

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<td>SE 698 674</td>
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Two 6th-century cruciform brooches were found at Bulmer before 1834. These probably came from an inhumation burial.

(Meaney 1964: 283; Eagles 1979: 415)
Meaney (1964: 291) and Geake (1997: 189) describe an inhumation burial found on Hambleton Moor prior to 1912. The burial was accompanied by a plain annular brooch, a small buckle, a silver pin and part of a thread-box. These grave goods have been dated to the conversion period. The SMR records that the name Hambleton Moor cannot be traced, and suggests that Meaney and Geake may be describing the inhumation burial found at Hawnby c.1865.

(Meaney 1964: 291; Geake 1997: 189)

In 1865 human remains were found while gravel digging at Howe Hill, a natural gravel mound. Four burials were excavated by Reverend Lukis and Canon Greenwell. These were of an adolescent accompanied by four beads, an adult woman with an iron knife and a bronze tag, and two crouched burials of unspecified age, the first of which was buried with an iron knife and a bronze buckle. The fourth burial was unaccompanied. All of the burials were west-east aligned. Although the mound was natural, Meaney (1964: 284) suggests that these burials were effectively secondary burials in a ‘barrow’. These burials are thought to date to the conversion period (Geake 1997: 189).

(Lukis 1870; Elgee and Elgee 1933: 186; Meaney 1964: 283-4; Geake 1997: 189)

A skeleton accompanied by a sword and a spear was found in a natural mound at Camphill. This is thought to be a Scandinavian burial. It has been suggested that the natural mound may have been used instead of erecting a barrow (Richards 2000: 145).

(Richards 2000: 145)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Catterick
Bainesse Farm
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
SE 2398 9736

In 1959 Wilmott reported that workmen constructing the bypass west-south-west of Catterick had bulldozed through an Anglo-Saxon cemetery (see Figure III.29). He reported seeing several cists that contained skeletons. Six spearheads, one shield boss and a triangular iron dagger were recovered. In 1981-2 rescue excavations in advance of work on the A1 by P. R. Wilson for the Department of Environment revealed eight Anglo-Saxon burials (Figure III.30). Two of these were accompanied by annular brooches. Radiocarbon dates were obtained for two of the skeletons. Skeleton 3520 was dated to 340-640 cal AD and Skeleton 709 was dated to 410-660 cal AD.


Catterick
Castle Hills
? Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
SE 225 971

The SMR records that a rich Anglo-Saxon inhumation was supposed to have been found at Castle Hills Catterick. However the reports of this burial are very garbled. A manuscript held in the British Museum by Canon Kerr Smith, entitled 'History of Catterick' reportedly states that the Archaeologia Aeliana of 1834 records the discovery of a gold bracelet dating to the Anglo-Saxon period from an inhumation burial at Castle Hills. However the SMR also notes that the reference to Archaeologia Aeliana is incorrect, as the journal was not published in 1834. Thus no further information is available about this burial.

Catterick
Catterick bypass
? Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
SE 224 990

Four graves interpreted as ‘Anglian’ were excavated by Hildyard in 1958-9 in advance of the A1 Catterick bypass (see Figure III.31). The burials came from three trenches inside and outside of the Roman defences, but their exact locations are unknown.

(Wilson et al. 1996: 2, 47-9)
Excavations at Catterick racecourse between 1993 and 1997 investigated a multi-period site, dating from the Mesolithic to the Anglo-Saxon period. A 6th-century cemetery was located to the southwest of the excavated area, partially cutting into a late Neolithic/early Bronze Age burial cairn incorporated in the bank of the Roman amphitheatre. 44 inhumations were recovered, along with additional disturbed and fragmentary skeletal material. The burials were in a variety of positions including extended, crouched, flexed and occasionally prone. They were on varying orientations, but there was a preference for west-east aligned burial within the cemetery. Many of the burials were accompanied by grave goods including brooches, beads, belt fittings, knives, a spear and a shield boss. The brooches have been dated to c.450-550 AD.

(Nenk et al. 1996: 291; Moloney et al. 1999)

In 1939 workmen found an Anglo-Saxon inhumation accompanied by a gilt cruciform brooch. Following this discovery, excavations by Hildyard revealed a second burial accompanied by two belt sets and an isolated skull. The burials overlay Roman buildings. Previous to this discovery, workmen had found two burials during cable trenching just to the south. These burials are thought to belong to the same cemetery. Excavations in 1966 by Rosemary Cramp located further 6th-century burials, also overlaying the Roman buildings. These probably belong to the same cemetery as that excavated by Hildyard in 1939 (Figure III.32).

(Hildyard 1952-55; Meaney 1964: 284; Wilson et al. 1996: 4-5, 22-32)
Crayke  
Mid to Late Anglo-Saxon  
SE 5607 7064

Excavations to the east of the churchyard in 1956 revealed sixteen west-east aligned burials. These were sealed by a 14th-century deposit, but were not securely dated (Hildyard 1960). In 1983, excavations by York University revealed further west-east aligned burials pre-dating 13th- and 14th-century deposits relating to the medieval castle bailey (see Figure III.33). The skeletons were fragmentary, however a minimum number of fifteen individuals, including men, women and children, were present. Skeleton 24 was radiocarbon dated to 1120±50 BP, calibrated to 880-990 (cal 1 sigma) or 770-1020 (cal 2 sigma). The burials did not inter-cut and a posthole from a possible grave marker was found at the foot of burial 31, indicating the cemetery may have been planned.

The cemetery has been identified as that of St Cuthbert’s monastery, which was founded at Crayke in 685. The last documentary reference to the monastery was in 883. Although the radiocarbon date range indicates a slightly later date for the cemetery, Adams (1990: 43) suggested that the excavated burials may have been on the edges of a cemetery focussed around an earlier church located near Crayke Hall, where two fragments of an early 9th-century stone cross were found in 1937. Thus they could date to the latest phases of the monastic cemetery or be a contemporary lay cemetery.

(Hildyard 1960; Adams 1984; Adams 1990)

Dunnington  
Grimston Smithy  
Undated Bones  
SE 647 514

An undated human skeleton was found while digging for gravel prior to 1924.

(Kendall and Wroot 1924: 818)

East Witton  
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon  
SE 1506 8652

Human remains and various grave goods were found in a large mound near Fleets Farm House in 1884. The grave goods included three annular
brooches (described as bronze buckles by Speight 1897: 349), two glass beads, a knife, a strap end and a shield boss. Manby (1956) suggests that these date to the early 7th century.

(Speight 1897: 349; Manby 1965: 340-3)

Egton SMR number NY 7791
Wheeledale Moor NMR number
Undated Bones NMR monarch
SE 8089 9833

Two cists were found on the edge of Wade's Causeway Roman road in the 1920s. One of the cists contained a crouched burial. This was left in situ by the finder, but had been removed by 1937 when the cist was re-examined. The second cist 'was presumably investigated by Mr Patterson and found empty of remains' (Hayes and Rutter 1964: 56). It is thought that the limestone slabs used to construct the cists may have come from the Roman road. If this is true, then the burials must post-date the Roman period.

(Hayes and Rutter 1964: 54-6)

Fylingdales SMR number NYM 7633; 7644
Robin Hood's Bay NMR number
? Early Anglo-Saxon NMR monarch
NZ 948 052

Anglo-Saxon urns, beads, tweezers, small square-headed brooches and annular brooches were found near Robin Hood’s Bay prior to 1933. The artefacts have been dated to the 6th century. These items are thought to have come from a mixed rite cemetery.

(Elgee and Elgee 1933: 180; Meaney 1964: 296)

Fylingdales Moor SMR number NY 7812.01
Lilla Howe; Goathland NMR number
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon NMR monarch
SE 8892 9868

According to the SMR Lilla Howe is a heather covered mound thought to be a Bronze Age barrow, although no Bronze Age remains have ever been found in it. Sometime before 1871 an Anglo-Saxon inhumation accompanied by four silver strap tags, 2 bronze 'roundels', several gold rings and a gold brooch with a white stone were discovered in the mound. Lilla Howe has been connected with Lilla, a minister of King Edwin who was killed during an assassination attempt on the king in 625/6. Mayer (1871: 200) suggested that these grave goods may have come from the grave of Lilla as 'they
evidently belonged to a person of rank’.

(Elgee 1930: 219; Elgee and Elgee 1933: 185-6; Meaney 1964: 293-4; Mayer 1972; Raistrick 1979: 88-9)

Ganton
Ganton Wold
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
TA 00350 76180

Greenwell found an Anglo-Saxon inhumation in barrow 29 prior to 1877. The badly decayed burial was accompanied by three cruciform brooches, a buckle, a bead necklace, a spindle whorl and two pottery vessels, dating to the 6th century.

(Greenwell 1877: 178; Meaney 1964: 288; Eagles 1979: 199, 432; Lucy 1998: 128)

Ganton
Windale Beck Farm
Early Anglo-Saxon
SE 991 781

The Victoria County History records that an Anglo-Saxon cemetery was found near Windle Beck Farm prior to 1974. This site is referred to as Windale Beck Farm by the SMR, Sam Lucy (1998: 128) and the NMR. No further information is given about the site.

(Pugh 1974: 208; Lucy 1998: 128)

Glaisdale
High Walls Farm
Undated Bones
NZ 7535 0872

The SMR records that two undated cists were found while ploughing at High Walls Farm at an unspecified date. One cist was empty, but the second contained the fragmentary remains of an adult inhumation, thought to be a young woman.

Hawnby
Dale Town
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
SE 5285 8925

A group of cairns on Sunny Bank, southwest of Hawnby, were excavated by
Murray and Verity before 1865 (Denny 1865: 497). The total number of cairns present seems to be under question: the NMR reports that thirteen were once present, but that only eight or nine remain; Geake (1997: 189-90) reports that a large central mound was surrounded by eight or nine smaller ones; and Denny (1865: 497) refers to twenty cairns on Sunny Bank, then refers to the group described by Geake as a cemetery. Although the barrows probably date to the Bronze Age, Anglo-Saxon inhumations have been found, one of which may have been interred in an Anglo-Saxon barrow. This individual was accompanied by a hanging bowl, a gold and garnet buckle, a gold pin and a silver pin, several wire rings, blue glass beads, a knife and a spindle whorl. An extended burial in one of the smaller cairns was accompanied by a small circular box and lid on a chain, a brooch and an iron knife. An unaccompanied crouched burial identified as prehistoric by Denny may also be Anglo-Saxon in date. The grave goods have been dated to the conversion period by Helen Geake.

(Denny 1865; Elgee and Elgee 1933: 185; McDonnell 1963: 55, 414; Meaney 1964: 290-1; Allison 1974: 96-7; Geake 1997: 189-90)

Hawsker-cum-Stainsalre
Knipe Howe, near Whitby
? Anglo-Saxon
NZ 934 086

Audrey Meaney (1964: 293) records that a glass bead was found in a barrow at Knipe Howe near Whitby c.1856. This find may represent an Anglo-Saxon burial.

(Meaney 1964: 293)

Henderskelfe
Castle Howard; Welburn, Crambeck
? Early Anglo-Saxon
SE 734 670

In 1858 two north-south aligned rectangular cists were found near Castle Howard. One of these contained an adult skeleton, and a pottery vessel. It is unclear if the second cist contained a burial. In 1927 two more cist burials were discovered during the excavation of a Roman pottery kiln. One of these was stratigraphically later than the kiln, as it was described as lying 'obliquely across a kiln' (Meaney 1964: 284). The burial in this cist was disturbed, but was associated with 'the base and part of the side of a small grey spherical vessel, the other part of which was found in the furnace' (Corder 1928: 18-9). Although this vessel was unparalleled on the site, it was 'of Castle Howard technique and material' (Corder 1928: 19). The second cist
contained an adult female skeleton accompanied by a black pitted cooking pot and a tumbler-shaped vessel. Due to the abundance of pottery on the site it was difficult to ascertain if these were deliberately included in the burials. The burials clearly post-dated the kilns, which went out of use in the late 4th century. Thus the burials have been dated to the late 4th or early 5th century.

(Corder 1928: 11-12, 18-20; Elgee and Elgee 1933: 182; Meaney 1964: 284; Eagles 1979: 202, 420)

Heslerton
West Heslerton
Early Anglo-Saxon
SE 917 767

The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at West Heslerton was excavated by J. Dent and D. Powlesland between 1977 and 1986. The cemetery was located on the site of Iron Age and Bronze Age barrows and a Neolithic enclosure. A total of 194 inhumations and ten cremations were recovered, along with a 'ritual' horse burial (see Figure III.34). Bone preservation at the cemetery was very poor and many burials were reduced to sand silhouettes. Grave goods including pottery vessels, beads, knives, buckles, brooches, sleeve clasps, girdle hangers, spears, shield bosses and swords were dated to the mid 5th to 6th/7th century. Two prone burials were tentatively identified as dating to the conversion period by Helen Geake (1997: 190). The full extent of the cemetery was not excavated as the A64 bisected the site, however it is known that the cemetery was bounded to the east by an alignment of small pits. The associated settlement, located 400m to the southeast, was also excavated.


High Abbotside
Lunds Church
? Late Anglo-Saxon
SD 7938 9456

The SMR records that Lunds Church has a cemetery that may have originated in the Anglo-Saxon period. This information was taken from the first edition of the Ordnance Survey map (1856), and may be based on place name evidence.
Excavations at Kellington by Harold Mytum prior to 1994 revealed a series of 10th and 11th-century burials. These were in plain earth graves and were probably marked, as none of the early burials inter-cut. Some of the graves contained pillow stones and others had white quartz pebbles in their grave fills. A timber church was discovered that post-dated the earliest burials, although any burials that were in the area set aside for the church had been carefully exhumed prior to its building. The timber church was replaced by a single-celled stone church, which in turn was replaced by a two-celled stone church in the late 11th or early 12th century.

(Mytum 1994)

An unaccompanied crouched burial was found in a hole for a pylon in 1997. The burial was radiocarbon dated to 660-780 AD (cal 2 sigma).

Seven or eight burials were found during restoration work on Kildale church in 1867-8. The burials were found underneath more recent medieval grave slabs in the chancel within the north wall of the nave. The burials were west-east aligned, although it is unclear from reports where the heads were placed. They were accompanied by various grave goods including three swords, three or four daggers, an axe, tweezers, the beam and pans of a set of scales, spurs, a whetstone, buckles, and an iron knife with a bone handle. The artefacts were subsequently stolen, however an illustration does survive, and they are seen as Scandinavian in character. The skeletons were reburied in the church.

(Atkinson 1868; Smith 1912b: 96; Elgee 1930: 220; Richards 2000: 150)
Kirby Grindalythe  
Duggleby Howe  
? Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
SE  8804  6689

Howe Hill, Duggleby was reputedly excavated c.1798 by Christopher Sykes, however no records remain regarding these excavations. In 1890 the site was re-excavated by Mortimer who found disturbed human bones, a bone pin, iron shears, fragments of iron and a fragment of a bone comb. These probably came from at least two secondary Anglo-Saxon inhumations in the barrow.


Kirbymoorside  
Howe End; Kirby Moorside  
? Early Anglo-Saxon
SE  6974  8650

Twelve skeletons 'in irregular positions' and three cremation urns were found in the east side of Howe End barrow before 1949. Although the urns were described as 'resembling Roman pottery' Meaney (1964: 292) suggests that these may have been Anglo-Saxon burials.

(Meaney 1964: 292)

Knaresborough  
Scotton; Conying Garth, Scriven  
? Anglo-Saxon
SE  3417  5917

Five or six inhumation burials were found during gravel digging near Conying Garth, Scriven before 1789. The burials were laid 'side by side, each with a small urn placed at its head' (Meaney 1964: 293). The SMR and Meaney record that there are several gravel pits in both Knaresborough and Scotton that would fit this description.

(Hargrove 1789: 29-30; Meaney 1964: 293)

Langton  
? Anglo-Saxon
SE  8032  6837

Fragments of pottery, described as dating to the Anglo-Saxon period, were found while levelling a barrow on Langton racecourse before 1877. These
were probably from secondary cremation burials dating to the early Anglo-Saxon period. There are many barrows in this area, and it is unclear which one is referred to above.

(Greenwell 1877: 136; Meaney 1964: 293; Eagles 1979: 204, 440; Lucy 1998: 130)

Leyburn

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>YD 5186</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NMR number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? Anglo-Saxon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE 1126</td>
<td>9030</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The SMR records that three Anglo-Saxon burials were found southwest of Leyburn Union Workhouse prior to 1911. Manby (1965) suggests that this description may refer to the discovery of a skeleton and an iron knife in a quarry near Leyburn in 1897.

(Manby 1965: 343)

Lythe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>NY 7458</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NMR number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? Early Anglo-Saxon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ 825</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The SMR records that an undated mound at this location contained a secondary cremation off centre. Several scraps of Anglian pottery were found close by, but these were not necessarily connected to the cremation.

Marton-cum-Grafton

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>NY 18433</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NMR number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? Early Anglo-Saxon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE 426</td>
<td>633</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Human skeletons and cremation burials were found in a barrow called Devil's Cross (now known as Dual Cross Hill) c.1785. Meaney (1964: 287) states that Hargrove's illustration of one of these urns 'looks very like an Anglian urn'.

(Hargrove 1789: 290-2; Meaney 1964: 287)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Masham
Dixon Keld
Anglo-Saxon
SE 225 808

SMR number NY 23477
NMR number 1192334
NMR monarch 1046853

The NMR records that an early medieval inhumation cemetery was excavated at Dixon Keld, Masham in 1987-1989. No further details about the site are given.

Melbecks
SMR number YD Not on database
NMR number
NMR monarch

? Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
SD 974 971

Seven west-east aligned burials were found in a tumulus just to the west of Melbecks village c.1846. Bogg (1908: 243) notes that the burials were associated with ‘fragments of military accoutrements’. Fleming (1994:26) suggests that these burials may have been Anglo-Saxon in date.

(Bogg 1908: 243-4; Fleming 1994: 26)

Newton
Pickering
Undated Bones
SE 821 933

SMR number NY 7919.02
NMR number
NMR monarch

The SMR records that a number of burials were found ‘beneath heaps of stones in pits near Gallock Hill’. The description of heaps of stones probably refers to stone cairns.

Newton Kyme-cum-Toulston
Newton Kyme
? Anglo-Saxon
SE 4549 4547

SMR number
NMR number 1007732
NMR monarch

The NMR records that an aerial photograph of a ditched enclosure in this area also shows a series of west-east aligned pits. These have been interpreted as an inhumation cemetery that may be Anglo-Saxon or Roman in date.

Northallerton
Bedale
? Late Anglo-Saxon
SE 36 93

SMR number NY 12845
NMR number
NMR monarch

A pair of 10th-century tortoise brooches, probably from a Scandinavian
burial, were found at Bedale prior to 1940.

(Bjørn and Shetelig 1940: 77, 105-6; Richards 2000: 151)

Old Byland

SMR number NY 1276
NMR number

Undated Bones

SMR number NMR monarch
SE 5563 8686

The SMR records that human skulls were found in a natural fissure at Old Byland at an unspecified date. It was impossible to determine if these were a deliberate funerary deposit.

Pickering

SMR number NY 3265
NMR number

Anglo-Saxon

SMR number NMR monarch
SE 80 87

In 1850 Bateman excavated a stony barrow containing an inhumation burial accompanied by a small iron knife, an animal tooth and 'an egg shaped article of baked clay, nearly 2” long' (Meaney 1964: 296).

(Paney 1964: 296)

Pickering/Kirby Misperton

SMR number NY 2496
NMR number 1239354

 Kirby Misperton; Costa Beck;
Costa Pickering

SE 7875 7962

An Anglo-Saxon cremation urn was reported as having been found below the junction of the Costa and Pickering Becks, near Kirby Misperton Bridge before 1933 (Meaney 1964: 285). However, the SMR and NMR state that this may be the misidentification of a Bronze Age urn found at this location prior to 1930.

(Elgee 1930: 83; Meaney 1964: 285)

Riccall

SMR number NY 12088
Riccall Landing
NMR number
Late Anglo-Saxon
NMR monarch
SE 6086 3736

In 1956 a number of human burials, probably totalling eight, were found by a farmer at Riccall Landing. The site was visited by P. Wenham, who undertook excavations in 1956 and 1957. A total of 38 skeletons were found in situ, including 28 males, two females and five children (see Figure III.35).
All of the burials were west-east aligned and supine and extended, apart from skeleton number 9, which was slightly flexed. Wenham could not determine any grave cuts or any inter-cutting burials, and thus interpreted the site as a mass battle grave. As the only recorded battle in the area was Stamford Bridge, Wenham dated the burials to 1066.

In 1985 a further 23 burials were excavated by YAT. Again all of the burials were west-east aligned, extended and supine. No dating evidence was discovered to corroborate Wenham’s dating of the cemetery. Isotopic analysis of tooth enamel of six individuals was undertaken in 2001. This indicated that none of these individuals had been born in Britain, but that they may have originated from the Baltic region, including Norway (Hall 2002: 5), thus suggesting that Wenham’s interpretation of the cemetery as the burial ground of Scandinavians could be correct.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Laboratory Number</th>
<th>Skeleton Number</th>
<th>Radiocarbon Age (BP)</th>
<th>Calibrated date range (1σ)</th>
<th>Calibrated date range (2σ)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OxA-10980</td>
<td>1985 SK15</td>
<td>1029±32</td>
<td>Cal AD 985-1025</td>
<td>Cal AD 895-1155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OxA-11708</td>
<td>1985 SK22</td>
<td>1154±34</td>
<td>Cal AD 780-965</td>
<td>Cal AD 775-980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OxA-11709</td>
<td>1957 SK23</td>
<td>1059±34</td>
<td>Cal AD 900-1020</td>
<td>Cal AD 895-1025</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table III.5: Radiocarbon dates from Riccall

Three individuals from Riccall (one from the 1956-7 and two from the 1985 excavations) were radiocarbon dated as part of the present research. The results are given in Table III.5, above. These dates reveal that the burials predate the Battle of Stamford Bridge.

(Wenham 1960: 301-7; Brinklow 1986; Hall 2002)

Rillington

SMR number NY 4999
NMR number
Anglo-Saxon

NMR monarch
SE 850 741

In 1954 the upper part of a skeleton was exposed in a trench on the south side of Westgate. The burial was east-west aligned (the position of the head was not recorded). Sherds of calcite-gritted ware were found at the east end of the grave.

(Lucy 1998: 131)
Rillington
Early Anglo-Saxon
SE 8567 7442

SMR number NY 5252
NMR number
NMR monarch

During the excavation of an Iron Age square barrow cemetery in 1980 an Anglo-Saxon strap end was discovered. During the course of the excavation a local man bought a pair of cruciform brooches and a pin to be examined by the archaeologists. The grave goods were found with some human bones while excavating a drain nearby some years previous to the excavation. Turnbull (1983:8) dated the grave goods to the late 6th or early 7th century. It is unknown if these came from an isolated burial or a more extensive cemetery.

(Jones 1981: 139; Turnbull 1983: 7-8; Lucy 1998: 131)

Ripon
Ailcy Hill; Ailey Hill
Mid to Late Anglo-Saxon
SE 3171 7114

SMR number NY 19780
NMR number 53770
NMR monarch

Ailcy Hill is a natural mound 200m due east of Ripon Cathedral. There are various antiquarian reports of human bones from Ailcy Hill and in 1695 a hoard of 9th-century stycas was discovered. Excavations in 1986/7 revealed at least 37 identifiable graves, along with disarticulated material representing a minimum number of 140 individuals (see Figure III.36. Geake 1997: 189). Three phases of burial were identified on the basis of three different burial alignments.

The phase 1 burials were west-east aligned, however this varied as the graves followed the contours of the hill. Two possible north-south aligned burials and the presence of disarticulated bone in several phase 1 graves suggest that there was an earlier phase of cemetery use. None of these burials contained evidence of coffins, however one grave contained a double-tongued buckle and a knife (Figure III.37), and appeared to be partially lined by tilted stone slabs. This burial (1097)\(^6\) was radiocarbon dated to 560-660 AD (cal 2 sigma). Of the nine excavated articulated skeletons, seven were adult males, one was a juvenile aged 14 to 17 years and one was a neonate. Of the 66 individuals identified in the charnel, nine were juveniles and two were infants. Several females were also identified from the charnel. This phase of the cemetery has been interpreted as an ordinary lay cemetery (Hall and Whyman 1996: 120).

\(^6\) This burial is numbered 1097, located beneath burial 1064 in the text (Hall and Whyman 1996: 83), however the illustration of the knife and buckle (Hall and Whyman 1996: 89) is labelled as burial 1064. The present author has assumed that the grave number used in the text was correct.
The phase 2 burials were consistently west-north-west to east-south-east aligned, and cut into the phase 1 cemetery. Between four and nine of these graves contained iron brackets, straps, hasps and locks, indicative of chest burials. Two burials (1045 and 2006) were radiocarbon dated to 660-810 AD and 680-880 AD respectively (both dates given to 2 sigma). One burial, grave 1073, was lined with a frame of longbones disturbed from previous interments (Figure III.38). Of the ten articulated skeletons attributed to this phase, nine were identified as adult males. The tenth skeleton was also an adult, but could not be sexed with any certainty. This phase of burial has been interpreted as a possible monastic cemetery (Hall and Whyman 1996: 120).

During phase 3 the burial orientations were more variable, but graves were predominantly west-south-west to east-north-east aligned. These burials respected the phase 2 cemetery, being inserted between the rows of the phase 2 cemetery. However the phase 3 graves frequently cut into phase 1 burials. Two phase 3 burials (1044 and 2005) were radiocarbon dated to 780-990 AD and 660-860 AD respectively (cal 2 sigma). At least one phase 3 burial was in a chest (see Figure III.39). Three individuals were buried in a single grave, which is unusual for this period. Of the eight articulated inhumations attributed to this phase, five were adult males and three were juveniles. One of the juveniles suffered from spinal tuberculosis that would have resulted in curvature of the spine. This phase of cemetery use has been tentatively interpreted as a cemetery for 'outsiders' (Hall and Whyman 1996: 124).

Although most burials were approximately west-east aligned, each phase contained one individual that was east-west aligned. In addition there was one prone burial in the phase 2 cemetery. Hall and Whyman (1996: 124) estimate that the northern slope of Ailcy Hill may have held c.400 burials, and that the total burial population could be up to five times that amount.


Ripon
All Hallows Hill
Undated Bones
SE 314 713

Ryder (1990) reports that burials were found on All Hallows Hill, 200m north of Ripon cathedral at an unspecified date. These burials were assumed to be Christian, as one of them had an iron cross placed on its chest.

(Ryder 1990)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Human bones were found in a garden 130m northeast of Ripon Minster in 1977. A police report held at the SMR records that the burial was west-east aligned and was close to a cobbled surface that may have sealed the burial, although the stratigraphic relationship between the surface and the burial could not be determined. The removal of the first burial revealed a further two inhumations, indicating the presence of a cemetery.

In 1977 three burials were excavated by D. Greenhaugh in an area 60m south of the Ladykirk site and 80m north of Ripon Cathedral (see Figure III.40). The burials were west-east aligned, supine and extended. One of the graves had an unidentified piece of iron in the grave fill. The only datable object from layers of a similar date to the burials was a 7th-century gold and garnet roundel, known as the 'Ripon Jewel', that unfortunately was not securely stratified. Two of the burials were sealed by a gravely layer that had medieval pottery above it, suggesting they may be pre-Conquest in date. The NMR suggests a date range of 600-850 AD on the basis of the location of the burials between the Ladykirk and the Cathedral. Indeed, it has been suggested that burial 115 may have been an outlier of the Ladykirk cemetery, and that burials 122 and 123 may have been outliers of the Minster cemetery (Hall and Whyman 1996: 131). Ryder (1990) notes that undated burials were found in 1859 when bay windows were inserted into the Deanery.

(Ryder 1990; Hall and Whyman 1996: 130-6; Geake 1997: 189)

In 1955 A. Paget-Baggs excavated an area on the west side of St Marygate, Ripon. A two-celled stone structure, possibly dating to the 12th century, and a small cemetery were uncovered (Figure III.41). This was identified as the site of the Ladykirk. Hall and Whyman (1996: 125) discuss a cluster of burials within the smaller, eastern cell of the structure. In addition burials were located 'outside and to the east of the building' and 'to the south of the larger, western chamber' (Hall and Whyman 1996: 125). Helen Geake (1997:...
stated that 36 burials were excavated in 1955, and that these burials were west-east aligned (although the head end of the grave was not noted). Two phases of burial had been identified by Paget-Baggs on the basis of two slightly different burial alignments. Four bone combs were recovered (the NMR records three), dating to the 9th to 11th centuries. In addition two fragments of 8th- or 9th-century sculpture were recovered from the cemetery. It is probable that the St Marygate inhumations (discussed below) belonged to the Ladykirk cemetery.

(Ryder 1990; Hall and Whyman 1996: 124-30; Geake 1997: 190)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ripon</th>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>NY 19789</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St Marygate; opposite Ladykirk</td>
<td>NMR number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? Late Anglo-Saxon</td>
<td>NMR monarch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE 3152</td>
<td>7124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Excavations by P. Mayes on the other side of St Marygate directly opposite the Ladykirk in 1974 revealed a small cemetery (Figure III.41). Eight west-east aligned burials were recovered, but no associated artefacts. It is probable that these burials belonged to the Ladykirk cemetery, which was situated 12m to the west.

(Hall and Whyman 1996: 124-30; Geake 1997: 190)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Romanby</th>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>NY 12845</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northallerton</td>
<td>NMR number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? Late Anglo-Saxon</td>
<td>NMR monarch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE 360</td>
<td>930</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A pair of 10th-century tortoise brooches were found near Northallerton before 1940. The brooches were reported as coming from an inhumation burial.

(Bjørn and Shetelig 1940: 15, 19)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scarborough</th>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>NY 9326; 9329</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Castle Hill</td>
<td>NMR number</td>
<td>79898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Anglo-Saxon to Medieval</td>
<td>NMR monarch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA 0517</td>
<td>8916</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Excavations at Scarborough castle by F. G. Simpson between 1921 and 1925 revealed an early medieval church and cemetery overlying the Roman signal station. The first church pre-dated the construction of the castle (Figure III.42). It was a two-celled structure and was dated to ‘the earlier part of the eleventh century’ by A. H. Thompson (1931: 51). The church was rebuilt in the 12th century and became the castle chapel after the foundation of the
nearby parish church (which had no surviving fabric dating to before the 12th century).

An associated cemetery containing approximately 400 burials, dating from the late Anglo-Saxon to the later medieval period, was also excavated. The total number of inhumations dating to the Anglo-Saxon period is unknown, however it is evident that some burials were sealed by the church foundations (Thompson 1931). Bell (1998: 311) suggested that an earlier timber church may have been present on the site. The first stone church followed the alignment of the Earlier signal station. Only 129 burials were described as west-east aligned, suggesting that others may have also followed the alignment of the Roman remains. A jet cross dating to the 8th or 9th century was found on the breast of an unidentified burial (Figure III.43), and a mid 11th-century coin was found in grave 84. In addition a coin of Ethelred II, a 9th or 10th-century bronze book mount in the shape of a cross and a 9th-century strap end were recovered during the excavations (these have not been associated with particular graves and may have been unstratified).

(Collingwood 1931; Rowntree 1931: 146-8; Thompson 1931; Bell 1998: 308-11)

Seamer
SMR number NY 12637
NMR number 80194
Mid Anglo-Saxon
NMR monarch
TA 0283 8417

In 1857 an Anglo-Saxon cemetery was investigated by Lord Londesborough after he had found gold and silver grave goods for sale at Scarborough Market. These had come from Seamer Quarry, where workmen had disturbed several burials. Lord Londesborough had the soil from the area of the disturbed burials sifted and recovered several grave goods including gold and silver rings, garnet set gold pins, annular brooches and beads including amethysts. In addition one intact burial was excavated. This was crouched and was accompanied by a knife, a bronze ring and fragments of iron and bone. Local people recalled that human remains had been found at the quarry twenty years earlier. These had been reburied in Seamer churchyard. Helen Geake (1997: 190) dated the grave goods to the conversion period. The full extent of the cemetery remains unknown.

(Whellan 1859a: 921; Wright 1865; Elgee and Elgee 1933: 182; Meaney 1964: 301; Eagles 1979: 418; Geake 1997: 190; Lucy 1998: 131-2)
In 1857 fourteen coffins hewn out of oak logs were found 'while cutting through a piece of ground called the Church Hill' in Selby (Wright 1857: 118). The burials were parallel to each other and aligned west-south-west to east-north-east (it was not recorded where the heads were placed). In addition the foundations of a building were discovered, interpreted as the remains of St Germanus Chapel, which went out of use in 1619. The chapel's burial rights had been transferred to Selby Abbey by 1265-79, suggesting the burials must be earlier in date. These were interpreted as possibly Anglo-Saxon by Wright (1857: 119), despite a lack of datable evidence. The Victoria County History of 1912 recorded that three coffins found with others at Church Hill, Selby were in York Museum. These may have been three of the fourteen discovered in 1857, however one of them contained several beads which were not reported by Wright. Thus it is possible that at least seventeen coffins have been found from the site.

(Wright 1857: 118-9; Hodges 1893: 344-5; Page 1912: 107)

A human skeleton was found opposite the British Legion club in 1965.

(Stewart 1966)

Three inhumations and cremated bones were found in a barrow known as Pudding Pie Hill, near Sowerby in 1855. Grave goods including a shield boss, a dagger and a spearhead dated to the 6th or 7th centuries were also recovered.

(Elgee and Elgee 1933: 183; Meaney 1964: 296)
Spaunton
Also see Appleton-le-Moors
? Anglo-Saxon
SE 729 890

Elgee (1933: 181) reports that a cist burial containing an inhumation, a small Anglo-Saxon food vessel and several beads were found on the Limestone Hills at Spaunton. However a description of what appears to be the same burial, found in a field west of the road between Appleton-le-Moor and Spaunton by Kitson Clark (1935: 62), suggests that the burial (here described as accompanied by a small black pot containing charcoal remains and a few trinkets, small stones or bronze studs) dated to the Roman period.

(Elgee and Elgee 1933: 181; Kitson Clark 1935: 62; Meaney 1964: 301)

Staintondale
? Early Anglo-Saxon
SE 990 984

An Anglian urn was found at Staintondale prior to 1933. Nothing further is known about this discovery.

(Elgee and Elgee 1933: 250; Meaney 1964: 301)

Thirsk
Thirsk Castle
Early Anglo-Saxon
SE 4275 8200

Excavations at Thirsk Castle in 1994 revealed an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery. Seven inhumations (including two children) and three probable robbed graves were identified. The burials were extended and crouched, and were on different orientations. Grave goods including a pottery vessel, knives, a strap end, sleeve clasps and a cruciform brooch were dated to the early 6th century. The cemetery was sealed by a layer of silty sand before the construction of the clay rampart in the 11th century.

(MAP Archaeological Consultancy 1995)

Thornton Dale
Kingthorpe; Kingthorpe House
Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon
SE 83 85

In 1853 Bateman opened a barrow at Kingthorpe, Thornton Dale. He
discovered a disturbed secondary Anglo-Saxon inhumation accompanied by a cruciform brooch, a boar’s tusk and a sherd of pottery.

(Meaney 1964: 292)

Thornton Steward
West of St Oswald’s Church
Mid to Late Anglo-Saxon
SE 169 869

Excavations in advance of a water pipeline in 1996 revealed a mid to late Anglo-Saxon cemetery and a single undated cremation 100m to the west of St Oswald’s Church. A total of seventeen articulated skeletons, including one subadult, and disarticulated material representing at least 9 adults and three subadults were recovered. All of the burials were west-east aligned apart from Grave 069, which was east-west aligned (Figure 111.44). A nail was recovered from the fill of this grave, indicating a coffined burial. Thus it is possible that the burial was reversed accidentally. Many coffin nails and an iron hinge were recovered during the excavations, showing coffins and at least one chest were used in the cemetery. Unfortunately many of these items were unstratified. The iron hinge has been stylistically dated to the late 7th to late 9th centuries.

The presence of two inter-cutting burials and the disarticulated bone indicates that the cemetery was in use for a considerable period of time. This hypothesis was backed up by radiocarbon dates: Grave 066 was dated to 660-810 AD (cal 2 sigma); Grave 058 was dated to 680-900 AD (cal 2 sigma) and Grave 069 was dated to 810-1020 AD (cal 2 sigma). A geophysical survey identified a possible boundary ditch to the north of the cemetery. One inhumation and the cremation (probably of an earlier date than the cemetery) were located beyond this ditch.

(Waterman 1951; Meaney 1964: 295; Geake 1997: 190)
An inscription on the stone sundial above the door of St Gregory's records that the Minster was rebuilt by Orm Gamalson 'in the days of Edward the King and Tosti the Earl' (Rahtz and Watts 1997: 419). This dates the rebuilding of the church to between 1055 and 1065 AD. Several fragments of 10th-century sculptures (mostly cross fragments) are built into the walls of the church. In addition, two 8th- or 9th-century stone slabs from box shrines have been discovered.

Excavations by L. Watts, P. Rahtz and J. Grenville at St Gregory's Minster between 1995 and 1998 revealed burials dating to the late Anglo-Saxon period. A series of burials were excavated in a 5 x 5m trench in a field beyond the churchyard boundary to the north of the church, believed to be the area of the pre-Conquest monastery. The burials were northwest-southeast aligned and supine and extended. The skeletons were poorly preserved, but included men, women and children, suggesting this was a lay cemetery. Pottery dating to the 8th and 9th centuries was recovered from the cemetery layers. The cemetery was covered by an occupation layer and a timber building associated with craft working debris, including an inscribed lead plaque dating to the 8th to 10th centuries (Figure III.45). Approximately 500 sherds of 11th- to 12th-century pottery were also recovered from this area. These deposits have been interpreted as those of the pre-Conquest monastery. In addition, a geophysical survey revealed a ditch in the field which may have been the monastery vallum.

A trench adjacent to the church tower contained densely packed burials and charnel deposits dating from the late Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods. The earliest burials were northwest-southeast aligned, unlike the later church and burials which were orientated west-east. One of these early burials was in a wooden coffin with edging stones around the grave. A robbed out wall was also found on the early orientation, which may have belonged to the earlier church. A 10th- to 11th-century sarcophagus was also recovered, but was found to contain later charnel (Figure III.46).

Wensley
Late Anglo-Saxon
SE 092 895

In 1915 grave diggers found a burial with an iron sword, spearhead, sickle and knife in Wensley churchyard. Stone foundations, possibly of an Anglo-Saxon church, were also discovered. The burial has been interpreted as that of a Scandinavian on the basis of the presence of grave goods, although the SMR states that the sword was of Anglo-Saxon manufacture.

(Richards 2000: 150)

Westow
Kirkham Priory
Late Anglo-Saxon to Medieval
SE 736 658

An early medieval and later medieval cemetery and church at Kirkham Priory were excavated between 1978 and 1982 by R.A.H. Williams. Nineteen graves containing twenty individuals were discovered in the Gatehouse area. All of the burials were west-east aligned and one was partially lined. The skeletons were supine and extended and had their hands placed in their laps. The presence of disarticulated bone in grave fills indicates the cemetery was in use for a considerable length of time. Two of the burials were radiocarbon dated, giving a combined range of 1020 to 1130 AD (cal 1 sigma). The cemetery was interpreted as that of the pre-monastic village church.

(Coppack et al. 1995)

Wharram
Birdsall; Wharram Percy
? Anglo-Saxon
SE 835 627

In 1868 Mortimer excavated a barrow (number 127) to the south of the Wharram Percy group. The barrow had been cut by a linear earthwork. He excavated two secondary inhumations located to the east of the centre of the barrow. The graves were cut into the up-cast of the linear earthwork. One of the burials had been disturbed in the lumber region, possibly by a post hole. The second had also been disturbed, with just the leg and hip bones present. Neither of the burials had any grave goods, but Mortimer interpreted these as Anglo-Saxon in date.

(Mortimer 1905: 50-2; Meaney 1964: 303; Eagles 1979: 422; Lucy 1998: 132)
The church of St Martin, Wharram Percy was excavated between 1962 and 1974. A sequence of church building foundations (Figure III.47) and the surrounding cemetery were excavated. The earliest stone church (Phase II) was two-celled and was constructed in the early to mid 11th century. This post-dates a series of postholes, which may represent the foundations of an earlier timber-built church (Phase I), probably dating to the 10th century. Three coins dating to the 8th and 9th century and a 9th-century zoomorphic strap-end recovered during the excavation of the graveyard indicate the site was used prior to the construction of the Phase I structure, although the nature of this activity is unknown.

The cemetery to the north and west of the church was excavated, along with many graves within the later medieval church. Approximately 600 burials containing about 1000 individuals were excavated, dating from the late Anglo-Saxon period to the 16th century. Only the burials inside the church have been fully published, thus this summary is based on interim statements. It is unclear how many burials dated to the pre-Conquest period due to the complex stratigraphy of the graveyard, however several burials sealed by the Phase II chancel and construction layers may have been contemporary with the Phase I structure identified as a probable church. A group of burials to the east of the Phase II chancel were described as being in coffins, however no details were recorded about these burials or their coffins at the time of excavation (Bell and Beresford 1987: 56). As no timber survived in the deepest areas of excavation elsewhere at the site, it is likely that the coffins were identified on the basis of coffin stains (Bell and Beresford 1987: 57) or the presence of nails or fittings. In addition, an articulated leg cut by the Phase II chalk revetment was radiocarbon dated to 980-1160 AD (calibrated to 1 o).

No burials dating to Phase II were located inside the church, however a group of burials to the south of the chancel have been dated to Phase II. These three graves, of two adults and a subadult, were covered by in situ limestone grave slabs dating to the 11th century (Figure III.48). These three burials also had headstones, and one had a footstone. A fourth headstone immediately to the north of these burials was cut by a Phase II chalk raft. As the head and foot stones had been cut off at ground level it was impossible to ascertain if these had been carved. The burials with grave covers were radiocarbon dated to 1000-1220 AD, 1020-1210 AD and 980-1160 AD (all calibrated to 1 o). Fragments of further Anglo-Saxon and later medieval grave slabs had been used in the construction of later churches. Two further burials were cut by the Phase II chalk raft. The burial of a child directly
overlay an adult burial. This grave was covered by a thin layer of charcoal (radiocarbon dated to 1020-1220 AD, calibrated to 1 o), interpreted as a decayed charred coffin lid by the excavator (Bell and Beresford 1987: 59). The full extent of the Phase II cemetery is unknown, however graves containing pillow stones and the presence of unstratified ornamental pins to the north of the church indicate that it was quite extensive. This cemetery was probably bounded by a stream to the east and a ditch located 6m to the north of the church. The western and southern limits of the cemetery have not yet been identified.


Wharram Percy
Wharram-le-Street

SE 858 645

Excavation at Wharram Percy in 1990 revealed the burial of a neonate on the up-cast from the building of a nearby sunken-featured building. This was radiocarbon dated to 600-760 AD (cal 2 sigma). A collection of butchered sheep bones (radiocarbon dated to 541-663 AD, cal 2 sigma) were found nearby along with an unusual veined stone. These were interpreted as a food offering and a grave marker.

(Milne and Richards 1992: 20, 79, 84-5; Geake 1997: 190)

Wharram Percy House, Wharram-le-Street

Anglo-Saxon
SE 858 642

An Anglo-Saxon inhumation was found near Wharram Percy House, Wharram-le-Street before 1935. No further information is available about the burial.

(Kitson Clark 1935: 39; Eagles 1979: 453; Lucy 1998: 39)

Whitby Abbey

Whitby Abbey was partially excavated in the 1920s. Unfortunately only two
plans and a finds register survive, so little is known about the details of the excavations. Several graves are shown on the site plan. Some of these are labelled as ‘medieval’, others are not, suggesting that these graves may be Anglo-Saxon in date. Indeed, some of these burials are shown to be stratigraphically earlier than building walls on the site plan, suggesting an early date. Although Peers and Radford (1943: 33) state that the site of the Anglian cemetery is unknown, they refer to textile remains from ‘the Saxon cemetery at Whitby’, implying some graves were excavated. Peers and Radford (1943: 33) also refer to a stone-lined grave possibly dating to the Anglo-Saxon period. The finds register indicates that funerary material including inscribed grave markers were recovered, however it is not clear if these were found in situ. Thus it is likely that some burials dating from the time of the Anglo-Saxon monastery were recovered, but that the main monastic cemetery was not discovered.

(Peers and Radford 1943; Cramp 1976b: 112-9; Cramp 1976a; Rahtz 1976; Geake 1997: 190)

Whitby
Whitby Abbey Headland
Mid to Late Anglo-Saxon

SMR number NY Parish File
NMR number 1311426
NMR monarch
NZ 9030 1122

Excavations to the south of Whitby Abbey since 1994 have revealed an enclosure, cemetery and structures that may relate to the Anglo-Saxon monastery founded by Oswy in 657 (Figure III.49). The project design of 2000 stated that 144 graves had been found to date (Figure III.50). These were west-east aligned, arranged in rows and tightly packed. Two phases of burial were evident, on the basis of two slightly different burial alignments. The bone preservation at the site was poor, however the skeletons of male and female adults, subadults and an infant have been identified. Coffin stains and metal strapping indicates that coffins were used in the cemetery. A sceat dating to 700-740 AD, one shroud pin and several quartz stones have been found in graves. The excavations also revealed a wall, which may have been a cemetery boundary. The presence of late Roman pottery, a 4th-century glass gaming piece and a late Roman cremation in a square box indicate that some of the burials date to the late Roman period and have led to the tentative suggestion that the monastery may have been re-founded by Oswy and Hild in the 7th century (English Heritage 2000: 10). This is an ongoing project.

Appendix III: Gazetteer

Willerby
Driffield III; Burdale; Wharram
Early Anglo-Saxon
SE 864 639*

Sometime before 1859 a human skull ‘and other remains’, iron weapons and an Anglo-Saxon sword were found during the construction of the Burdale tunnel on the Malton Driffield railway. This site has been called Wharram (Lucy 1998: 132) and Driffield III (Meaney 1964: 287) in subsequent studies.


Willerby
Grainger’s Pit; Staxton; Willerby
Filling Station
Early Anglo-Saxon
TA 0228 7930

In 1937 human bones were found during the construction of a petrol station at Willerby. The site was investigated by Sheppard who described four early Anglo-Saxon inhumations accompanied by grave goods. The site was excavated more extensively by Brewster who recorded 38 inhumations, 21 of which were accompanied by grave goods. Unfortunately most of the finds and records from these excavations were destroyed during the Second World War, although some were described by Sheppard (1938). Further excavations by Gwatkin in 1939 revealed another five burials, two of which were crouched. Brewster returned to the site in 1947, when he excavated eight burials, and in 1952 when just one more inhumation was recovered. The grave goods from the cemetery have been dated to the 5th and 6th centuries.

(Sheppard 1938; Stead 1962: 129; Meaney 1964: 301-2; Eagles 1979: 70, 199, 453; Lucy 1998: 132)

Womersley
SMR number NY 9647
NMR number
Mid Anglo-Saxon
SMR number NY 9647
NMR number
SE 535 195

An inhumation burial was found in 1860 accompanied by a gold filigree and garnet pendant. This has been dated to the 7th century (see Figure III.51).

(Bateman 1860: 289; Meaney 1964: 303; Geake 1997: 191)
Appendix III: Gazetteer

Yearsley
Yearsley Common
Undated Bones

SMR number NY 1860
NMR number
NMR monarch

SE 586 745

In 1868 and 1869 at least four cist burials were found on Yearsley Common. Three of these burials were extended and the fourth was crouched. No artefacts were associated with the burials. Greenwell (1877:551) suggested that they might date to the 7th or 8th century, however Meaney (1964: 303) was doubtful.

(Greenwell 1877: 550-1; Elgee and Elgee 1933: 181-2; Meaney 1964: 303)

York
Blue Bridge Lane
Late Anglo-Saxon to Medieval

SMR number YC Report 52
NMR number 1193541
NMR monarch

SE 6070 5100

A single west-east aligned burial was recorded by YAT during an archaeological evaluation in Blue Bridge Lane in 1994. A second burial was subsequently discovered just to the west of the first burial. These burials were probably outliers of the St Andrew’s Fishergate cemetery, which was located just to the north.

(York Archaeological Trust 1994)

York
Coppergate
Late Anglo-Saxon

SMR number
NMR number
NMR monarch

SE 6044 5168

Several skeletons were found during the Coppergate excavations in layers dating to the 9th century (Figure III.52). These were not within a formal cemetery and have been interpreted in various ways: as ‘victims of the unrest in York at the Viking takeover, accorded only perfunctory burial without ceremony in whatever pits were handy and invitingly open to take unwanted corpses. Alternatively they may represent an unknown and unrecognised rite, such as the sanctification of newly-settled ground through the burial of early arrivals; or, more prosaically, they may simply represent a phase of burial before the family or a group in question accepted the idea of group burial in a cemetery’ (Hall 1994: 43)

(Hall 1994: 43)
Excavations by L. P. Wenham at Florence Row, York in 1962 revealed three inhumations (an adult female, and infant and the legs of an unsexed adult) post-dating a Roman building (see Figure III.53). A further grave cut containing the disarticulated bones of a child aged 4 years and a fragment of a silver armlet was also excavated. Wenham (1963: 13) stated that these burials may be contemporary with those from the 1961 excavations at the adjacent church of St. Mary Bishophill Junior, and thus may date to the 10th century. A bone pin was found 15cm away from the skull of one of the burials, although it is uncertain if this artefact was directly associated with the burial.

(Wenham 1963; Wenham et al. 1987: 75-83)

A large number of Anglo-Saxon cremation urns, dating to the mid 5th to 6th centuries, were found at Heworth in 1878. These contained cremated bone and grave goods including burnt beads and bronze tweezers. Forty urns from the cemetery were deposited at York Museum. Excavations in 1965 confirmed the extent of the cemetery identified by J. Raines in 1878.

(Smith 1912b: 103; Elgee and Elgee 1933: 179; Pugh 1961: 3; Meaney 1964: 291; Keen 1966)

Human bones were first found in a mound known as Lamel Hill c.1824. Further bones were discovered in 1847-1848. In 1849 the mound was excavated by John Thurnarn, who found between 20 and 30 skeletons (including six children) and some disarticulated bone (Figure III.54). The burials were west-east aligned and spaced at regular distances. A Roman pot was found at the centre of the mound. In addition, an area of charcoal and burnt human bone was recorded. Many nails and iron rivets were found across the site, along with several metal strips. Several of these were bent,
forming right angles. Some of the pieces of iron had nails passing through the metal. These sound very much like coffin fittings. Thurnam dated the cemetery to the 8th century.

In 1983 an adjacent area was excavated by YAT in advance of building work. A previously undisturbed area of the flat cemetery was investigated. A total of 38 burials were found. The majority of the burials were west-east aligned, although two or three were east-west aligned. The orientation of the burials followed the curve of the cultivation terraces. Five of the skeletons were thought to have been decapitated at the time of excavation, one burial had a foot removed, one burial had a hand removed and a further individual had two articulated fingers placed between the femurs, away from the rest of their hand (Briden 1983: 12; 1984: 7). These burials were interpreted by the excavator as having been executed or deliberately mutilated (Briden 1983; 1984), however, Geake (1997: 190) suggests that these may have been disturbed at a later date, as none of the bones had cut marks indicative of decapitation. One of the burials was accompanied by an iron knife and a small buckle. The remainder of the burials were unaccompanied. Two coffin fittings similar to those found by Thurnam were found close to the skull of a young child. An iron strip, a nail and several fragments of wood were found with disarticulated bone.

(Thurnam 1849; Elgee and Elgee 1933: 186-7; Meaney 1964: 293; Briden 1983; Youngs et al. 1983: 249; Briden 1984; Geake 1997: 190)

York
St Andrew's Fishergate; 46-54
Fishergate; Redfearn National
Glass Factory
Late Anglo-Saxon to Medieval
SE 6065 5115

The cemetery of St Andrew's Fishergate was excavated by YAT in 1985 and 1986. The cemetery was founded in the late 10th century and continued to be used through the later medieval period, although St Andrew's was re-founded as a Gilbertine priory at the end of the 12th century (Stroud and Kemp 1993: 121). A total of 402 burials were excavated and a further 10 were recorded but left in situ. 131 of these burials dated to the Anglo-Scandinavian and early Norman periods (Phase 4, late 10th to 12th centuries, see Figure III.55). The burials were approximately west-east aligned. Coffin nails and iron staining on several skeletons indicate that coffins were used in the cemetery. One grave contained an iron bracket typical of chest burial. A plain stone marker marked the grave of one child. In addition, one adult individual (who had been decapitated) was furnished with pillow stones. There was a high occurrence of weapon injuries within the phase 4 population, and many of these individuals were buried in double graves.
These have been interpreted as being from a single event such as a battle (Stroud and Kemp 1993: 127), possibly the battle of Fulford Gate, which was fought shortly before Stamford Bridge (Daniell 2001: 223). A wooden structure associated with the cemetery has been interpreted as an early church. This was replaced by a stone church in the later 11th century.

(Stroud and Kemp 1993; Daniell 2001)

York
St Helen-on-the-Walls; NMR number 1121894
Ebor brewery, Aldwark
Late Anglo-Saxon to Medieval
SE 6066 5213

A sequence of five churches and the associated cemetery of St Helen-on-the-Walls were excavated by YEG and YAT from 1973 to 1978. The first church was a small single-celled structure, 5.8 x 4.1m, dating to the 10th or 11th century. This was extended in the 12th century by the addition of a chancel (see Figure III.56). No burials pre-dated the building of the first church, however one burial (5740) was stratigraphically earlier than the south wall of the later chancel. A single burial (5465) had been cut through the chancel floor, with the floor surface of the chancel re-lain over the grave cut. This burial was interpreted as high status by the excavator, on the basis of its location inside the church. A small sheet metal cruciform belt mount was associated with this burial.

The associated cemetery was in use from the 10th to the mid 16th century. Over 1000 complete and partial skeletons were excavated along with disarticulated material, with a minimum of 1041 individuals represented by the whole sample (Figure III.57). It is estimated that approximately two-thirds of the cemetery was excavated. Due to the density of burial and the homogenous soil, no stratigraphic relationships were recorded in the cemetery, making it impossible to identify the pre-Conquest burials. A 6m length of the cemetery wall was located to the south of the cemetery, with just three burials located beyond the cemetery limits. A single charcoal burial was excavated to the north-west of the church. This was radiocarbon dated to 1140±80 ad (uncal.). Coffin stains were recorded for five of the deeper burials, and nails indicative of coffins were found in an unspecified number of additional burials. Several burials had partial stone linings around the skull, similar to those found at York Minster, and two burials had a mortar lining and a mortar base (5415 and 5316 respectively). An unspecified number of burials contained bronze shroud pins, and further skeletons had green stains indicating a shroud pin had once been present. In addition, three silver finger rings, a gold finger ring, a pair of bronze tweezers, a wire necklet and a later medieval pilgrim badge were found in graves across the cemetery.
Excavations by P. Wenham between 1961 and 1963 in the churchyard of St Mary Bishophill Junior revealed four burials dating to the Anglo-Scandinavian period (see Figures III.53 and III.58). Two individuals buried with grave goods dating to the 9th-10th centuries have been interpreted as Scandinavians (Hall 1994: 43-4). The first was accompanied by a Scandinavian-style silver penannular arm ring with a ring attached to it (Figure III.59). The second was buried with a silver St Peter penny dating to 905-15, an iron knife, a whetstone and a copper alloy buckle (only the plate of which was recovered). All of the burials were supine and extended and orientated approximately west-east. This differs from the orientation of the earlier Roman buildings and the standing church of St. Mary Bishophill Junior, both of which were orientated north-east to south-west. Further burials, including one associated with a bone pin, excavated in Florence Row in 1962 may have belonged to the same cemetery.

(Wenham et al. 1987: 75-83; Hall 1994: 43-4; Richards 2000: 151)

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Excavations on the site of the demolished church of St Mary Bishophill Senior in 1964 revealed a 10th- to 11th-century cemetery. An unspecified number of burials were recovered, along with a 10th-century strap end. The foundations of the nave of the church cut through earlier graves. This indicates that there was a cemetery, and possibly a church, present before the construction of the nave in the 11th century. Nineteen or twenty fragments of Anglo-Saxon sculpture (including one hogback) were recovered from the site during the demolition of the church and subsequent excavation.

Appendix III: Gazetteer

York
Swinegate
Late Anglo-Saxon
SE 603  520

The Swinegate cemetery was excavated in 1989 and 1990 by YAT. A total of 100 west-north-west/east-south-east aligned burials were excavated, along with several deposits of charnel (Figure III.60). 38 of the burials were in preserved oak coffins, constructed using dowel pegs, and eight of the burials were either lain on or under a wooden plank. Seven of these coffins were dendrochronologically dated to the very late 9th to the early 11th centuries.

In trench 3 the burials were well spaced and arranged in rows, with little evidence of inter-cutting. However, burial density to the south, with many layers of graves excavated in trenches 14 and 15. The exact location of the church of St Benet’s was not revealed during the excavations. Many of the burials were sealed by an 11th-century metalled surface. This marked the cessation of burial activity in trenches 5, 7, 8 and 11, however burial continued in trenches 3 and 15, cutting through the metalled surface.

(Pearson 1989; Gaimster et al. 1990: 221; Pearson 1990; Nenk et al. 1991: 198-9; Bagwell and Tyers 2001)

York
York I; Castle Yard; Former
Female Prison
Mid to Late Anglo-Saxon
SE 6057  5147

In 1829 a 6th-century bronze hanging bowl and two earthen ware vessels were found during the construction of the jail in Castle Yard. These artefacts probably came from an inhumation burial (Meaney 1964: 303). Excavations in 1998 by YAT revealed several graves dating to the 9th to 11th centuries under the rampart of the 11th-century castle. Only two burials were excavated, however further graves were visible in the sides and bases of excavated features. The burials were west-east aligned and appeared to be regularly spaced. The presence of inter-cutting burials indicate that the cemetery was in use for a considerable length of time. A bronze styca dating to 840-867 was also discovered during the excavations. It is not clear if the bronze hanging bowl came from the same cemetery, however it is possible that the cemetery was in use from the 6th century.

(Meaney 1964: 303; York Archaeological Trust 1998)
Anglo-Saxon cremation urns were found on a raised ridge known as The Mount in a garden half a mile outside Micklegate Bar in 1859. Five urns were deposited in York Museum and have been dated to the 5th century. Meaney (1964: 303) notes that an Anglo-Saxon cremation urn from York donated to the British Museum in 1853 may have come from this cemetery. The location of the 1859 discoveries was identified by I. M. Stead in the 1950s. Excavations in a garden on The Mount recovered fragments of approximately six urns similar to those in York Museum from disturbed 19th-century levels, confirming the location of the cemetery. No urns were found in situ.

(Meaney 1964: 303-4)

Audrey Meaney (1964: 304) records that A. Pritchard had two Anglo-Saxon skulls from near York in his collection before 1898. She also reports that Hull Museum had four Anglo-Saxon spearheads from York.

(Meaney 1964: 304)

The Anglo-Scandinavian cemetery at York Minster was excavated between 1969 and 1973. A total of 118 pre-Conquest burials were excavated (Figure III.61). These were orientated north-east/south-west, following the alignment of the underlying Roman buildings. These burials are within an 11th-century west-east aligned apsidal church, which appears to post-date this phase of the cemetery. Part of the cemetery was overlain by an 11th-century cobbled surface, which sealed the Anglo-Scandinavian burials. Burial continued in this area on the north-east/south-west alignment (Phillips and Heywood 1995a). There was a great deal of variation in burial practice at York Minster, with evidence of stone and tile lined graves, chests, charcoal burials and stone grave covers and markers (Phillips and Heywood...
1995a). This probably reflects the high status of the Minster cemetery, which is known to have been the resting-place of various bishops and royalty (Rollason 1998).

South Yorkshire

**Braithwell**
- SMR number: SY 1283
- NMR number
- NMR monarch

Undated Bones
- SK 5228 9400

Undated burials in possible stone cists have been found on scrub at the edge of a quarry prior to 1977. The SMR notes that the grid reference of this site may be inaccurate as no quarry is recorded at that location, however they note that there was a quarry at another (unspecified) side of the village.

(Magilton 1977: 18)

**Conisbrough**
- SMR number: SY 2269
- NMR number
- NMR monarch

Conisbrough Churchyard

?- Late Anglo-Saxon

SK 512 988

The SMR quotes Miller’s (1804) discussion of Conisbrough church: ‘when the Norman tomb was moved, digging down revealed a north-south burial and directly under this what was clearly an east-west cist burial with charcoal’. It is possible that the west-east burial is a late Anglo-Saxon charcoal burial, and this description indicates that the burial pre-dated a Norman tomb. However, this may be a later medieval charcoal burial. The north-south burial could be of any date prior to the 8th century.

(Miller 1804: 262)

**Dinnington St John’s**
- SMR number
- NMR number
- NMR monarch

Dinnington

Undated Bones
- SK 52 85

Cairn excavated by workmen in 1862 containing 22 skeletons. Twelve of these were in the centre of the mound. The evidence regarding the orientation and position of the bodies is unreliable, however most are said to have been crouched. No artefacts were associated with the burials. Elgee and Elgee (1933) suggest that this barrow was similar to Lamel Hill in York and Anglo-Saxon in date, however he states that the excavator believed the skeletons were Roman, due to the cranial morphology. The lack of detailed information about the cemetery makes it impossible to date the burials.

(Elgee and Elgee 1933: 187; Meaney 1964: 285-6)
Goldthorpe
Bolton Hall, Bolton on Dearne
Undated Bones
SMR number SY 2193
NMR number
NMR monarch
SE 451 027

Human bones were discovered during the building of Bolton Hall prior to 1838.

(White 1837-8: 163)

Stainborough
Stainborough Hall
Undated Bones
SMR number SY 1217
NMR number
NMR monarch
SE 320 030

Hunter (1831: 263) reports that 'the papers of Wilson of Broomhead' state that “when Lord Strafford was making the south front of his house, the workmen, in digging the foundations in 1762 or 1763, found a square place walled round like a grave, in which lay a man in armour, which being touched, fell to ashes. My lord sent some of the armour to the Royal Society and to Mr Walpole, who judged by the form that it was of the age of the Conquest. My lord showed me two pieces of armour, which was made of wire and studded with silver, one of which he gave to me, with 2 pieces of cloth, one thicker than the other, and some of the bones.”

This is a highly romanticised report and the detail should not be relied upon. However it is possible that human remains were recovered from Stainborough Hall.

(Hunter 1831: 263)

Wadworth
Stancil Roman Villa
Undated Bones
SMR number SY 964
NMR number 00007
NMR monarch
SK 6070 9600

Skeletons were found at Stancil Roman Villa in 1938. The police were called out and ‘perhaps up to 40’ skeletons were found, three of which were associated with a stone wall. The site was visited by R. Smedley of Doncaster Museum, who undertook a small excavation in 1938, revealing stone walls and two more skeletons. Further excavations in 1939 revealed a Roman villa and approximately 30 more skeletons in different parts of the building. Adults and juveniles were recovered. No artefacts were recovered and the burials were on various orientations. These are thought to post-date the villa, however the report by Whiting states that ‘one of [the skeletons] was partly under the wall’ (1940-3: 261), giving rise to the possibility that some or
all of the burials pre-dated the villa. However, Hildyard reported that, according to Smedley, the burials were ‘divided from the building by a thick occupation layer’ (1952: 241-5). It is apparent that the true nature and date of this site will remain unknown. The total number of burials recovered appears to have been around 70 to 80, however the poor standard of the excavation and reporting leaves this in doubt.

(Whiting 1940; Whiting 1943; Hildyard 1952-55: 241-5; Meaney 1964: 301; Magilton 1977: 84)
West Yorkshire

Addingham

SMR number  WY 2079
NMR number  1244762

Late Anglo-Saxon
NMR monarch  906774
SE 0846  4972

In 1989 an evaluation 60m to the west of the present church identified traces of inhumations and a ditch (Figure III.62). Subsequently an excavation of an area 15 x 13m was undertaken. This revealed 56 west-east aligned graves arranged in four rows (Figure III.63). Only four of the excavated burials inter-cut, indicating that they had been marked. The cemetery was clearly defined by an unmarked boundary to the north-east. The burials to the east of the cemetery were much more densely packed than those to the west, so much so that several graves were so narrow that the bodies had to be buried on their sides. Four of the skeletons were radiocarbon dated to 660 - 1020 AD (see Table III.6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burial</th>
<th>Uncalibrated C-14 age BP</th>
<th>Calibrated dates AD</th>
<th>Calibration details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A 93</td>
<td>990 ± 70</td>
<td>880 – 990</td>
<td>790 – 1020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 104</td>
<td>1460 ± 50</td>
<td>670 – 790</td>
<td>660 – 880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 120</td>
<td>1250 ± 60</td>
<td>670 – 860</td>
<td>660 – 890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 182</td>
<td>990 ± 70</td>
<td>720 – 900</td>
<td>670 – 980</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table III.6: Radiocarbon dates for Addingham

Thirty-nine of the graves contained undisturbed ‘primary’ interments. Nine of the graves, located in the two more westerly rows, were empty or contained just fragments of human bone. At least 27 individuals had been disturbed or reburied after partially decomposing (referred to as ‘secondary’ burials by Adams). These were buried with undisturbed ‘primary’ interments and in separate graves. Three of the articulated burials had been placed in graves above earlier disturbed inhumations, and two graves had disturbed bones arranged around the sides. Adams (1996) suggested that something of importance, for example the church, a cross or an important grave, to the east of the excavated cemetery was a focus for burial. This became a focal point in the cemetery, and the local community desired to bury the dead as close to this point as possible, leading to the dense burial in the east of the cemetery, the reuse of eastern graves and the translation of some individuals into graves further east.

The bone preservation was poor, and 18 burials had been disturbed by a medieval ditch, limiting the osteological data available for the cemetery. However it is clear that males and females, adults and children were present. The minimum number of individuals (MNI) for the site was difficult to
assess, and lay within a range of 41 (true MNI) and 81 individuals (based on the MNI for each archaeological feature). Iron nails were found in the fills of four of the graves, suggesting that coffins may have been used in the cemetery. However, many of the graves were so narrow that many of the cemetery population must have been buried in shrouds.

The lack of inter-cutting and neat arrangement of the cemetery suggests that it was only used for one generation of burial. Human bones were discovered in 1869 between the church and the 1990 excavations, indicating that either the cemetery was once much larger and had shrunk over time, or that it had gradually shifted towards the east.

(Gaimster et al. 1990: 222; Adams 1996; Geake 1997: 191)

**Barwick in Elmet**

SMR number    WY 3405
NMR number

**Undated Bones**

NMR monarch

SE 400    370

Two adult skeletons were found in 1962. One of these was in a stone coffin, which was dated to the 12th century by RCHM.

**Collingham**

Dalton Parlours

NMR number

? Mid Anglo-Saxon

NMR monarch

SE 402    445

A single inhumation was found overlying a Roman villa. The burial was flexed and accompanied by a small annular brooch, probably dating to the 7th century. It was sealed by a layer of deconstruction rubble. The boundary ditches had been filled with debris after the villa was deserted in the 4th century. Sherds of an Anglo-Saxon funerary urn were found within this fill.


**Ferry Fryston**

Angel Moon Field, Ferrybridge

NMR number

? Early to Mid Anglo-Saxon

NMR monarch

SE 4734    2499

A barrow was first disturbed in 1811 and found to contain an unquantified amount of human remains which were reburied in Fryston churchyard. One of these burials was reportedly ‘in armour’, which Greenwell suggested was a garbled report of an Anglo-Saxon weapon burial. The barrow was
excavated in 1863 by two local men, and reported on by Greenwell (Greenwell Barrow number CLXI). The centre of the barrow contained two superimposed extended inhumations. A third skeleton was found to the side of these. The burials were west-east aligned with the heads to the west. A Bronze Age cist burial was found in the centre of the barrow at a much greater depth. Further excavations were undertaken by Greenwell, however he only recovered further prehistoric burials. The three aligned burials were interpreted by Greenwell as secondary Anglo-Saxon burials within the Bronze Age barrow.

(Greenwell 1877: 371-2; Elgee and Elgee 1933: 183-6; Meaney 1964: 288; Faull and Moorhouse 1981: 180)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leeds</th>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>WY 2322</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meadow Lane</td>
<td>NMR number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undated Bones</td>
<td>NMR monarch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE 3020 3301</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A skeleton with buckles and a spearhead was found whilst building the Wesleyan chapel, c.1816. The buckles were described as possible fibulae at the SMR. Faull suggests that the burial was either Anglo-Saxon or Iron Age in date and points out that ‘the small Anglo-Saxon annular brooches of the late 6th and 7th C are sometimes erroneously described as buckles in early reports’ implying that an early Anglo-Saxon date is more likely.

(Faull and Moorhouse 1981: 180)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lofthouse with Carlton</th>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>WY 4642</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carlton</td>
<td>NMR number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undated Bones</td>
<td>NMR monarch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE 33 27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A vaulted chamber 8 x 5 feet, containing human bones and a helmet, was found by workmen digging a well in Carlton in 1733. Mayhall claimed that ‘Saxon characters and the date 992’ were carved on the wall of the chamber.

(Mayhall 1866-78)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>North Elmsall</th>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>WY 1513</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White Hart Farm</td>
<td>NMR number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid Anglo-Saxon</td>
<td>NMR monarch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE 4767 1270</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A loosely flexed male burial accompanied by a spearhead and a gilt-bronze belt fitting was found ‘some 10 yds from the west wall of the church’ in 1962. The grave goods were dated to 600-700 AD by the British Museum. The SMR
records that the find spot is 100-200m from the site of a lost medieval chapel, and is in an extensive area of mid-late Anglo-Saxon finds (WY 4481).

(Bellamy 1963-6: 9; Wilson and Hurst 1964: 238; Faull and Moorhouse 1981: 180; Geake 1997: 191)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pontefract</th>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>WY 2327</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pontefract Castle</td>
<td>NMR number</td>
<td>54370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid to Late Anglo-Saxon</td>
<td>NMR monarch</td>
<td>654206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE 4615</td>
<td>2240</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These burials are thought to be an extension of the large cemetery excavated in The Booths and Tanners Row, associated with and pre-dating a pre-Conquest church at SE 4619 2241. The possible full extent of the cemetery is 150 x 60m. Eight burials have been found pre-dating the construction of the castle immediately to the south of the 11th-century St Clement’s Chapel and further skeletons have been found beneath the bailey bank of the castle, which was built before 1066.

(Youngs et al. 1985: 208; Abramson 1987: 198; Youngs et al. 1987: 172-3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pontefract</th>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>WY 2324</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pontefract Park</td>
<td>NMR number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? Early Anglo-Saxon</td>
<td>NMR monarch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE 455</td>
<td>225</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Human remains, a stone bead or spindle whorl and an iron ladle were found in a sand pit in 1885. The ladle is similar to a 7th-century example from Asklam Wold, although this dating is tentative.

(Faull and Moorhouse 1981: 180)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pontefract</th>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>WY 3800</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanners Row; The Booths</td>
<td>NMR number</td>
<td>905847; 1186464;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Anglo-Saxon</td>
<td>NMR monarch</td>
<td>654210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE 4618</td>
<td>2239</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This large cemetery was excavated prior to and during the realignment of two medieval roads, Tanners Row and The Booths, in Pontefract (Figure III.64). Only a small portion of the cemetery was excavated, and this was under extreme rescue conditions. The full extent of the cemetery is estimated as 150 x 60m, and was sealed under part of Pontefract Castle to the northeast. The burials were west-east aligned with the heads to the west, and were mostly supine and extended. A stone rubble bank may have defined the southern limit of the cemetery.
Site A in Tanners Row was dug in 1985. Twenty-four or twenty-six burials were excavated, some of which were sealed by 10th- to 12th-century settlement. The graves were arranged in rows with only two or three intercutting. Three of the burials were in coffins. In addition several empty graves were excavated. One of the site A burials was radiocarbon dated to 690 ± 90 ad (Wilmott 1987: 342).

Following the excavation of site A, a watching brief was carried out along The Booths in early 1986. Site B was excavated to investigate the remains of a stone building found during the watching brief. Seventy burials were excavated along with the remains of a pre-Conquest church. The first church was built of timber, and was replaced by a single celled stone-built church. This was subsequently enlarged into a two-celled structure by the addition of a larger nave. Three phases of burial were identified on the basis of stratigraphy and changing burial alignment. The first two phases of burial both predated the first stone church. The burials in the earlier of these phases were on the same alignment as the burials excavated in site A and are thought to be contemporary. One of these graves contained a pair of bronze tweezers. Phase 3 was contemporary with the stone church. There were probably two phases of burial during this period, associated with and aligned on the single- and then the two-celled church. However these could not be distinguished from each other archaeologically. A cluster of approximately twenty infant burials were located close to the west wall of the church, and were radiocarbon dated to the 9th or 10th century. This area of the cemetery was also densely packed, with several charnel pits and two burials with disturbed bones neatly lining the sides of the grave.

The cemetery contained lots of evidence of the use of coffins, both in the form of iron nails, straps and hinges and coffin stains. These were used for both adults and children. In addition five graves contained locks, indicating that domestic chests had been used as burial containers. One burial was found with stones located at the shoulders of the skeleton. A total of 197 individuals (15% juveniles) were recovered during the two excavations and the watching brief, along with charnel and disarticulated material representing further individuals.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>NMR number</th>
<th>NMR monarch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pontefract</td>
<td>WY 4616</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinity Hospital; Knolles’ Hospital</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undated Bones</td>
<td>SE 4575</td>
<td>2207</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Human remains were found in 1953 during the construction of the Bus Station. These have been associated with the medieval church of Trinity
Hospital, but have not been dated independently.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>NMR number</th>
<th>NMR monarch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wakefield</td>
<td>WY 2382</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakefield Cathedral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Anglo-Saxon</td>
<td>SE 3335</td>
<td>2092</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The incomplete remains of an inhumation and a 9th-century ring were found sealed by the foundations of Wakefield Cathedral in 1974. The arcade was completed c.1220, but it is believed that the foundations belonged to the original Norman church of c.1100. A second burial and three further cuts may also predate the Norman cathedral. Keith Manchester dated a further 5 skeletons as pre-Conquest in the osteology report, however no reasons for this were given and there is no stratigraphic evidence to support his argument.

(Thorp 1975: 9; Webster and Cherry 1975: 230)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>SMR number</th>
<th>NMR number</th>
<th>NMR monarch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wetherby</td>
<td>WY 2326</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undated Bones</td>
<td>SE 400</td>
<td>483</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Either one complete or two partial skeletons were found in Raby Park prior to 1904. These were flexed and orientated west-east with the head to the west. The SMR records that these may be Christian Anglo-Saxon or late Roman remains. The exact location of the find is unknown, however there was a late Roman cemetery in the vicinity.