The Revival of Uncleby: An antiquarian excavation of an Anglian Cemetery

Volume 1 of 2: Text

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Abstract

The primary aim of this thesis is to contextualise the 19th century excavation of the Anglian cemetery at Uncleby, East Yorkshire by Canon William Greenwell. The site is important for our understanding of Anglo-Saxon England; it dates to the transition to Christianity, and it contains a number of unusual burial forms and grave goods, most famously a whetstone which has been compared to the example from Sutton Hoo. However, information about the discoveries was not made available until 1912, when R.A. Smith presented a paper to the Society of Antiquaries of London. To date this remains the most detailed account of the site, and the excavations have never been properly published. The remaining archive and the recovered objects from the excavation, most of which can be found in the Yorkshire Museum, have provided the basis of this research. By using the objects and contemporary sources, the findings of the excavation and relevant material are presented in detail for the first time, and a full artefact and grave catalogue has been produced, and a major new geophysical survey of the site has been conducted.

The object catalogue and the survey have informed a new discussion of the site and its significance. Furthermore, this thesis highlights a neglected source of information in the archaeological record: antiquarian excavations. In the 19th century countless sites were excavated by amateur archaeologists and antiquarians, many of which have become lost in museum collections. By utilizing these sites and making the data available, researchers have access to new datasets that have the potential to provide new knowledge.

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List of Abbreviations

BM—British Museum

BMH—British Museum Holding

DUJ—*Durham University Journal*

MM—*Malton Messenger*

ODNB—*Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies*

SOA—*Society of Antiquaries*

VCH—*Victoria County Histories*

YH—*Yorkshire Herald*

YMT—Yorkshire Museum Trust

YMTH—Yorkshire Museum Trust Holdings

Preface

The Uncleby Project, as it has casually been dubbed, intended to focus only on the grave goods, and attempt to create biographies of those buried in the Uncleby cemetery. I had hoped that this process would lead to a better understanding of funerary ritual in the Conversion Period, but soon realized that the strength of the Uncleby collection was not only the objects, but the knowledge that could be gathered from all antiquarian sites.

In recent years, museums and similar institutions, have seen drastic decreases in their budgets, as well as a severe lack of space, in some cases leaving museums unable to make new acquisitions or procure loans from other institutions. By looking in house, at archaeological collections already in their stores, a number of possibilities become available. The most positive, in my opinion, is that the objects can be celebrated again, and recognized as an important source of information for further study. If we don't use the materials that we already have, then what is the point of having the objects?

In many ways, the Uncleby Project can be seen as a case study for the possibilities of re-using and reinvigorating a body of material. The findings have been presented in a way to be built upon, and to provide the information to anyone interested in the site or the period.

Acknowledgements

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The project would not have been possible without aid from the Yorkshire Museums Trust, especially Natalie Buy and Adam Parker at the Yorkshire Museum, who granted full access to the Uncleby collection and photographic rights for this project. Similarly, acknowledgement to the British Museum, who also granted me access to their Uncleby collection, and who sent me copies of William Greenwell related archives throughout the years.

Many thanks are given to the assistants and archavists across England, particularly in the Ashmolean Museum, who not only retrieved folder after folder of letters, but also helped me go through them when time was running up.

Profound gratitude and thanks are due to my fellow PhD candidates, who through innumerable conversations and cups of coffee helped when I was stuck, and were excited for me when I wasn't; particular thanks go to Dr Tom Fitton who assisted with my fieldwork, Claire Boardman who took time to help me with ArcGIS, Megan Von Ackerman who has encouraged me every step of the way, and to the rest of the King's Manor G65 office for always keeping things entertaining.

Last but not least, I could not have done this without the love and support of my family, who have been my constant cheerleaders, and who knew I could do it when I was having doubts.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledge as References.

Chapter 1: The Uncleby Project: an introduction

1.1 Introduction

The cemetery at Uncleby, located on a high escarpment overlooking the Vale of York in the Yorkshire Wolds, is an exceptional, but neglected, example of a Mid-Saxon/Conversion Period cemetery. Excavated in 1868 by Canon William Greenwell, the site produced at least 76 Anglian inhumations dating from approximately the late 7th century through to the early 8th century. The quantity and variety of objects that accompanied the majority of the graves are, here, catalogued and published in full for the first time, in the accompanying catalogue as well as through discussion of artefact types in chapter 6.

The majority of the Uncleby collection is housed at the Yorkshire Museum, with a very small number of the Anglian cemetery artefacts in the British Museum. As the only primary sources from the excavation, they have been used to analyse many aspects of the site, as will be shown in chapter 5. Records of the Uncleby excavation (and probably a number of antiquarian excavations) have been lost, or never existed at all. The recovered objects are the only direct links to the excavation, and even then the data is incomplete as at least fifty pieces are missing from the collection. It was not until 1912 that the excavation was published, and not even by the excavator himself! However, the author, Mr R.A. Smith, did have use of Greenwell's site diary (now lost), and had some contributions from Greenwell himself (Smith 1912b, 146).

A number of archives were consulted throughout the project, primarily looking for any references to Uncleby or the Uncleby objects, but also with the small hope that the missing site diary would be found. Unfortunately, the site diary has yet to be re-discovered—if it still exists—and the archive search yielded very little information about Uncleby, but did help to build a profile of William Greenwell, which is discussed in chapter 3.

The descriptions provided in the 1912 article were the only available source for analysing the human remains. Five sets of partial skulls, (PastScape monument number 1239402) held in the Natural History Museum of London, were likely excavated from Uncleby, however they were not accessible throughout the research project. The rest (or all) of the Uncleby remains are presumably still in their

respective graves. Therefore, discussions about the cemetery and graves, in chapter 5 are only interpretations of the text, rather than actual bodies of evidence.

In some cases, deductions have had to be made when trying to interpret the given accounts of the excavation, particularly in regard to the spatial layout of the cemetery, and the descriptions of the graves. Complimentary sites have been referenced to help create an as-accurate-as-possible representation of the written descriptions. Because of this, unfortunately, some of the work can only be speculative, and unless re-excavation is done, will remain so. As well as making the original findings available for the first time, geophysical survey has been conducted in order to bring the Uncleby cemetery to date in modern archaeological standards. The survey was intended to see what, if any, features were present, especially on a site that was excavated and heavily ploughed. The results, as will be discussed in chapter 4, were quite surprising.

The orientation and position of the bodies and their accompanying grave goods provide the primary data for a general study of cemeteries, an area that Hope-Taylor (1977, 262) and Richards (1987, 11-12), amongst others, have cited as lacking. Cemeteries and graves give archaeologists the opportunity to see the customs and people they are studying in a relatively untouched capsule. Objects and material from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, particularly from the 'pagan period' have been a primary source for those interested in Anglo-Saxon studies; they were the basis of antiquarian study, and remain an important aspect in current research (Webster 1986, 123-4). The treatment of the body and the objects that were deemed appropriate for interment are solid pieces of evidence to work with, which have the potential to illuminate the nature of a culture and society, or project an identity of the owner. Furthermore, the location of the cemetery may lead to a better understanding and context of Anglo-Saxon settlements and their use of the landscape.

Before any interpretations can be made, the information must first be made accessible. Antiquarian archaeological sites are a plentiful source of untapped potential. By re-examining these sites, such as Uncleby, we can add to our pre-existing knowledge base. It is not only the sites that can provide fresh insight to the archaeological record, but the excavators as well. Their interests, practices, and even personalities, have influenced how we view and approach many aspects of

archaeology. Without their work, we would not have the foundations to expand and build upon.

The following research is meant to show the usefulness of an antiquarian site. By marrying the antiquarian data with updated technologies and approaches, Uncleby has become a renewed site of interest. Before examining Uncleby in detail, terminology and a brief account of previous studies in Anglo-Saxon archaeology will be discussed in this chapter.

1.2 Scopes and Aims of the study

The Uncleby project has evolved to include many facets of archaeological inquiry, and therefore utilizes a number of methodologies. The approaches are relatively conventional, but are briefly explained at the start of each chapter. Because of the available sources from the original excavation, or rather, lack thereof, the material more or less dictated that a more traditional approach initially be taken. Overall, theoretical methodologies and approaches have attempted to be restrained in the process, with the aim of letting the provided research and material act as a foundation that can be built upon at a later date.

The aims of the study are to show that antiquarian sites can still yield a tremendous amount of information, and to show the importance of the Anglian cemetery at Uncleby, both in terms of the grave assemblages and as a cemetery in the Yorkshire Wolds in the Conversion Period. To do this, the landscape of the Yorkshire Wolds are discussed in general terms, as well as Anglian domestic and funerary sites in chapter 2. Chapter 3 goes on to explain the antiquarian and 19th century evolution of archaeology through different scientific trends and societies that helped to develop archaeological practices in the late 19th century. The chapter further explores how these ideas influenced William Greenwell's archaeological interests and practices.

An overview of the 19th century Uncleby excavation is also produced in chapter 4, which discusses the primary sources that have been used throughout this thesis. This is followed by the results of geophysical survey that was carried out on the site in 2015 and interpretations of the physical and historical landscape in the immediate area of the Uncleby barrow. Chapter 5 looks at the cemetery itself, through grave orientation, body position, spatial patterning and demographic analysis. As the objects are the only reliable data that exist from the excavation,

chapter 6 describes, compares and discusses the artefacts by type. The concluding chapter reviews the scope of the research, and discusses the impact and future of antiquarian sites and the Uncleby cemetery.

1.21 Research Objectives

The current thesis is meant to explore a number of possibilities relating to the Anglian cemetery at Uncleby, as well as the potential that studying antiquarian excavations can have on the impact of future research. By analysing the antiquarian data, conducting detailed object research, and introducing non-invasive fieldwork, the Uncleby project shows that revisiting antiquarian excavations can still contribute to Anglian studies, and can help negotiate the future of protected monument sites.

The primary focus of this thesis is to provide a complete report of the Anglian cemetery at Uncleby. As will be discussed in further detail, the site was excavated by Canon William Greenwell over a three-week period in 1868, and was considered an impressive find full of intriguing Anglian burials and relics. However, after the excavation Greenwell did not discuss or publish the site in any detail, including in his book about his archaeological work.

Different aspects of the Uncleby cemetery have been previously researched, primarily focused on the objects, or separate aspects of the site, but never published or discussed in its entirety. A project between the Yorkshire Museum and Dr Helen Geake in the late 1990s was meant to do this, but was not completed. Radiography and other analyses were conducted on most of the metal objects, and the majority of the results were very generously given to this thesis to complete what was started roughly 20 years ago.

Another key objective of this thesis is to show different ways that antiquarian excavations can be used to contribute to current research areas. The majority of the research is archive-based; aside from detailed analyses of the objects, other collections that are not utilised as much as they should be are considered. By searching through newspaper articles from April 1868, correspondence relating to the site, excavation and/or objects between Greenwell and his associates, and

combing through museum records, a more detailed and personal account of the site emerges.

Beyond resurrecting the neglected site and data from Uncleby, the research intends to place the Anglian cemetery in the landscape in both the physical and historical landscape. Understanding why a specific barrow was chosen for secondary inhumation may lead to an understanding of Anglian concepts of burial rites and spiritual beliefs in the afterlife. Did the re-use of an imposing barrow in the landscape signify ancestral links or property claims? Or was the space chosen because of religious or superstitious belief?

The use of grave goods may help to inform on the choice of location, as well as any spiritual beliefs. The Uncleby objects and assemblages are used as an exploration of these themes as well as to help construct biographies of the individuals and the cemetery population. Because the burials have taken places during the transition from paganism to Christianity, the objects could hold the key in understanding how people were negotiating shifting ideologies.

Methodologies:

To present a full understanding of the Anglian cemetery at Uncleby, several approaches have been applied. Along with the excavated objects as the primary sources for the research, other avenues of investigation have been taken. One source that has been utilised are the archival collections across England, focusing on correspondence from excavator William Greenwell. Throughout the archival pursuits, it was hoped that the missing site diary for the Uncleby excavation might be found, or any information pertaining to the site or objects.

Geophysical survey and general landscape analyses have been carried out for the site as well. The 19th century excavation focused on the graves and grave goods, and did not expand beyond the barrow. By looking at the location of the site in the greater landscape, the Uncleby barrow and Anglian cemetery are put into context, in terms of the prominent location of the site from the Bronze Age through to the Anglian periods. Furthermore, a better understanding of the Anglian community or communities should be obtainable.

Further extrapolations have been made about the cemetery population by scrutinising the few details that were provided about the sexes and ages of a small

number of the graves from the site. A demographic study has been done by using recently excavated Anglian cemeteries for comparisons and statistic applications in producing more defined age and sex data, as well as estimates of the living population for the duration of the cemetery's use. This exercise, as discussed in detail in chapter 5, has identified a number of possibilities about the people who used the cemetery, and may suggest that the cemetery was used by more than one community or family.

The following sections show how the research was carried out and is separated into general categories pertaining to the sources. The geophysical survey and demographic studies are discussed in more detail in their respective chapters, and are only briefly outlined here.

Objects:

To begin the Uncleby research the excavated grave goods have been carefully examined and documented. There are 115 Anglian objects from the Uncleby excavation that are housed as the Yorkshire Museum (bead assemblages have been treated as an object rather than counted separately), and an additional 15 Anglian and Bronze Age objects that are located at the British Museum. One aim in working with the objects was to place the objects within their respective assemblages. Three written sources were used to help reconstruct the assemblages; R.A. Smith's 1912 paper to the Society of Antiquaries, an account of the site in the *Victoria County History* that was also produced by Smith in 1912, and two *Malton Messenger* articles that reported on the excavation in 1868.

Another source that has been used for contextualising the objects are the museum accession numbers, undated archival images of the displays, and painted numbers one the iron objects that appear to correspond with grave numbers. The collection was donated to the Yorkshire Museum in 1873, and was updated/accessioned in 1947, with some objects grouped together by grave that correspond with descriptions from the 1868 and 1912 articles. Objects that were not grouped together as grave assemblages were organised by material and, in most cases, by object type. Unfortunately, the 1873 and 1947 inventories for the Yorkshire Museum are unaccounted for at present.

These tasks were carried out in order to provide a base for investigations into a sub-period of Conversion Period grave furnishings and burial rites—from the mid-

7th century through to the early 8th century. Furnished graves are a common occurrence in Anglo-Saxon England and can be seen in cremation burials in the 5th century and continue into the 8th century, when they begin to dwindle, and are almost completely gone by the 9th century (Geake 1997, 129). The Uncleby cemetery is, comparatively, a moment in the Conversion Period where shifting ideologies and transitions might be visible in the grave displays and objects of the community or communities that used the site.

Archives:

The starting point for finding relevant archives to consult was to do a general search on the National Archives website through their Discovery page (www.nationalarchives.gov.uk), and a search in the online Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (www.oxforddnb.com). The ODNB results provided a short biography of Greenwell, as well as a small bibliography that included six archives that were consulted as well as some lesser-known sources, and also contained a link to the National Archives (https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/33542).

Aside from the archival sources located through the NA and ODNB, enquiries were sent to several institutions asking if they had any correspondence to or from William Greenwell from 1866-1875, and then from 1908-1912. The dates were chosen based on activities relating to the Uncleby excavations and the collection (see Appendix 3). Searches were also made for diaries and notes from some of Greenwell's network, including George Rolleston, Augustus Henry Lane-Fox Pitt Rivers and John Evans.

The searches revealed ten archives that contained letters from William Greenwell. Some of the archives, such as those at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, contained hundreds of letters between Greenwell and Rolleston, and Greenwell and Evans. Because of the high number of sources found in the various archives, strict parameters had to be set in order to avoid getting lost in the material. Therefore themes of archaeological technique, archaeological interests, Anglo-Saxons, and excavated objects were the focus of the investigation.

Knowing that R.A. Smith had the site diary in his possession in 1910 through 1913, archival searches were also conducted for Smith focusing on dates from 1908-1920. The thought was that Greenwell's site diary may have been included in some of Smith's files, or that Smith made a copy or took notes from the site diary when he

was researching the 1912 article for the Society of Antiquaries of London. The only notes regarding the Uncleby excavation and 1912 publication come from a small number of responses to Smith from Greenwell, which are discussed in chapter 3.

Aside from personal documents, The British Newspaper Archive (https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk) has been consulted. Initially, searches were done specifically to find reference to the Uncleby excavation, which was referred to as Kirby Underdale in 1868 in order to help protect the site. The search terms used were "Greenwell" and "Kirby Underdale", with a date range of 1 April to 31 May 1868. This yielded approximately 30 articles from 21 newspapers throughout Britain (almost all identical), referring to the excavation. The articles have proven very useful in piecing together the original excavation, as well as showing a contrast between the publics interest in the Anglian cemetery and Greenwell's own disinterest.

The culminations of the archival explorations have helped in creating a deeper understanding of William Greenwell. There are very few references to Anglo-Saxon archaeology or objects in the correspondences that have been consulted. Rather than viewing this lack of information as unimportant, it has given insight as to why the Uncleby excavation and excavated objects were not valued by Greenwell like prehistoric objects and digs were. Furthermore, small clues in the letters have helped to show what might be considered Greenwell's motivation for archaeological pursuits.

Landscape Studies:

In order to comprehend the significance of the location of the Anglian cemetery, an overview of the Anglian landscape has been provided. Domestic and funerary sites on the Yorkshire Wolds have been mapped, with an overlay of Roman roads added in order to show the placement of the sites in the historical landscape, as well as the physical. The re-use of ancient monuments and other manmade structures feature prominently in the Anglian period, particularly in commemorating the dead.

The Uncleby cemetery has been researched through previous landscape studies, such as the Yorkshire Wolds National Mapping Programme sponsored by Historic England, and fieldwork. Non-invasive techniques are almost standard in current archaeological investigations. Because the Yorkshire Wolds are scattered

with antiquarian excavations and protected monuments, geophysical survey is an excellent tool for bringing these sites into the 21st century.

Resistivity and magnetometry surveys were conducted over Uncleby barrow and outside perimeters, as well as at an adjacent site that was excavated by J.R. Mortimer in the 1860s. The results, which are discussed in chapter 4, have shown a much more complex site than previously assumed, which has led to a general study of funerary and domestic Anglian sites in the Yorkshire Wolds, to determine how Uncleby fit within the greater landscape, and perhaps into Anglian ideologies.

Demographic Studies:

Another avenue for bringing the Uncleby excavation into current archaeological standards was to produce a general demographic study for the cemetery's population. Biological information from the site was scarcely recorded, and when it was, terms such as 'very old woman', or 'male' were used in describing a fraction of the remains: 14 for gender/sex and an additional 14 for age. In order to obtain enough data to create generalised statistics, a number of recently excavated (within the last 30 years) Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were used to create baselines and averages to work with.

This information has been used to help construct a general estimate of the living population(s) that used the barrow for burial. By analysing the biological data in combination with suggested length-of-use for the cemetery, different scenarios have been presented to help determine if a single community used the site, or if it may have been a destination for several communities or families.

1.3 Terminology

1.31 'Mid-Saxon', 'Final Phase' and 'Conversion Period'—what's the difference?

The Anglian cemetery at Uncleby falls in the late 7th to early 8th centuries, an interesting era known variously as the Mid-Saxon, Final Phase or Conversion Periods. Anglo-Saxon studies of the late 6th through mid-9th centuries are frequently referred to as one of these, and they roughly cover the same time period, however the dating and use of the three terms varies depending on the area of research and, to an extent, the authors preference. As Martin Welch has pointed out, all three of the

terms are subject to scrutiny, especially as Anglo-Saxon research progresses (2011, 266-269).

In the 1970s the Mid-Saxon phase was dated to c. 650-c.850, using pottery styles and technique as indicators, however the dating of the primary pottery type had been made earlier, calling into question the ultimate dating of the Mid-Saxon period (Welch 2011, 268). Alternately, Martin Carver has given the Mid-Saxon period the dates of c.600-800, using the conversion to Christianity as a starting point and the Viking invasions as an endpoint (Carver 1999, 25).

Welch continues his discussion of terminology and dating with the term 'Final Phase', which was introduced by E.T. Leeds in 1936 (Leeds 1936; Welch 2011, 266-269). Leeds used the evolution of design and craftsmanship, as well as archaeological and written evidence to create a timeline of the Anglo-Saxons in three phases; the Jutish Phase, c.450-c.500, the Frankish Phase, early-late 6th century, and the Kentish Phase, late 6th century and onwards (Leeds 1936, 43, 44, 59). When discussing the 'Final Phase' Leeds was met with the difficult task of attributing dates to the period, as well as defining it. In the end he noted the conversion of King Æthelbert of Kent as an early date to define the period and used archaeological data such as cemeteries and grave goods, to determine the length of the period, which ended with the practice of unfurnished burials (Leeds 1936, 96-114). From a stylistic point of view, the termination of the Final Phase can also be connected to a new style of decoration and church burials, effectively giving an end date to the Final Phase and Style II in the late 8th century (Welch 2011, 268-9).

The third term that is used for the period discussed was popularized by Helen Geake: the 'Conversion Period' (Geake 1995; 1997). Geake uses the term to describe the period in Anglo-Saxon England that the conversion to Christianity was taking place based on furnished burials, but also using the shift from Salin Style I to Style II as a beginning marker for the period. However the end date for the Conversion Period is slightly different to 'Final Phase'. Geake used the 'demise of furnished burials' for the end marker of the Conversion Period, giving it the date of c.850 (Geake 1995, 309-10).

There is overlap with all three terminologies, in terms of dating. To briefly reiterate and surmise: the Mid-Saxon period is attributed to c.600/650-c.800; the Final Phase is dated to as early as c.597 (c.600 for the whole of England) to c.800; and

the Conversion Period dated to c.600-c.850 (Leeds 1936, 96-114; Carver 1999, 25-26; Geake 1995, 309-10; 1997; Welch 2011, 267-9). The given dates are all subject to debate and open to interpretation, and as Welch has stated, none are satisfactory but a better term or date range has yet to be suggested (Welch 2011, 269).

For the present study, the term Conversion Period will be used. The term has been chosen because it best encompasses the burial practices and grave goods evident at Uncleby. It is worth noting that in Leeds' discussion of the Final Phase, he used Uncleby as a prime example of what encompassed the period, citing the inclusion and exclusion of certain objects and styles that characterised the final phase of pagan practices before Christian doctrine dominated the Anglo-Saxon burial practices (Leeds 1936, 98-100).

The Conversion Period

The Conversion period is a unique and curious moment in British history, when Christianity was on the rise, and pagan beliefs were slowly being constrained. Helen Geake has produced in depth research on the unique and transitional period of Anglo-Saxon England, that dates from the late 6th century through to the 9th century. Archaeologically, one of the defining characteristics of this period is the use of objects that are interred with the deceased; from the evolution of design and object-types that are found in funerary contexts, to the subsequent demise of furnished graves (Geake 1997).

In her seminal work, *The Use of Grave Goods in Conversion-Period England c. 600 to c. 850*, Geake realised that the Conversion Period could be divided into three phases. The first phase, c. 600-c. 650, is loosely defined as the beginning of kingship in England, with Kent at the epicentre. The introduction to Christianity in c. 597 in this part of England played a key role in in the development of funerary customs and displays of wealth, power, spirituality and ancestry.

The second phase, c. 650-c.720/30, is when the trend for furnished burial takes over Anglo-Saxon England, with examples ranging from ornately rich furnishings, to graves that may contain only a knife or buckle, or nothing at all. Geake sees this phase not as a resistance against Christianity by the pagans—which it has sometimes been considered (Carver 1998, 36)—but as a unifying practice that was, in essence, propagated by the kings of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and the church (Geake 1997, 135). Geake's third phase, c. 720/30 onward, is noticeable due

to the lack of furnished graves and a shift in cemetery location to churchyards. At the beginning of this period is a marked decline in the practice of furnished graves, and they become virtually invisible by the end of the century (Geake 1997, 129).

The current research project is concerned with Geake's second phase, and what most people consider being the only phase in the Conversion period. The roughly 75 year period beginning c. 650, has the most variation in terms of object-types and grave-good functions. In her opening remarks, Geake cites several transitions happening in this period that she considered influential to the burial practices of the time; the introduction of Christianity and the church brought new social structures to the Anglo-Saxons, as well as affluence through trade and manufacture, so the term Conversion does not only apply to religion, but also to the shift towards a 'Roman Renaissance' (Geake 1997, 1).

In terms of archaeological visibility the differences between furnished pagan and early Christian burials are nearly impossible to differentiate between (Meaney 2003, 239). While we cannot definitively know the cosmological or mythological beliefs of the pre-Christian Anglo-Saxons—because there is literally no written evidence of it—it is generally thought that the polytheistic religion was similar to Scandinavian beliefs, which is suggested in places names and modern English words (Dunn 2009, 58-9). However, even with a religious frame to work with, any symbolic significance in terms of the objects and/or their designs is lost. It has been well established that early Church law did not have any mandates regarding burial practices during this period, so assuming that an unfurnished grave in this period must be Christian is risky (Geake 2005, 26). Similarly, some design elements have been quickly categorised as Christian, particularly equal armed crosses, that could just as easily be aesthetics, or representative of something like the cardinal directions.

Aside from determining the religion of a person, burials offer the best insight into this period of time, and have the power to reflect what was happening in the living world. It is easy to assume that grave goods were interred for use in an afterlife, as seen in the tombs of the ancient Egyptians. However, it has been noted that pagan traditions in the Conversion Period may not include an afterlife, and therefore Anglo-Saxon grave goods should not necessarily be treated as belongings to take beyond the grave (Geake 1997, 3 citing Davidson 1992).

Indeed, when comparisons are made between male and female furnished graves from this period, women have more visibility than their counterparts, and are typically interred fully clothed with dress accessories whereas men are more commonly found with weapons, knives, and/or buckles (Meaney 2003, 239). Rather than sending men to the afterlife with few objects and sending women off in their full dress kit, other explanations need to be explored. One explanation that has been put forward is that the fully dressed female burial was meant to represent 'her intrinsic value within the family' and that a man with a sword or seax 'illustrated his active role in the wider society' (op. cit.). This is an overly simplistic view that likely stems more from 19th and 20th century notions of masculine and feminine roles in society, rather than a reflection of Anglo-Saxon ideologies pertaining to gender and status. While it is not within the scope of the current project, a more focused study of the Conversion Period and the use of grave goods in the context of cemetery location could be useful. Rather than looking at what sex was buried with what material or how many objects were interred in a single grave, some insight might be gained by analysing assemblages in barrows and then comparing them to similarly dated cemeteries in other landscapes.

1.32 Anglo-Saxon to Anglian

The term 'Anglian' has long been assigned to the people who occupied certain kingdoms in Early Medieval England, particularly East Anglia and kingdoms north of the Humber according to Bede (*HE* I.15). 'Anglian' is meant to communicate the Germanic origins of the people that settled the areas, coming from a region in Northern Germany called Angeln, and establishing three of the primary English kingdoms upon arrival; East Anglia, Mercia and Northumbria (op. cit.). In Leeds' 1913 publication, *The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, he agrees with the parameters that were established by Bede in the 8th century, but also notes that Mercia and Bernicia were also part of the Angle settlements (Leeds 1913, 68).

The East Riding of Yorkshire, formerly the early medieval kingdom of Deira, firmly established by the 6th century, was inhabited by a community that have been referred to as 'Anglian' since the 8th century (Leeds 1913, 70; Carver 2000, ix). In the late 6th century Deira had come under the rule of King Æthelfrith of Bernicia, an

Anglian kingdom that lay North of Deira, who had married Acha, a Deirian princess (Stenton 2001, 74-74; Hindley 2006, 24). When King Ælle of Deira died the kingdom was meant to pass to his son Edwin; however Æthelfrith launched a campaign to keep control of both kingdoms and sent Edwin into exile (Stenton 2001, 75; Hindley 2006, 63). The combination of the two kingdoms, and surrounding settlements, became known as Northumbria. Sam Lucy points out that the accepted term of 'Anglian' (and 'Anglo-Saxon') should be reconsidered in light of the ethnic identity that is asserted, and suggests that unbiased terminology for the area, period and people—such as 'people living in early medieval East Yorkshire'—should be used instead (Lucy 2000, 17).

It is worth noting that Greenwell referred to the occupants of Uncleby as a 'community of 'Angles' when summarizing the excavation (Greenwell 1877, 135). Alternately, Mortimer who was also working in East Riding in the second half of the 19th century, did not distinguish between Anglo-Saxon, Saxon or Angle/Anglian, and referred to the barrow adjacent to the Uncleby cemetery as 'Anglo-Saxon' (Mortimer 1905, 116). According to a word search on a digital copy of *Forty Years Research*, Mortimer did not use the term 'Anglian' or 'Angle' at all, and referred to all evidence of these people as either 'Anglo-Saxon' or 'Saxon'. This could partially be as an attempt to make his publication accessible to a wider audience, whereas Greenwell was probably aiming his publication to the educated upper-classes.

Throughout this thesis, the term Anglian will be used when referring to the community of people living in East Yorkshire in the early medieval period. The term Anglo-Saxon will only be applied in more general contexts.

1.4 History of Anglo-Saxon Studies

1.41 The Original Anglo-Saxon Archaeologists

The origins and influences of Anglo-Saxon archaeology specific to Greenwell and Uncleby will be discussed in chapter 4. Below is a brief account of the more general history of Anglo-Saxon studies and archaeology to provide a general context for the project.

The study of Anglo-Saxons can be traced to the reign of Henry VIII (1509-1547), when they were used to demonstrate or verify that the English king had

supremacy over the church, and as Sam Lucy has pointed out, because of the similarity of the situation in which England was once again separating itself from Rome (Lucy 2000a, 11). In 1534 Henry appointed the first, and only, 'King's Antiquary' whose task was to document pre-Norman architecture, British monuments and British antiquities as evidence of 'true' English heritage (Darvill 2009, 411; Murray 2014, 191-92).

It can safely be said that modern Anglo-Saxon studies are rooted in the 18th century, with the work of men like the Reverends Bryan Faussett and James Douglas, both of whom it is impossible not to mention when discussing the history of Anglo-Saxon archaeology. Both men were interested in barrows, and interpreting and classifying the observations they made and the data they collected. Their contributions to the study of barrows can be seen in their publications; Douglas' *Nenia Britannica* first published in 1793, and Faussett's *Inventorum Sepulchrae,* which was published posthumously in 1856 (Marsden 1974, 8; Welch 1992, 13). Faussett's publication and work has been cited as an influence on many subsequent scholars, with specific recognition and admiration given by Canon William Greenwell (1877, vi), and frequent reference by Leeds (1936 particularly).

Faussett and Douglas both worked in Kent; Faussett was active between 1757 and 1773, reportedly opening over 700 graves throughout his 'career' (Webster 1986, 121; Wickham-Crowley 1999, 2). Throughout his excavations, Faussett believed that he was excavating Romano-British material (Wickham-Crowley 1999, 2; Hines 2013, 13). Douglas, whose interest in Anglo-Saxons and archaeology began as a result of engineering work in 1779, was among the first to rightly attribute the findings as belonging to the Anglo-Saxon period, primarily by the finding of coins that were dated to the 5th and 6th centuries (Webster 1986, 121; Hines 2013, 13).

Up until the second half of the 19th century, antiquarians generally did archaeology as an acquisitive pursuit as a means to build and enhance their collections. In the 1860s there was a shift in practice that ultimately led to the professional development of archaeology, even though it was still a gentlemanly past time. Greenwell was part of a network of gentlemen that shared an enthusiasm and interest in archaeology that included Augustus Henry Lane-Fox Pitt Rivers, George Rolleston and John Evans, all of whom were highly respected and came from the upper echelons of society. As will be discussed in chapter 3, Greenwell and his

network were at the centre of the focal shift that took place in the archaeological field. There was a heightened interest in scientific analysis of the remains, the geology and landscape of the site(s).

However, the primary focus of Anglo-Saxon research in this period was focused on the classification of objects, as the data set would allow researchers to create chronologies and speculated identities of the general community. This cultural history approach utilized grave goods by dividing and subdividing them into typologies, and then analysing the patterns of object-types in graves in order to create a cultural and chronological framework within a larger defined era (Trigger 2006, 225). Gustaf Oscar Montelius (1843-1921) was key to the development of this new approach in the late 19th and early 20thcenturies, which was further developed and utilized by Gustaf Kossina (1858-1931) and later by Gordon Childe (1892-1957) in the first half of the 20th century (Trigger 2006, 235-48).

1.42 The New Anglo-Saxon Archaeologists

By the beginning of the 20th century, Anglo-Saxon archaeology was recognized as an integral part of English history, as well as a branch of professional and academic study (Hines 2013, 14). E.T. Leeds is possibly the best-known figure for early 20th century Anglo-Saxon studies, as well as Charles Roach Smith and Reginald Allender Smith (no relation), both working with medieval collections in prominent museums (Wickham-Crowley 1999, 4-6). Leeds and Smith added to the field in their own ways; R.A. Smith gave detailed accounts of earlier and contemporary excavations of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, in some cases—such as Uncleby—the only record of the excavation and finds to be recorded (Smith 1912a; Smith 1912b; Hines 2013, 14). Leeds' contributions were wide ranging; from the migration and distribution of the Continental tribes to England, to chronological typology of Anglo-Saxon objects.

Hines credits the early 20th century as having a new approach to Anglo-Saxon archaeology with an emphasis on object types and classification (Hines 2013, 14-15). He suggests that figures such as Leeds and Smith were using tools from other areas of study, such as art history, to help create and establish their findings. Early Anglo-Saxon scholars had to adopt and adapt their approaches for studying the period,

particularly because documentary sources are scarce, and information from the few historical texts that are available have to be treated with caution.

Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* is one of the most relied on texts—Leeds' first major publication, *Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (1913) relies heavily on Bede's account of the history of England. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the writings of Gildas, and *Beowulf* are also frequently used as historical sources, and again are restrictive in their reliability, as Leeds notes that in the case of Gildas 'though interesting, has all the appearance of a work based on traditions which had already been passed on by several mouths and those by no means impartial.' (Leeds 1913, 10).

Leeds is also credited with extending the study of Anglo-Saxon archaeology beyond the study of cemeteries, by realizing the need to investigate Anglo-Saxon settlements (Welch 1992, 14). As stated above, the large numbers of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries—over 1,130 known by the end of the 1940s—have been a primary source of material, data and research in Anglo-Saxon studies and archaeology (Webster 1986, 123-4). It wasn't until Leeds excavated Sutton Courtenay (Oxfordshire) in the 1920s and 1930s that much attention was given to the landscape of Anglo-Saxon studies, even though he had published *Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements* in 1913 (op. cit.). It can be seen from the publication date that Leeds was interested in understanding and exploring Anglo-Saxon settlements quite early, however settlement and landscape archaeology as we understand it today wasn't truly developed until the second half of the 20th century.

Anglo-Saxon studies continued relatively unchanged in theory and method for the first half of the 20th century (Wickham-Crowley 1999, 6)—indeed, the period up until the 1960s has been called the 'long sleep' because of the lack of theoretical discussion until New Archaeology came about (Johnson 2010, 15). The cultural-history approach continued to dominate archaeological thinking, with an emphasis on typologies and cultural identification throughout England. Leeds continued his work with Anglo-Saxon object types and the migration of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, which was epitomized in his 1936 publication *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*. In this work, Leeds compared brooches that had been found in an Anglo-Saxon context and then compared them with similar styles found on the Continent. From the observations he made, he was able to make conclusions about

the migration of the Angles, Saxon and Jutes to their respective parts of England, and to chronologically track interaction between the cultures (Leeds 1936).

The discovery and subsequent studies of the princely burial at Sutton Hoo in 1939 would eventually become a key feature and representation of the new direction of Anglo-Saxon studies in the 1950s and 1960s. Mound 1, known as the Princely Burial, was excavated only months before Britain declared war in 1939 (Webster 1986, 133; Wickham-Crowley 1999, 6). It wasn't until 1975 that Bruce-Mitford published the findings from the 1939 excavation, as well as further findings recovered from excavations in the 1960s. The excavations and publications still took a traditional/'art historical' approach by focusing on the objects. However, in 1983 Martin Carver began further excavations to Sutton Hoo that would not only focus on individual burials and mounds, but would then look at local, regional and national contexts and implications (Webster 1986, 133).

Generally speaking, from this point on (the 1960s), archaeologists began to ask a different set of questions that brought the personal and human aspect back to the objects (Dyson 1993, 196). Still concerned with the retrieval of data, the methods and approaches to analysing the data had changed from the question of 'what' to also include 'who', 'how' and 'why'—on other words, using the objects to understand the society rather than focusing on typologies and object distribution (Arnold 1997, 14; Wickham-Crowley 1999, 7). The 1960s revolutionized the way that archaeologists thought and practiced, with the emergence of what is referred to as New Archaeology. Archaeologists had become frustrated with the antiquated methods and approaches to the field, and saw an opportunity to move forward by embracing scientific methodology and technology (Johnson 2010, 35-49).

Webster cites an essay written by Tania Dickinson published in 1980 as being responsible for a further shift in Anglo-Saxon studies, by understanding that cemeteries could yield more than objects and could be used to contextualize varied elements of Anglo-Saxon culture and society (Dickinson 1980; Webster 1986, 124-5). Dickinson's essay was the result of the fourth Oxford Anglo-Saxon Symposium held in 1979. The symposium was used as a platform to discuss the current theoretical mind-frame of Anglo-Saxon cemetery studies and also to highlight the direction they were moving towards (Rahtz and Dickinson 1980, 3).

One of the contributions made at the Oxford Symposium was from Chris Arnold. Taking a Processual approach, Arnold collected data from graves and cemeteries scattered throughout southern England in search of a social order within cemeteries. In a somewhat complicated and confusing equation, Arnold gave objects a 'score' based on the amount of time the objects would have taken to be made, which therefore made them a rare commodity—for example, a helmet was given a high score of 30 due to its intricate nature of production, a sword was valued at 16, a buckle at 11 and a bead at 2 (Arnold 1980, 108-109). To identify the 'rich' and 'poor' social structures of the 'developing Anglo-Saxon kingdoms', Arnold tallied the scores of individual graves and cemeteries, and then compared them to others in the study (Arnold 1980, 81). In order to make any sense of the data, Arnold had to assume value and significance of the objects and the cemeteries—mainly, what was determined to be a valuable object and why?

The approach is very much in line with Positivism and Processualism. The very basic principles behind New Archaeology and Processualism are that the archaeologist should use the material, in this case Anglo-Saxon grave goods, to ask questions about the society and culture, rather than focusing on the objects and the individual (Johnson 2010, 13; 242). Arnold took a scientific approach to the study by doing straightforward analysis of the quantity and quality of objects and the patterns that could be found, which is also in line with thoughts of New Archaeology (Johnson 2010, 38).

Taking an alternative approach to Anglo-Saxon cemetery studies at the same symposium, Ellen-Jane Pader questioned the linear process of establishing societal ranking within cemeteries based on the presence of grave goods, but questioned the symbolic and ritual aspects of burial rites in order to understand 'social relations' (Pader 1980). Pader looked at all aspects of the cemeteries; orientation and display of the remains, the objects and where they were placed and how they were used and the proximity of other remains to ask 'how' and 'why' objects were used as they were, assuming that there was a ritualistic pattern that would be symbolically meaningful to the mourners (Pader 1980, 143). In other words, using a symbolic approach to understand the graves, objects and funerary rites.

By bringing in the symbolic meaning and interpretation of the same data that had been available for the past several decades, Pader demonstrated an aspect of

Post-Processual archaeology, and how it could be used to find answers to a new set of questions. This is a Phenomenological approach to analysing the data: 'the study of human experience and consciousness' (Johnson 2010, 242). Individual graves represent a reflection of the mourners—it is highly unlikely that the deceased chose to be placed in a certain position with specific objects from his or her life, therefore the cemeteries reflect the behaviour of the *living* as much as the projected identity of the dead.

Chapter 2: An Introduction to Living and Dying in the ancient

This chapter will look briefly at the current state of knowledge of Anglo-Saxon use of the Yorkshire Wolds, and their interaction with their environment. The primary aim is explore the Anglo-Saxon relationship with the historic landscape, particularly the relationship between the living and the dead: settlements and cemeteries. A brief history of human usage of the Wolds landscape will be given, followed by a more detailed discussion of the Middle Anglo-Saxon period.

Most of the previous research into the Anglian Wolds has focused on either the domestic/living side of the landscape, or on funerary aspects. In the last few decades, a particular interest has developed into how these sites interact with this historic landscape and monuments, however, little attention has been given to how funerary sites relate to domestic sites, and vice versa.

Sam Lucy's study is perhaps the most comprehensive to be done on Anglian cemeteries in the Yorkshire Wolds. The primary aim of the study was to trace funerary practices in the area from the 5th to 8th centuries, and to document the evolution of the funerary rite. The key aspect of her research was to analyse cemeteries within the historical and natural landscape. By testing different variables from the cemeteries (such as cemetery size and date, interred objects, the ages and sex/gender of the cemetery population, etc.) against features in the landscape (such as altitude, facing slope direction, cemetery size, prehistoric monuments, water sources, etc.), Lucy found that correlations could be made in regard to the chronology of the cemetery in regard to landscape use (Lucy 1998).

Other approaches of the Anglian landscape have recently tended towards establishing the presence of domestic sites in the Wolds by utilising metal-detector finds, aerial photography, and geophysical survey. Interpretations of these sites tend to stop short of looking at the funerary connections that may or may not be present in the landscape and locale. A more recent trend has been to establish relationships between domestic sites and prehistoric features, particularly in regard to re-use or modifications of these landscapes by subsequent occupiers, as seen at Wharram Percy (Athan and Roskams 2012, 63-82).

2.1 Yorkshire Wolds

2.11 Setting the Scene

The Yorkshire Wolds are an elevated area of the East Riding of Yorkshire and North Yorkshire that sit on an arc of chalk lands. The western scarp edge drops into the Vale of York, providing a sweeping view of the green lowlands, and on a clear day one can see the city of York. The Wolds are also bound by the Vale of Pickering to the north, the Yorkshire coast to the east, and lowlands of the Holderness Plain and the River Humber to the south (fig. 1).

Figure 1 Overview map of the Yorkshire.

Today the Wolds are almost completely void of woodlands, consisting primarily of pastoral and arable fields. Archaeological evidence suggests that the area was wooded, perhaps heavily, in the Neolithic period, with felling beginning in this period, and continuing through the Iron Age (Stoertz 1997, 3; Giles 2012, 56). Water sources are scarce in the Wolds, compared to their surrounding Vales, which have numerous rivers, streams and creeks veining through the landscape. The primary exception is the Gypsey Race that emerges on the Wolds between Duggleby and West Lutton, and forms a tributary of the River Derwent, which runs through North Grimston to the abandoned village Wharram Percy.

There are two chief valleys in the Wolds, which have gravel-floors rather than chalk. The primary one is the Great Wold Valley, which contains the Gypsey Race and extends from Bridlington on the North Sea coast to, approximately, Weaverthorpe. The other valley runs from Thixendale to the open, low-lying area east of Driffield (Eagles 1979, 14). Within these valleys are a number of occupational sites, ranging from the prehistoric through to the Anglian periods (Eagles 1979, 98).

The Uncleby barrow is one of many Bronze Age barrows located on the western scarp of the Yorkshire Wolds in East Yorkshire. The barrow, now barely visible due to decades (if not centuries) of agricultural activity, would once have been a prominent feature overlooking the Vale of York. Within the same field and just to the northwest was another, smaller barrow that has now disappeared. Northeast of the primary barrow there may have been a third mound, according to the 1890 OS map (see chapter 4, fig. 6), but is now covered by an extension to the farm. Finally, southwest of the Uncleby barrow, on the other side of a Roman road was another barrow, destroyed during quarrying activity in the 19th century (see chapter 4).

The nearest village to the site of Uncleby, just over 1.5 km southwest, is Kirby Underdale, which sits at the foot of the escarpment. In Shepherd's 1928 history of the village, he opens with a quote from J.E. Morris:

> *"Kirby Underdale perhaps competes with Acklam for the honour of occupying the prettiest site in the East Riding. At this point the steep west escarpment of the Wolds is interrupted by a deep amphi-theatric hollow, at the entrance of which the village is situated on ground that itself is charmingly broken"*
> (Morris 1919, 234 in Shepherd 1928, 1)

Shepherd continues to paint the scene of the village and its surrounding landscape with sweet descriptions of the 'charmingly picturesque Dales', and remarks upon the 'marvellous panoramic view of the Plain of York across to the Pennine Range' from the brow (op. cit.).

To date, the 12th century church is the earliest evidence for settlement and occupation in Kirby Underdale, although a Roman sculpture of Mercury was supposedly found in the surrounding gardens of the church, and has been dated to the 2nd-3rd century. Any archaeological evidence for Roman or Anglian occupation has, so far, remained invisible.

2.2 Current approaches to landscape archaeology of the Yorkshire Wolds

While the majority of Anglo-Saxon studies still focus on burial sites and objects, there has been a significant increase in landscape and settlement research in the last 20 to 30 years (Hamerow 2011, 119). This can partially be linked to technological advances that give researchers the opportunity to map the surfaces and sub-surfaces of the terrains, particularly through geophysical survey, aerial photography, and light detection and ranging (LIDAR). Antiquarian archaeological practices and interests will be discussed in the following chapter

The 20th century ushered in an exciting new source for archaeologists; aerial photography. As early as 1925, aerial photography was being used for the search of lost medieval villages, such as the village of Gainsthorpe, Lincolnshire, which had already been documented in the 19th century on OS maps (Oswald 2004, 8). By the mid-20th century aerial photography became an integral source for the archaeological record. The Wolds proved to be extremely suited to aerial photography, as visibility is quite good, primarily due to the chalk soils that allows for clear visibility of cut features, including trenches, ditches, dykes, and other sunken/dug features that show up well (Stoertz 1997, 1).

In 1997 Catherine Stoertz published a massive and monumental work that mapped, examined and analysed thousands of aerial photographs of the Yorkshire Wolds that had been taken throughout the second half of the 20th century (Stoertz 1997; Giles 2012, 6). The work revealed a plethora of features that had been lost/unknown, and has helped to identify multiple (possible) settlements through pattern analysis. Though the survey is now over 20 years old, it remains an important source of archaeologists researching the Yorkshire Wolds.

Geophysical survey techniques were also a product of the mid-20th century, with the first recorded resistivity survey of an archaeological site taking place in 1946 (Clark 1990, 11). Within the following decade, another technique, magnetometry, was being developed, with the aim to read magnetic responses of archaeological features (op. cit., 16). With these two new techniques, the field of archaeology was changed forever. Techniques for mapping the sub-surface are constantly being developed and adapted for archaeological needs, and magnetometry in particular

has proved very useful at mapping sub-surface features in the Wolds, due to the chalk bedrock.

The increase in amateur metal detecting, and finds recordings through the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), are also a factor in some recent settlement discoveries as well, such as the sites of Cottam, East Yorkshire (Richards 2000, 31), and Burdale (Richards and Roskams 2013). Through metal detecting, knowledge of previously known Anglo-Saxon sites has expanded, and new sites have been identified. Between 2004-2007, The Viking and Anglo-Saxon Landscape and Economy (VASLE) project, used metal-detector finds to help map and define 'occupation sites' through the objects. By using the finds-date from the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) and the Corpus of Early Medieval Coins (EMC), the researchers were able to analyse the distributions of the objects against known sites, and create 'fingerprints' of them. The data was then tested against suspected and/or sparsely recorded sites throughout the country.

This work has led to previous sites that were only suspected to be settlements or domestic sites, to be definitively categorized as such. The number of settlements that have been identified on the higher grounds of the Wolds have increased, thus giving a much better understanding of settlement distribution of the Wolds from the prehistoric through to the early medieval periods.

2.3 Life on the Wolds: From the Prehistoric through the Roman Periods

The Neolithic period is, generally summarised as the point in which people began to abandon the hunter/gatherer lifestyle, and transition into agricultural communities, based in permanent occupation sites that may have been seasonal (Fenton Thomas 2005, 39). The Neolithic landscape is visible through a series of funerary and ceremonial earthworks, primarily long barrows and cursus monuments (Stoertz 1997, 60-2). Neolithic land features are fairly well distributed across the Wolds, with the majority of round barrows along the escarpment, and a clustering of barrows and linear features near Rudston (op. cit., fig 32, p63). Settlement locations have not been identified through aerial survey, however, a cursory search on the PAS

database shows high concentrations of clusters in certain areas, which could help in identifying occupation sites.

The early and middle Bronze Ages appear to have lived in the same manner, with unenclosed settlements, and open fields for pasture and farming (Stoertz 1997, 60). Again, like the Neolithic period, the most visible features from this period are representations of the dead, rather than day-to-day living. The Early Bronze Age population also constructed round barrows, similar to their Neolithic predecessors (Fenton Thomas 2005, 39). In the later Bronze Age Period, there is a shift away from funerary 'construction', and attention is diverted to boundaries, trackways, and actual settlement enclosures (Stoertz 1997, 62; Fenton Thomas 2005, 39). In the late 19th century antiquarians such as William Greenwell and John Mortimer systematically explored hundreds of Bronze Age barrows and earthworks throughout the Wolds; one source claims that between them, almost 400 barrows were excavated (Shepherd 1928, 4) (see chapter 3).

In the last millennium BC, there was another shift in landscape development in the Wolds. Linear earthworks and ditches were expanded, and a new type of barrow evolved: the square barrow (Stoertz 1997, 62). Another development that began in this period was the practice of creating defences to enclose settlement sites (op. cit.). It seems relatively safe to assume that this practice was a result of raiding or feuding between neighbouring communities; could this be indicative of the Parisi, Brigante and Cortani at odds?

In c.70 AD, Roman forces left the area south of the Humber, the territory of the Coritani, and crossed north into Parisi territory (Eagles 1979, 19; Fenton Thomas 2005, 67). One suggestion for the Roman move north is that tension and resistance between the Romans and the native inhabitants south of the Humber had reached a point which may have initiated the move (Fenton Thomas 2005, 67). Roman forces quickly established a presence in the Wolds, with fortresses set up at Brough, on the Humber, Hayton and Malton, and another off the Wolds at Stamford Bridge (Eagles 1979, 19). With these fortresses came other developments. The Romans extended cultivation and cereal farming, with the Roman administration even taking it so far to encourage retired military to grow the grain crops in order to help feed the garrisons (Eagles 1979, 227).

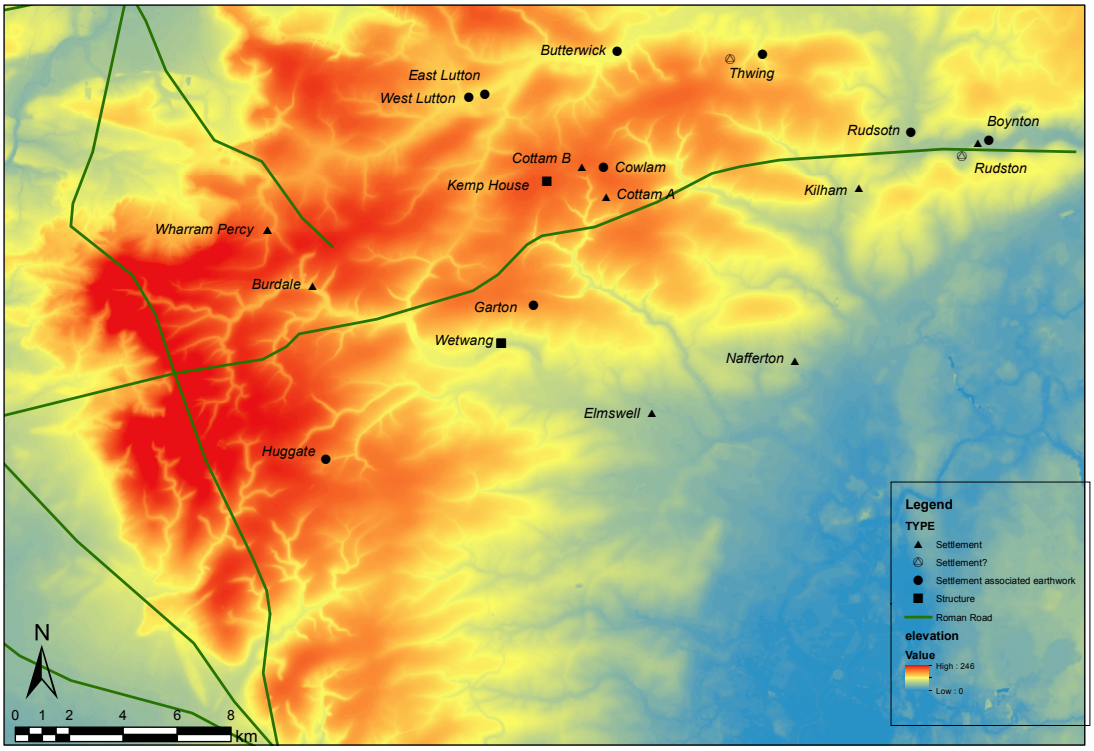
There is still some mystery and debate surrounding the end of the Roman Empire in Britain, and the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon period. However, recent works have argued that the periods should be viewed as transitional and evolutionary, rather than as clear end and start dates for two entirely different cultures (Brugmann 2011, 30-45). Furthermore, there is archaeological evidence that shows staggering declines of Roman buildings and settlements, with an increase in 'squatter occupation' in the buildings, suggesting that the remaining population was not only simplifying their way of life, but also adopting structural practices from incoming migrants (Cleary 2011, 13-17).

When viewed through the idea of transition, themes of continuity and adaptation are strikingly obvious in the archaeological record. Rather than bridging the Roman and Post-Roman periods, the history of the Wolds can be seen as a singular line of transition and continuity, with the Anglo-Saxons, especially, harnessing features of the past in their culture.

2.4 The Anglo-Saxon Wolds

Domestic and burial sites of the Yorkshire Wolds and surrounding environs have been gathered and compiled for the following discussion. Sites were rarely excluded, but those that did not provide enough evidence to be satisfactorily deemed as a site of interest—such as the pottery analysis from Eagles, or instances where a few stray finds were thought to be related to a burial—were cautiously removed from the lists.

The study area is comprised of domestic and funerary sites situated in the Yorkshire Wolds. While the outlying areas in the Vale of York and Vale of Pickering contain well-documented Anglian sites, they have been excluded in the current discussion. This is partly due to the nature of the sites; the Vale of York has a number of fairly large Anglian settlements, which likely contributed to the domestic sites in the Wolds.



Domestic Sites

Figure 2 Map showing known Anglo-Saxon domestic sites with Roman roads and trackways overlaid.

2.41 Landscape of the living

For current purposes, 21 sites on the Yorkshire Wolds have been included.. As well as including excavated settlements, a number of sites have been included that have been identified through earthworks and/or numerous finds that are likely to have only come from a domestic setting. As illustrated in figure 2, Anglian domestic sites are rarely found along the major roads and trackways from the Roman period. However, the data does not include lesser roads or tracks, which may have been in use from the Iron Age.

Anglian domestic and occupational sites are notoriously difficult to identify in the Yorkshire Wolds, despite the excellent conditions that the chalkland provides for aerial identification (Stoertz 1997, 67). There are varying estimates as to how many sites have been found, ranging from 6 to 26 or more (appendix 4). The large difference, in part, is due to the researchers definition of domestic or settlement sites; for example, Eagles (1979) considered pottery finds to be indicative of domestic

activity (these sites are not included in the map or current discussion), whereas Rahtz's (1976) gazetteer only included sites that had definitely been identified through archaeological excavation as occupational/dwelling structures.

Because of the difficulties in identifying domestic sites from this period, it was generally accepted that a major depopulation occurred at the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon period, and did not recover until the late Saxon period (Richards et al 2013b, 254). However, in the late 1990s re-evaluation of the evidence began, primarily through understanding the visible cropmarks on the Wolds. Metal-detecting was also a major contributing factor, for when mid-Saxon finds were compared with earthworks, it became apparent that Butterwick type enclosures (curvilinear enclosures, but more commonly known as Butterwick due to the best preserved example at that location) had an earlier date range than previously accepted, and were almost exclusively dated to the Middle Anglo-Saxon period (Stoertz 1997, 55-9; Richards and Roskams 2013).

There are at least twelve Butterwick type enclosures that relate to the mid-Saxon phase, which have been separated into two types; those that are on higher grounds (of which there are at least seven), and those that are on valley and vale floors (at least five) (Richards 2013, 257-8). These enclosure types, along with sunken rectangular features (*Grubenhäuser)*, are the only type that has been identified that is strictly post-Roman (Stoertz 1997, 62 table 2). The rectangular features are read as *Grubenhäuser*, which are a type a building that was dug into the soil with an A-line roof added for shelter.

The frequency of *Grubenhäuser* together with Butterwick type enclosures led some to believe that sites of these kind were for seasonal occupation related to sheep herding and management (Everson and Stocker 2012, 164-172). It is thought that the upper lands were utilised by the settlements that were situated in the lower grounds of the Wolds. One of the arguments put forth by Everson and Stocker for seasonal occupation, was the ease in which *Grubenhäuser* could be constructed; with the pit already dug, a person would need only to clean it up and make the roof, which would have been a simple task compared to other dwelling types (op. cit., 164).

The majority of Anglian domestic sites are in the low-lying lands to the north and east of the Wold chalk lands, particularly concentrated in the Holderness Valley

(around Driffield), along the Gypsey Race, and on the slopes (and lowlands) of the northern edge of the escarpment (Fenton-Thomas 2003, 95). These locations are fairly ideal for living conditions; there is access to surface water, the soil is more amenable to agriculture, and presumably a certain amount of protection from the elements (op. cit.). Furthermore, the Great Wold Valley and Thixendale Valley provided access from the low-lying grounds to the Wold tops through a series of routes, some of which are prehistoric, and others that likely date to the medieval period (Wrathmell 2012, 56; 84).

A small number of sites have been identified on the higher elevations of the Wolds; Wharram Percy, Burdale, Cowlam, Cottam A, Cottam B and possibly Huggate (fig. 2). A further four or five sites have been identified that are nestled in valleys that cross the Wolds; in the Great Wold Valley, from east to west, are Butterwick, East Lutton and West Lutton. The Thixendale Valley contains Burdale in the north, and Huggate in the south, and possibly Wetwang in the eastern-most point in the slope off of the high Wolds.

An interesting cluster, which has only recently been brought to light and examined, is an area just east of Sledmere, with three domestic sites—Cottam A, Cottam B and Cowlam, (Richards et al 2013). These sites are situated at the top of a series of small dales and valleys that sprout from the Cottam Well Dale on the high Wolds (Richards 2013, 201). Trackways, that appear to have Iron Age origins, connect the sites, suggesting that they were likely inhabited at the same time (more or less), although excavations and detailed study of the sites suggest that they performed different economical/occupational roles (op. cit.).

Wharram Percy is the most comprehensively excavated and studied site of this period in the Yorkshire Wolds and the immediate environs. Wharram Percy is located on the high chalk lands of the Wolds, with a small spring at its foot, and connected to the Thixendale Valley. West Heslerton is another well-excavated and documented Anglian settlement site in the area, though not on the Wolds, but at the foot of the northern escarpment in the Vale of Pickering. It is just over 11 km northeast of Wharram Percy, and the two sites likely interacted with one another in the early medieval period (Richards in Wrathmell 2012, 178).

Wharram Percy, due to its higher altitude, has been argued as a location for seasonal grazing, where *Grubenhäuser* were used, possibly as temporary shelter,

while shepherds were managing their flocks (Everson and Stocker 2012). It is suggested that the seasonal grazing occupation led to a small market—probably held on St Martins Day, for whom the medieval church was named, and a known feast day on 11 November (Oswald, pers. com.)—which in turn grew into a nucleated village by the 10th century (Everson and Stocker 2012, 170-1). Conversely, it has been argued that permanent settlement may have begun in the mid- to late-7th century, and not the 10th century, at Wharram, based on faunal findings and a large amounts of pottery dating to the Middle Saxon period (Wrathmell 2012, 172-3). Essentially, the two schools of thought agree that the foundation of the early medieval village was centred on transhumance use, and perhaps extended to craftwork, and that a market developed over time, but differ in established dates of permanent dwelling.

Conversely, West Heslerton, in the Vale of Pickering and a short distance to the Wolds, is accepted as a permanent dwelling site in the Anglian period, but has foundations for human activity going as far back as the early Mesolithic (Powlesland 2014, 63). The height of activity appears to be prehistoric, with the majority of development and construction taking place in the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age (Powlesland 2014, 53, 127). There was a lull of activity during the Roman period, but the emergence of the Anglian settlement appears to have thrived in the Early and Late Saxon periods, with activity decreasing, but not halting, at the end of the 7th century (Powlesland 2000, 25).

Presumably, the location and scale of the site led to the supposition for permanent settlement because the village already had everything needed for productive living; access to water, arable land, and grazing land. In the early Anglian period the site was distinctly organised into separate zones for living, working 'agricultural processing' and a multi-function zone (Powlesland 2000, 22). Rather than building a community from scratch, the early Anglo-Saxons built upon Bronze Age, Iron Age and Roman features to help construct buildings and boundaries (Powlesland 2000, 25). This type of organisation and planning does imply a more permanent base, whereas the *Grubenhäuser* at Wharram Percy and lack of urban planning would supports the argument for seasonal occupation as the basis for the permanent village.

With settlements of living people, eventually comes the death of these people. At West Heslerton there is a cemetery just 500 metres north of the

settlement site, which is situated among prehistoric earthworks. The cemetery was used from the late 5th to early 7th centuries, with at least 200 individuals interred (15 of which were cremations) (Powlesland 1999). However, West Heslerton is a unique example of a large cemetery found in direct relation to a settlement. Wold-top sites might have one or two burials, but as will be discussed in the following section, the majority of cemeteries on the Wolds are somewhat removed from domestic sites, sometimes located within a kilometres of an occupational site, and other times very far removed.

2.42 Landscape of the Dead

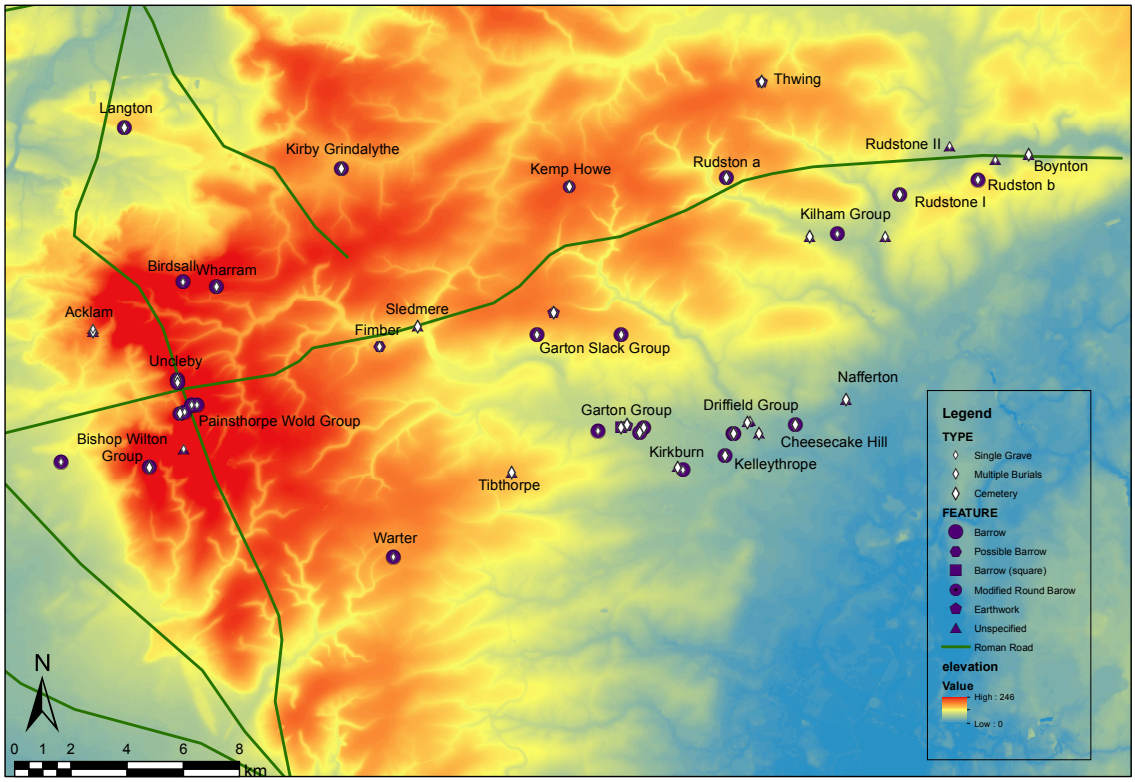


Figure 3 Map showing selected Anglo-Saxon burials sites by feature and size with Roman roads overlaid.

The landscape of the dead has much more visibility than the landscape of occupation and domestic sites in the Yorkshire Wolds, both figuratively and literally. This can partially be attributed to a longer history of cemetery studies in the area, when the late 19th century ushered in an industrious examination of barrow cemeteries in the area (see chapter 3). Another distinguishing factor for the prominence of cemetery studies in the Yorkshire Wolds, are the visible—sometimes

faintly—remains of the burial memorials that are scattered throughout East (and North) Yorkshire.

When the Anglo-Saxon people began using the higher grounds of the Yorkshire Wolds for grazing or settling, the prehistoric earthworks would have been prominent in their landscape, perhaps being used as landmarks, boundaries, or meeting spaces—with a select few used to commemorate the dead. It is commonly accepted that the chosen barrows and features were singled out as being prominent in the landscape, and would have been visible from many directions (Lucy 1998, 98; Fenton Thomas 2005, 39). Others have suggested barrow use from a far less physical attribution, and have imbued secondary barrow burials with meaning, in that the people who chose the monument may have been trying to invoke ancestral heritage, express social and/or political status and/or identity, or to create other invisible links to the past by projecting the space into the present and future (Williams 1997, 1998; Semple 2011).

Unfortunately, we will never know the reason behind their choices. The best we can do is to examine the evidence, and attempt to create a primary understanding of *how* these features and practices were used and interacted with, and try not to get too involved with the question *why*. Cemetery studies for the Yorkshire Wolds have been particularly good at analysing the data; Sam Lucy, for example, explored the locations and presence of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, taking a contextual approach in order to understand spatial and chronological relationships of the sites (1998), whereas Bruce Eagles utilised the written histories of the area, and used archaeological findings to define the chronology and use of the Yorkshire Wolds (1979).

The Wolds are not only unique for the frequency of secondary burials in prehistoric monuments—as these types of burials also frequently occur in the Peak District and Wiltshire, as well as other areas throughout Britain and the Continent—but they stand out from other parts of the country as containing large cemeteries of multiple burials, as well as single or double inhumations (Meaney 1964, 18-9; Williams 1997, 16). Each cemetery is different, and Anglian burials can be found associated with Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age and Roman features. Some may contain a single burial that may or may not have grave goods, while others may have upwards of 132 burials (Thwing). There is evidence that some of these cemeteries

were in use from the 5th to 9th centuries, while others appear to have been in use for only a few generations. Some are a mixture of cremations and inhumations, while others are exclusively of one type. The expressions of all of these spaces are a reflection of what the living community deemed to be important values, and attempting to understand that meaning without layers of supposition is difficult. The most appropriate approach for broad cemetery and burial studies is, unfortunately, to generalise the data, and to temporarily ignore the individuality of the sites.

For comparative purposes, cremation-only sites have been excluded in the current discussion. The sites have been compiled from the gazetteers and study areas provided by Meaney (1964), Geake (1997) and Lucy (1998). There are a total of 49 burial sites in the study area, 30 of which are definitely associated with barrows (Bronze and Iron Ages), and another that is likely associated with a barrow (see appendix 4 for sites, locations and associated features). A further three sites are related to other earthworks, and the remaining 15 sites are not known to be contained in any type of pre-Anglian feature. The majority of the funerary sites, 27 in total, contained ten or more interments, which is here considered to define a cemetery. Seven sites had two to nine burials, and the remaining 15 sites were single inhumations.

The distribution of secondary barrow cemeteries in the Yorkshire Wolds is fairly widespread (fig. 3 and fig. 4). They are found on the high grounds along the escarpment, or overlooking one of the many valleys that dip throughout the chalk lands, at the bottom of a valley, like the cluster found towards the east end of the Gypsey Race in the Great Wold Valley, and those that are strung along the Thixendale Valley into the Holderness Plain towards Driffield. Unlike Anglian domestic sites, burial sites occur with more frequency in relation to the Roman roads. The uniting factor of these sites is the visibility and prominence they claim in the landscape.

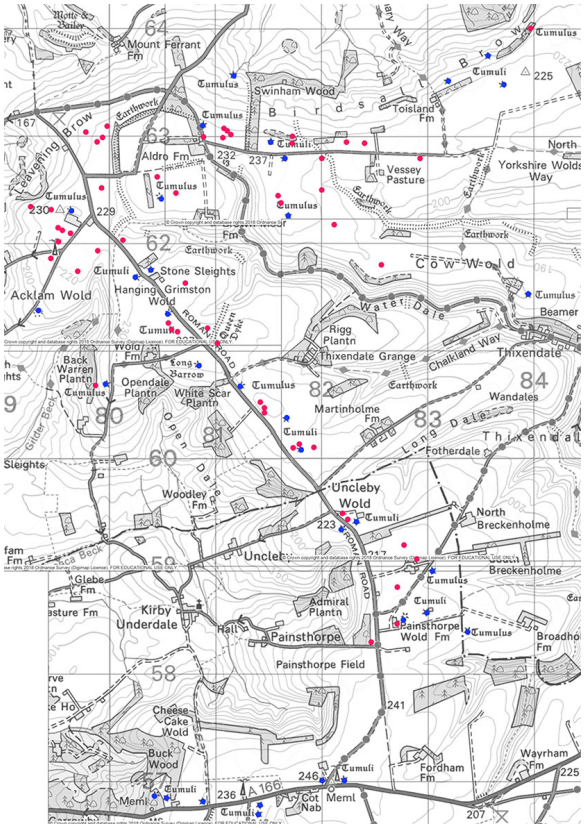


Figure 4 Detail map of barrows plotted along the Roman road and scarp edge. Blue are found on modern OS maps, pink found on the 1890 OS map.

Along the escarpment and Roman road there are at least 75 barrows that have been noted on the Ordnance Survey, presumably dating from at least the Bronze Age if not earlier (fig. 4). Of those less than ten (that we know of) were reused for burial in the Anglo-Saxon period. A prominent cluster of re-used barrows is in the Painsthorpe Wold/Kirby Underdale area of the escarpment, with six Anglian burial sites recognised. These six burials are part of a larger group of barrows that were identified by J.R. Mortimer, known as the Painsthorpe Wold Group that is comprised of 21 barrows (Mortimer 1905, 115-133). Twelve of the barrows are on the escarpment edge, with the remaining nine more inland. All of the re-used barrows in the group are on the escarpment, supporting the idea that visibility was a key factor in determining burials locations in the Anglo-Saxon period.

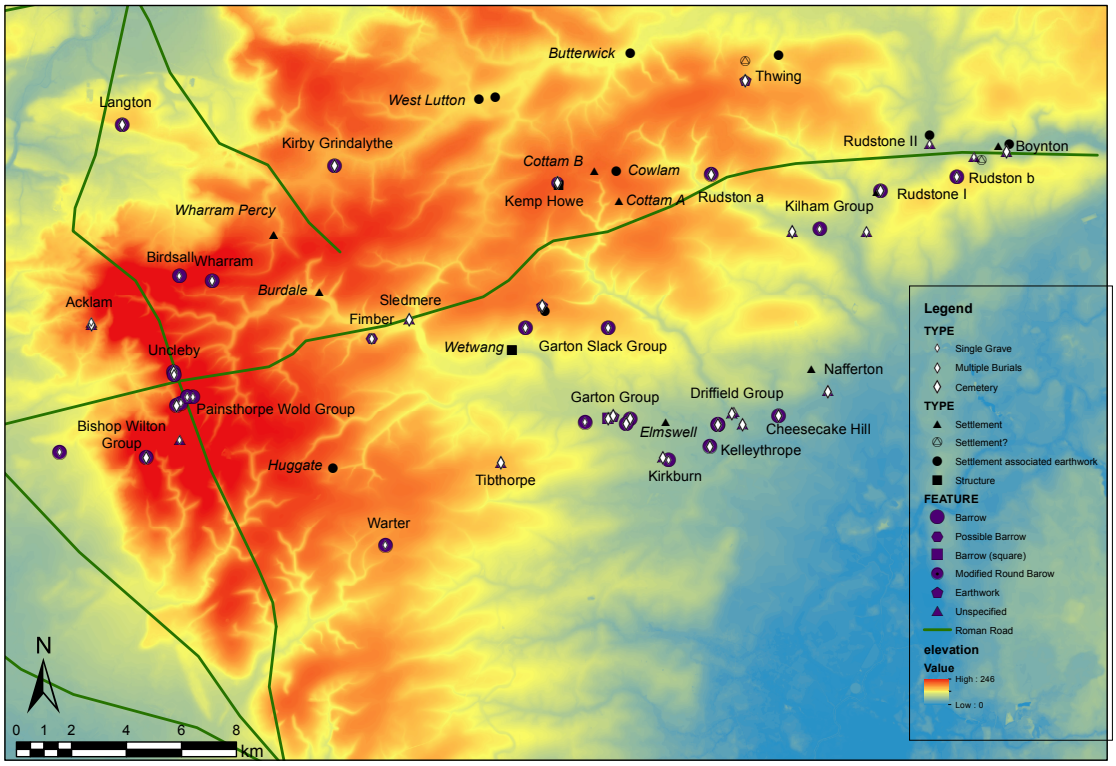
The Painsthorpe Wold cluster is situated at a Roman crossroad. The north/south road from Malton to Brough, and west/east road from York to Bridlington would have been major thoroughfares in the Anglian period. The Painsthorpe cluster would have been one of the first undeniable landmarks that one would come upon if traveling from York; surrounded by barrows and cemeteries, one would have to pass through them in order to get to their destination. A number of

other burial sites are located along the York to Bridlington Roman road, including Fimber, Sledmere, Rudston and Boynton.

There are other burial clusters in East Yorkshire; however they tend to be located in the valleys that run through the Wolds. One of these are a string of barrow and earthwork burials that begin in the mouth of the Thixendale Vale to the west of Driffield, with a small break that picks up just east of Driffield towards Nafferton. Elmswell, a lost medieval village just outside of Driffield, is situated almost perfectly between the two clusters, and has two other sites (a cemetery and a single inhumation) directly to the south.

The third prominent cluster of burials is eastern, in the Rudston area, with at least four burial sites and another three or four possible domestic sites. Rudston is located at the sharp bend along the Gypsey Race. The burial sites are located on higher ground, on the slopes of the Great Wold Valley, with the domestic sites closer to the water. A general observation can be made that funerary sites located near streams, rivers, springs and other water features are always slightly removed and put on higher ground (Stoertz 1997, 60). Although it has not been explicitly said, it can be suggested that one factor for choosing these places was to remove possible contamination from decomposing remains away from primary water sources.

2.43 Living and Interacting with the Dead



Domestic and Funerary Sites

Figure 5 Map showing domestic and funerary sites in the Yorkshire Wolds with Roman roads and trackways overlaid.

The Roman trackways appear as if they were used for funerary purposes in the Anglian period, with higher numbers of burials and low numbers of domestic sites along the routes. Of course, these roads were used for a plethora of purposes, but the *memento mori* of barrows along the ways would have caused deliberate interaction with the travellers and the dead. For example, if the barrows were used as landmarks for directions, travellers would have had to be aware of the cemeteries, their locations, and possibly the associated communities.

As the Rudston and Elmswell/Driffield areas show (fig.5), there are cases where settlements and burial sites might be linked. It can be assumed that the local inhabitants used the burial sites surrounding Elmswell and Driffield, and the same can be said for the Rudston cluster. However, on the higher grounds there is less evidence of domestic sites in congruence with burial sites. Garton can likely be considered a smaller example; the Garton domestic site has been identified through aerial photography as a curvilinear complex, and less than a quarter of a kilometre northwest is a cemetery containing at least 42 inhumations, and up to 66, that were

placed in and around an earthwork known as Double Dyke (Meaney 1964, 189-90; Semple 2011, 246).

Thwing is another example of a settlement with an attached cemetery, although the sites have yet to be fully published (Richards et al 2009, *VASLE* 4.4.57). The information that is available suggests that the settlement was possibly high status, based on the size of an excavated structure (op. cit.). The cemetery was at the centre of the settlement that was contained within a Bronze Age ringwork, and contained at least 132 individuals (Geake 1997, 159). Radiocarbon dating of a sample of the remains has put the cemetery in use from the 5th century through to the 10th century (op. cit.).

The burials in the west, along the escarpment and inland, do not appear to have associated settlements. The individuals that were interred in the Painsthorpe Wold Group must have come from some distance, that is, unless there is a nearby domestic site that is yet to be identified. The nearest known domestic site to Uncleby, the northern most burial site in the Painsthorpe Wold Group, is Burdale at just over 6 km northeast. Wharram Percy and Huggate are also nearby, with Wharram approximately 6.1 km northeast, and Huggate 6.8 km southeast.

These are not unreasonable distances for people to have travelled for a funeral; in fact, the return journey could easily be made in a day. It can be assumed that domestic sites on the Wolds were linked to the Roman roads through smaller paths and trackways. Once on the Roman roads, the journey from village to burial site may have taken on more of a processional act, with burial markers (barrows) present on either side of the road, and frequent intervals. Whether or not each barrow was representative of one settlement or more, remains to be determined.

It is also possible that communities living in the Vales could have used the barrows along the western scarp. The Uncleby barrow would have been an obvious feature in the landscape when looking up from the Vale of York, and would have been a constant reminder of death, ancestry, superstition, or equally as motivation of some kind—the honour of being buried in, an at least locally, a famous monument. It is likely that we will never know the reasons or choices that led to secondary barrow usage for cemeteries, or how far these people travelled to reach their final destination.

A more detailed and thorough investigation into the relationships between funerary and settlement sites could help us to gain more knowledge about the Anglian ways of life and death. How the living communities regarded, respected and/or revered these monuments, and how they could have been used as daily reminders of death or direction could prove to be a useful, if only theoretical, tool for future Anglian archaeologists and researchers.

Chapter 3: From Antiquary to Archaeologist

To help in understanding the excavation and subsequent treatment of the Uncleby cemetery, it is important to know the background and evolution of archaeology and archaeological practices in the 19th century. Canon Greenwell would have been well aware of ongoing research, not only through his memberships to numerous archaeological and antiquarian societies, but also through his impressive network of likeminded men. As is still the case today, archaeology is influenced by new methods and research in an array of fields, and whether the archaeologist acknowledges it or not, outside factors have a way of impacting the way we perceive and interpret our findings. For Greenwell, it appears to have been the same.

Philippa Levine has defined the differences between antiquarian, archaeologist and historian in the 19th century as follows: the antiquarian was involved in all aspects of history, from collecting artefacts to gathering local histories; the archaeologist was 'concerned almost exclusively with non-documentary sources and increasingly with pre-literate periods and societies'; and the historian studied the past through written documentation and literature (Levine 1986, 11). In the late 18th and first half of the 19th centuries there was little separation between the three fields, however as more information was uncovered from the ground and more literary sources located, the branches of study began to separate into distinct areas of interest and focus.

To gain a better understanding of Greenwell's practices, this chapter will look at 19th-century influences on archaeology; particularly ideas of an English national identity and how this spread into the scientific, historic and archaeological fields, including geology and evolutionary theory

3.1 A Search for National Identity

The 19th century saw an increase in British archaeological development and public interest. While there does not appear to be a single historic event or intellectual trend that led to the growing interest in archaeology, the search for a national identity, discussions on the evolution and origins of man, the fostering of

geological knowledge and a tradition of gentlemanly pursuits can all be considered influential on practices, debates and advancements in the field (Darwin 1859; Levine 1986; Bowdoin Van Ripper 1993, 65; Trigger 2006, 211).

Research carried out by Sam Smiles and Hugh MacDougall in the early 1990s has pointed to the search for a national identity as a leading contribution to the flourish of archaeological, historical and scientific advances in the period (MacDougall 1992; Smiles 1994). As briefly mentioned in chapter 1, interest in English identity can be traced back to Henry VIII, as part of the English separation from the Roman church. Henry promulgated the search for English supremacy and identity by searching for evidence to support his claims by collecting British antiquities and gathering ancient sources. In 1530 Henry declared to Rome that the English King had supremacy over church and state, and his proclamation was substantiated by a collection of documents complied on his behalf called the *Collectanea Satis Copiosa* which was a compilation of Anglo-Saxon laws, documents written by Bede, and other documentary evidence from various medieval scholars (Haigh 1993, 102). The Tudor Reformation can be seen as a catalyst for the growing interest in British history and antiquity. Under the reign of Henry VIII, there was a search for a true Englishness that was not intertwined with the Roman Catholic Church, which automatically eliminated the Romans and Normans as English forefathers, thus leaving the Anglo-Saxons as the earliest example of a civilized English culture (MacDougall 1992, 17).

The 17th was a time of political upheaval in England, and also of the rise Anglo-Saxon antiquarianism. The romanticized Anglo-Saxon scholarship was used as a political tool with the aim of creating a government that gave less power to the crown and more power to the people (MacDougall 1992, 53-6). The Parliament party was at the heart of this political mini-revolution when the parties came into conflict with the monarchy, using the *witanagemot* as evidence of a tradition of democratic governance (Lucy 2000a, 11). Seventeenth century academics, politicians and antiquarians associated Anglo-Saxons with superior intelligence, industry, strength and democracy. The Anglo-Saxon government was thought to have been an organisation of 12 noblemen elected to govern equally until a time of war when one would be elected for the duration (MacDougall 1992, 56).

It wasn't until the 18th century that Anglo-Saxon scholarship and archaeology really developed, particularly under Rev. Bryan Faussett, Rev. James Douglas, William Cunnington and Sir Richard Colt Hoare (Trigger 2006, 113). Faussett and Douglas were avid barrow diggers, who started to employ a more scientific method in archaeological pursuits than had been seen previously (Marsden 1974, 6-11).

Towards the end of the 18th century, England was industrializing and gaining advantage over other European countries. This led to the patriotic attitude that Teutonic, and particularly Anglo-Saxon, roots were the reason for the English superiority in technology and leadership (MacDougall 1992, 89). In addition to archaeological investigations, the Saxon identity was growing in strength appearing in literature and art, forging the way in scientific and biological studies in the 19th century. A large part of this can be seen in the discussions surrounding evolutionary theory, craniology and the search for the 'antiquity of man' (Daniel 1978, 33-37).

3.2 Geology, Evolution, Craniology and the Impact on British Archaeology

By the late 19th century archaeology had incorporated and absorbed ideologies from complimentary branches of science. Glyn Daniel states that geology and evolutionary theory were integral to the development of prehistoric archaeology (Daniel 1978, 29-38). In the 18th century natural history and geology started to emerge as a science, particularly in regard to stratification and dating the earth (Trigger 2006, 144-7). William "Strata" Smith, along with others, determined that the layers of sedimentary deposits could be isolated and possibly dated by the fossilized material they contained (Daniel 1978, 37-38; Trigger 2006, 144). These declarations contradicted the accepted biblical timeline, and created a division in scientific thought.

In the mid-17th century Archbishop James Ussher used a commonly accepted timeline of 4,000 years before the birth of Christ to create a more detailed chronology of the Creation, giving the first day the date of 23 October 4004 B.C. (Barr 1984-5, 590). Within Ussher's timeline major biblical events were given dates, such as the Flood, taking place 1,656 years after the Creation, or 2348 B.C. according to the Julian calendar (op. cit.). Geologists and antiquarians in the 18th century would often attempt to fit findings into Ussher's timeline, and would create alternative

explanations of them, such as a mammoth being an elephant that belonged to the period of the Roman invasion (Daniel 1978, 26).

As the 19th century progressed evidence of prehistoric man became more common, and scholars began to question the pre-established timeline of the earth and man's place in it. Evidence of prehistoric man had been found in London in the late 17th when worked flint was found with the remains of a mammoth, but they were written off as belonging to the time of Claudius' invasion in the mid-first century A.D. (Daniel 1978, 26).

In 1858 the debate about the age of the Earth was put to an end, at least in scientific circles, with two discoveries that proved man existed well before 4004 B.C. The first of the discoveries that contributed to the change of thought was in the Somme Valley gravel pits in the late 1830s, where many stone weapons and tools were recovered alongside the remains of extinct animals (Daniel 1978, 58-60). The more recent of the discoveries was made in Brixham, in the summer of 1858 when a fissure was unexpectedly found and then excavated. An array of stone tools was found with the remains of several extinct animals that were embedded in and around stalagmites (Daniel 1978, 57-58). Sir John Prestwich delivered a paper to the Royal Society about the geological findings and meanings of the Brixham excavation, which was followed shortly after by a paper delivered to the Society of Antiquaries by Sir John Evans about the worked stone objects from Hoxne, Brixham and the Somme Valley. Both papers managed to persuade those in attendance of the antiquity of man (Daniel 1978, 57-61).

With this evidence a renewed interest in evolution arose. Evolutionary theory was adopted in most branches of science; Charles Lyell, one of the leading geologists of the first half of the 19th century, incorporated evolutionary theory in his published work *Principles of Geology* (1830-33) based on French biologist, Jean-Baptiste Lamarck's theories of evolution (op. cit.). In 1844 Robert Chambers anonymously published *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, which quickly became one of the most popular books of the year, with four editions printed in 1844 alone (Cosslett 1984, 46). Chambers' work was met with criticism when he postulated that man was descended from animals and not a direct creation of God (op. cit.).

Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) was among the first evolutionary works to be accepted by the public and scholarly circles; partially because of the re-established human timeline, and also because he was careful not to make any claims on the origin of man—that would come in *The Descent of Man* (1871) (Daniel 1978, 63-66). Darwin had been gathering evidence and working on his theory of natural selection since his voyage on the HMS Beagle in 1838, and only brought it to the public when a Mr Wallace sent him an essay that drew very similar conclusions to his own (Darwin 1859, 5). The premise of *Origins* was based on ideas of natural selection and survival of the fittest; a species adapted to its environment through sexual selection and those that did not became extinct (Darwin 1859). *Origins* opened up discussions that would reach into all sectors of scientific and antiquarian pursuits.

Darwin was not the only theorist to publish evolutionary theory. Another individual influential to 19th century archaeology, was T.H. Huxley, commonly known as 'Darwin's Bulldog', and an associate of Greenwell. Huxley was an avid supporter of Darwin's *Origins*, and drew on the work, and his personal relationship with Darwin, to take the theory further and into the public realm. Huxley's key contributions in the 1860s were his publications and research on the evolution of man, focusing on modern humans developing from 'lower animals' (White 2003). While Darwin was conscious of the somewhat radical implications of his work and therefore more cautious, Huxley was outspoken about his work. In 1863 Huxley published three essays in his book *Evidence as to Mans Place in Nature*. The second essay in the book, *On the Relations of Man to the Lower Animals,* had been publically addressed as early as 1860 (Huxley 1863). Huxley's essays were among the first to directly connect man to the primitive ape, following Darwin's theories of natural selection, by using skull shapes and dimensions to demonstrate his theories, and thus giving rise to the science of craniology (Huxley 1863, 139-184).

Craniology studies the shapes and sizes of human skulls in order to differentiate between races (Williams 2007, 33). The field gained support in the scientific community in the second half of the 19th century, even though it had been lightly studied in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, particularly in France (op. cit.). As a result there was a new emphasis on the Saxon identity and racial superiority. The preoccupation for Anglo-Saxon archaeology to support the foundation of the Englishman began to incorporate craniology as a measure to

strengthen the notion of a Teutonic race. The general idea was that the 'superior', long skull was similar in shape and size to an English gentleman's, which was indicative of an Anglo-Saxon race, whereas the 'inferior' round skull, that belonged to the ancient people, was linked to crude ideas of subordinate intelligence and class (Williams 2007, 33).

Archaeology became a necessary field for the development of English national identity, and utilized evolutionary theory, racial superiority and craniology to support the study of ancestry. The study of skull shapes led to racial divides between the inhabitants of Great Britain, with Irish, Welsh and Scottish people classified as being more closely related to the ancient people, and therefore less developed and of a 'lazier' class, and the true English people superior in leadership, progress and capabilities (Smiles 1994, 121-22).

By 1860 prehistoric archaeology had become a solid branch of archaeological study in Britain, and had become a primary interest of archaeologists and antiquarians (Daniel 1981, 96-97; Trigger 2006, 164). An influential shift of attention to prehistoric archaeology in 1850s England can be traced to the Three Age System outlined by Danish antiquarian C.J. Thomsen in 1831 (Mack 1997, 38). Thomsen was given the task of cataloguing and organizing the large collection of Danish artefacts for the Museum of Northern Antiquities of Copenhagen. He started by grouping the objects by material—stone, bronze, iron and other materials—and then noticed a progression of technological, decorative and functional attributes that led him to put the objects into the three distinct periods for prehistoric civilizations (Smiles 1994, 5; Trigger 2006, 123-4). The work was translated into English in 1847, which incited British antiquaries to evaluate their own national collection, which will be discussed below (op. cit.).

The term 'prehistory' has been dated to two separate sources; first was the use of the Swedish word '*förhistorie*' in 1834 by Sven Nilsson translatable to 'prehistory' (Trigger 2006, 130); the second in 1851 by Daniel Wilson in *The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (Smiles 1994, 3). Even if the first true account of the term or key idea was based in 1851 scholarship, it still remains that Britain was behind the rest of Europe in the development of prehistoric research in the 19th century, but the following decades would produce great advancements and contributions to the field in British history and archaeology.

3.3 Societies and Accessibility

The interdisciplinary subjects that borrowed from one another can be seen in the number of antiquarian, archaeological and historical societies that emerged in the second half of the 19th century (Levine 1986, 51; Smiles 1994, 23). In the 19th century it was not uncommon for a gentleman to belong to several clubs. Societies proved to be an important network for archaeologists in the 19th century.

The societies and subsequent networking had a massive impact on archaeology in this period. For Greenwell, he was able to connect with men of scientific renown, like Charles Darwin, who was undoubtedly an influence to the Canon's work, and George Rolleston, who contributed to examining and analyzing the skeletal remains from Greenwell's excavations.

To fully grasp the importance of the role of societies in archaeological practices, one must look back to the foundations of them. As the century progressed most of the clubs evolved to have more specific foci and more inclusive membership, while a few remained stodgily exclusive with memberships. To be made a fellow of one of the latter was no easy feat, and might be attributed to the reception of certain archaeological work—like that of Greenwell and Mortimer (see chapter 4).

The Royal Society had been a prominent and prestigious club for gentlemen of high standing since the 1640s and was granted a Royal Charter in 1662 (Evans 1956, 25-27). Originally established as a Philosophical College with a primary focus on the sciences and the natural world, the Royal Society also indulged in discussions and celebrations of British antiquity (Evans 1956, 26). In 1707 three members from the Royal Society began to regularly meet at 'The Bear', a pub on the Strand, which was the beginning of the Society of Antiquaries (Evans 1956, 36; Daniel 1981, 46-47).

The new society was established out of frustration to the lack of attention paid to British history and antiquity by Humfrey Wanley, John Talman and John Bagford (Evans 1956, 36; Bowdoin Van Ripper 1993, 17-18). The group's membership grew quickly and by 1717 there were 23 members that called themselves the Society of Antiquaries (Bowdoin Van Ripper 1993, 16-17). The aims of the society were to preserve British antiquity and to share knowledge about the history of Britain to those that were interested (Evans 1956, 36-38).

The Society of Antiquaries was given a Royal Charter in 1751, making all current and future members Fellows. For the next century the society grew in esteem, and promoted antiquarian and archaeological pursuits in Britain and abroad. By the mid-19th century the Society began to lose membership and affluence, partially in response to membership decline, and to irresponsible use of funds (Evans 1956, 227). Dissatisfaction with the Society of Antiquaries led to the establishment of the British Archaeological Association in 1843, quickly followed by the Archaeological Institute in 1844 (Evans 1956, 264; Bowdoin Van Riper 1993, 21-22).

Disgruntled Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries formed the British Archaeological Association; among the leaders was Charles Roach Smith. Aside from the financial troubles and poor membership, the Society of Antiquaries was criticized for the dullness of the meetings, the papers that were being presented, its loss of focus, and for the inactivity of the acting officers (Evans 1956, 239-40). In the second half of the 18th and early part of the 19th centuries the Society of Antiquaries had been active in all aspects of antiquarian and archaeological pursuits, donating funds for excavations and promoting the findings through publications and exhibitions (Evans 1956, 146). The rapid decline of the Society came under the reign of President George Gordon, Earl of Aberdeen, who held the position for 34 years (1812-1846) (Evans 1956, 241).

The British Archaeological Association responded to the lapse practices of the Society of Antiquaries by establishing a new group "For the encouragement and prosecution of researches into the arts and monuments of the Early and Middle Ages [of Great Britain]", and to make the information more accessible to the 'everyday man' rather than the upper-classes (*BAA* 1846; Evans 1956, 264). By 1845 the British Archaeological Association had between 1,700 and 1,800 members. Membership options were designed so that anyone could join. A paying member, called an Associate had the option of paying annual fees or one time charge for lifetime membership. Associates were able to vote in the elections and also received the BAA publications at no additional charge. There was a free option available to those that were interested in British archaeology. Those members were called Correspondents, and were allowed to attend any meeting, but could not participate in voting and would have to pay for publications if they wished to have it (*BAA* 1846, x).

Shortly after the foundation of the British Archaeological Association there was a disagreement over the publication of a non-BAA related book that had been edited by the association's editor, Thomas Wright. The publication of the book created a division of the association's officers, thus leading to the creation of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (*BAA*, 1846; Levine 1986, 48-49). By the mid-1840s there were three national societies for antiquarian and archaeological pursuits, two of which made the fields more accessible to the general public. The end of the decade saw a rise in county and local societies, going from five in the 1830s to 19 by 1850 and over 60 by 1886, in more than half of the counties of England (Levine 1986, 51, appendix IV).

This brief history of the major archaeological associations shows that by the late 19th century archaeology had become accessible to the middle-class, which gave a greater divide to the definition of antiquary and archaeologist. Upper-middle class archaeologists, such as J.R. Mortimer of Driffield, used field workers to expand their collections and gather data, thus getting the rural working- class interested in archaeology as well (Giles 2006, 282). Furthermore, newspapers began to take an interest in archaeology, printing accounts of excavations and finds therefore widening public interest.

Despite the fact that multiple platforms had become accessible to the middle-class, there was still a segregation of gentlemen verses non-gentlemen in the antiquarian and archaeological fields—particularly in regard to national and local societies. National societies, such as the Society of Antiquaries had standards for the Fellows that they would elect; it was not until the 1830s that the society began to admit prominent tradesmen. The candidates had to have in-depth antiquarian knowledge and be financially stable enough to cover the costs of membership and society contributions (Evans 1956, 263).

What did it mean to be a gentleman in this context, and how did it influence admittance and standing within the societies? The typical gentleman antiquarian, archaeologist, historian or scientist came from an upper-class background or from a respected profession, such as medicine, law or the clergy (Levine 1986, 9; Speight 2011, 149). The education of these men was of equal import, with the majority holding degrees from Oxford or Cambridge. Some men, such as Mortimer, would

never be accepted as equal because they lacked the requisite familial or educational background (Levine 1986, 12; Giles 2006, 281; Harrison 2009, 5).

Gentlemen antiquarians and archaeologists were interested in the past and the development of knowledge and scientific practices. Through the societies and their membership, great strides were made in the field of archaeology and the building of public British collections. The clubs were a hub for networking and sharing ideas with one another. A gentleman would usually belong to more than one historical or scientific society, and would bring his thoughts from one field/society into the realm of another (Levine 1986, 35).

The second half of the 19th century saw a large increase in the published accounts of local, national, and international excavations. According to a search on the British Newspaper Archives, which contains over 8.5 million digitized papers from 262 publications, the first half of the 19th century has roughly 3,000 articles relating to archaeology and archaeological societies. The second half of the century has over 42,000 articles relating to archaeology and the happenings of archaeological societies. (www.britishnewspaperarchive.org, accessed 29/07/2014). This indicates a growing middle- and upper-class public interest in archaeology, which inevitably led to the demand of museums and other public institutions to build collections that reflected the history of Britain, and therefor inspire a sense of nationalism and patriotic pride that had swept the country.

The evolution of scientific thought and social status played a key role in the development of archaeology in the 19th century, and in particular on Greenwell's perceptions of what archaeology should be. The preoccupation with a true English Identity, it can be argued, was fundamentally realised in the exploration of prehistoric burial sites. The recovered skulls were integral to understanding the history and origins of the English people, which may have been one of Greenwell's ultimate aims in his archaeological practices.

Though he never specifies his search for British origins as motivation, the title of his book alone, *British Barrows: A record of the examination of sepulchral mounds in various parts of England*, indicates Greenwell's belief of pre-Anglo-Saxon origins for England. Throughout the work, he commonly refers to *British* pottery and artefact types when describing objects that were retrieved from Bronze and Iron Age sites. It is only at the end of the book, in discussion on the cranial remains, that

Rolleston addresses the evolution of crania from the stone-age man to the medieval and modern man by drawing comparison to certain cranial features found throughout time and Britain (Rolleston in Greenwell 1877, 711-8).

3.4: Meet William Greenwell

This section explores how Canon William Greenwell fit into the archaeological field, and how his interests and methodologies for excavating and collecting influenced the advancement of British history and archaeology. In certain ways Greenwell was an example of the gentleman antiquary niche that was so prevalent at the time, but it is interesting that with his background he was able to enter the most esteemed circles and societies, and J.R. Mortimer was not, even though he was just as accomplished as the Canon.

Canon Greenwell was a key figure in the field of prehistoric archaeology in the second half of the 19th century, with a keen interest in the Bronze and Iron Ages. His network of fellow antiquarians will be discussed below, but consisted of some of the leading minds in the fields of craniology, archaeology, artefact studies and evolutionary theory.

Greenwell's perception of national identity went beyond the written historical records to a quest for answers in prehistoric burial mounds. With the rise of prehistoric archaeology in the second half of the 19th century, Greenwell was at the forefront of the field. Not only was he interested in prehistoric monuments, but he was also a proponent of the study of evolutionary traits of the Britons, Romans, Angles and Saxons by analysing their skulls and skeletons (Greenwell 1877, 127-30).

Greenwell was a member of at least fifteen antiquarian, archaeological, natural, philosophical and historical societies, including the Society of Antiquaries in both London and Scotland, and the Royal Society (see appendix 3 for timeline and list of known societies). His reputation as an educated and involved participant in the fields made him an excellent Fellow and candidate, which was shown by his position as an officer in several of the societies, such as the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, Durham Archaeological Society, Society of Antiquarians of Newcastle and the Surtees Society (Fowler 1904, 152, 154-6; *DUJ* 1918, 426-7).

As a prominent archaeologist, Greenwell's interests spanned the fields of science; a member of naturalist clubs that discussed geology and the natural world, a

correspondent and friend with evolutionist Thomas Huxley, and friend of fellow archaeologist and craniologist George Rolleston, he was surrounded by men that he could discuss and collaborate with. In later years Greenwell became increasingly interested in craniology, the study of human skulls, which he frequently discussed with Rolleston and Huxley through regular correspondence. It is through these connections that Greenwell's personality and habits can be traced.

3.41 Who was Canon Greenwell?

William Greenwell was the eldest of five siblings born at Greenwell Ford, Lanchester, County Durham in 1820. His father, William Thomas Greenwell, Esq. was a popular and influential magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant of the county. His mother came from a similar family background; her father was a respected lawyer in Durham (Dorling 1884, 2). Greenwell attended the University of Durham where he earned a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree in 1839, Licence of Theology (LTh) in 1842 and Master's degree the following year. He had intended to study law at Middle Temple in London after completing his BA, but returned to Durham due to poor health in 1841 (Fowler 1904, 150; *ODNB*, Burns 2004).

Greenwell Ford was a prosperous estate, and was the family seat as early as 1633 (Burke 1871). In the memoirs of his sister, noted poetess Dora Greenwell (1821-1892), the author noted that the Greenwell family had a happy life at Greenwell Ford, enjoying the Browny River and the remains of a Roman Fort (Longovicium) that was located on the estate (Dorling 1884, 2; Fowler 1904, 151). In his youth, Greenwell and one of his younger brothers, Francis, would spend time digging out sections of the Roman foundations, and would sift through the soil looking for artefacts (Fowler 1904, 151). Sadly, the comfortable life at the Ford came to an end in 1848, after a lawsuit and other money troubles forced the elder William Greenwell to sell the house and estate, at which point Greenwell's sister and his parents moved into Ovingham Rectory where Greenwell held a living at the time (Dorling 1884, 8-9; 12).

Before dedicating most of his free time to archaeology, Greenwell was an active contributor, and later a member of the Surtees Society, beginning in 1852 when he edited the *Bolden Book* (*DUJ* 1918, 426-7). Greenwell's clerical career seems to have been enough to keep him permanently occupied without his participation in the several societies that he belonged to. Greenwell was ordained as

a deacon in 1844 and ordained as a priest in 1846; he was made Chaplain of University College in 1846; Curate of Ovingham in 1847; Principal of Neville Hall, Newcastle, in 1852; appointed Librarian to the Dean and Chapter House of Durham Cathedral in 1862; Magistrate of Durham in 1870; a founding member of the Durham School Board in 1871, and became a Justice of the Peace for Durham in 1880—to name some of his more prominent, non-archaeological achievements (Fowler 1914, 152-6; *DUJ* 1918, 426-7).

It is suspected that the first excavation that Greenwell participated in was of a barrow in Chollerston, Northumberland in December 1847 (Darvill 2008, 176). Five years later, in 1852, it is known that Greenwell participated in another excavation, this time at Routing Lynn in Northumbria, where he uncovered a carved stone with concentric circles (Fowler 1904, 153). Shortly after the excavation, Greenwell delivered a paper of the findings to the Newcastle Archaeological Institute, which was unfortunately lost sometime before his death (Jennings 1891, 10; Fowler 1904, 153). In a brief account of Greenwell's find of the Routing Lynn rock, the author describes him at the time of discovery as an 'enthusiastic and accomplished archaeologist', which might suggest that Greenwell had continued his archaeological practices between 1847 and 1852 (Jennings 1891, 10).

Greenwell's archaeological 'career' did not begin in earnest until 1858 when he was shown a Bronze Age dagger found at Ford West Field, Northumberland, where he excavated later that summer (Fowler 1904, 153). Greenwell did not give a reason for his archaeological interests or what drew him to the Yorkshire Wolds; the best explanation that he gave came from the preface of *British Barrows*, where he stated that the "…East Riding of Yorkshire, a district which possesses in the Wolds a locality abundant in such remains [barrows], and where the greater part fortunately had been left uninjured…" (Greenwell 1877, vi). It is likely that Greenwell was drawn to the Wolds because of opportunities available for unspoiled barrows and the search for prehistoric relics, even though Mortimer had become active in the area around 1860 (Mortimer 1905, ix).

Almost from the beginning Greenwell showed a preference for prehistoric sites and objects. Through his vast experience, Greenwell developed his own method for opening and excavating the mounds that would become a type of protocol for the late-19th century. He briefly explains his method as cutting a narrow trench through

the centre of a barrow running north and south, and depending on the findings from that single trench he would either 'turn over the whole mound' or leave the west and north sections, since they were normally void of any findings (Greenwell 1877, 27, fn. 1). Greenwell kept a scientific approach to his excavations by not romanticising or making assumptions about the situation or people, as many archaeologists and antiquarians in the previous century and first half of the 19th century were liable to do (Smiles 1994, 8-9).

Through experience and learned expertise he gained both admiration and criticism from fellow antiquarians and archaeologists. In April 1867 a semi-retired Augustus Henry Lane-Fox Pitt Rivers (at the time, Fox) worked on his first excavation under the tutelage of Greenwell (Thompson 1977, 45). Pitt Rivers publically acknowledged Greenwell's mentorship and the two men forged a lasting relationship. The association was not always a friendly one; it has been suggested that there was a brief falling out in 1868, evidenced by a certificate that was started for Greenwell to be admitted to the Society of Antiquaries that would have been sponsored by Pitt Rivers, but Pitt Rivers' name was scratched out (Thompson 1977, 49). However, Greenwell attended a meeting at the Society of Antiquaries in the summer of 1868, where he actively participated in the discussions, although the President regretted "that the rules of the society did not admit of his being elected a Fellow there and then" (Fowler 1904, 155). However, Greenwell was elected a Fellow in December of that year (op. cit.).

Greenwell collaborated with a number of notable archaeologists throughout his career. Aside from Pitt Rivers, he also worked with John Mortimer and his brother Robert. The Mortimer brothers were prolific archaeologists in their own rights, with over 350 excavations in total, most of which took place between 1863 and 1879 (Harrison 2009, 10). The first recorded excavation that Greenwell and the Mortimer brothers undertook was at Eshes Barrow in 1866 or 1867 (Giles 2012, 14). At the time of the excavation, the Mortimer's noted Greenwell's reluctance to dig beyond a certain depth, and also the rushed, and at times careless, nature of his methods (op. cit.). Shortly after the three parted ways at Eshes Barrow, the Mortimers' returned to explore deeper grounds at the site, and uncovered a complex of round and long barrows (Giles 2012, 14). This spurred Greenwell to write a series of letters to John Evans, complaining of the rumours and gossip that were being spread by 'that scoundrel Mortimer' (op. cit.).

As noted in several accounts, Mortimer brought the tension to the public eye in 1896 by allowing an excerpt of a letter from an angry landowner about the work that Greenwell had carried out at Danes Graves in 1864 to be published (Marsden 1974, 99-101; Giles 2006, 299; Giles 2012, 13-14). In this letter, the landowner condemned the activities of Greenwell and the labourers, which in turn left the site inaccessible until the landowner's death in 1896 (Giles 2012, 13). However, when access to the site was granted, Greenwell and John Mortimer, for Robert had passed away in 1892, undertook further excavation at Danes Grave between 1897 and 1898 (Harris 2009, 10; Giles 2012, 14). While the relationship between Greenwell and Mortimer always had elements of conflict and competition, the two did eventually make amends, for Mortimer praises the work and personhood of Greenwell throughout his *Forty Years' Research* (Mortimer 1905; Giles 2006, 286).

Mortimer and Greenwell both shared an interest in craniology, and studying the differences in skulls to determine a race. The relationship between archaeology and craniology was epitomized in Greenwell's only published book on archaeology, *British Barrows*, which he co-wrote with George Rolleston. Rolleston was the primary contributor to the skull studies from Greenwell's excavations, although Greenwell was in his own right a minor authority in the field. Rolleston and Greenwell spent many years studying the skulls that were excavated around the country, frequently sending the remains to one another, as well as to evolutionist T.H. Huxley

One of the primary downfalls of Greenwell's work is that he seemed reluctant or uninterested in publishing his excavations. Mortimer stated in the introduction of *Forty Years' Research* that Greenwell did omit some of his openings in *British Barrows* because the barrow was barren (Mortimer 1905, 118). As mentioned above, the only complete source of his excavations is *British Barrows*, which still leaves quite a lot to be determined. Nevertheless, Greenwell was a key influence on the science of archaeology and his views on its importance as a means of understanding ancient people are clearly stated in the preface to *British Barrows*:

> *"Though numerous barrows have been opened throughout Britain, but few accounts have been given of what has this, from time to time, been brought to light. Many have been destroyed by shepherds and others, from motives of a mere idle curiosity, or in the delusive hope of finding treasure… Naturally*

in none of such cases has any record of these openings been preserved, and hence what otherwise might have grown into an almost invaluable collection of facts has been entirely lost to archaeological science." (Greenwell 1877, v)

He seemed to have been prejudiced towards those who did not take archaeology and scientific pursuits as seriously as he did, and a little hypocritical.

By the end of his career, Greenwell had opened roughly 300 barrows around the country, primarily in Yorkshire (Marsden 1974, 98). His thoughts and findings intrigued his colleagues, as well as the public. Greenwell's network of intelligent and like-minded men was vast and varied. Aside from a long and friendly correspondence with Rolleston, Greenwell was also familiar with noted figures in the field, such as Sir John Evans, Sir John Lubbock, Sir George Perceval, Thomas Huxley and A. W. Franks, as well as his landowners, dealers, and other fellow society members.

3.42 The Scholar and Collector

Throughout his lifetime, Greenwell accumulated a massive collection of objects that reflected his interests in prehistory and unknown people. The Greenwell Collection at the British Museum highlights his interest in earlier periods and people. Through Greenwell's correspondence with John Evans, George Rolleston, John Lubbock, Spencer George Perceval and Reginald Allender Smith, it is fairly obvious that the Bronze and Iron Ages fascinated Greenwell and his colleagues in Britain, and to a lesser extent, the Romano-British period. Beyond those eras, Greenwell seems to have less of an interest, which is reflected in his publications and his collection. In fact, correspondence between his peers reveals a somewhat obsessive nature towards craniology and his private collection. In the collection of the Rolleston correspondence, for example, nearly every letter refers to skulls from different sites, or the acquisition of a new object to his collection.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to determine the size of Greenwell's collection throughout his lifetime. He regularly bought, sold, traded and donated objects as he saw fit. In a letter written to Sir George Perceval, dated 28 May 1878 he discusses the future of his collection, and that he believes it is the duty of private collectors (such as himself and Perceval) to make them accessible to the public:

> *"There is one consolation to you, that anything which comes into my hands will at, or perhaps before, my death, go into a Public Museum. It must always be that private collections will be the [*basis*] for public collections. I do not find so much fault with Public Museums for not getting more, but for not making what they have more useful, through proper arrangement and classification, and labelling."* (MS.Add.5343, 28 May 1878, Cambridge University)

The majority of Greenwell's private collection appears to have been primarily prehistoric British and Continental artefacts, and some classical antiquity. Aside from the Uncleby collection, it is unclear if Greenwell possessed other objects from the early medieval period, but seems unlikely, for his disdain of Anglian artefacts were referenced in a letter to R.A. Smith in 1910, where he referred to them as 'inferior' (BMH 24/10/10).

In one sense, it is curious that Greenwell would value prehistoric and classical objects over artefacts that may represent the beginning of a Christian nation, particularly given his close relationship with the church. Greenwell never explains his preference for the ancient periods and objects, but we can speculate that is had more to with biology and evolution than with religion. Greenwell's interest in craniology is well documented, and his interest in prehistoric objects and people may have been due to the exotic nature of the physical remains, and the differences between them and modern men.

Like many men of the time, his collection habits could be considered ruthless or questionable. An amusing example of his darker side is objectified in the gold Anglo-Saxon ring held at the British Museum known as the Æthelswith Ring (AF.458). A farmer found the ring in Aberford, West Yorkshire in late 1872 or early 1873, and sold it to a jeweller in York. The Yorkshire Philosophical Society wanted to purchase it for their growing collection. Greenwell offered to purchase the ring on their behalf, with a promise to bequeath it to the Society at a later date. The ring was purchased, and he was apparently very proud of it, telling Rolleston about it in two separate letters. However, rather than giving or selling the ring to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, he gave it to A.W. Franks for his personal collection of finger

rings, which was later donated to the British Museum by Franks (Rolleston Archives, GR/A/3/6; Caygill 1997b, 174).

Nevertheless, Greenwell was generous with his friends, and in some instances, with his possessions. In the correspondence with Rolleston, Perceval and Lubbock, he was frequently offering his assistance in procuring an object or object-type that the other was wanting. He also makes requests of his friends' collections, particularly with Perceval and a bronze dagger (MS.Add.5343, 11 September 1877, Cambridge University). Given the proclivities of Greenwell and his associates, there is no telling what objects traded hands before being donated under another name (like the Æthelswith Ring). What can be certain is that Greenwell's wish for the objects to be available to the public, for educational purposes has been met.

3.43 Greenwell's Legacy

A larger portion of Greenwell's collection resides in the British Museum. Over the years, Greenwell made frequent donations and smaller sales to the British Museum, as well as donations to the Yorkshire Museum and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and other local museums. The exact extent and remains of Greenwell's collection are unknown, but a cursory search of the British Museum catalogue shows over 5,600 objects associated with Greenwell.

J.P. Morgan purchased a collection of artefacts in the British Museum, referred to as the Field Collection by Rev William Greenwell, in 1908. The sale was fraught with negotiations and demands, with a primary condition that it remained in the British Museum after Greenwell's death. A series of letters in the British Museum holdings record the arduous transaction, some of which are produced here in order to illustrate another aspect of Greenwell's character. The earliest reference to the sale of the collection was between art dealer George Durlacher and British Museum curator Charles Hercules Read on 8 August 1908:

> *Dear Mr Read*
>
> *Mr [*J.P.*] Morgan is undoubtedly interested in the Greenwell collection and told me to "go ahead" and ascertain if it can be bought for a reasonable sum. He is certainly not inclined to pay a fancy price, but in great confidence I think I may say he is inclined to give it [to] you, had you been with me this morning*

*I feel sure some arrangement wo[u]ld have been made, provided always the owner (*Greenwell*) can be dealt with…*

Greenwell's payments and demands were excessive, with an initial asking price set at £25,000 (over £2,800,000 in todays currency!), and that he be able to keep his collection until his death, when it would then transfer to the British Museum (BMH 11/08/08). When the price was refused, Greenwell said that he would settle for nothing less than £10,000 (over £1,100,000 in current currency), which was agreed upon, but with the stipulation that the collection was to be turned over to the British Museum immediately (BMH 13/08/08).

In September 1908 Greenwell responded:

Dear Read,

I have thought over your proposition that the collection should come to you at once. I do not like parting with it, for I shall be deprived of the pleasure of looking over the contents when I feel inclined thereto. But I am willing under certain conditions that it should go at once to the B.M., where certainly I am very glad it is to be housed.

I have to pay £700 commission, which reduces the £10,000 by that sum. If the purchaser will give £10,700, so that I get what I think the collection is worth, you can have it at once otherwise I will retain it for my life. If my proposal is not accepted, an inventory will have to be made, which you say would be done by [sic] and Reginald Smith.

Greenwell's request for an extra £700 was not met, nor was his threat carried out. On 16 October 1908, Durlacher wrote to Morgan to inform him that the collection had been purchased, and that delivery to the museum was imminent (MLM Arc1310/Durlacher).

It is clear that Greenwell treasured his collection, for he had spent a lifetime acquiring and curating it. It is also clear that Greenwell's primary wish was for the artefacts to be in the British Museum, accessible to future generations. In this way, his work as an archaeologist and scholar would be sure to survive, making his legacy secure. What remains unclear is why he valued prehistoric antiquities and culture over that of the early medieval period in England. While Greenwell competed, manipulated, and bartered for Bronze Age and Iron Age artefacts for his collection—

and was reluctant to part with them, as demonstrated in the 1908 negotiations discussed above—he did not have the same qualms regarding the collection of Anglian artefacts from Uncleby.

Chapter 4: The Uncleby Excavations and Investigations

For the last 150 years the Anglian cemetery discovered at Uncleby, in the parish of Kirby Underdale (E. Yorks), has been a neglected source of information. The Uncleby excavation took place in April 1868, supervised by Greenwell who was no doubt in search of Bronze Age artefacts. Aside from a brief summary of the excavation published in the *Malton Messenger*, the excavation remained unpublished until 1912 when a British Museum employee, R.A. Smith, attempted to document the excavation based on Greenwell's notes. The 1912 article briefly discussed the site, but focused on the contents and body positions of the individual graves.

Apart from the two articles, the most reliable source that remains is the objects themselves. The majority of the objects are housed at the Yorkshire Museum, with 14 objects, including the Bronze Age artefacts, at the British Museum. A search for Greenwell's site diary or any other references to the Uncleby excavation, in archives throughout the UK has, for the most part, been unsuccessful. The British Museum has two letters from Greenwell to Smith that refer to the excavation in some detail, but beyond that, references to the site are usually in regard to selling or trading some of the Bronze Age artefacts with his network of collectors.

In the past twenty years, interest in the Anglian cemetery at Uncleby has increased. Helen Geake used Uncleby in her sample of Conversion Period grave-goods (1997), Sam Lucy included the cemetery in her analysis of cemeteries in East Yorkshire (1998), and Howard Williams references Uncleby in his discussions on the reuse of prehistoric features (1997; 1998). Despite modern interest in the site, it still remains unpublished in its entirety, which is the primary aim of *The Revival of Uncleby* PhD.

This first half of this chapter will focus on the 19th century exploration and perception of the site. Following this, a geophysical survey that was conducted in 2015 will be presented, along with interpretations of the findings and deeper analysis of the site. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there is no clear reason why Greenwell chose to focus so much of his attention on the Yorkshire Wolds, and it is even less clear what drew his attention to the barrows situated at Uncleby. Perhaps the barrow was chosen from a jealous or competitive streak focused on J.R.

Mortimer, who throughout the 1860s was having success at a site just across the road, at Painsthorpe Wold Barrow 4 (see section 5.3).

4.1 The Primary Sources for the 19th century excavation

William Greenwell was a celebrated archaeologist in the second half of the 19th century. He has been referred to as a 'performance-digger' because of his relationship with the press, and the notable figures that attended and/or participated in his excavations (Briggs 2015, 251). His love affair with the press ensured that a celebrity status, even a minor one, was secured through newspaper syndications that 'could well have totalled several thousand nationwide' throughout his archaeological career (op. cit, 266).

Because of this status, it is no surprise that the Kirby Underdale dig was splashed across the pages of newspapers in York, Leeds, Salisbury, London, Dublin and Belfast, to name a few, throughout the excavation. The name of the true site was kept vague to deter public interference, and Uncleby was referred to as Kirby Underdale for the duration of the dig (Harrison 1997, 2). The articles, all of which were nearly identical in wording, came in two waves; the first news was published after the first week of excavation, and the second at the conclusion. Aside from the brief archaeological information pertaining to the excavation, the papers were interested in noting the gentry that had visited the site.

The first articles gave a brief description of the week's efforts. Sensationalizing the work and finds, the articles celebrated the size of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery, the way in which the bodies were interred, and the apparent mutilation of some bodies that had been found. Based on the extensive findings in the first week, the papers estimated a three- to four-week excavation would take place, and noted that Greenwell would not pursue the rest until the summer months as he had been called away to another matter. However, circumstances must have changed as the conclusion of the dig was reported a few weeks later.

Following the completion of the excavation, newspapers reported on the extensive findings from Uncleby. Two articles published in the first week of May, in *The Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* (Tuesday, May 5, 1868), and *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal and General Advertiser* (Saturday, May 9, 1868), published the same details about the graves and their orientations, and a brief catalogue of the

findings. Beyond that, the information was general and hailed the Anglo-Saxon finds as a great success.

The notable exception to the articles that were published in 1868 came from the *Malton Messenger* (Saturday, April 25, 1868). This was the only paper to give a detailed description of the graves and associated finds from the excavation. For 54 years this was the most complete record of the excavation, as it was not until 1912 that concise details of the excavation would be published by Reginald Allender Smith in *Victoria County History, Volume II*, followed by a paper delivered to the Society of Antiquaries in the same year (Smith 1912a; 1912b).

The *VCH* article 'Anglo-Saxon Remains,' focused on the Anglian presence in Yorkshire with three pages dedicated to Uncleby, giving a brief description of the site and the more exciting grave goods. At some point after writing the *VCH* article, but before publication in 1912, Smith gained access to Greenwell's site notes, from which he provided the first and only detailed account of all graves and objects (Smith 1912b, 147). The published article from the *Society of Antiquaries* has remained the primary source for the excavation, as the site notes/diary have not been found to date.

Two letters from Greenwell to Smith, that are in the British Museum Holdings, refer to Smith's work on documenting the Uncleby site. The first, dated 24 October 1910 says:

> *"Anything I can do to help you with the Anglian burials at Uncleby, I will most gladly do, but I cannot in a moment lay hands on the notes I made when the barrow was in the course of opening. I have forgotten the account in the MM [*Malton Messenger*], no doubt written by [*Charles*] Monkman, who had been supplied to me with the details of the finds. I know of no account for the barrow, for which I plead guilty, as I ought to have written, but not in BB [*British Barrows*], too sacred a book to include such inferior things as Anglian burials, but somewhere else."*

This single paragraph perfectly demonstrates Greenwell's attitudes to, not only the Uncleby excavation, but also towards the Anglo-Saxon period in general. However, Greenwell must have found his notes, for Smith refers to them in the Society of Antiquaries paper (1912b, 146-7), and reference is made to them in a letter from Greenwell to Smith dated 26 March 1912: "I have no recollection of the graves in

which the two gold pendants were found. Are you certain that you have not overlooked the record [?] It seems odd I should have omitted finding two such things" (BMH 26/03/12).

As stated in the previous chapter, Greenwell maintained a large collection of prehistoric artefacts, which he kept in his possession until the early 20th century. He did not seem to have any misgivings parting with the Anglian objects, as a majority were given to the York Museum in 1874 (*YH,* 7 March 1874; Wellbeloved 1881, 154-5).

The newspaper articles, particularly those from the *Malton Messenger*, and Smith's article about the Uncleby site, remain the only primary sources of the excavation. Without these reports, the excavation at Uncleby would have been lost, with only a collection of objects left to represent the Anglian cemetery. The following section is an attempt to re-create the excavation, through interpretation of the sources.

4.2 The Excavation

The Uncleby barrow was constructed in the Bronze Age for at least one cremation burial, and possibly up to three. In the late-7th and early-8th centuries it was re-used by a community or communities of Anglo-Saxons as a cemetery. And in the 19th century it was a celebrated excavation that shed new light on the Anglian inhabitants of the Yorkshire Wolds. As discussed in chapter 2, the primary barrow was located next to a Roman road, and on the other side of the road was another barrow that was turning out a number of Bronze Age burials in the 1860s. Furthermore, according to an 1890 OS map (fig. 6), three prehistoric mounds could be counted in one field, making the field a prime source for archaeological pursuits.

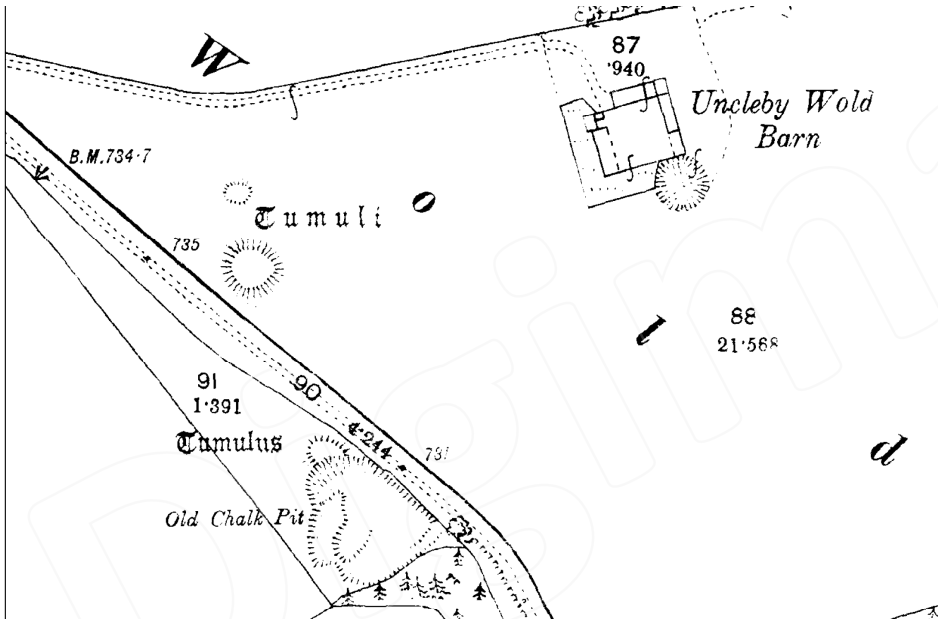


Figure 6 Detail of the excavation site from 1890 OS map

Greenwell describes the barrow as 94 feet in diameter, with a height of only two feet and four inches (Greenwell 1877, 136). In Smith's later account, the barrow is described as three feet tall, and had an original diameter of 70 feet in the Bronze Age, and was later expanded to 94 feet by the Anglian's that reused it (Smith 1912b, 147). It was noted that the Anglian burials were laid on the surface, and that those on the east of the mound had their heads slightly elevated, and that burials on the west had their feet slightly elevated, following the curve of the tumulus (op. cit.).

Slightly off centre of the mound, dug six feet deep into the chalk, was the original cremation, found with animal remains (Greenwell 1877, 136; Smith 1912b, 148). Greenwell and Smith also note further cremations, but the descriptions and locations of the remains differ. Greenwell notes that a second cremation was found in the southeast section of the cemetery accompanied with a bone pin (Greenwell 1877, 136). He goes on to describe a stone axe, two or three flints and a fragment of a 'drinking cup' found in the northeast of the cemetery, but without any human remains (op. cit.). Smith, however, describes the flints and axe found in the northeast east associated with a cremation rather than an assemblage of artefacts, and includes a third cremation: "Burnt earth was noticed all round and over grave no. 1, and just south of the head a burnt body and bone pin with large eye, doubtless of the late Bronze Age" (Smith 1912b, 148).

The proceedings began sometime in the week of 6 April 1868. After the first week of digging, initial reports thought that the excavation would continue for at

least another month, based on the number of graves and finds that were being uncovered (*DEM* 16 April 1868). However, excavation only lasted another two weeks or so (*MM* 25 April 1868). Based on Mortimer's accounts of the Dane's Grave excavation (see previous chapter), it comes as no surprise that the Uncleby excavation was done so quickly.

Using newspaper reports from April 1868 and the numerical labelling that was given to the graves, it is possible to partially recreate the excavation. Reference to Good Friday, which was on 10 April that year, was made in regard to disturbance of grave 26 (Smith 1912b, 151). If the numbering of the graves corresponds with the order in which they were found, it can be assumed that 25 graves were uncovered before the 10th. The earliest article to discuss the excavation was circulated on the 14th, and states that the excavation had commenced the week before (*TMP*, 14 April 1868). Therefore, the commencement of the excavation must have occurred on or around Monday, 6 April 1868.

It can be assumed that Greenwell employed his usual method of excavation, by opening a north to south trench in the centre of the barrow (see previous chapter; Greenwell 1877, 27, fn. 1). However, the initial trench for the Uncleby mound was either started from the centre of the barrow and continued south through to the original ditch, as the head of the first set of remains is, apparently, almost exactly on the north/south line of the centre of the cemetery; or the trench did not continue as far north to the original ditch of the barrow, or the remains of grave 61 would have been found.

After the trench was dug, and grave 1 was discovered, it would seem that, if the numerical system for the graves is a reliable account of the order in which they were found, activity was focused to the east of the trench. Graves 1-3 are described, both by the *Malton Messenger* (25 April 1868) and later by Smith (1912b), as being very closely spaced together, although the diagram provided in the Smith article shows grave 3 slightly separated from graves 1 and 2 (detailed interpretations of the cemetery layout are discussed in the following chapter). Grave 4 is located west of the centre of the cemetery, with graves 5-11 still in the east. The location and numbering of grave 4 gives the first impression that there was likely more than one team working on the site at any given time.

Breaks in numerical sequencing are found throughout the cemetery, but become less noticeable as the numbering system gets higher. Up until grave 26, there are sporadic finds in the west, seemingly singular, which might be evidence of one or two people working in that area, with primary focus concentrated in the east. After grave 26, the numerical sequencing seems to be less random, which could mean one of two things; either the workforce grew after the first week of excavation, allowing attention to be equally dispersed, or the original diggers were split into multiple groups to cover more ground.

So, it would seem that the early phases of excavation were almost exclusively focused on the southern half of the barrow, based on the fact that only higher numbered graves are found in the northern half of the site. When work was extended to the northern half of the barrow, it must have been noticed that graves could be found in deeper ground, because the highest labelled graves appear in the south, some recorded as being 4 feet below the surface (Smith 1912b, 153-4). This development would also account for some graves with higher numbers being located next to graves with lower numbers; that they were initially missed because the digging crew did not go deep enough.

The entire excavation seems to have focused only on the barrow, and one grave just outside the barrow. Whether or not Greenwell did extend the dig into the field is unknown, but based on the lack of findings, it is likely that he did not.

4.3 A related excavation: Mortimer's Barrow 4

Greenwell was not the only person interested in excavating barrows in the area. In Mortimer's *Forty Years' Research in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, the author describes a small set of mounds that he referred to as the Painsthorpe Wold Group (Mortimer 1905, 113-18). There are three in particular, Barrows X, Z and 4 that are of current interest. What Mortimer calls Barrow X is the primary Uncleby barrow that Greenwell excavated in April 1868. Greenwell also excavated Barrow Z at the same time, but as there were no findings he chose to exclude it from his *British Barrows* (Mortimer 1905, 118). Barrow 4 was located on the other side of the 'high street' from Barrow X, and was accidently discovered while stone was being quarried.

Beginning in 1860, and concluding sporadic investigations in August 1876, the Mortimer brothers worked on the unique findings of Barrow 4. Inside they found several British and Anglian graves, and focused on the Bronze Age interments. The notable exception is the grave that Mortimer labelled 6a, an Anglian woman contracted on the right side. She was found with a workbox that contained thread, a necklace of two amethyst beads and nine 'paste' beads, the remains of a satchel, an iron knife and a copper-alloy annular brooch (Mortimer 1905, 117).

Mortimer's passage on the small barrow group has some intriguing implications. An annular brooch found with grave 6a is nearly identical to those found in Greenwell's excavation, belonging to graves 12 and 65 (Mortimer 1905, plt. XXXV). The shape of the knife, which is a rather atypical form, is similar to some found by Greenwell in graves 3 and 42. Because of the treatment of 6a and the assortment of goods that were interred with the body, there is a chance that the two barrows are related. Unfortunately, Mortimer did not give much attention to the Anglian interments either, so very little information is available to see if there were other similar graves or objects.

If not for Mortimer's work, a few details of Greenwell's excavation would have been lost, as well as the possible links of Barrows X, Y and 4. The overall lack of information pertaining to Greenwell's excavation has created some difficulty in comprehending the scope of Uncleby as a cemetery, and the Anglian community/communities. Fortunately most of the Uncleby objects survive and can convey a great amount of information about the inhabitants.

4.4 Uncleby to Date

Aside from the primary sources that have been noted above, post excavation work on Uncleby has been incomplete, with only fragments of the site and findings used for further advancement of Anglo-Saxon studies. Because Uncleby provided such unique finds in one cemetery, certain objects or object types have been studied for a broader context in developing an Anglo-Saxon biography. As well as the objects, the barrow and burials have leant themselves to work carried out in the respected fields. The whetstones and workboxes from the site are the most commonly referenced objects. The remarkable size of the cemetery, the location, barrow usage and burial practices have become highly discussed topics in recent

years. Particularly by Sam Lucy and Howard Williams, who have used Uncleby as an example to demonstrate typical and atypical Anglian burials in Yorkshire.

The most comprehensive work to be done on Uncleby was undertaken by Helen Geake; first as a case study for her PhD thesis on Conversion Period grave goods at the University of York, which was completed in 1995 and published in 1997, and secondly as an independent project with the Yorkshire Museum, in 1997-8. The work that was being carried out at the Yorkshire Museum would have been the first fully published account of Uncleby and the grave goods. The work was never finished or published, leaving a substantial breadth of research to be conducted.

A similar fate appears to have met research on Canon Greenwell; between 2004 to 2006 the University of Durham and the Leverhulme Trust sponsored a research program titled *Canon Greenwell and the Development of Archaeology in the North of England*. The research was directed by Dr Pam Graves, Durham University, with Dr Ann O'Connor appointed as the Research Fellow for the project. A conference was held in 2005 with papers given on all aspects of 19th century archaeology. The end result of the research is still awaiting publication, as are the papers from the conference.

In the last few decades there have been huge strides made in the Anglo-Saxon studies. As has been very briefly discussed, Uncleby has been a minor part of the advancements that have been made in the field, but has the potential to be of integral importance for future studies. A thorough evaluation of the objects, as well as the site as a whole, will not only prove to hold valuable information, but will help in deciphering other antiquarian sites, specifically those of Canon Greenwell.

4.5 The Geophysical survey

In May 2015 a geophysical survey was conducted over the confined area of the Uncleby barrow, and the adjacent field. The aims of the survey were to identify any invisible features in the ploughed fields in order to place the Bronze Age and Anglian burial spaces in a larger context. Due to all of the agricultural work and 19th century excavations, there was an expectation that the results would not be clear enough to gather sufficient data. However, those doubts were unfounded, as will be demonstrated in this chapter.

4.51 The Survey areas

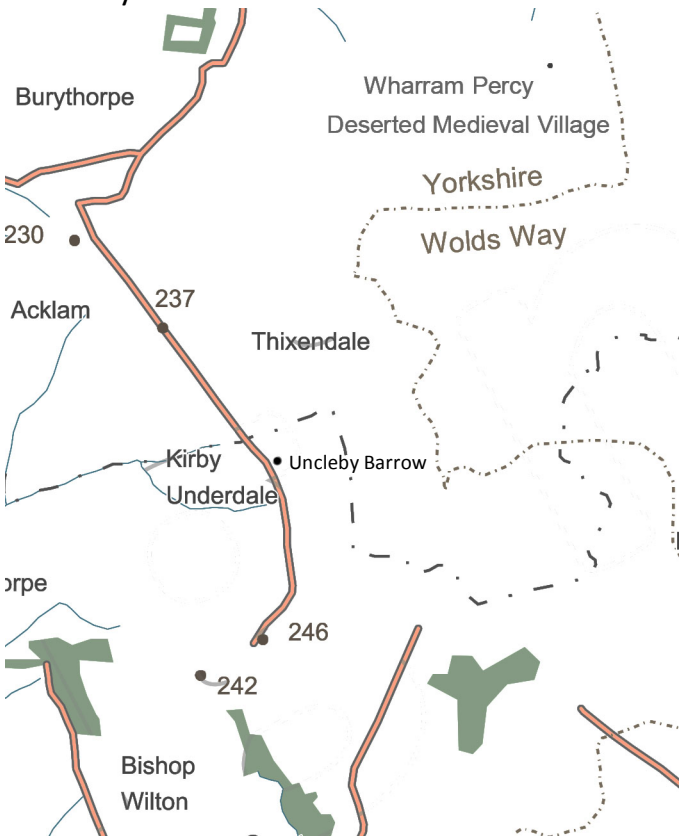


Figure 7 OS Map overview of Kirby Underdale and surround areas with elevation markers, national boundary line, walking path and minor roads.

The Uncleby barrow(s) sit between 220m and 225m in elevation (fig. 7). The highest elevation in the Yorkshire Wolds is Garrowby Hill, Bishop Wilton Wold, with an elevation of 246m, and is less than 1.6 kilometres (1 mile) south and west of Uncleby. The field is located on the western edge of Uncleby Brow with an east facing view towards York over the Vale of York. The village of Kirby Underdale is situated at the foot of a gradual slope, approximately 1.5 km southwest of the site. The field in which the barrow is situated is located at an intersection of Roman roads would have provided access to York, Bridlington, Malton, Brough and areas along the way.

In terms of archaeological location in the landscape, Uncleby is situated in an area with a high volume of archaeological interest. Mortimer considered the site to be included in the very northwest area of the Painsthorpe Wold Group that consisted of 21 barrows primarily situated on the Painsthorpe plateau (Mortimer 1905, 113-18). Some areas of interest in the vicinity, aside from Garrowby which has a number of archaeological sites, include Wharram Percy 6.4 km to the northwest; Burdale,

Cottam A and Cottam B 17.5 km (respectively) north and west of the site; and York 22.5 km east of the site.

4.6 The Survey

For a detailed account of the methodology used for the survey, please refer to the Hansen and Fitton report with Historic England (Hansen and Fitton 2015).

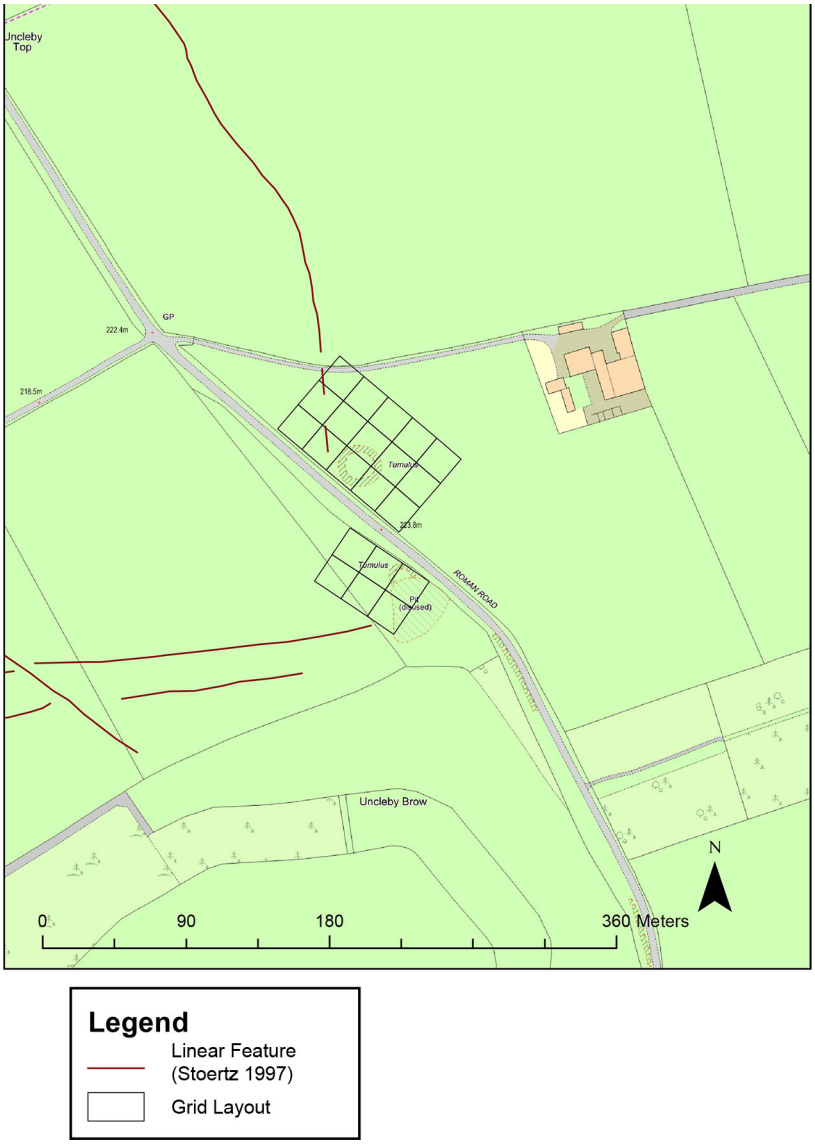


Figure 8 The survey area with grid overlay.

The fieldwork was split over two sites: Site A, which is the primary site where Greenwell's barrow is situated, and Site B, which is where Mortimer's Barrow 4 is located. The survey area of Site A was set-up with a total of 15 20m x 20m grids (60m x 100m) (fig. 8). The grids were marked out using a handheld GPS to coordinate with the OS maps that were used to georectify the data. Both the magnetometry and resistivity surveys were undertaken over a four-day period. Weather conditions

and equipment malfunction did not permit the completion of two and a half grids of resistivity in Site A. Throughout the report, features are abbreviated as follows: **R** stands for features identified in the resistivity survey, **M** for features from the magnetometry survey, and **F** for features that are unquestionably related to both surveys.

4.61 Site A, the Uncleby barrow and surround features

A partial ring (**F1**) was identified in the expected area of the field where the Uncleby cemetery was excavated, with an overall diameter of 29m, which corresponds with the measurements given by Greenwell for the extent of the barrow (1877, 136). The ring is interpreted as a ditch that was created in the Early Medieval period as part of the expansion of the barrow that took place during Anglian use of the site (op. cit.). Inside the ring is a large area of slightly higher resistance (**R1**) that may be representative of Greenwell's archaeological activity. In the very centre of the area is a small patch with lower resistance, which could be interpreted as a burial chamber—perhaps the original Bronze Age chamber.

Approximately 6m NNE of the primary barrow a smaller ring of high resistance was discovered (**F2**), measuring approximately 16m in diameter. Within the centre of the ring is a distinct area of high resistance (**R2**). This must be the barrow that Mortimer makes reference to in regard to Greenwell's 1868 investigation of the smaller barrow, and was not included in *British Barrow* because it was void of any artefacts (Mortimer 1905, 118). The magnetometry and resistivity results show very clear and clean lines for the outlines of both barrows.

Running NNE along the western edges of the barrows is a distinct linear feature (**F3**) of high resistance. The feature is most likely a path or track way that seems to slightly overlap the probable ring ditch of **F2**, and deliberately respects the western edge of **F1**. The path continues east around the southwest perimeter of **F1**, and then veers SSE, converging with a second probable path (**R3**). The origin of this linear feature appears to stem from the eastern side of **F1** and runs north to south. Both paths meet in the southern most point of the survey area, and appear to continue into the adjacent field/Site B (**F7**, will be discussed below). Imagery collected and documented in the Uncleby vicinity through aerial data collection revealed a linear feature in the landscape, running approximately 290m north and

northwest from Site A (Stoertz 1997, Map 3). An interpretation of the feature is here offered as a pre-Roman track. When the aerial transcription is added to the GIS data for the site, the end point for the documented feature is a nearly perfect match to **F3**.

In the northern half of the survey area a number of probable archaeological anomalies were discovered. Overlapping the primary path **F3**, just north of **F2** and protruding to the west, is a small feature (**F4**). In the resistivity plot the feature is reminiscent of a bowtie or keyhole in shape, with an overall length of 10m, and varying widths of 2m-4.5m; the magnetometry results show the entity as an oblong feature with measurements of 4.5m long. Almost exactly northeast of the feature is another feature of indiscriminate shape (**R4**) that has been truncated by a modern dirt road (leading to the working farm).

South and east of **R4** is a larger anomaly that has a circular9 area of very high resistance and is surrounded by an area of slightly less resistance (**R5**). A visual comparison of the feature can be made with the central area **R2** of the smaller barrow (**F2**). This is not to say that the feature is a third barrow, but the size and shape of the anomaly is intriguing. South and west is another similar anomaly (**F5**) that is also sub-circular in shape with high resistance. The magnetometry reveals a distinct hook-shape, with the open ends facing west. Directly to the east of the feature is the shadow of curved line. The feature is in close proximity to the primary barrow, **F1**, on the NNE side. Again, a visual comparison of the feature to the smaller barrow suggests a similar archaeological entity, which is further substantiated by a circular shadow.

West of **F5** are two small areas high resistance, both of which are located between the barrows (**R6** and **R7**). The final possible archaeological feature is a large anomaly (**F6**) in the west of the survey area. At first glance it was thought that the feature was nothing more than geology, given its irregular shape and size. However, after comparing the resistivity results to the magnetometry it was determined that the feature is most likely archaeological.

The magnetometry picked up a small number of circular features in the south section of the survey area. The most distinct of these (**M1**) has been highlighted on the accompanying images, and is believed to be one of at least three smaller

mounds. The full extent of the feature is not visible due to the parameters of the survey area and the enclosed field.

It is difficult to give dates and functions to the features that were found in the north half of the survey area. It would appear that the smaller features (**F4, R4, R5, F5, R6** and **R7**) relate to and respect the parameters of the smaller barrow. It is here suggested that the features belong to the Bronze Age. The same could be said for the possible cluster of smaller barrows in the south section of the survey area. Mortimer stated that the secondary Uncleby barrow (**F2**) was barely perceptible in the field when Greenwell investigated—today there is no visible trace of the smaller barrow (Mortimer 1905, 118). It is therefore assumed that other archaeological features in the field would have had little to no visibility at the time of the excavation, and would have been left unexplored by Greenwell (and/or Mortimer).

The magnetometry of the east area of the survey revealed two prominent anomalies (**M2** and **M3**). Unfortunately resistivity over the area could not be completed, so it is difficult to say whether or not the features are archaeological. Given the prominence of **M2** in the magnetometry plot, the feature is here considered to be modern—possibly discarded farm equipment. It was originally thought that **M2** may have been a tank or electric box associated with the home. However, according to the current tenants, who have been in residence or associated with the property since the 1930s, the nearest modern belowground equipment is located approximately 40m southeast of the survey area. **M3** is also interpreted here as being a modern anomaly. The feature is a very strait line that runs from the centre of **M2** and towards the centre of **F1**. Without supporting data from resistivity, it is here assumed to not be archaeological.

4.62 Site B, Mortimer's Barrow 4 and surrounding features

Mortimer's Barrow 4 of the Painsthorpe Wold Group was surveyed at the same time. Sites A and B are separated by a Roman road, with the Uncleby cemetery and Barrow 4 approximately 75m apart. The small field is uneven, scattered with gopher holes and rabbit dens, and has tall grass. The field is sporadically used for sheep grazing, and does not appear to be regularly maintained. In the southeast of the field is a disused chalk quarry that was in heavy use in the late 19th century. It was through quarrying that archaeology was discovered and subsequently investigated by Mortimer between 1860 and 1877 (Mortimer 1905, 113-117).

The most distinct feature to be found at the site is what has been interpreted as path (**F7**) that runs north and south approximately 25m long. The path seems to be a continuation of paths **R3** found in Site A. The resistivity and magnetometry details of **F7** provide a likely connection to **R3**. To the west of **F7** is a second path (**R10**) that appears to be a continuation of **F3**. The path runs NNW to SSE 37m, but may continue an additional 13m (**R11**).

A feature (**R12**) appears to bridge or merge **F7** and **R10**. The feature could be interpreted as a split from **F7**, which would join it **R10**. However the detail of the resistivity collection is not clear enough to conclusively determine if the feature is part of a path or not. To the east of **F7** is an area of high resistance (**R13**), which is in the approximate area of the barrow. Unlike the findings from Site A, the barrow in this site does not have a clear ring or other identifying trait of a barrow. This is most likely due to the extensive industrial and archaeological activities that took place here. Just below **R13** on the edge of the pit, is an anomaly (**M4**) that is most likely associated with the barrow. Again, because of the condition of the site, it is difficult to say with any certainty if either feature can be related to Barrow 4.

In the western section of the survey area is an anomaly (**F8**) that has been interpreted as probable archaeology given the strength and quality of detail from both surveys. Beyond that, an interpretation for **F8** cannot here be suggested at this time. Evidence from Site B suggests a connection to Site A; along with similar grave goods found in Barrow 4 (grave 6a in Barrow 4 contained a Br2 brooch—possibly a pair—, a workbox and amethyst beads) the connecting paths offer further evidence of a shared link. What is certain is that the paths connect at least three barrows (depending on how far the path goes, it could conceivably connect more). Assuming that **F3** is later than the Bronze Age barrows (because it directly overlaps the ring of **F2**), it is reasonable to think that the paths are somehow deliberately connected to the mounds.

4.7 Discussion

The survey has yielded important results. The track way shows deliberate interaction with the Uncleby barrow (**F1**), and probably with Mortimer's Barrow 4 as well. Furthermore, the archaeological anomalies in Site A—**R4**, **R5**, **R8**, **F5**, **F6**, and **M1** in particular—may be representative of further barrows or burials sites.

Immediately north to northwest of the Uncleby barrow, on Uncleby stoop, are at least another 12 tumuli, and south to southeast of the barrow are at least another eight (Stoertz 1997, maps 1 and 3). Resistivity, magnetometry and perhaps ground penetrating radar (GPR) surveys of the entire field may reveal an entire complex of prehistoric features that were adapted to fit the needs of the Anglian communities of the Yorkshire Wolds.

The survey has also proved to be a useful experiment in evaluating antiquarian excavations. It has shown that information can still be retrieved from the sites, and may even have the potential of exposing the excavation itself. For example, as discussed in chapter 4, Greenwell was reluctant to dig beyond shallow depths at this point in his career; if the high resistance in the centre of **F1** is related to archaeological activity, and if **F2** is the barrow that Greenwell excavated and did not publish, it would stand to reason that similar resistance readings would be present in **F2**. However, they are almost completely opposite, suggesting that there may be undiscovered finds in the smaller barrow.

The fact that there are at least three phases of activity in the small survey area shows a continued use and importance of the site, especially for the Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Anglian populations. Rather than demolishing or developing over the earlier features, the barrows and trackways were incorporated into the new landscape. It is tempting to view this activity as ritual, as may have been the case.

The Anglian use of the large barrow was a deliberate choice in terms of visibility, monumentality and, probably, ancestrally. As the geophysical results show, there are a number of pre-existing features that would have been prominent in the Anglian period, such as the track ways that respect and connect the barrows, and the smaller tumuli that were not chosen for secondary inhumations. As briefly discussed in chapter 2, there is an established precedence for the use of prehistoric monuments in Anglian burials in Yorkshire and farther afield. The most commonly used features are Bronze Age round barrows, which tended to be located on the higher grounds of the Wolds (Lucy 1998, 99). The visibility of the tumuli may have been what drew the Anglian's to the sites, especially if barrows were reserved or restricted for specific individuals, families or communities (op. cit.). While Bronze Age barrows are the most frequently used prehistoric monuments for Anglo-Saxon secondary burials, there did not appear to be any pre-existing feature that was not

used. Anglo-Saxon burials have been found in Neolithic features, Iron Age square barrows and trackways, and Roman buildings as well (Williams 1998, 94).

The pre-existence of these historical features may have held sacred meaning to the Anglian people, who may have used the area as a cemetery in order to claim ancestral rites, which seems to be the prevailing theory for prehistoric monument use in the Anglian period (Lucy 1998, 99; Williams 1998, 96). The Bronze Age barrow at Uncleby would have already been an established monument in the early medieval landscape. It's prominent situation on a Roman road would have meant that it was frequently passed when travelling onto or off of the Wolds, and the trackways that appear to link the barrows, that are presumably prehistoric, were likely still in use in the Anglian period, offering another aspect of daily interaction with the barrow.

The location of the Uncleby barrow on the elevated edge of the escarpment would have been visible from the Vale of York. A limited viewshed analysis through ArcGIS showed that from Buttercrambe, Bugthorpe and Stamford Bridge, the tumulus would have, theoretically, been visible from those sites, but only just. If the barrow had been even slightly smaller or situated even a metre more off the Roman road, it would have been invisible. The opposite was shown when applying viewshed analysis from certain areas on the Wolds, and that it would not have been visible from Wharram Percy, Cottam or Burdale.

In terms of travel, the Uncleby barrow and immediate area appears to have been an important location. As explained in chapter 2, the Roman road that runs along the edge of the escarpment connected Malton to Hull, and the road that intersects at the Uncleby barrows would have connected the Vale of York the Yorkshire coastline, likely at Sewerby (E. Yorks). The large Bronze Age barrow would have been a beacon for travellers, marking the beginning or end of the Yorkshire Wolds.

For the Anglian population to then adopt this feature as a cemetery can be explained as a deliberate claim on the history of the space, and the land itself. The tumulus would have been a destination-cemetery, incorporating the pre-Anglian roads and trackways into the funerary rite. The barrow, as more than just a symbol of the dead, would have been a regular reminder of the people who were buried there, thus keeping the dead alive through memory and reverence of the space.

There are hundreds of scheduled sites like the Uncleby barrow that remain untouched and neglected in the Yorkshire Wolds, on land that could be for farming or other agricultural purposes, but are not because of their protected status. Rather than keeping these sites inaccessible to farmers, a programme devoted to re-examination of the areas through non-invasive field techniques would be beneficial for researchers and tenants alike. Further surveys and analysis of the Uncleby site has the potential to show a more developed funerary and/or communication network for the prehistoric, Roman and early medieval periods. The extent of the land use may be far more complex than previously assumed.

If Uncleby were to be fully investigated, and perhaps even re-excavated, it is possible that all archaeological information could be recovered, and the land could then made available for farming or other agricultural pursuits. As it stands, the Uncleby field is just that: an empty field that shows no obvious signs of archaeological interest on the surface. If all of these scheduled monuments in the Yorkshire Wolds were systematically re-examined, our knowledge of the area would increase exponentially. While it is unlikely to ever come to fruition, it may be time to start thinking about these sites and what they are currently contributing to, or withholding from, the public and accessibility.

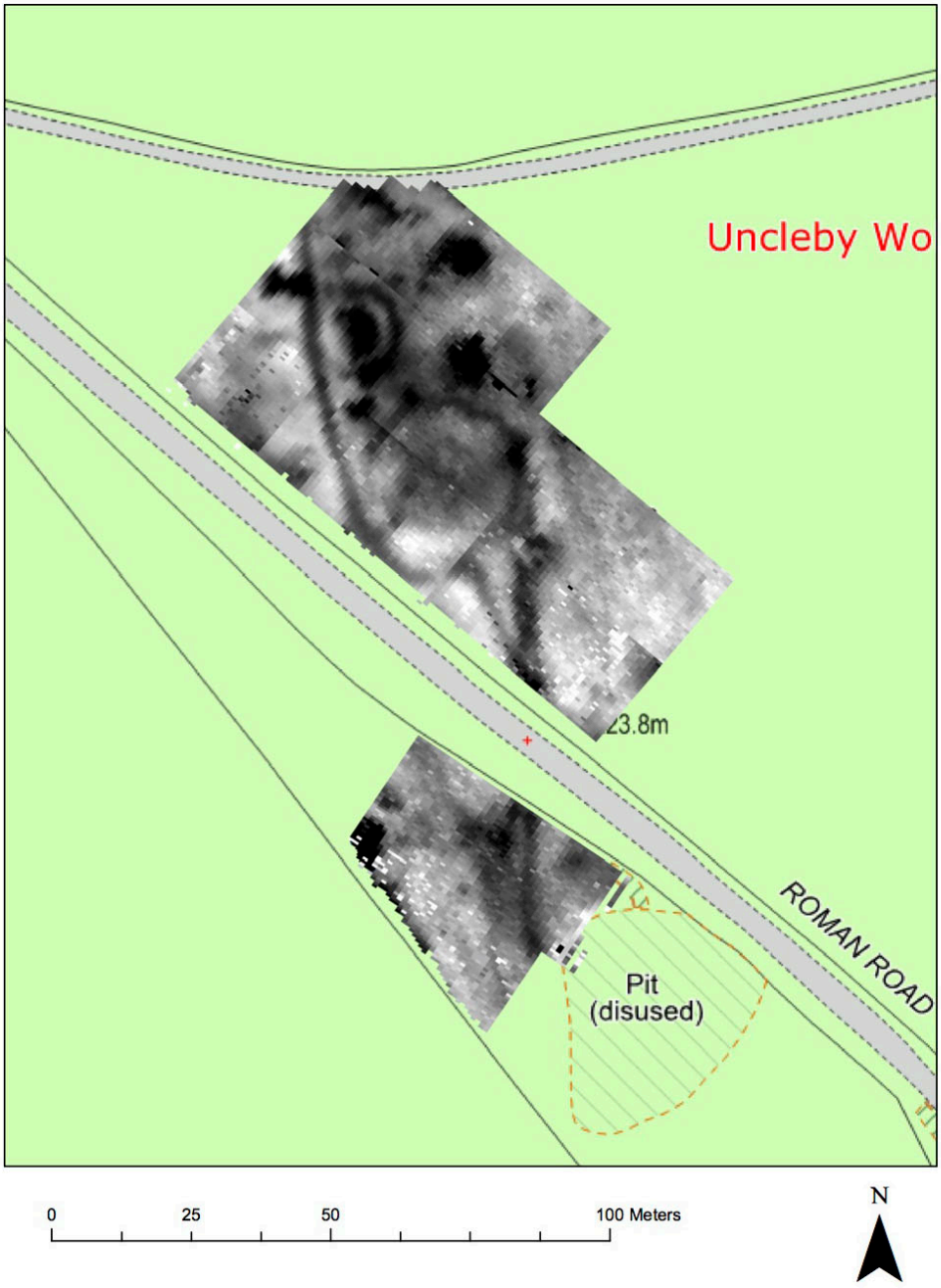


Figure 9 Resistivity survey results.

Figure 10 Interpretations of resistivity survey

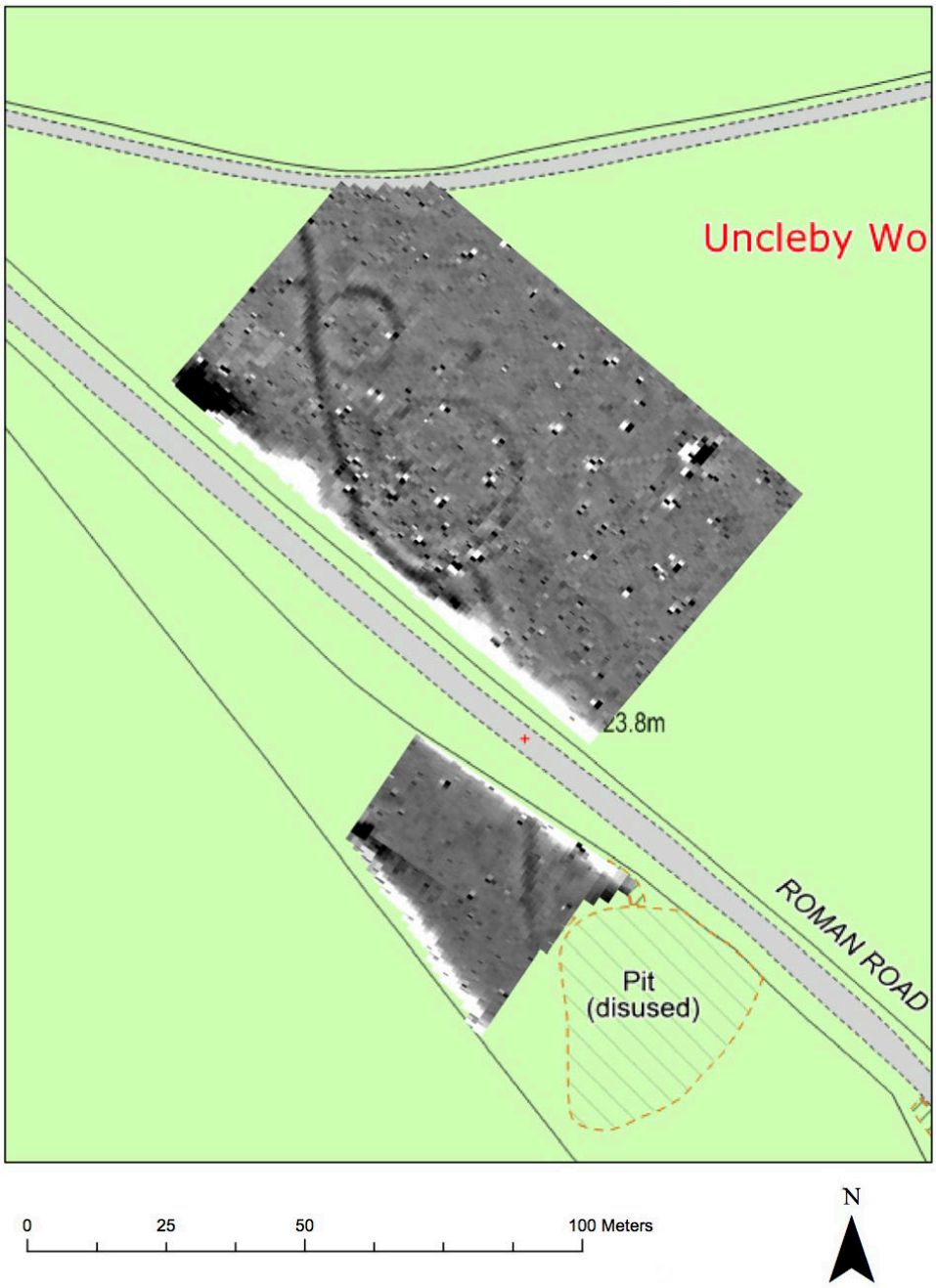


Figure 11 Magnetometry survey results

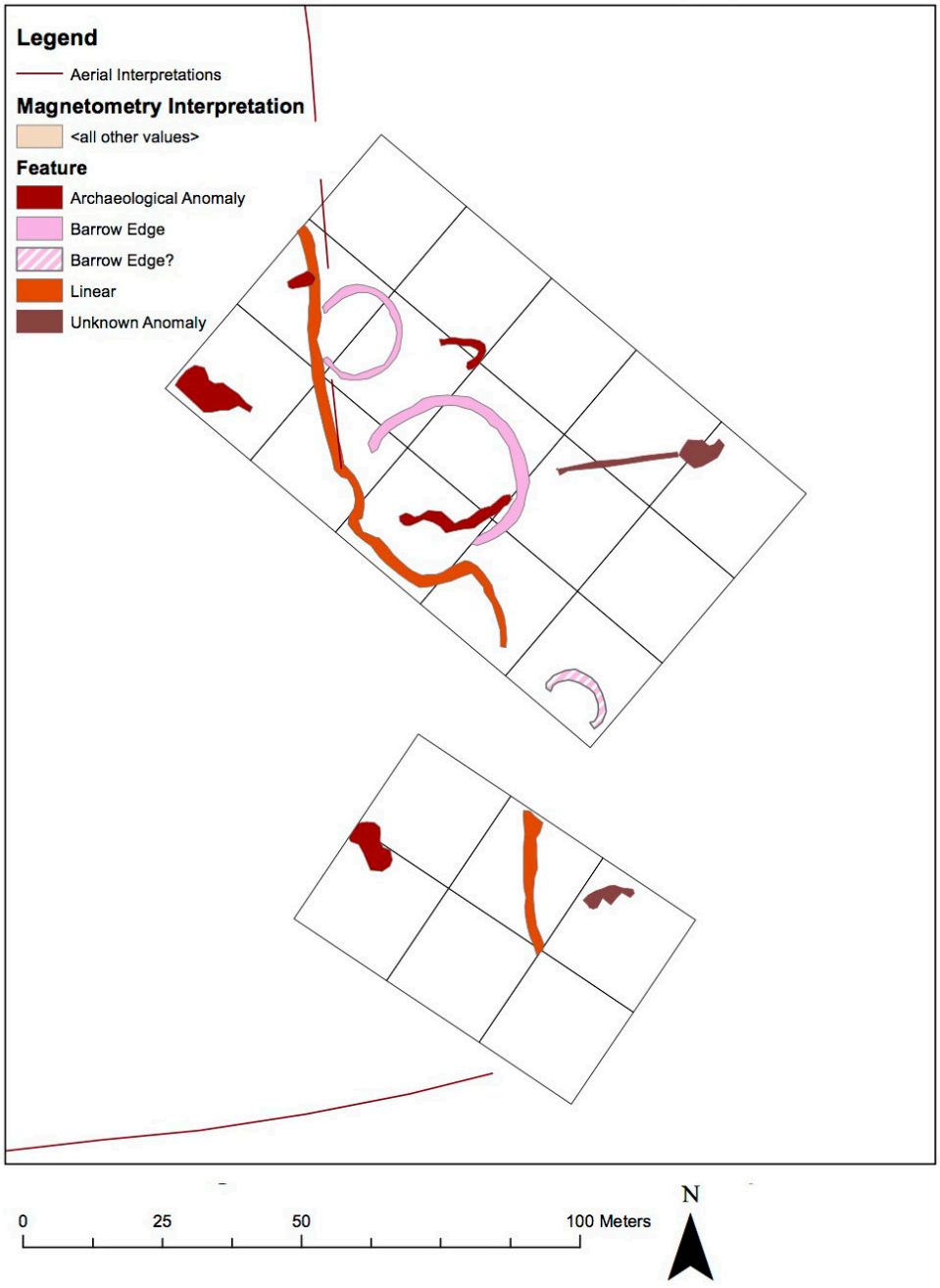


Figure 12 Magnetometry survey interpretations

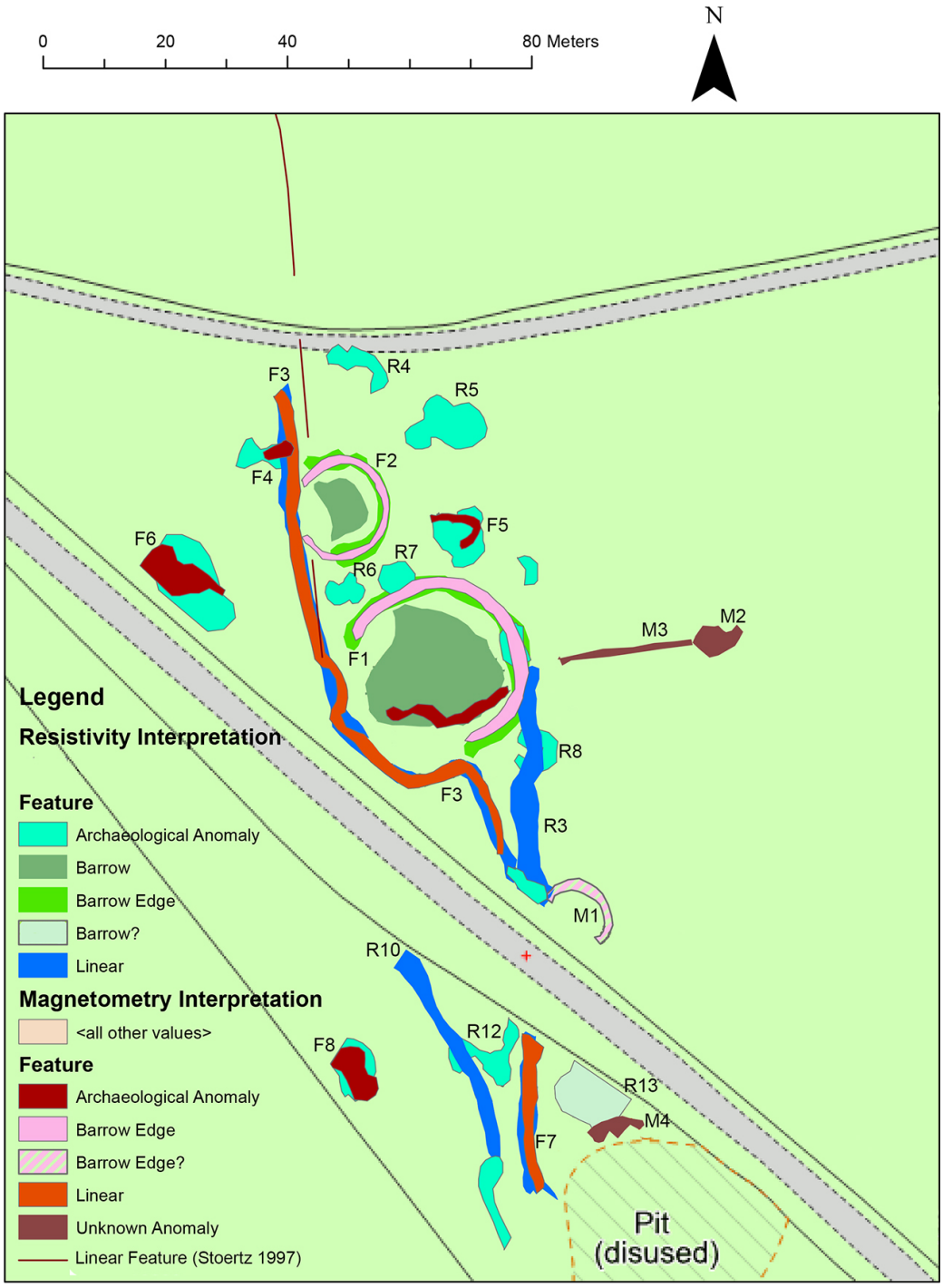


Figure 13 Resistivity and Magnetometry interpretations

Chapter 5: Reconstructing the cemetery

5.1 Background and previous approaches to cemetery organisation and mortuary ritual.

This chapter explores what information can be gathered from the spatial organisation of the cemetery and individual graves, by utilizing the contemporary sources provided by the *Malton Messenger* and by Smith via Greenwell. In this section a brief introduction to previous studies of the spatial layout of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and mortuary rites are provided to give an overview of the approaches adopted. Discussion will then focus on seven key aspects of the site: the cemetery layout, object distributions, body positions and orientations, age, gender, the population and possible evidence of organisation of the grave locations. By understanding these aspects, we should be able to gain a better understanding of the site and the society.

The field of Anglo-Saxon mortuary studies has undergone a series of transformations, primarily though evolving theoretical approaches. As discussed in chapter 3, early Anglo-Saxon cemetery studies focused more on the objects, rather than the people or landscape. E.T. Leeds began to see that the objects could reveal more information about the people and settlements by comparing them to other sites both in England and on the continent, but there was still little attention paid to aspects of Anglo-Saxon archaeology that did not revolve around object typologies or classifications (Leeds 1913).

It was not until the 1960s that studies began to explore notions of identity, status and wealth by analysing the cemetery as a whole, as well as the grave-goods. Questions primarily concerned with status, wealth and identity were at the forefront of archaeological inquiry, leading archaeologists to seek alternative approaches for interpretation.

Arnold summarises the New Archaeological approach as:

> *New Archaeology… had as its main aim the explanation of societal change rather than the description of the data. It viewed societies as systems whose workings could be understood by examining the inter-relationship between its components. In keeping with the*

> *contemporary philosophy of science, theories should be explicit and conclusions should be testable* (1997, 14).

In other words, archaeological interests, particularly in Anglo-Saxon archaeology, moved beyond the scope of object-based research and inquiry, and looked for more sources and an organisational method to help answer questions of political and social status, wealth, and identity. In short, a general conclusion was made that 'crudely, cemetery organisation = social organisation' (Hodder 1980, 163).

Another example of the new approaches that were being used to gauge wealth and status was devised through wealth scores, where an object is given a score based on the time it took to make, rather than the material of the object (Arnold 1980). The assumption was 'the more esoteric the form the greater its value and rarity', and therefore, likely to have belonged to an individual of a higher status (Arnold 1980, 106).

Reacting against the simplistic approaches of New Archaeology and Processual archaeology, scholars in the 1970s and 1980s moved away from the 'scientific' methodology, and began to explore alternative approaches for gathering information that could be gleaned from cemeteries. A key aspect of the shift was the realization that mortuary practices may not simply have been passive reflections of society, but may have been an active form of communication, and that the grave, cemetery space-use, and object inclusions signified specific messages to the living community, as well as the deceased (Lucy 1998, 22).

Ellen-Jane Pader may be considered a key advocate of the movement away from classification and typology studies, based on her seminal work *Symbolism, Social Relations and the Interpretation of Mortuary Remains* (1982). Pader's work took an alternative approach to understanding funerary objects and practices by utilizing symbolic theories in order to understand the language, and therefore the meaning behind deposited grave objects and cemetery layout. Her main concern was that previous studies had given too much focus to one aspect of burial, like artefacts, and did not look at all aspects of burial; her study set out to "examine something of the complex nature of the relationship between material culture, symbolism, ideology and various forms of human activity" (Pader 1982, 4).

The idea that objects, body position, and even cemetery layout could *symbolise* the status of the deceased and the deceased's kin was an important step in

contextualising the archaeology; it brought an emphasis to the roles of the living, as well as the role of the dead. By understanding that choices were made by the living (i.e. how the corpse was prepared, where it was interred, and what objects were deemed appropriate for deposit), a stronger emphasis on mortuary ritual was employed in contextualising the archaeological data. Early attempts at prescribing meaning to objects gave way to more nuanced approaches, including the role of individual factors, meaning that an object or body position could have multiple connotations that were dependent on how those organising the burial interpreted the actions/objects, and how they perceived the deceased (Lucy 1998, 24).

As stated above, one of the primary goals of earlier approaches was to gain a better understanding of past social structure. Previous interpretation of the data led some to conclude that the complexity of the mortuary ritual of an individual was directly related to social structure, and therefore the status of the deceased and the community as a whole (Dickinson 2011, 224-5 citing Arnold 1980 and Shephard 1979). However, Pader sought to address an overlooked aspect of Processualism and New Archaeology by incorporating concepts of language, communication, and ritual in regard to all aspects of the burial (the deceased, mourners, region, etc.), which showed that individuality and decision making played a key role in the burial rite.

Sam Lucy used a theoretical approach to reassess and contextualise Anglo-Saxon funerary archaeology, referring to it as a 'people-centred perspective' (1998, 26). The aims of the research were an attempt to gain a better understanding of the social structure, and cultural ideologies of the Anglo-Saxon people (living and dead) through variations and changes that were noticeable within the cemeteries. Lucy summarized her approach as "taking all (recoverable) aspects of the burial rite into account, from the positioning of the goods on and around the body, to the positioning of that body within the grave, and that grave in the cemetery, and that cemetery in the natural and historical landscape" (Lucy 1998, 108).

The first half of the study concentrated on the available sources within a cemetery, and then looked for patterns in the data to see if there were any correlations between the sets of information (i.e. body position and grave goods, or age) (Lucy 1998, 51-65). She then compared the results of the sites with one another and was able to find some chronological evolution, as well as related variation within the region.

Throughout the study, Lucy emphasised the importance of understanding the role of the mourners in the burial rite. By stating the obvious—"a corpse cannot contribute anything to its own funeral…" (1998, 107). Lucy drew attention to a neglected aspect of Anglo-Saxon funerary studies: the living. The undeniable fact that funerals are organised and orchestrated by the living, and that every aspect of the funeral is a *decision* that is made by a living person, even if they are following a ceremony, ritual, or the wishes of the deceased. The variation in the grave goods, and corpse position illustrate the point, that even though there appears to be some uniformity to the rite, every single grave is culturally individualised by the community.

Howard Williams also asserts that all aspects of the funerary rite need to be evaluated as a whole rather than individually. However, Williams expands his investigation by including human emotion and personal memory; the archaeologist should "move beyond rigid alternatives of culture, social and ideological reading of the burial data, and towards considering themes of metaphor, agency, personhood, emotion and memory" (Williams 2006, 13). Yet, Williams views memory as personally or socially based, and less logic-based, meaning that he interprets memory as a tool for the individual and the society to embrace the past, present and future based on the performance and visual impact of the burial (2006).

This chapter looks at the human aspect of the site, rather than focusing on the objects or landscape separately. Necessity has dictated that some of the information presented can only be speculative, due to the available material and data from Uncleby. Sites that have been well documented and thoroughly analysed have been used as comparable datasets for Uncleby.

5.2 The Antiquarian Plan updated

In order to create an accurate account of the cemetery layout, an attempt has been made to reconcile the written information from both the 1868 *Malton Messenger* article (25 April) and Smith's report to the Society of Antiquaries (1912b, 149-151). Not only are there discrepancies between the two accounts, but also within Smith's interpretation of the excavation. In order to achieve the best possible cemetery plan the measurements and layout in both sources were compared.

Some compromises were made in determining the placement of certain graves, such as *Malton Messenger* graves 2 and 3, and Smith's graves 2-4. One of the

problems with both of the accounts is that some graves are measured from the previous grave. *Malton Messenger* grave 2 was described as a Bronze Age cremation that was 'just south of the head of number one', with further descriptions of an Anglian workbox in the immediate area (*MM* 25 April 1868). Grave 3 was placed 'just north of no. 2', and described another Anglian grave with a workbox (op. cit.). In Smith's account, grave 2 was 'just north' of grave 1 in a left contracted position, but notably decayed and without grave goods, and grave 3 described as '6 ft. east' of grave 1, with a workbox (Smith 1912b, 149). *Malton Messenger* grave 3 and Smith grave 2 were both described as having the head and shoulders missing, which was attributed to the disturbances when putting in grave 1 (op. cit.). The locations of the graves is important for two reasons; the first is to have as much accuracy as possible for the general layout, and the second is because graves 4-10 rely on previous graves for measurements and locations. Therefore, after careful consideration and analysis, Smith's descriptions have been used.

The updated cemetery diagram helps us to understand the relationship between the graves, and within the burial space, as well as to see what, if any, attention was paid to the earlier Bronze Age interments. The following sections use this plan to discuss any significant groupings or space-use that may contribute to our knowledge of the burial rite at Uncleby. The updated plan also has the benefit of helping to understand grave disturbance, and to determine if any were contemporary with the cemetery.

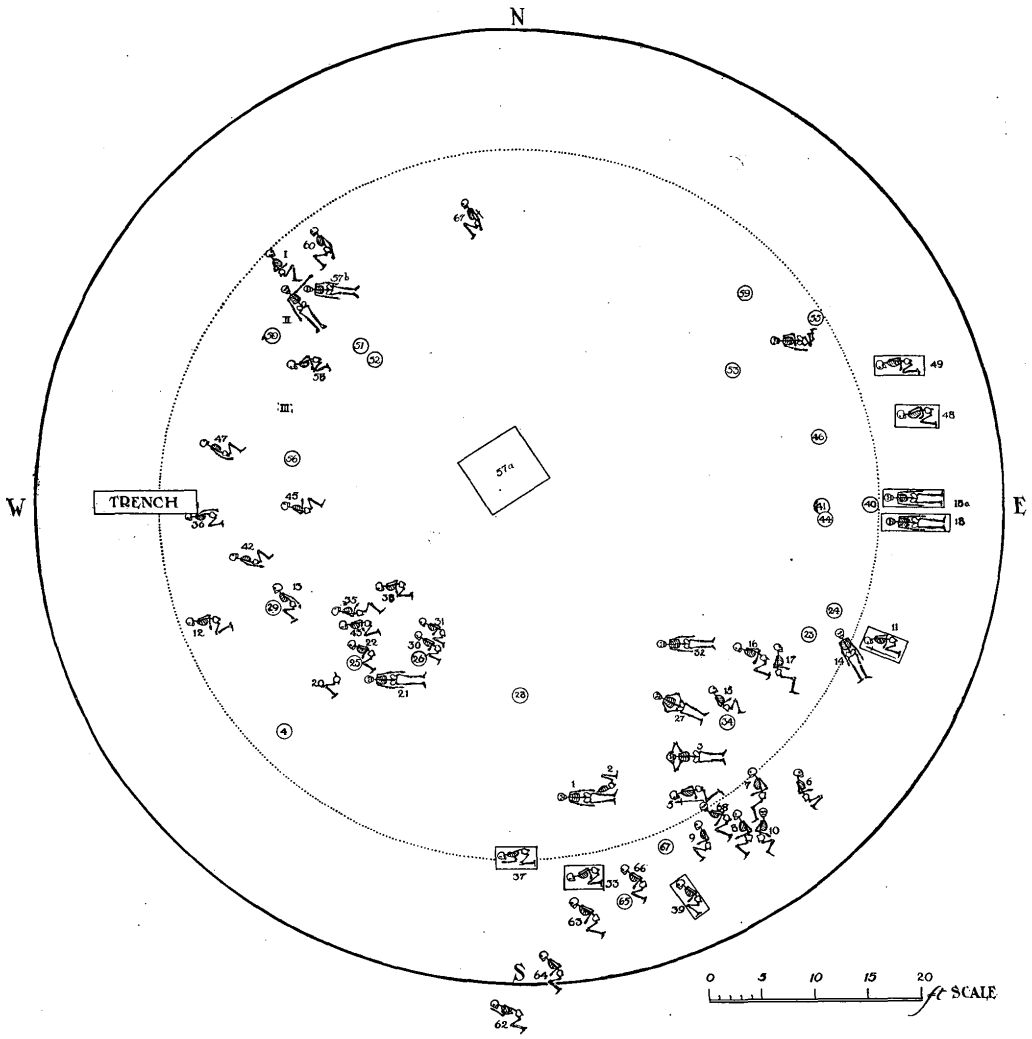


Figure 14 1912 plan of the Uncleby barrow by R.A. Smith, from Proc. Ant. 2, fig 1, p 148

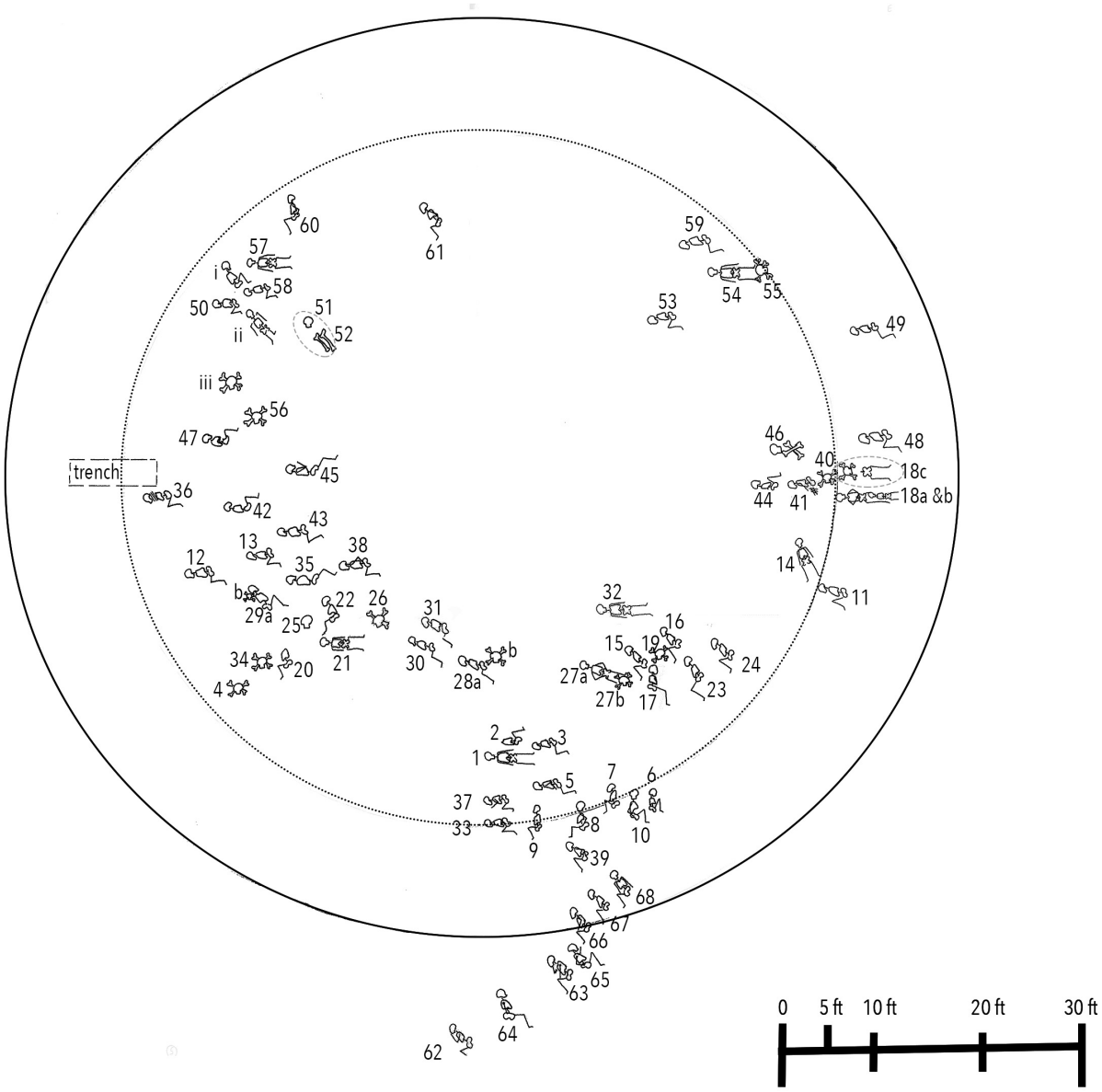


Figure 15 Updated plan of the Uncleby cemetery.

5.3 Grave Positions, Orientation and Disturbances

The Uncleby cemetery was recorded as having 71 Anglian inhumations, with burial direction ranging from west to north, and variations in between (Smith 1912b). Smith and the *Malton Messenger* state that eight of the graves were supine, with the majority of the remaining in contracted positions (34 contracted right; 11 contracted left, 5 contracted but unspecified sides; 12 unknown positions; 1 'atypical') (*MM* 25 April 1868; Smith 1912b). However, Smith describes nine graves (1, 14, 18, 18a, 21, 35, 54, and II*) as being extended, including grave II, which is here considered 'atypical' due to the unusual nature of the arm display.

In terms of contracted burials at Uncleby, there is very little description given to the remains to help indicate the degree of flexure. The terms 'lying on right/left side', 'contracted', or simply 'on right/left' seem to be used interchangeably. Seven graves were singled out as being described as either 'slightly contracted' or 'loosely contracted' (graves 17, 23, 28, 35, 45, 49 and 64).

The *Malton Messenger* does make some reference to the degree of flexure by recognizing four of the graves as 'doubled up' (graves 5, 11, 13, 38) rather than merely contracted or on a specific side (25 April 1968). It is also worth noting that in the first report of the excavation recorded:

> *The strange feature is that the bodies have (many of them) been interred in the doubled up way, hitherto thought to pertain only to Ancient Britons…Mutilated bodies have been found, some being without skull or arms, while in other cases the skull only and no other part of the body was found. In fact, the results of the opening so far are very enigmatical, presenting the first example of contracted Anglo-Saxon burials.* (*Malton Messenger 18* April 1868).

The 'mutilated bodies' will be addressed shortly, but the rest of the passage may help clarify some of the vagueness that Smith recorded. Firstly, the article demonstrates that there was apparently enough of a difference between 'contracted' and 'doubled up' that it was deliberately noted. Furthermore, it can be assumed that the doubled up burials were more acute and compressed than the others. However, most of the *Malton Messenger* descriptions are just as ambiguous as Smith's, with the majority of the non-extended graves described as either contracted, or described as 'on right/left side'.

There is a possibility that more accurate information could be gained from measurements that were given in the descriptions. However, the result is dependent in on how the given measurements are interpreted. For example grave 39 is described as "a contracted skeleton…measuring 2 ft. 6in. from back of head to knees…in a grave just large enough to contain it, 2 ft. wide and 1 ft. deep" (Smith 1912b, 152).

The high number of contracted burials is not unusual for Anglian cemeteries in East Yorkshire (Lucy 2000a, 13). The correlations between crouched Anglo-Saxon burials in East Yorkshire have been loosely connected with crouched burials from the

Arras culture in the same area (Hirst 1985, 36). It was proposed that the replication of position could represent a continuance from the Bronze and Iron Ages, or possibly the Roman period, and would therefore have implications of ethnic claims on behalf of the Anglo-Saxons (op. cit. citing Faull 1979). This interpretation has more or less been refuted on the basis of the widespread occurrence of crouched burials in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, as well as the rarity of crouched burials in Roman cemeteries (Reynolds 2009, 64).

Other suggestions have led some to believe that the crouched burial was a result of a 'hasty or careless burial' (Hirst 1985, 36 citing Young 1975; Reynolds 2009, 63). Along the same lines of pragmatism, it was suggested that the body was arranged in order to accommodate the grave size (op. cit. citing Clark and Piggot 1965). It cannot go without notice that the crouched position is similar to common sleep positions, which has led some to suggest that the deceased may have died in that manner (Reynolds 2009, 64). Similarly, the position could be considered foetal-like, which could be symbolic of re-birth (Reynolds 2009, 63-4, citing: Binford 1972, 218; Davidson 1964, 14; Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 29; Philpot 1991, 71).

In the past, it has generally been assumed that extended burials without grave goods from this period are likely to be Christian. While this very well could be the case, Lucy found that earlier phases of burials in East Yorkshire generally contained more extended burials than the later phase, which seemed to favour crouched/flexed positions (Lucy 1998, 65). However, she also concluded that the earlier phase would have been more relaxed with their positioning and orientation of the grave, whereas the later phase showed more attention to such matters (op. cit.).

The extended graves can be separated into two groups, but should not be considered representative of Lucy's early and late phases (essentially defined as 5th to early 7th centuries, and early 7th to 8th centuries). As the previous chapter has demonstrated, the Uncleby cemetery almost certainly dates to the late 7th and possibly early 8th centuries. Six of the nine extended graves were recorded as west/east alignments (graves 1, 18a, 18c, 21, 32 and 57), three of which contained grave goods. Conversely, the three graves that had variations of northwest/southeast alignments (graves 14, 27 and II) did not have any accompanying objects. This contradicts the prevailing ideas about Christian burials, as briefly outlined above.

Smith's cemetery plan shows three atypical burials, two in the southeast section of the barrow (graves 3 and 27), and one in the northwest (grave II) (fig.14). However, at least one of the illustrations is misrepresented based on the accompanying text. Grave 3 is described as 'lying on right side, with hands to head,' but is illustrated in an extended position with hands almost cradling the head (Smith 1912b, 149). Grave 27 was not given a body position, but only notes that the hands were on the hip, and the feet were resting on the remains of another burial (op. cit., 151). There are other graves described as having hands on hip/s, such as 17 and 24, but are not pictured in the same manner. For one reason or another, the unusual depictions of the remains in the original image, were most likely a result from a misinterpretation of the text, rather than an eyewitness account of the graves.

This brings the accuracy of grave II into consideration; is the illustration an accurate portrayal, or is this an example of liberties being taken based on the text? The body is described as "a skeleton at full length…lying NW and SE with the head to NW; the right arm extended and the left out from the body" (Smith 1912b, 148). A comparable pose has not been found, suggesting that the actual position of grave II is not as 'deviant' as the original plans suggest, but probably an extended burial that was disturbed at a later date, possibly from plough damage. Also, taking into consideration the effort and time that would have been needed to dig such a complex grave, the likelihood of a simpler interpretation increases.

5.31 Deliberate or accidental grave disturbances?

Smith noted 25 sets of disturbed or 'decayed' graves in the cemetery. Whether or not these remains were disturbed shortly after burial or the result of later plough damage will be discussed. Recently there has been some research into deliberate grave interference in early medieval graves, primarily focusing on continental Migration communities, with extension to Anglo-Saxon England (Klevnäs 2010; Aspöck 2011). The primary focus of these works was to examine instances of grave robbing during this period, and also to investigate post-burial interaction with the deceased.

Briefly, grave disturbances that took place in Anglo-Saxon England have been interpreted as a means for object retrieval—for a family to secretly repossess objects in order to 'save face' in front of the burial community (Klevnäs 2010, 70 citing Welch 2007); to remove objects that the deceased may need for the afterlife, or to insult the family of the deceased (Klevnäs 2010, 195-6). There is also extensive evidence to

show that the corpse was manipulated or mutilated, usually when the remains were fully disarticulated, but sometime when the corpse was still relatively fresh.

The most common actions taken to corpses were to decapitate it, usually when it was skeletonised enough to pull the skull away from the body, amputate the feet and/or hands, to bind the feet and/or hands, or to place heavy stones on the body (op. cit. 170-1). The reasons behind the actions may have been to 'disable or confuse the corpse' so that it could not rise and walk about the living land to protect the living community against revenants (op. cit. 171-2). Alternatively, corpse manipulation and movement has also been suggested as a means to appease the deceased, who could be blamed when things in the community went wrong because they were unsettled with the first funerary rite, and therefore needed to be 're-buried it in the right place' (Aspöck 2011, 319, citing Goody 1962).

Archaeological evidence for the re-opening of graves in antiquity can be difficult to ascertain, particularly in antiquarian excavations. Aspöck used the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Winnall, Winchester (Hants) as an example of post-burial disturbances. The site was excavated in the 1950s, with the report published in 1970 (Meaney and Hawkes 1970, v). At the time of excavation several oddities were reported in terms of the filling of graves and treatment of most of the bodies, particularly interesting finds were the number of snail shells, frog skeletons, small animal skeletons, and the occasional human bone that were found in the fill and in some of the graves (Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 9-20; Aspöck 2011, 313-4). Aspöck used these finds as evidence of reopened graves, and that the reason behind the openings was for body manipulation rather than grave robbing (op. cit., 319).

Using Aspöck's interpretations of the Winnall remains some similarities of corpse treatment can be seen with some of the Uncleby remains, which may explain some of the unusual burials in the cemetery. There are three burials at Uncleby that stand out as particularly relevant to the current discussion; the primary burial in grave 27 was noted as having its feet 'resting on the skull, leg and pelvic bone of a very old woman. The latter body was much decayed and no teeth remained: it had been disturbed in digging the later grave, and was laid in a heap' (Smith 1912b, 151). Similarly, grave 28 was also described with a 'heap' of disarticulated remains—the skull, femur and tibia—but these were located behind the hip of the primary interment (op. cit.). Uncleby grave 29 is another curios example of a double burial in

a single grave, this time with the 'skull and some other bones of a young person' placed on the neck of the primary interment (Smith 1912b, 151). As will be discussed in the Age discussion below, 'young person' has been interpreted as a child ranging from 0 to 10 years old.

The intercutting of graves is relatively rare in Anglo-Saxon England, and topical evidence of a burial would have been noticeable for some time, particularly if there was a marker of some sort (Klevnäs 2010, 80). This suggests that the graves that were targeted for reopening were intentionally chosen, and that in the case of Uncleby graves 27 and 28, the grave diggers were likely aware that they were opening a grave that was already in use. Rather than disinter the earlier burials, they were curated in the grave—perhaps even acting as grave goods—and were deliberately placed to interact with the later burial.

Rather than viewing these Uncleby graves as evidence of the living fear of revenants, they could be construed as evidence of familial or communal anchoring, so to speak. The piled remains in graves 27 and 28 might be suggestive of family members, or people in the community who shared the same status and were thought to belong together, and not an intention to 'kill' the spirit of the earlier burials. The child that is placed on the neck of an adult female could be representative of a mother and her child dying at the same time, and being kept together for all eternity; or that the child died and rather than burying it alone, the community chose to bury it with a family member or someone to care for it in the afterlife. If the latter scenario were to be true, it would show an example of post-burial manipulation/deposition, but not for dark or superstitious reasons, rather those of love and concern.

Alternatively, the disturbed and decayed graves may be nothing more than coincidence from much later agricultural activity. At the time of excavation the barrow was just under 3 feet tall, but 'having within the recollection of the present occupier of the land, lost some of its original height', likely from agricultural use (Greenwell 1877, 136; Smith 1912b, 147). There is little doubt that the land was ploughed for hundreds of years; Uncleby (*Vunchelfbi*) is recorded twice in the Domesday book; in the first it is listed as property consisting of two *carucates* (approx. 240 acres) of land for a plough (Morris, Faull and Stinson 1986, 1E/301b),

and in the second entry with four carucates (880 acres), but confusingly remarked as waste, yet still taxable and with plough options (op. cit., 8E/314c).

Even if the Domesday entry for Uncleby is not the same geographic location, entries for Kirby Underdale and Painsthorpe are both listed as having over 8 combined carucates and four ploughs (Op. cit., 1E/301b). This shows that Uncleby and the surrounding land was definitely in agricultural use in 1086, and likely earlier, as the previous land holders—listed as Thanes (Anglo-Saxons)—had probably been working the land as well. The site continued to be farmed and ploughed into the 1930s, at which point the residents decided to use the land for sheep grazing instead (pers. com. Midgley, the farmer/tenant).

Greenwell took an interesting approach to measuring the depth of the Anglian interments. Within the barrow, Greenwell suspected that the deceased 'had been laid on the original surface of the barrow and covered with earth', while the interments outside the barrow were in deeper graves below the natural surface (Smith 1912b, 147). His theory was based on the fact that on the east side of the mound, the heads were slightly elevated, and on the west side of the mound, the feet were slightly elevated (op. cit.). Only 29 of the burials were recorded with depths, and were generally remarked as being either above, on, or below the 'original surface'.

When the disturbed graves are plotted separately on a site map, potential lines can be drawn that support an argument for plough damage (fig. 16). This is a crucial piece of evidence for dating the site; if, as Greenwell and Smith concluded, some of the graves were disturbed while make a new grave, that would suggest that the cemetery was in use long enough for people to forget where graves were (three or more generations), or for any grave indicators to have warn away. However, if the disturbances can be linked to plough or other agricultural related damage instead, that may suggest a shorter life span for the Anglian cemetery.

The 'decayed' graves have been included in the investigation towards possible post-Anglian disturbances, due to descriptions provided by Smith/Greenwell; for example, grave 13 had 'much decayed' arms, but the rest of the remains intact (Smith 1912b, 150). A further nine graves were pronounced 'decayed' (2, 4, 12, 13, 34, 40, 41, 44, 64 and III), and most of them were provided with details

regarding position, orientation, sex and/or age, which could suggest that bone preservation was fine, but that the remains sustained post-interment damage.

Two graves, if they can be called graves, contained a partial or whole skull (25 and 51), and three graves were noted as missing the skull (2, 20 and 52). Graves 51 and 52 are located in the northwest section of the barrow and are approximately 1 ft. 10 in. apart. Similarly, graves 20 and 25 in the southwest section of the barrow are separated by approximately 1 ft. 6 in. Graves 18c and 36 are two examples where the skulls were considered to be part of the same grave, however based on the written records, it seems that the skull was separated from the rest of the body.

Based on the stratigraphic evidence, nine or ten of the disturbed graves were recorded as being on the original surface, or six to twelve inches above the original surface. These do not include the earlier burials recovered in graves 27, 28, or 29, which may have also been in a higher level of the barrow. Rather than label these examples as 'mutilated' or 'deviant', it is far more likely for the remains to have been separated by a ploughshare (the main blade of a plough), than to have deliberate dismemberment or treatment of the bodies. Furthermore, post-Anglian damage reinforces a narrow date range for the cemetery, specifically from the lack of intercutting of graves.

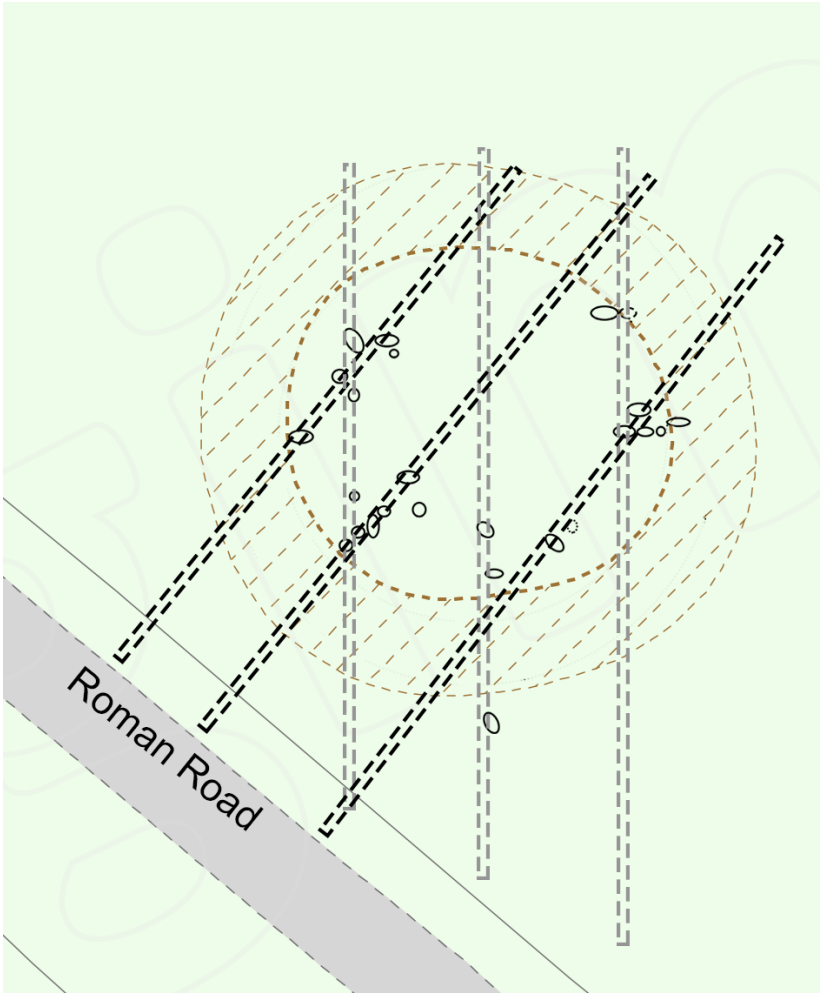


Figure 16 map showing outlines of the disturbed graves, overlaid with possible plough damage directions; black lines are 90* from the road, grey are 45* from the road.

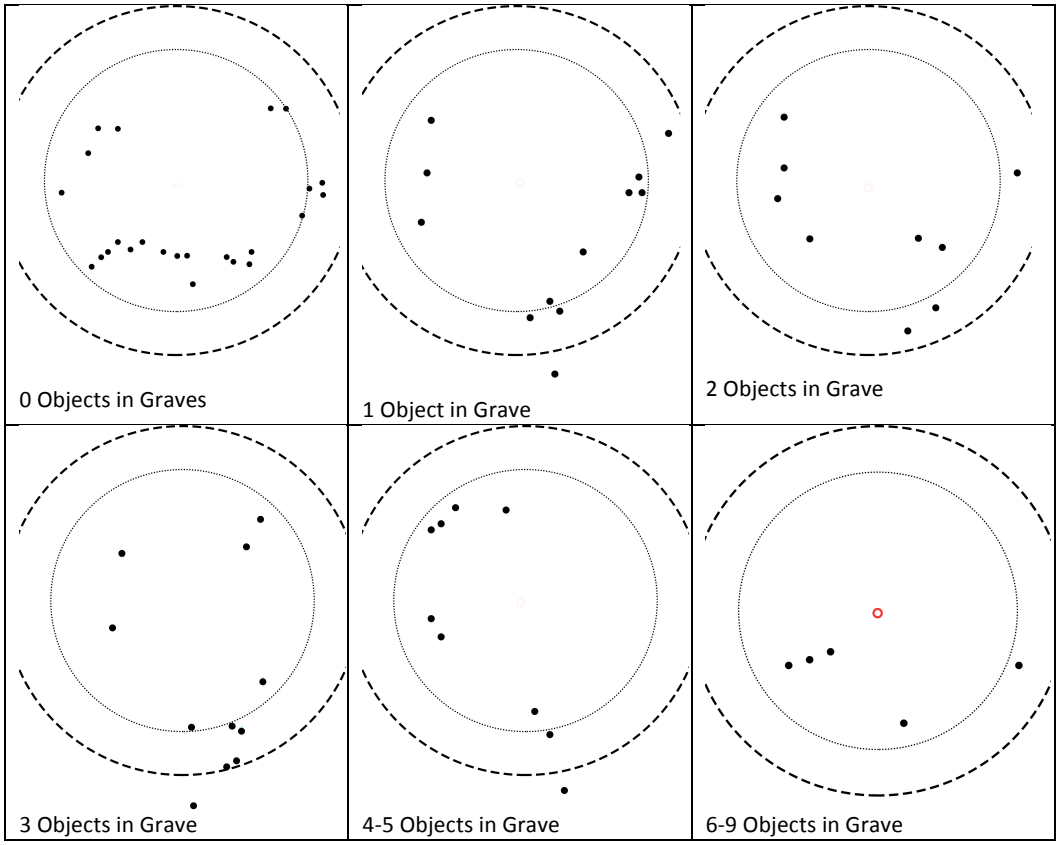
5.4 Object Distribution

Object distributions have been analysed in two ways, the first by looking at the quantity of objects in assemblages throughout the cemetery (figs. 20 and 21), and the second by looking at the distribution of the material of objects in the cemetery (figs. 22 and 23).

Visual observations show that graves without objects, with two objects and with three objects are evenly distributed among the cemetery, with the exception of the central northern half of the barrow. Graves with four or five objects in their collections appear more frequently in the western half of the barrow, however graves with a single object have a higher frequency in the eastern half of the barrow, with three occurring in the west. Lastly, graves that contained six or more objects are all located in the southern half of the barrow, with the higher-numbered assemblages more central.

The material distribution patterns, however, show more defined areas. While iron is equally distributed among the cemetery, copper alloy and glass are almost exclusively located in the western half of the barrow, with a single exception to a grave (g49) in the northeast of the cemetery that contained a copper-alloy buckle. Graves that contained silver, gold, bone and stone are all in the southern half of the barrow.

Based on the overall layout and space-use of the cemetery, it is not surprising to see most of these patterns; the density of burials in the south and west would provide more data than those found in the north of the barrow. What is initially obvious is the lack of objects on the east and northeast of the cemetery, and where there are object-graves, they are almost exclusively iron, with the exception of grave 11 that also contained stone and bone objects.



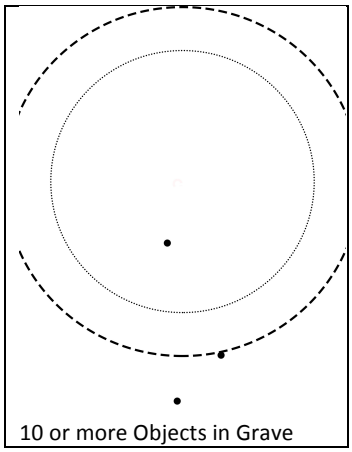


Figure 17 Distribution maps of Uncleby cemetery by assemblage size continued.

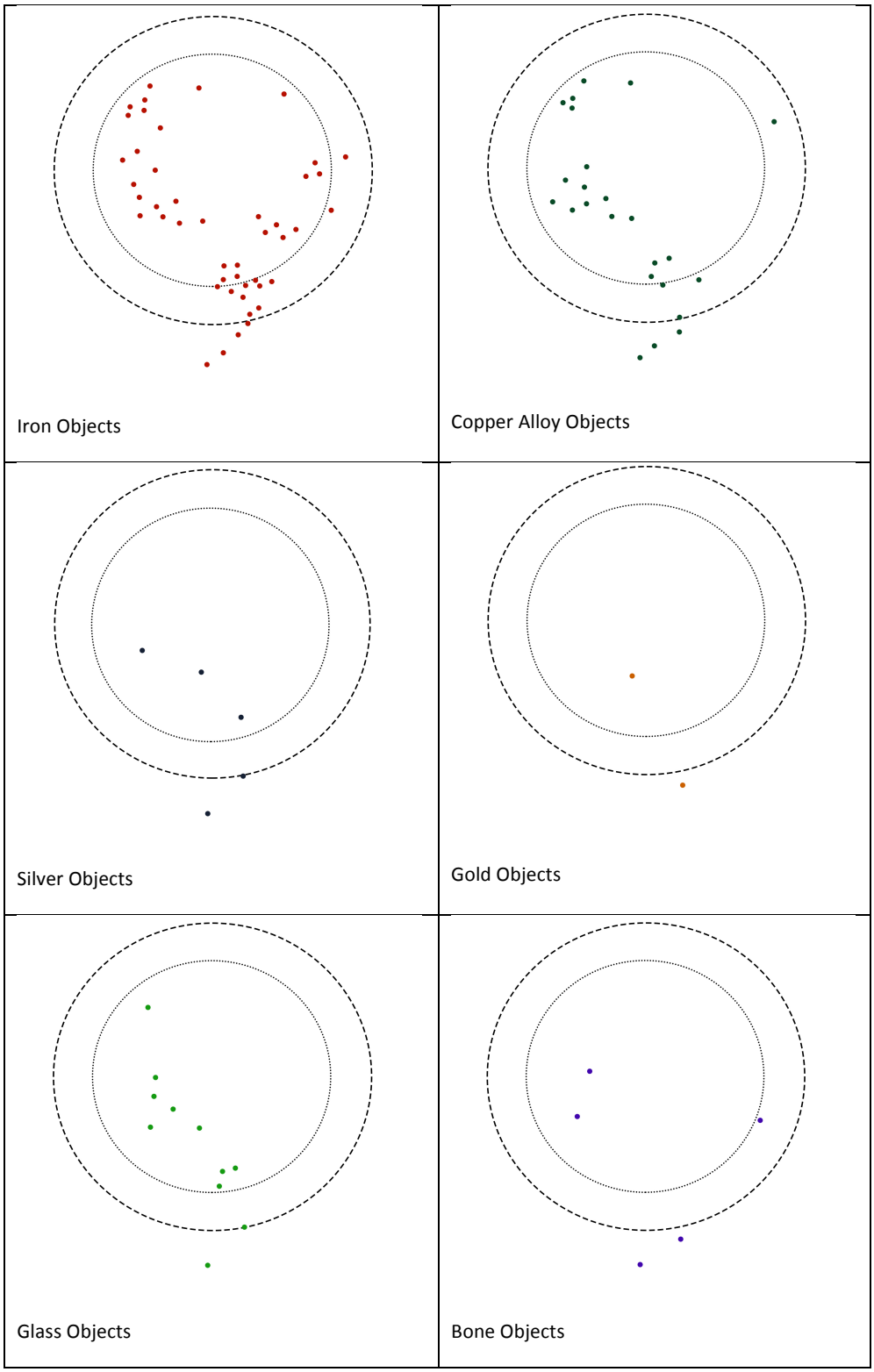


Figure 18 Object distributions by material

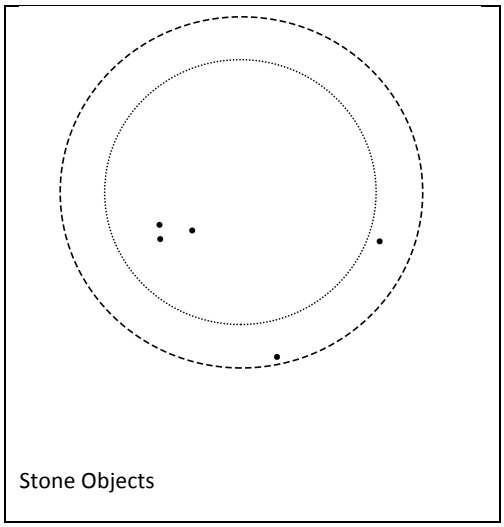


Figure 19 Object distribution my material continued

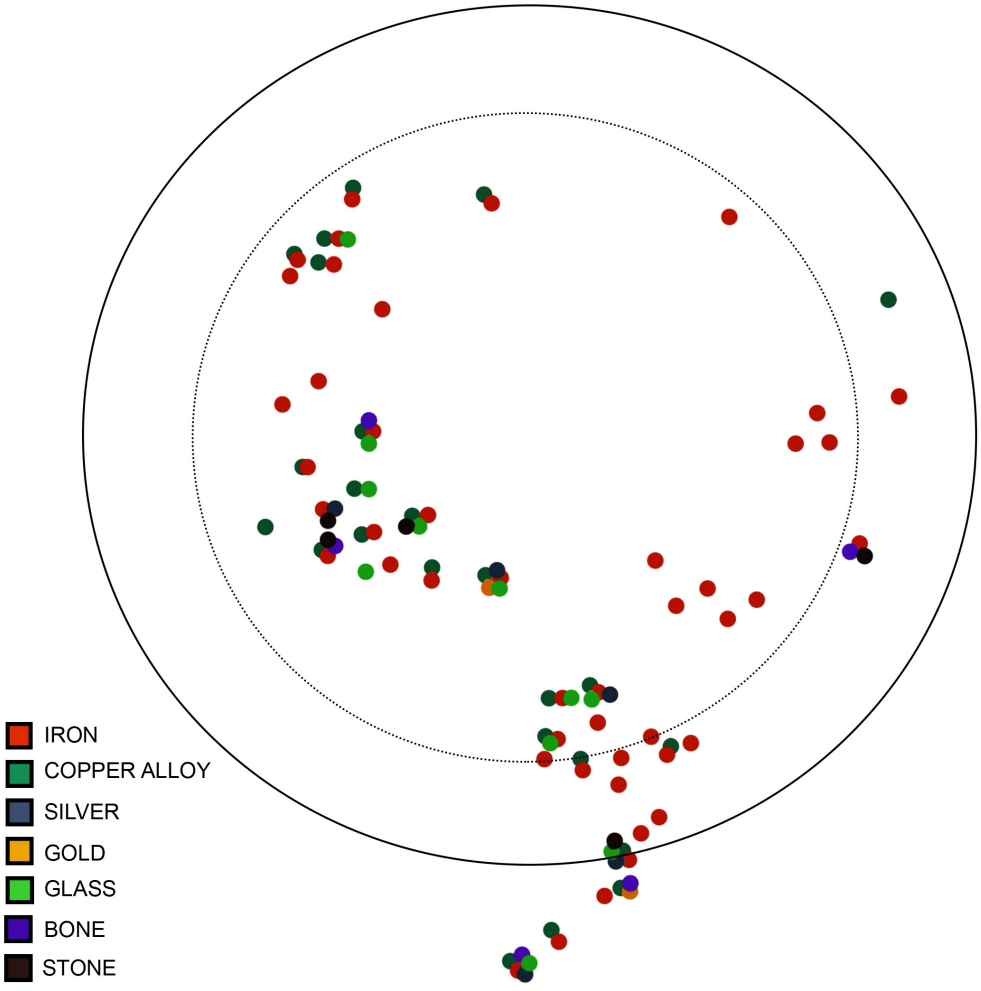


Figure 20 Distribution map of all object materials

5.5 Gender

There are five partial Anglo-Saxon skulls in the Rolleston Collection at the Natural History Museum in London, which are probably from Uncleby. The only information associated with the remains are the find spot, Kirby Underdale, the grave numbers, and the excavator, Greenwell. Because there are no other excavations associated with Greenwell in the Kirby Underdale Parish, it is likely that these remains are from the Uncleby cemetery.

The remains are noted as coming from graves 2, 6, 10, 57 and 59. Presumably, Rolleston determined sex by examining the partial samples, and as far as can be gathered, the remains have not been re-examined. However, the grave numbers that have been given to the remains, and the grave numbers used by Smith do not necessarily correlate. The primary issue is that Grave 2 is described as having 'head and shoulders missing, probably disturbed by burial no. 1' (Smith 1912b, 149). Therefore, it is suggested that this set of remains are what have here been referred to as belonging to grave 3 (Table 1).

Table 1 Skeletal remains in the Rolleston Collection from Kirby Underdale (British Museum, NHM PastScape 1239402)

Grave	Remains	Sex	
Grave 2/3	Calotte	Female	N/A
Grave 6	Calvaria and maxilla	Unknown	Knife, Spatula
Grave 10	Maxilla and mandible	Male	Knife, Spatula, Buckle
Grave 57	Calotte and maxilla	Female	Knife, Buckles (2), Ae misc., glass frag.
Grave 59	calotte and mandible	male	Buckle, Pin, Nail head

The possible misattribution of grave 2 gives doubt to the accuracy of the other four sets of remains and grave associations. Graves 6, 10, 57 and 59 all contain gender-neutral assemblages, with objects that are found equally distributed between men and women. Without reliable grave associations, any further analysis would be speculative. Furthermore, the sample is too small to gain any indication of patterns in the site, and at best, it can be stated that sex distribution is equal (in a sample of five). Therefore, based on the confusion regarding the grave number provided and if

it correlates with the grave numbers given by Smith, these remains will not be included in the discussion below; however, it seems pertinent to provide the information nonetheless.

Aside from the Rolleston Collection remains, suggested genders (based on Greenwell/Smith and grave assemblages, see tables 17-19) are plotted within the cemetery; There is a higher tendency for women to be located in the western part of the barrow (fig. 21). Out of the 15-feminine/female associations, nine are found in the western half of the barrow, with one on the north/south axis and the rest in the eastern half. Conversely, out of the eleven male associated burials in the cemetery, nine are in the eastern half, with one on the north/south axis and the other in the northwest quadrant of the barrow.

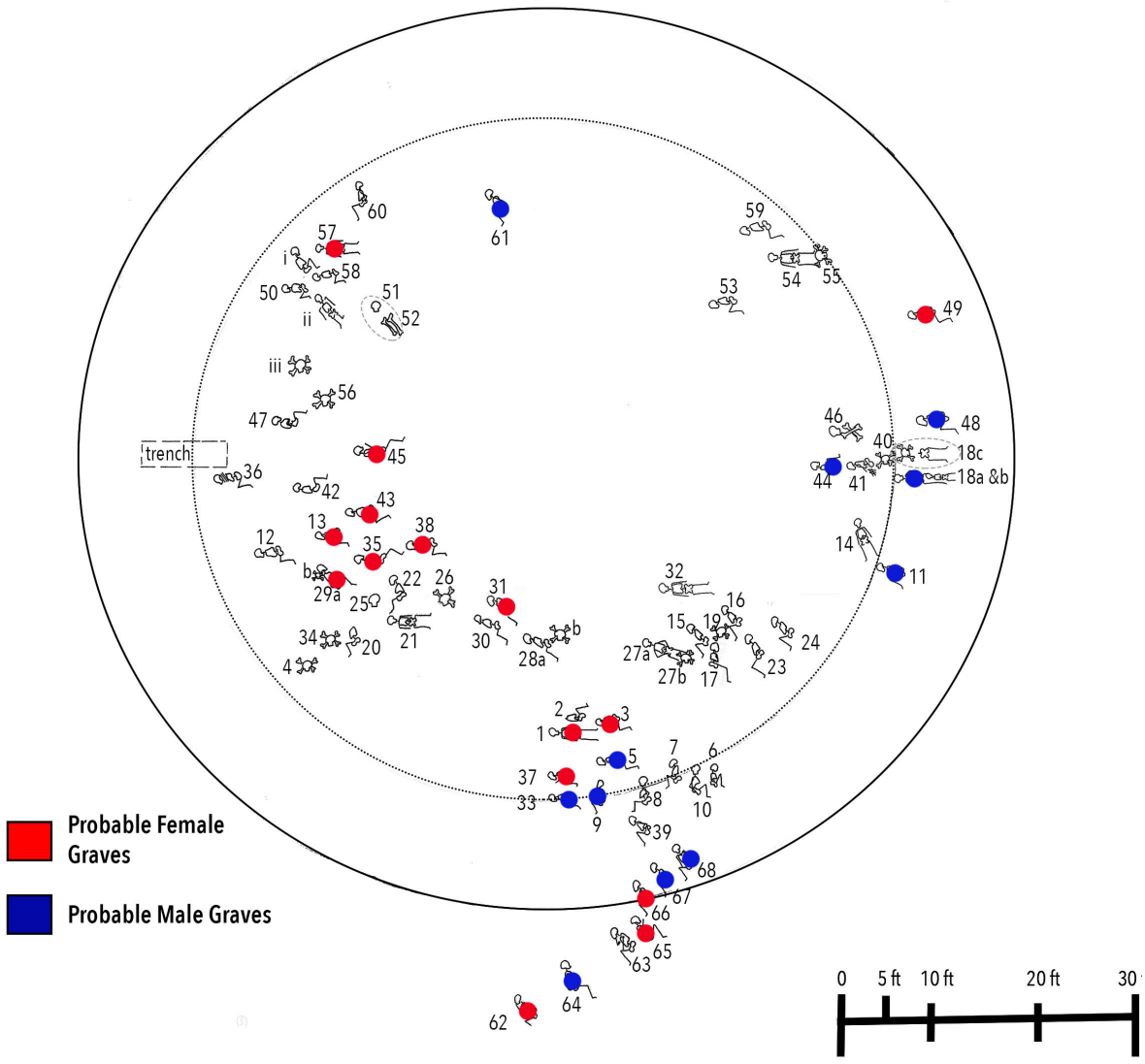


Figure 21 Gender distribution based on Greenwell's/Smith's attributions and gender biased grave assemblages

While iron and copper alloy are found in both male and female graves/assemblages, there appears to be a higher tendency for copper alloy to be associated with females, and iron with males. From the ten male graves that contained objects (out of 11), all of them contained iron, two contained coppery alloy, and one contained stone. Conversely, from the 15 identified female graves, all but one contained iron. Thirteen had copper alloy, five with silver, two with gold, nine with glass (beads) and five with stone and/or bone. This could merely coincide with the density of burials in certain areas of the cemetery, or the size of assemblages, but as the plotted distributions show, material and gender associations do seem to be present (for detail of assemblages and gender see table 19 in the following chapter).

5.6 Age

At the time of excavation, Greenwell made some attempts to determine the age of 20 sets of remains, presumably based on the skulls of the individuals due to his interest in craniology (see Chapter 3). In the general discussion that was given by Smith, it was remarked that 'Men in the Uncleby cemetery died young, while aged persons were invariably women,' (Smith 1912b, 147). In four instances Greenwell gave specific ages of 15-years-old (g36), 18-years-old (gI), 20-years-old (g12) and 28-years-old (g61) (op. cit., 148, 150, 151, 154). Other attempts at determining an age were general descriptions, such as 'young person', middle age', 'full age' or 'old'. In some accounts, the justification for a young person was based on the presence of wisdom teeth, such as g39 (op. cit., 152).

Based on the 18 accounts given for age, and on previous studies that will be discussed below, four broad age ranges have been created:

Group A—Babies, and children (0-9)

Group B—Young adult (10-20)

Group C—Median aged adults (20-45)

Group D—Elderly adults (45+)

The categories reflect the information provided by Greenwell and Smith, and are certainly open to interpretation. Disregarding ideas of the social construction of

childhood (Crawford 1991), Group A is meant to represent what is typically seen as a child—a person that is almost completely dependent on others for survival.

Because physical data is unavailable to create a social construction of adulthood—which could include life events such as marriage or childbirth—physical development has been used to help create Group B. However, the young end of the Group B spectrum is based on Anglo-Saxon ideas of the transition from childhood to adulthood, which is considered to be between 10-12 years of age (Crawford 2007, 84). Twenty is specifically chosen as the 'end' and 'start' age for groups B and C because of physical development rather than social construct, and is loosely based on the idea that wisdom teeth usually erupt around this age.

Group C is somewhat of an umbrella term for adults, and comprises those individuals on the cusp of 'adulthood', physically or culturally, and Group D, which are described as old or elderly. Without the option of undertaking a proper physical anthropological examination of the remains (given the reburial of the skeletons), it is not possible to derive more accurate age-at-death figures and the boundaries between the age groups are inevitably blurred.

It is a reasonable assumption to state that the remaining 57 individuals belonged to groups C (early/mid-20s to 40s), and the earlier range of D. Logic suggests that the lack of recording group C-aged individuals, and possibly D, is because they were all of a median age and therefore unremarkable for the site notes. By comparing the Uncleby age distribution to other sites, the probability that the group C population is larger than what is recorded is strengthened by the data.

Table 2 Breakdown of age groups according to site

Age Groups	Associated Graves
A (0-10)	18b, 29b, III
B (10-20)	1, 2, 4, 36, 37, 39, 42, 43, 68, I
C (20-45)	12, 18a, 44, 49, 61
D (45+)	27b, 47, 57

Table 3 Uncleby graves with associated age groups

Site/Group	A	B	C	D	Total
Uncleby	*0-10*	*10-20*	*20-45*	*45+*	Out of 76
	3	10	5	2	21
Sewerby	*0-12*	*12-25*	*25-45*	*45+*	Out of 59
	6	8	19	3	36
Castledyke	*0-10*	*11-18*	*19-45*	*45+*	Out of 258(?)
	20	26	76	34	151
Norton	*0-10*	*11-18*	*19-45*	*45+*	Out of 120
	21	17	59	4	101

In order to explore the possible age groups of the Uncleby population, three cemeteries will be discussed and compared; Sewerby, Castledyke and Norton. All of the studies used different boundaries for their age analyses. As can be seen in Tables 2 and 3 the age groups used for the other sites have been incorporated into the groups devised for Uncleby. The start and end dates for the comparative sites are based on the intervals used in the original studies. The slight differences in the comparative site age ranges are beneficial in the study, particularly when we recognise the individuality and social constructs of childhood, adulthood and old age within the communities.

The Sewerby study looked at age at time of death in relationship to gender. The graves were sexed by analysing biological data that was collected through

examination, along with cultural identifiers; where there were contradictions in the data, Hirst used the cultural evidence for the analysis (Hirst 1985, 33). Presumably the ages were gathered through the examination of the remains, providing 36 sets of aged remains, out of 49.

The data was analysed in seven age groups, which were first presented in an 'age pyramid', and secondly as a set of diagrams to show any peaks or dips at the death-age (Hirst 1985, 33-5). Based on the results, Hirst proposed that the male and female adults would have 'balanced' out if the other 23 sets of remains could have been sexed, and further suggests that the majority of unsexed remains were probably male ranging in age from 0 to 25-years-old (op. cit., 34).

Analyses of the Castledyke remains identified sex and/or age in approximately 75% of the material (Boylston in Drinkall and Foreman 1998, 221). With 151 aged individuals, the data was split into two manageable categories: 'juvenile' age-of-death, ranging from age 0 to 18-years-old, and adult mortality from 18-years-old to 45+-years-old (op. cit.). There were 46 juvenile burials identified in the cemetery, which were graphed by two-year intervals, and then presented with the data from Norton as well (Boylston 1998, 221). The adult analysis contextualised the data by noting the number/percentage of individuals by sex within the ten-year intervals that were used (op. cit. 225).

The review of Anglo-Saxon age interpretations provides information that is useful in determining probable age groups of the remaining 56 Uncleby graves by analysing the data from the other three sites, primarily by using probability statistics. From the data that is currently collected, there are striking similarities in age-group population in the comparative studies (fig. 22 and fig. 23). Most noticeable is the group C population, with a large increase in all of the sites but Uncleby.

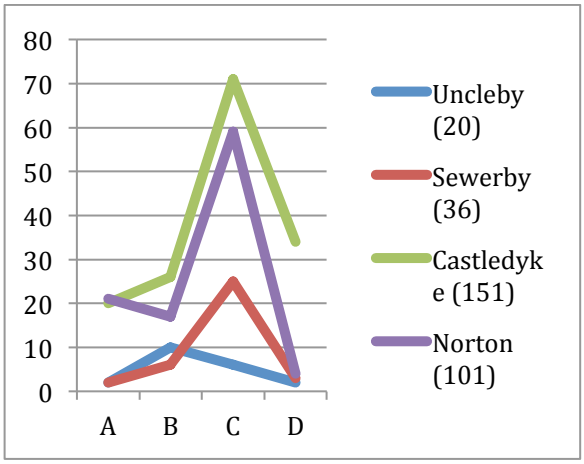


Figure 22 Age population by quantity

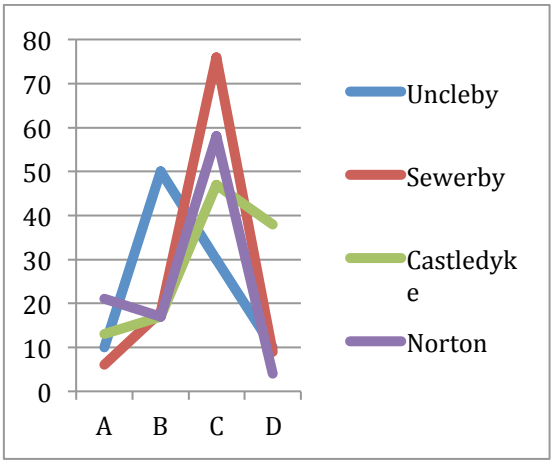


Figure 23 Age population by percentage

A similar pattern can be seen when the same data is plotted as percentages of the population, rather than individuals (fig. 23). This shows that regardless of the size of the cemetery, the majority of the population was middle-aged at time of death. With the data from the comparison sites, it is possible to hypothesize the remaining age population of Uncleby. By determining the percentages of the age groups from each site, and multiplying those by the number of un-aged Uncleby individuals (56), a low, high, and probably estimation is obtainable (Table 4).

Table 4 Age population probabilities

Uncleby	Low addition	High addition	Median addition
A (2)	3	12	7
B (10)	10	11	10
C (6)	26	43	34
D (2)	2	13	7

When the median figures are added to the existing, the sum is greater than the Uncleby total. To remedy this, group A uses the lowest of the provided probabilities, with the presumption that younger individuals would have been recorded in the report (Table 5). Comparing the estimated population against Sewerby, Castledyke and Norton show a more evenly distributed age-range that is more consistent (fig. 24).

Table 5 Suggested age population of Uncleby based on statistics and probability

A (0-10)	**B (10-20)**	**C (20-45)**	**D (45+)**
5	20	42	9

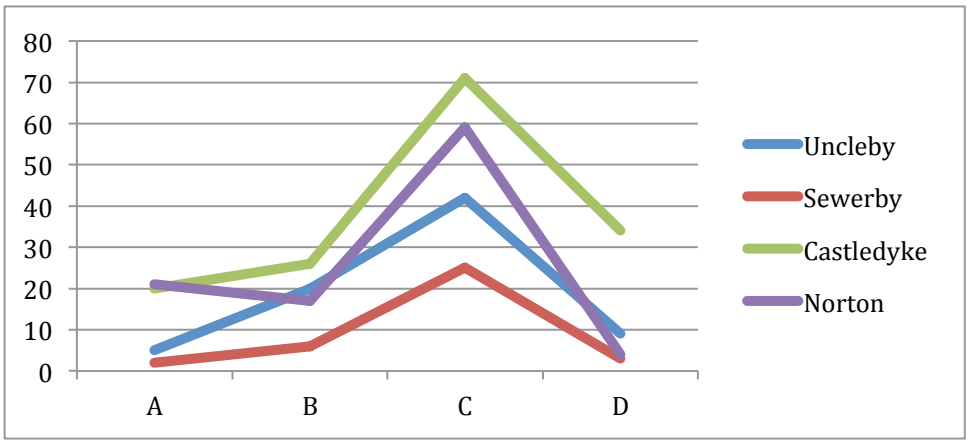


Figure 24 Estimated Uncleby age ranges compared to Sewerby, Castledyke and Norton.

While it is impossible to test this hypothesis against the actual material, the proposed ages for the remaining Uncleby individuals helps us to potentially gain a more complete understanding of the population at Uncleby. From Greenwell and Smith's descriptions, it would seem that the cemetery population primarily consisted people aged 20-years-old or younger, with a few exceptions for adults and the elderly. However, other sites show the opposite, with more than half of the populations belonging to the adult age groups. This suggests that the age range of the individuals is likely greater than those proposed by Greenwell and Smith.

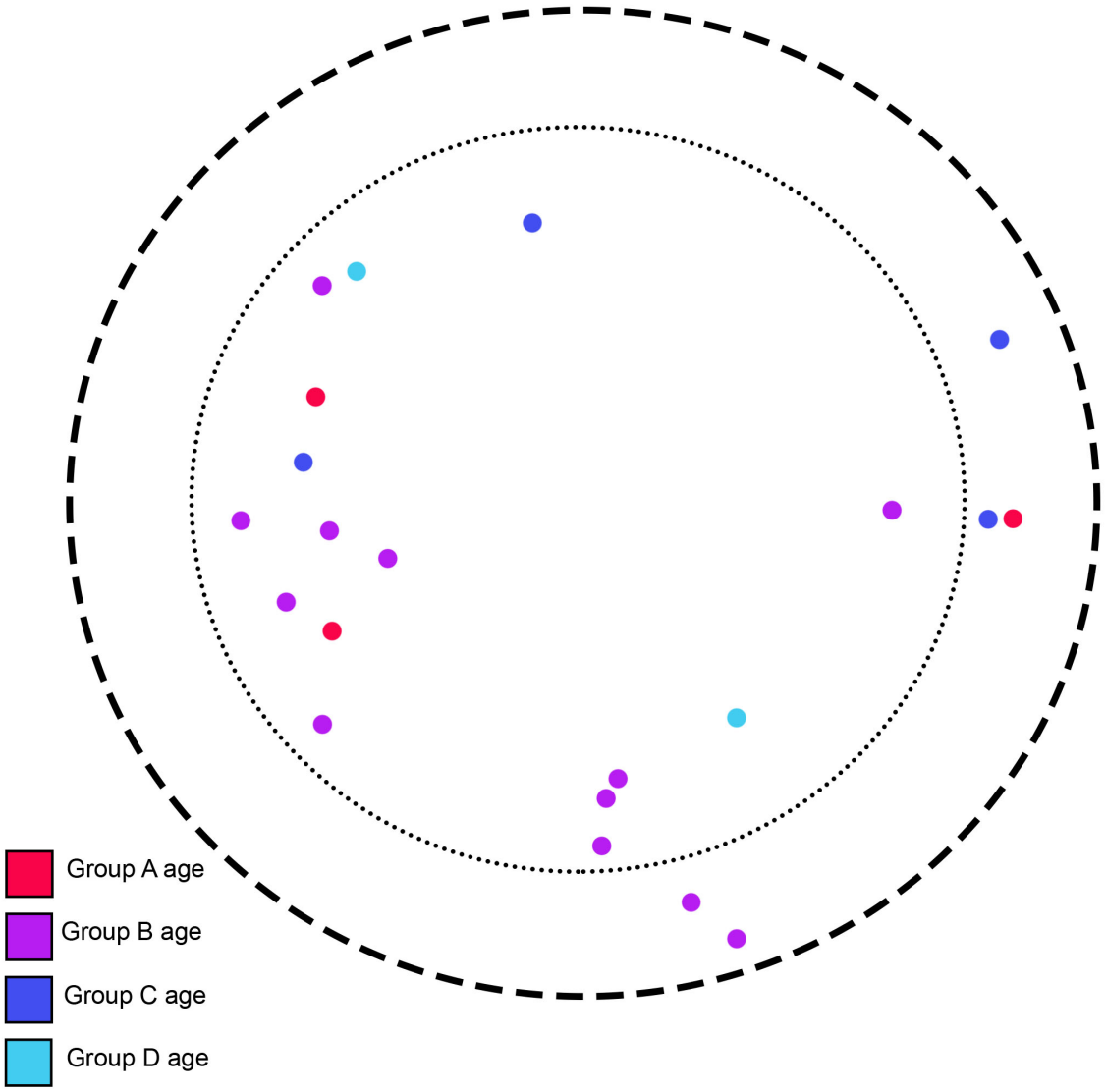


Figure 25 Age distribution based on Smith 1912b

Any distribution patterns pertaining to age cannot be identified due to the small sample of 'aged' graves (fig. 25). Equally, when the age ranges are compared to the objects, the data is skewed; for example, age group B has the most diversity in terms of object-types, materials, and assemblage sizes, but the higher number of 'young people' in the sample can explain this.

5.7 Burial Organisation

Based on the updated layout, and discussion of orientations, it is reasonable to suggest that there are specific groupings of people—if they are family, or simply from the same community cannot be determined, but there do appear to be at least eleven clusters that share close proximity, orientation and at least an awareness of layout/organisation. If this is the case, it implies a structure to the cemetery, and

therefore to the mortuary practices. These groups will be referred to as clan groups rather than family or kin, since it is not possible to determine biological relationships. The groups that have been determined are labelled A-K, starting in the north and working clockwise (Table 6; fig. 30).

Table 6 Suggest clans with shared attributes

Group	Graves	Attributes	Group	Graves	Attributes
Group A	53, 54, 55, 59, ?49	Cluster, W orientation	**Group G**	28a, 30, 31, ?28b	Cluster, NW orientation
Group B	40, 41, 44, 46, 48, ?18a-c?	Cluster, W orientation	**?Group H**	4, 20, 22, 25, 34,	Possible SW/NE row
Group C	15, 16, 17, 19, 23, 24, ?29b	Cluster, NW orientation	**Group I**	12, 13, 35, 36, 38, 42, 43, 45, 47, ?29b, ?56, ?III	Cluster, W orientation
Group D	1, 2, 3, 5, 37, 33	N/S rows, W orientation	**Group J**	50, 57, 58	Cluster, W orientation
Group E	6, 7, 8, 9, 10	E/W row, N orientation	**Group K**	I, II, 51/52, ?61	Cluster, NW orientation
Group F	62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, ?39	NW/SE row(s), NW orientation			

The primary considerations for determining a group are based on orientation of the head, and if there appear to be possible rows/organised clusters within the groups. There are not any obvious patterns or associations in terms of objects and clans. Groups D, F and I contain the largest variety of objects, materials, and assemblage sizes. Group G also appears to have a large and varied collection of artefacts, however they have come from a single grave, 31, hence its exclusion in the previous statement.

Four of the clans have weapon burials, and three of the clans have workbox-graves. Clan D is the only one to have both, as well as the only clan to have two workbox-graves. Clans A, B, C, H and J have the smallest variety and quantity of

objects, primarily consisting of knives, buckles and miscellaneous iron or copper alloy fragments. Five clans, D, F, G, H and I contained beads, with grave 13 (clan I) and grave 31 (clan G) possibly related through two red beads each. Graves 3 (clan D) and 62 (F) might also be connected through the very pale green beads that they both contain.

Clan I contains six out of the ten brooches/pins in the Uncleby collection, the pair of Br1-type brooches in grave 35, and two Br3 types in graves 43 and 45. Grave 12 contained a Br2 brooch, with its match in grave 65 of group F. Graves 12 and 65 do not appear to have anything else in common; grave 12 is in the west of the barrow and grave 65 in the south; the brooch was the only object in grave 12, and grave 65 contained a small fragment of cloisonné cell work, a comb and possibly a gold disc pendant. They did not share orientations, nor did they share the same body position. Yet, somehow these graves share a link.

Regardless of small similarities and tenuous connections, objects and clans do not seem to share any specific links, but the examples given above might suggest that the groups do not necessarily represent different communities, or if they do, that those communities were in contact with each other. One suggestion might be that the clans represent branches of the same family that are separated through marriages and matching objects represent familial connections. Again, this is pure speculation, and the theory cannot be tested without re-exhumation and analyses of the remains, assuming that there is enough material to test against.

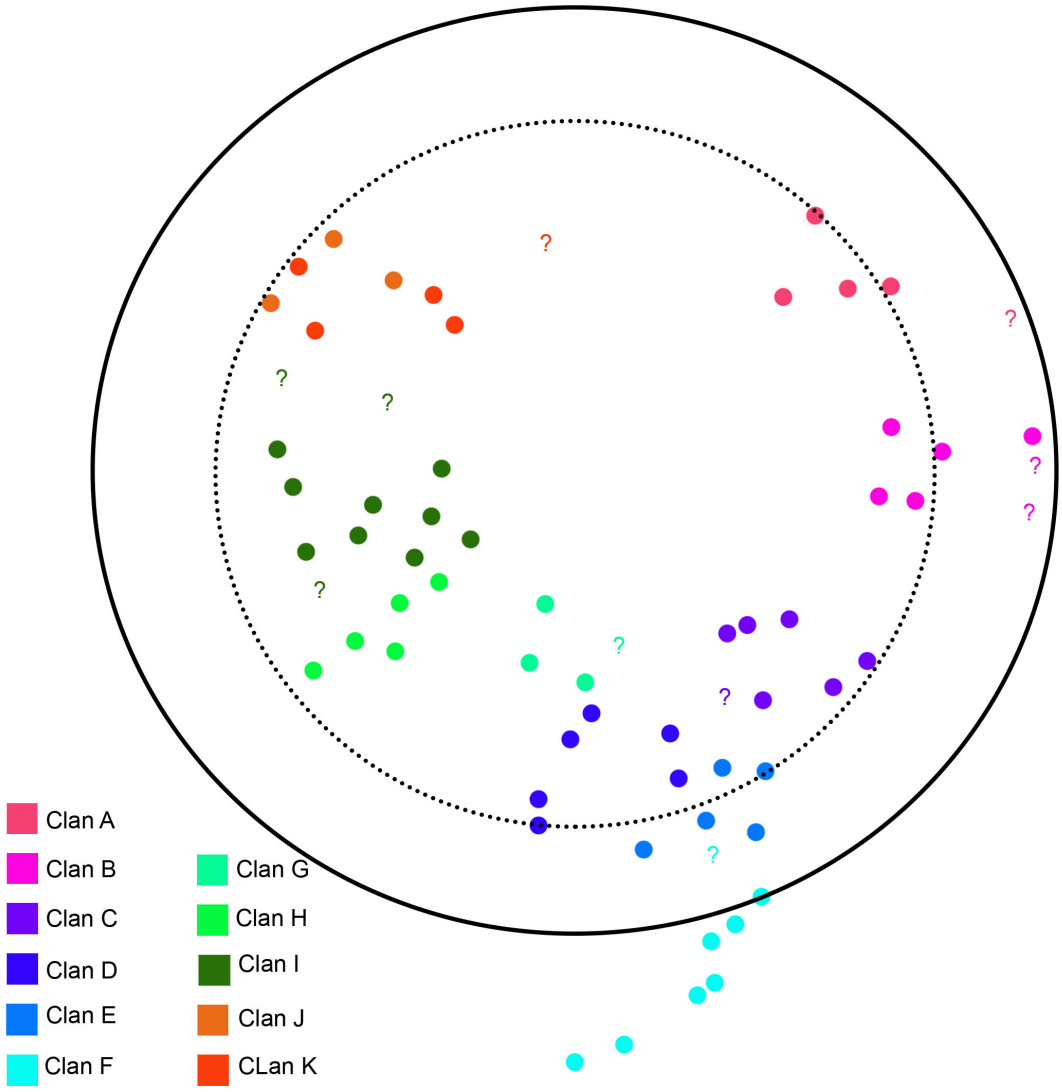


Figure 26 Proposed clan groupings

5.8 Living Population

It is not possible to have a cemetery without having a living community or communities to use it. This exercise is meant to show another avenue of investigation that antiquarian sites can provide. The aims are to express a range of possibilities for the living population of the cemetery users, the mortality rate of the community or communities, and frequency of interment. Whilst specific dating is not possible, it will be argued in the following chapter (chapter 6) that the cemetery was in use from c.650-c.725. The duration of use has been broken down into ten-year intervals, to compile a range of possibilities.

The crude mortality rate (CMR) is meant to calculate the number of deaths per year within a group of people (McKinley 1994, 69; Squires 2012, 317). Ideally,

information would be added to a life table, which shows a series of life expectancy probabilities based on age groups. However, there is insufficient data to create a life table for the Uncleby cemetery. Therefore, a simple equation is used to determine the average number of deaths per year (after McKinley 2012, 317):

$$CMR = \frac{minimum\ number\ of\ graves}{cemetery\ length\ of\ use}$$

By reversing the formula, estimation for interment frequency (IF) can be calculated:

$$IF = \frac{cemetery\ length\ of\ use}{minimum\ number\ of\ graves}$$

The living population of the Uncleby community can also be determined based on an equation that takes the average life expectancy multiplied by the minimum number of graves, and then divided by the length of use of the cemetery (Arnold 1984, 125)

$$LP = \frac{minimum\ number\ of\ graves \times average\ life\ expectancy}{cemetery\ length\ of\ use}$$

Arnold suggested a life expectancy of 30 years for Anglo-Saxons in Southern England, and Härke determined life expectancies of 33 (f) and 35 (m) (rounding up or down to the nearest year) in the Early Anglo-Saxon period, and rising to 36 (f) and 38 (m) for the Middle and Late periods (Arnold 1984, 124; Härke 1997, 135). The average of these ages is 34, and is used as the life expectancy for both gender in the Uncleby cemetery.

Table 7 Mortality Rate, Interment Frequency Living Population for the Uncleby cemetery

	25 years	35 years	45 years	55 years	65 years	75 years
CMR	3	2	1-2	1-2	1-2	1
IF	0.3 (four times per year)	0.5 (two to three times per year)	0.6 (twice per year)	0.7 (one to two times per year)	0.9 (one to two times per year)	1 (once a year)
LP	103-104	73-74	57-58	46-47	39-40	34-35

As table 7 shows, determining the living population is completely dependent on knowing where the people who used the Uncleby cemetery were residing. If, for example, several communities used the cemetery, a minimum population of 103 people spread throughout the region is completely reasonable, whereas if a single community used the cemetery, we would likely have found an associated domestic site nearby, and to date we have not found one large enough to support this data. As the previous section has argued, there are up to 11 groups/clans that have been identified in the cemetery. A reasonable conclusion is the groups represent different communities; perhaps three villages or farmsteads over a longer period of time, or 11 communities in a shorter amount of time.

Regardless, establishing a living population for the communities that used the cemetery can lead to further understanding of the dating, organisation and role of the site.

5.9 Discussion

5.91 The Funeral

The amount of foresight and organisation needed for executing a funeral at the Uncleby barrow would have been significant. Directly after death, the corpse would likely be washed and dressed. There may have been a small period for visitation, like a modern day viewing, but archaeologically speaking, this is difficult (if not impossible) to determine. If funerals were regional events, outlying communities would need to be notified so that they could attend the funeral. On the day of the funeral, or before, a grave would be dug, but before that could happen, and number of decisions would need to be made.

Cemetery preparations would need to be sorted out, and would have been a multiphase process. To dig the grave, first the location in the cemetery would need to be decided upon; is there a specific area of the barrow for this person, perhaps an area reserved for certain clans? Or was location chosen based on profession, or status? Next, the final resting position of the body would need to be decided: would they be curled up as if they were sleeping, or fully extended—this would determine what size and shape the grave would need to be. Depending on the funeral rite, other treatments to the grave may have been carried out, perhaps a blessing to the earth or an offering to the spirits of the mound.

If the grave had been dug prior to the arrival of the body and mourning community, the next logical phases of the funeral would be transporting the deceased to the cemetery. As illustrated in chapter 2, the Uncleby barrow was likely a 'destination' cemetery, either from the Wolds or the Vales. A romanticised version of the procession could be that members of the household took deliberate trackways in the Wolds, passing funerary monuments on either side of the road with the deceased carted in a wagon or carried on a litter. Maybe there were songs or chants performed along the way, or maybe it was a quiet and solemn affair.

Once at the cemetery and next to the open grave, the body would be moved a last time, from the funerary conveyance to the place of interment. Once inside the grave the body and objects would be curated, perhaps by one designated person or by the community. Depending on the beliefs of the people, and maybe the weather, the grave could have been filled almost immediately, or could have been left open for a short period of time. Maybe there was a small feast or celebration to commemorate the dead, or rituals to guide them safely to their next destination—these details of the Anglo-Saxon funeral are a mystery, but it is safe to say that the funeral rite must have been an import part of the culture based on the amount of effort and detail that went into last rites.

5.92 Organisation and Awareness at Uncleby

To take full advantage of the material that does survive from the Uncleby excavation, object distributions were applied and compared to ages, genders and clans with the aim of identifying possible links between objects and individuals in certain contexts. Space use and organisation of the cemetery has become more

obvious through the provided discussions and illustrations. The living community showed awareness of previous graves, and as discussed in section 5.31, may even show intentional incorporation of previous burials. Unfortunately, there is not enough data to test every aspect of the burials against organisational pattering, such as the ages and genders of the corpses, but the data that is available has shown that there did appear to be some logic between cemetery location and object material (section 5.4).

Aside from demonstrating possible organisation of the space, this chapter has also intended to show the different ways that cemetery data can be used to gain a better understanding of burial practices and the community/communities of people that used the space. Current archaeological exercises give a great deal of attention to statistics related to age and sex, however antiquarian excavations, such as Uncleby, are not necessarily reliable sources for that type of information. Regardless, an attempt has been made to demonstrate that, while not conclusive, some information can be extrapolated based on limited sources.

The age and gender samples are too small to make any significant connections, and the clans did not appear to have any obvious relationships with objects types. Perhaps if the Uncleby collection contained all of the iron buckles and/or knives some correlations would have been found, but again, without all of the objects and further knowledge of the site will remain incomplete. Nonetheless, having assumed that the cemetery was in use for up to seventy-five years it has been possible to estimate the size of the living population that buried their dead at Uncleby.

Chapter 6: The Uncleby Objects

This chapter discusses the objects found in the Uncleby cemetery. The object types are presented in alphabetical order, rather than by function or broad categories, such as personal tools/accessories, dress fittings or weapons, which are traditionally used in object-based research. The reason for this approach is to keep the description separate from any projected functions or meaning.

There are over 20 object types that make up the Uncleby collection. Objects that are unidentifiable, or have only occurred once in the collection have been omitted from the chapter, but more detailed information can be found in the accompanying catalogue (appendix A) with their respective entries. For that reason, there are 14 artefact-types that are reviewed. The discussion of each object-type is structured in four parts: (i) description of the objects, (ii) comparison of objects from other sites, (iii) discussion of the use, function and interpretation of the object type, and (iv) placing the Uncleby objects into broader context within the provided research. Each object entry shows the number of objects in each section, as well as the corresponding graves that contain them. Italicised grave numbers show that the object-type was noted in Smith's account(s) of the graves, but that the objects are now missing or unassociated.

Due to the high number of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and the number of goods that each may produce, the cemeteries at Castledyke South, Barton-on-Humber (Lincs.) and Sewerby (E. Yorks.) are frequently used for comparisons to the Uncleby cemetery and objects. This is because they are two of the largest and well-documented cemeteries in the general area that are close in date and contain a wide range of object-types. The Castledyke cemetery was found to contain over 227 individuals in 201 graves, most of which contained grave goods. The Castledyke cemetery has been dated to the 6th through 7th centuries, giving a wide range of object types and styles that have helped to date the Uncleby cemetery (Drinkall and Foreman 1998). The Anglian cemetery at Sewerby is much smaller by comparison, with 59 individuals. The Sewerby cemetery has been dated to the late 5th through 7th centuries, also giving a wide range of objects for comparison to the Uncleby finds (Hirst 1985).

6.1 Beads

Number in Sample: 16 'assemblages'; 51 individual	Graves: *1*, 3, 13, *25*, 31, 37, 38, 43, 45, 62, *66*

The following descriptions and discussion of beads will use the assemblages that have been divided/created by the Yorkshire Museum, and the classification system devised by Brugmann (2004). The Brugmann classification is primarily based on technique; where a specific shape is required to aid in the Uncleby discussion, Guido (1999) will be referenced. After close scrutiny of the documentation and the physical evidence, a majority of the YMT catalogue numbers and assemblages appear to correctly correspond with the graves and data presented by Smith (1912b).

(i) Uncleby Bead Description

Monochrome Glass Beads

There are 16 graves documented as having either a single bead or an assortment of beads that were most likely part of a necklace. The following discussion of beads is divided by monochrome and polychrome. The monochrome section is further subdivided by colour and shape.

Monochrome glass beads are the most common from the Uncleby sample with 27 examples in varying shades and shapes of blue, 12 in varying shades and shapes of green and 4 examples of red—giving a total of 43. Only 3 of the monochrome beads (that remain in the collection) were found as singular examples in the cemetery (according to the Yorkshire Museum accession numbers and groupings). The rest of the monochrome beads form part of larger assemblages that range from 2 to 12 in number (further discussion below).

Table 8 Monochrome Glass Bead Shapes with bead assemblages listed by colour, illustrations by N. Griffiths.

Bead Shape	Blue	Green	Red
 Wound Spiral (Globular)	3.3(2); 3.4; 13.1 (6); 62.1 (3)	62.1; Unc2; 3.5	
 Wound Spiral (biconical)	3.3 (2)	3.5	
 Globular	45.4		
 Thin Annular	31.5 (2); 38.2 (3)		
 Doughnut	3.3; 38.2 (2)		
 Asymmetrical Cylinder	38.2		
 Cylinder Round	38.2	3.4; 62.1 (8)	13.1 (2); 32.5 (2)
 Melon	31.5		
 Square Cylinder	Unc1		
Total	25	13	5

Blue:

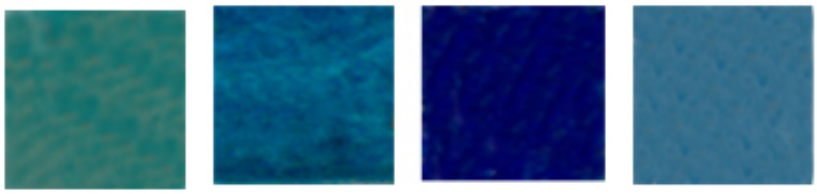


Figure 27 Shades of blue from the Uncleby sample. From left to right: Blue1, Blue2, Blue3 and Blue4

As stated, blue is the most common colour in the sample. The blue beads come in nine shapes (Table 8). The most common form is Wound Spiral (WndSp), which is defined as having evidence of winding on all or part of the body and can range in shape from globular to biconical (Brugmann 2004, 76). The definition of the term and form of manufacture fit with most of the monochrome beads in the sample, so beads of noticeably different shapes will be referred to by shape based on Guido's illustrations (Guido 1999, 10 fig. 1).

Most of the blue beads are translucent, and come in varying shades of blue, as demonstrated in the colour swatch (fig. 27). The colours that have been labelled as Blue1, Blue2 and Blue3 are all depictions of the translucent beads from the Uncleby sample. Within the shades of blue there are slight variations, but for the most part can be described as bluish-green, light blue, and true or dark blue. The fourth example in the colour chart, Blue4, is demonstrative of three examples of opaque blue glass in the sample, which is light blue and could be mistaken for faience.

As stated above, the most common bead shape is WndSp, and has the largest variation in colour across the cemetery. Blue2 is the most common hue for WndSp, with all six examples from the same grave (13.1), and two more examples in biconical-shape (Bicon).

There are six beads, all from 13.1, that are a hue of Blue2, followed by another five from three different assemblages, in Blue1 and a single example that is Blue3. There are two further WndSp beads that are Blue2, but have a distinct biconical shape (Bicon), which sets them apart from the previously mentioned beads.

The second most common bead shape from the collection of blue beads is the Thin Annular (ThnAnn) (Guido 1999, 10). Five examples of this shape come from two assemblages, and all are dark/true blue (Blue3). The beads show evidence of

being produced by the same method as WndSp, but have been 'finished', or smoothed, by marvering of the surface. The primary distinction between ThnAnn and WndSp is that the thickness of the ThnAnn is usually no more than half of the diameter of the bead (Hirst 1985, 62). Another visual distinction is that the ThnAnn has a larger perforation and thereby has thinner walls.

Following in frequency, three Doughnut (Dghnt) beads were found in two assemblages. Two examples, 3.3 and 38.2, are Blue3 and the remaining example, also in the 38.2 assemblage, is Blue4 (opaque, light blue). The Doughnut shape is characterised as having a circular cross section with a small, pierced perforation that leaves one of the perforation sides concave, and the other end flat (Brugmann 2004, 75-76). A single melon bead (Mln) is included in the current section. It is Blue1 with a slightly greener hue. The bead has eight irregularly spaced/sized ribs.

The remaining three blue beads are interesting, as they may not be Anglo-Saxon in origin, but rather be Roman 'relics'; Unc1 is a bright turquoise colour that is perfectly square in section with a round perforation, and has an elongated rectangular body (SqCyl). The faces of the bead have traces of probable pulling as a form of manufacture, but are smooth and even nonetheless.

The final two blue beads to be discussed are probably opaque Blue4, but pitting and deterioration of the surface make a conclusive identification difficult. Both beads are from the 38.2 assemblage. One of the beads is a traditional cylinder bead (Cyl), while the other is sub-cylinder—and could possibly be considered square (Table 8).

Green:

Figure 28 Shades of green from the Uncleby sample. From left to right: Green1, Green2 and Green3

Green beads were the second most common colour, and, vary in three shades of opaque/paste green (fig. 28). Green1 is very pale with small inclusions of brown discoloration. The beads in this colour range do not have any colour variation. The second shade of green, Green2, is a muddy yellow-green that also has small

brown discolouration inclusions and does have slight variation within the assemblages. The third shade, Green3, is a true green with very little to no inclusions.

The green beads come in three shapes, one of which is WndSp, and the other two that are variations of WndSp; biconical (Bicon) and cylinder (Cyl). All of the green beads have the same evidence of winding that the blue WndSp examples have. The majority of the beads are short to medium cylindrical in shape, with nine examples; four Green1 and five Green3. All but one of the beads (the Green1 from 3.4) comes from 62.1. Aside from the three blue beads discussed above, there is one other bead that forms part of 62.1, a Green3 WndSp that is slightly larger and darker than the rest.

There are two other green WndSp beads in the collection, both of which are Green2. The final green bead from the site is a WndSp that has a distinct biconical shape. It is also Green3, and was paired with a Green2 WndSp (3.5), either by the Yorkshire Museum, Greenwell or as part of the Grave 3 assemblage.

Red:

Four red beads were found in the cemetery, two from 13.1 and two from 31.5. All four of the beads are opaque. The beads from 13.1 are a deep, almost rust red, and the beads from 31.5 are slightly more orange/terracotta. The shapes between the set of beads are very similar, with the deep red examples medium Cyl, and the remaining two Barrel (Brrl).

Polychrome Beads:

Figure 29 Illustrations of the decorated/polychrome beads from the Uncleby sample. Illustrated by A. Hansen.

Four polychrome/decorated beads were retrieved from the cemetery. The most elaborate of the collection is Unc3/45.3(?), which has a high gloss brown base colour, light brown circumferential cross-waves with rosettes in the centre of the wave 'frames'. The rosettes have yellow centres that are encircled with a wide red band that is divided by small green wedges. The decoration is sometimes referred to as a 'blob', as it protrudes slightly from the surface of the bead (Mainman & Rogers 2000, 2596).

The second most decorated bead is 37.2. The bead has a black foundation with red circumferential spiral trailing and vertical white decoration. According to Brugmann, the bead is considered to be Overlying Crossing Waves, Insular (OvWaIns, sometimes also referred to as Candy), that is defined as having a dark or opaque body with applied trails that may or may not overlap and sometimes have a dot motif (2004, 77).

A black and white spiral bead (Unc6) makes up part of the decorated collection of beads. It appears to be opaque, but when held against a light, the 'black' is actually a very dark green that has opaque white spiralling (WhSp) (Brugmann 2004, 80).

The last of the decorated beads is crude compared to the others. The bead is opaque matte brown with 'swirly' additions of green, yellow and white (Swrl) (43.3). It is bun-shaped and has a fair amount of pitting in the surface.

Non-glass beads:

There are two amethyst beads in the Uncleby sample (38.1). The first is almond shaped and is very pale purple and white/translucent. The second is an elongated sub-rectangular and –pyramidal shape with rounded edges. The stone is a much deeper purple in comparison to the other.

Finally, a carved bone bead has been included in the Uncleby sample (Unc7). It is a thick annular shape with a large perforation. The grain of the bone runs vertically around the circumference of the bead.

(ii) Comparisons

Monochrome:

Blue and green monochrome beads are among the most common finds in Conversion Period cemeteries, and are also found in earlier and later contexts (Geake

1997, 45). Due to the high frequency of the beads throughout England, the Sewerby cemetery is the only site that will be used for detailed comparison.

Nineteen of the Sewerby graves were found with glass, amber and stone beads, with a total of 637. The Sewerby classification of beads was organized by material, followed by shape, and where applicable, by size. The most common of the glass beads from the site are, unsurprisingly, small annular beads, which includes wound spiral, globular and thin annular (Hirst 1985, 62-4). The site produced 193 of the small annular beads from five graves; the majority of which are shades of blue (140), 16 that are shades of green, and the rest of miscellaneous colour (op. cit.)

Of the five graves that monochrome beads were discovered, the assemblages were quite large, with the exception of one grave (grave 17). For example, grave 8 contained a total of 58 beads, grave 12 had 44, grave 28 had 143 (on two strings) and grave 29 had a total of 60 beads. Grave 17 is the closest parallel to Uncleby in terms of quantity and bead type with 11 monochrome beads (seven dark blue, three green, and one turquoise). One other bead forms part of the grave 12 assemblage, and is an amber bead, a material that is absent from the Uncleby collection (Hirst 1985, M1:F4-F5).

Similar patterns of bead colour and shape are found in the Castledyke collection, with 207 (out of 691) examples of monochrome beads, ninety-four of which are blue, fifty-three green and the remaining examples in white, yellow, red, and 'black' (Drinkall 1998, 269-60). The monochrome beads were found in thirty-two graves, and only two of the graves contained only blue monochrome beads. Most of the bead assemblages contained fourteen beads or less, with nine graves containing as many as ninety-seven beads of various colour, shape and material (Drinkall 1998, 266, table 17). Within the larger assemblages the ratio of monochrome beads to other material or polychrome beads, varies considerably. For example, one collection had a total of ninety-seven beads, eleven of them monochrome, and another example had sixty-nine in total, forty-four of which were monochrome (op. cit.).

Polychrome:

Comparisons of all but one (37.2) of the polychrome beads can be seen in the Sewerby collection, including the brown swirl bead 43.3. Black and white spiral beads (WhSp) are fairly frequent finds in terms of polychrome beads from the 7th

century, particularly in Kent (Hirst 1985, 66). At Sewerby, a nearly identical example was found in Grave 35a, which is very dark green body with opaque white spiral. The only difference between the two beads is the size; Unc6 is slightly smaller in diameter, but nearly twice the width (Hirst 1985, M1:F1).

Sewerby has five beads that are similar to Unc3, although they are slightly less detailed than the Uncleby bead. The Sewerby beads are referred to as 'double swag and spot-decorated', and are defined as having a red spot that is enclosed with the double wave pattern (Hirst 1985, 68). Only one of the Sewerby beads has a dark ground, while the remaining four have either opaque white grounds or 'pale bluish-white' ground (op. cit.). The bead with the black ground (grave 12/6) has white crossing waves.

None of the Sewerby examples have an elaborated 'spot' decoration, however, there are three close comparisons to Unc3; one example found in the 16-22 Coppergate, York excavations, and another found in Helgo Building 3 (fig. 30). The Coppergate example (10350) is dark, verging on black, with 'blobs' that have a green centre surround by red that is intersected with white lines (fig. 30). The Helgo bead (3779) is more difficult to determine for colour, as the only available image is a black and white drawing (fig. 30). The bead has both the 'blob' and crossing wave motif on a dark background.

The Coppergate bead has been dated to Period 4B (c. 930/5-c.975), and the Helgo bead to the 7th or 8th centuries. There was a second bead (10352) found in Coppergate that is similar, with crossing waves and a 'blob' in the centre of them, however the bead was dated to the 14th-16th centuries, and is therefore not included in the current discussion. The Sewerby example is possibly the more appropriate comparison, given its association with a Conversion Period site (fig. 30).

The Sewerby example could also be used as a comparison for 37.2, primarily based on the use of colour. Both of the beads are black ground with red and white decoration. But that is where the comparisons end. The Candy bead, as 37.2 has been classified, is found in both Migration Period and Anglo-Saxon graves, and in terms of Anglo-Saxon dating, appears most frequently in 5th century contexts (Brugmann 2004, 33).

The final decorated bead, 43.4, can again, find similar polychrome examples in the Sewerby collection. The Sewerby beads (graves 8, 47 and 55) have the same

'swirl' as 43.4, but are in a different combination of colours. The Sewerby beads are primarily light blue, with red and black 'blotches' of decoration (Hirst 1985, 68). Brugmann's sample does not contain any parallels to 43.3. However, a tenuous comparison could be made to her 'traffic light, imitation' type. Traffic light beads are defined as having colour combinations of opaque yellow, red and green (Brugmann 2004, 77). Theoretically, 43.3 could have originally been composed of red, green and yellow glass, but in the application and manufacturing of the bead, the red and green could have mixed, leaving the ground brown.

Figure 30 Comparisons for Unc3 decorated bead. From left to right: A) Decorated 'blob' bead from Coppergate, York (YAT 10350); B) Decorated cross wave and 'blob' bead from Sewerby grave 12 (Coppergate image sourced from YMT; Sewerby image taken from Hirst 1985, M2).

Other Materials:

No amethyst beads were found at Sewerby, but a pair was uncovered with the remains of a female in Painsthorpe Wold Barrow 4. They were found at the neck with seven or nine glass beads; six of which were definitely WndSp, and one long cylinder (Mortimer 1905, 117). A probable reconstruction of the necklace is illustrated, and shows an almond shaped amethyst bead on either side of the long cylinder, and three WndSp beads on either side (Mortimer 1905, plate XXXIV, fig. 278). Unfortunately, details of the beads are not given, i.e. their colour or size.

Amethyst beads of almond and oblong shapes have a higher concentration in Kent than other parts of England (Brugmann 2004, fig. 66). For example, twenty-two amethyst beads were found in the Buckland cemetery in seven graves (Evison 1987, 60). While Sewerby does not appear to contain any amethyst beads, four other crystal beads were found in four graves, and all of them were of different shapes (Hirst 1985, 70). Meanwhile, the Castledyke cemetery had two amethyst beads found in two graves (Drinkall 1998, 262).

The bone bead, Unc7, has no known parallels in Anglo-Saxon contexts, including earlier and later dates.

(iii) Bead Discussion

Beads and Necklaces:

Blue monochrome beads have a long history in Britain. The most common shapes, such as globular, annular, and cylinder (both round and square sections), have been found in Iron Age and Roman contexts (Guido 1999, 47). Translucent blue beads have been found in a number of British Iron Ages sites, as well as in the Middle East and on the continent dating as far back as the second millennium BC (Guido 1978, 13-14, 19-22). However, the brighter 'sky blue' (Blue2), is considered to be a Roman development, which was continued by the Anglo-Saxons (Guido 1978, 14; Guido 1999, 47).

Green monochrome beads that are 'true barrel' or biconical (such as 3.5), in contrast, are apparently specific to the Roman period (Guido 1999, 44). WndSp green beads have also been attributed to a Roman origin, but it has been noted that while green beads were much less common than blue in both the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods, roughly made/or un-marvered examples were most likely specific to the Anglo-Saxons (op. cit.).

There is very little direct evidence for bead making or bead workshops in Anglo-Saxon England (Guido & Welch 2000, 115). Some evidence of glass making, particularly for window glass and vessels, have been found in Mid-Saxon period monastic sites, such as Glastonbury, Whitby and Barking Abbeys, but it is unclear if beads were produced at the sites (Bayley 2000, 138). There has been a strong tendency to believe that beads were imported goods from the continent, based on excavated bead production sites that had very similar beads of the same shapes and colours (particularly blue annular and globular), such as a factory in Rothulfuashem, Netherlands (Welch in Guido 1999, 10; Guido 1999, 48; Guido & Welch 2000, 115).

It has also been suggested that the blue beads, and perhaps others, were made of recycled Roman glass (Guido 1999, 48). While it may not be possible to determine the origin of the glass, there is evidence of glass sheet being re-used as beads, such as a blue cylinder bead from Mucking, which is clearly a piece of flat blue glass that has been heated around a rod and roughly fused together at the seam (Hirst 2000, 122-3).

Early Anglo-Saxon bead assemblages—necklaces or otherwise—contained many glass and amber beads. A table made by Hirst breaks down a selection of

Anglo-Saxon cemeteries by the percentage of graves with beads, the average number of beads, and what percentage of those were glass (2000, 121 table. 1). For example, out of the fifty-nine graves excavated at Sewerby, 29% of them contained beads. The average number of beads per grave was calculated to be forty, with just over half of them being made of glass (op. cit.). Of the nine cemeteries that were included in the study, only two contained averages of ten or below for the number of beads in a grave, the rest were between twenty and forty.

One reason for the higher and/or lower number of beads in an assemblage/grave can be attributed to changing fashions in the Early to Middle Anglo-Saxon periods. 5th and 6th century bead collections appear to have been quite long, usually attached to shoulder brooches that crossed the body, sometimes as a single string, or with two or three strings (Owen-Crocker 2004, 85). Multi-stringed collections would have been secured with another brooch in the centre of the garment, while smaller collections of beads could have been worn as small cluster attached to one or both shoulder brooches (op. cit.).

By the 7th century, as Byzantine fashions were being adopted (see brooch discussion below), long strands of beads became less common, as the *peplos* style garment and, therefore, double shoulder brooches decreased in use. It has been noted that beads are rarely found underneath the neck vertebrate, which suggests that if beaded necklaces were in use, the strings were not completed all the way around the string (Owen-Crocker 2004, 85). Indeed, beads have been found strung onto small silver slip-knot wires (see slipknot ring discussion below) seen in an example from Castledyke grave 88 (Drinkall 1998, 167, fig. 81).

In early Anglo-Saxon archaeological contexts, single or localized scattering of beads around the body have been interpreted as buttons or embellishment sewn onto the garment (Geake 1997, 45; Owen-Crocker 2004, 85). It seems reasonable that the same practice may have carried on in later periods, and may explain some instances of seemingly random beads in a grave.

Amethyst:

The most common shape for amethyst beads is 'almond', and is relatively short and thin. The second most common shape is an elongated pseudo-almond/rectangular/pyramidal shape, such as the longer of the Uncleby examples.

The intensity of the purple can vary, but is generally a deeper purple in the smaller almond shape (Nielson 2013, 208).

There is some discussion as to the source of the amethyst. One of the earliest suggestions for the source came from Leeds, who proposed that the beads were looted from Roman graves, with the material originally sourced in Egypt (Leeds 1913, 131-2). Since then, other proposals for the source of amethyst have been made; one theory is that the beads themselves were imported objects, brought and traded via routes through the Byzantine Empire, Italy and the Rhineland (Hawkes 1973, 192). Another suggestion is that the material was sourced in India, but was ultimately brought West through the same trade connections (Meaney 1981, 76).

Regardless of the materials actual source, it can be implied that amethyst beads would have been considered an exotic commodity reserved for very few people. Amethyst beads have only been found in female graves, usually with no more than two per grave, but in rare exceptions, as many as fourteen (Sibertswold grave 18) (Meaney 1981, 76).

The beads appear to be most popular in the late 7th century, but have been found in contexts as early as the late 6th century, and throughout the 7th century as well (Geake 1997, 41). The frequency in which they are found (which is not overly frequent) in the Conversion Period may help to illuminate or expand upon their (possibly) amuletic function. Meaney briefly recounted the superstitious and apotropaic associations with amethyst dating back to the classical world. Among the ascribed functions, according to Pliney, amethyst was thought to ward away bad luck in regard to crops, aid in the overall health and wellbeing of the wearer, and to keep him/her protected from a variety of maladies (Meaney 1981, 77).

Meaney included an intriguing question to the mystical properties of amethyst in Anglo-Saxon contexts; she asks 'Is it possible that the beads found in Anglo-Saxon graves were worn by Christian ladies who thought of them as amulets appropriate to the new religion?' (op. cit.). The question was based on information provided by Bede regarding the 'twelfth apocalyptic gem', and its association with Saints, virtue, and the Heavenly Kingdom (op. cit.). Either way, the amethyst seems to have been valued by Anglo-Saxon women in the 7th century; whether for its exoticness, healing properties, protective powers, or for its symbolism of spirituality, will remain an enigma for modern scholars.

It is perhaps worthwhile to include a brief discussion on amber beads, and how they may relate to their amethyst predecessors. Amber beads are commonly found in Early Anglo-Saxon graves, and indeed up to the first half of the 7th century (Owen-Crocker 2004, 87). Amber beads have been found with men—as sword beads in the late 5th and early 6th centuries—women and children (Meaney 1981, 68-69). The quality and quantity varies, but can generally be summarised as the earlier the grave, the fewer the beads, until the late 6th century when they become more common and in larger numbers within the grave (Owen-Crocker 2004, 87).

Like amethyst, amber was considered to have a plethora of beneficial properties, which could heal or prevent medical ailments to the head, throat, eyes, ears, stomach and female reproductive organs, as well as to ward away evil thoughts and spirits (Meaney 1982, 70-71; Owen-Crocker 2004, 87). The decrease in use by the mid-7th century has been interpreted as a closing of trade routes in the Baltic and North Sea regions (Meaney 1982, 68-9). However, an alternative explanation can be proposed, that amethyst may have been used as a symbolic replacement to amber that covered both the Pagan and Christian attributes described above.

(iv) Uncleby Bead Discussion

The Uncleby collection of beads fits within second half of the 7th century parameters. Specifically, the lack of amber and the inclusion of amethyst beads help to date the cemetery to the late 7th century. And while blue and green monochrome beads are found in Roman and Early Anglo-Saxon contexts, the limited number of beads within the graves also supports a later date rather than earlier.

While studying the individual assemblages, a pattern arose in respect to the bead dimensions. It appears that beads within each assemblage are respective to one another in size with minimal variation to diameter and thickness. The same sizing pattern can be seen in Sewerby graves that contain a number of monochrome beads—for example, beads from graves 8 and 12 had maximum difference of 0.2 cm (Hirst 1985, M1:F4-F5).

Whether the beads were commissioned for an individual, chosen from bulk by an individual, or even produced by the maker cannot be determined. However, it seems likely that the minimal variations in size and colour within the assemblages are due to the beads being made at the same time with the same 'batch' of material.

All but one of the bead-graves have been identified as either definitely female or most likely female. The only grave that cannot be confidently sexed is Grave 25, which contained a skull and nothing more (Smith 1912b, 150). There are two concentrated areas of bead-graves within the cemetery; five are in the south of the cemetery and six are in the east (fig. 19 and fig. 19). Within the graves, the most common location that was recorded from the excavation was at the neck or in front of the face (Smith 1912b). However, there are three anomalies to the general placements.

Grave 25 was recorded as having a glass bead that was found behind the head (Smith 1912b, 150). The bead in question cannot currently be accounted for, but a photograph taken in preparation of Leeds' 1936 publication shows a melon bead associated with the grave (see appendix 2). Grave 66 also had a somewhat unconventional placement/recording of the beads: "Behind the neck a silver ring with loop and three beads," (Smith 1912b, 153-4), however the arrangement is more than likely to have been caused by movement or shifting of the body, than as a deliberate placement. The final grave that has slight deviation from the norm is from Grave 3, which had a collection of beads around the neck, but also had two beads that were found under the right hip (Smith 1912b, 149).

6.2 Brooches and Fasteners

Number in Sample: 11	Graves: 3, 12, 31, 35, 43, 45, 62, 65

Associated/Given Typology:
Leeds Type G (1945); (Hirst types V, VI and VII (1985); Nielson Br3a-3 (2014).

(i) Description of Uncleby Brooches and Fasteners

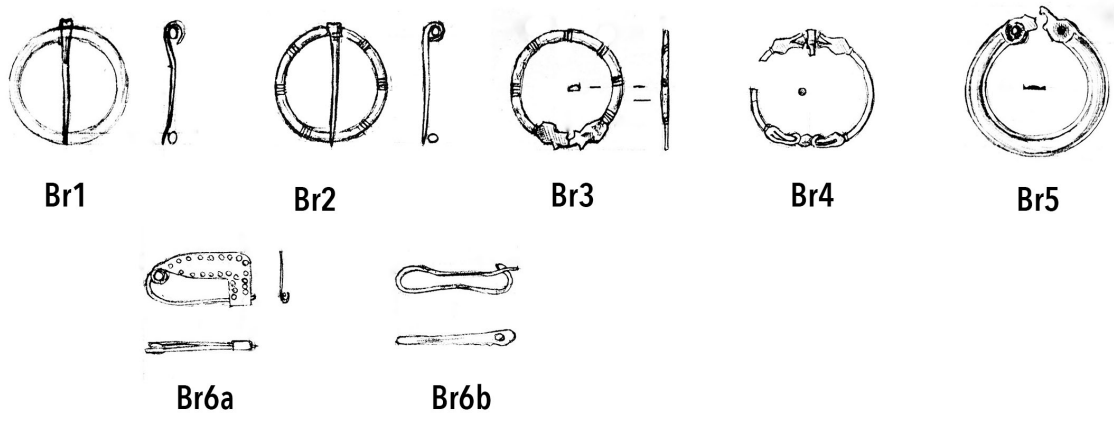


Figure 31 Brooch types from top left: Br1, Br2, Br3, Br4 and Br5; Bottom from left Br6a and Br6b (illustrated by N. Griffiths).

There are 11 brooches/fasteners in the Uncleby sample; nine of which are annular brooches, one 'safety pin' brooch, and lastly a curved fastener. All but one are made of copper alloy, with the remaining brooch made of silver. The annular brooches consist of five overall types, with four "pairs" scattered throughout the cemetery. For the purposes of this survey, the annular brooch types have been labelled Br1 through Br5 starting with the most basic/plain design and moving towards the more intricate.

The annular brooch type Br1 is the simplest of the Uncleby collection. Two examples were found in Grave 35 located in front of the face of a skeleton that was contracted on its left side. The diameters of the brooches are nearly the same; 35.1 at 2.39 cm, and 35.2 at 2.35 cm. Both have a 0.24 cm thickness. Both are round-sectioned, and show no sign of a seam indicating that the rings were cast. The slight variation in size is most likely due to corrosion. The loops for the fastening pins are flattened and wrapped around the rings, and are able to move around the ring freely. The pins have slight concave curves to them in the centre, with the pin terminating on the underside of the ring without extending past the ring.

Two similar brooches, 12.1 and 65.1, were found in the cemetery, and are here referred to as Br2 type. Unlike the Br1 type, these two brooches are decorated with evenly spaced clusters of transverse lines. The decoration is only on the surface of the ring, and does not continue to the underside. 12.1 has a diameter of 2.59 cm and a 0.3 cm thickness, and 65.1 is diameter 2.45 cm and of 0.24 cm tick. The ring of 65.1 is incomplete, with a small section on the top of the ring separate from the body. This could explain the difference in size, but most likely does not affect the measurements that were taken. Unlike the securing pins mentioned above, the points of the pins for Br2 extend past the ring; 12.1 extends approximately 0.0.4 cm past the end, and with the measurements associated with the pin and ring from 65.1, and approximate extension of 0.18 cm can be given. Both of the pins contain the same curve and loop as found in Br1, however the loop of the pin has been bent around a thinner notch in the ring in order to keep it from moving about the body.

The remaining brooches have zoomorphic elements in Salin Style II. The two brooches that are considered to be type Br3 have striking similarities, but also some slight differences. Current condition of the Br3 and Br4-type brooches makes a visual description difficult; therefore much of the information has been taken from the

Yorkshire Museum Trust's photographic archives of the Uncleby collection (appendix 2).

The first of the Br3 type to be discussed, 43.1; the ring has roughly the same diameter and thickness and types Br1 and Br2, with a diameter of 2.38 cm and a round-section thickness of 0.21 cm. Like Br2, the ring has been created with a pin-notch and groups of transverse lines. Unlike the previously discussed brooches, 43.1 has confronting animal heads opposite the pin-notch, where the pin would have rested between the mouths or beaks of the beasts. The terminals of the 'heads' have been flattened, while the ring remains round-sectioned. One of the terminals is now missing, but archived photographs show the brooch as complete. Bands of transverse lines are on either side of the pin-notch, above the heads, and then with a group in between the notch and the heads.

The second of the Br3 type, 45.1 has the same transverse decorations around the ring, and also has confronting animal heads. The only differences between 43.1 and 45.1 are the sizes—45.1 with a diameter of 2.77 cm—and that 45.1 does not have pin-notch opposite the animal heads. The brooch is now missing its pin, but it appears that a fragment of the pin was present when the archived photographs were taken. The photograph also shows the brooch as complete, possibly showing one of the beasts' mouths opening as if to swallow the other side. The current condition of the brooch is heavily corroded, with one of the terminals separated from the body of the ring.

Another set of zoomorphic brooches, Br4 (3.2 and 62.3), have a pair of Style II confronted birds. A circular feature joins the beaks of the birds, where the pin would have rested. Opposite the heads are what could be read as the tails of the creatures/birds, or the heads of another type of beast—perhaps a serpent, fish, or another style of bird—with the style sometimes described as a head with an open mouth (Hirst 1985, 56). Between the flared 'openings' of the mouth—or feathers depending on how it is visually interpreted—is a narrow round-sectioned band where the pin was attached. The zoomorphic features of the brooches are also flat, like those in the Br3 type, and attached to a round-sectioned ring. The ring is undecorated, aside from a band on either side of the primary decoration.

The rings of the brooches are thinner than the other annular brooch types that have been discussed—both with a thickness of 0.14 cm. Neither brooch is

complete; 3.2 is missing the 'tail' section of the brooch, and is also, therefore, missing the pin. Brooch 62.3 on the other hand is missing a small section of the ring, and the body of the pin—the loop of the pin remains attached between the 'tails' of the beasts.

The final annular, and zoomorphic, brooch to be discussed, Br5, is arguably the richest of the collection. Unlike the others, which are all made of copper alloy, 31.3 is made of silver and was set with two cabochon garnets—one of which is now missing. The ring is shallow D-sectioned with a width of 0.52 cm and a thickness of 0.12 cm. Its diameter is 3.34 cm, making it the largest annular brooch of the collection.

The overall design is similar to the Br3 type, with a pair of confronted zoomorphic heads—most likely birds—where the pin would have attached. The eyes of the animal were/are depicted with the above-mentioned garnets that were/are set with simple filigree or granules surrounding a plain, raised setting. The filigree and garnet are now missing from one of the terminals while the other is missing approximately two-thirds of the filigree. The central area between the heads where the pin would have attached is also missing.

What has been called a safety-pin brooch, and is here referred to a Br6-a, was discovered in Grave 43 (43.2). The plate, or bow as it is sometimes referred to, is flat and is decorated with punched circles along the edges of the plate. The plate has been flattened from a wire, which extends from the body of the brooch into a coil that then curves upward to rest in the catch-hook. The brooch measures 2.42 cm in length, and 1.2 cm wide. The plate has a thickness of 0.09 cm, while the wire is 0.13 cm thick. The brooch is copper alloy, and has small traces of gilding—most likely gold, but has been suggested as alternatively being silver gilt (Geake 1997, 55).

A small safety pin-like fastener, here referred to as Br6-b has been included in this section, 35.3. The object is made from a length of copper alloy wire that has round ends and a 'pinched' middle. One end of the wire has been flattened and punched through to create an opening for the hooked end to fit through and securely close.

(ii) Comparisons

As will be discussed below, there is some difficulty is positively identifying close examples of the annular brooches from Uncleby. This is primarily due to the

fact that there is little information available on annular brooch classifications; and therefore there is not uniformity in description or classification in archaeological reports.

One of the more difficult brooches to find comparisons for, strangely enough, is the small, plain annular brooch with a round-section (Br1). There are many examples of plain annular brooches that are either flat- or D-shaped (with a very flat underside), such as the pair excavated from Castledyke grave 98.

The same dilemma is met with finding comparisons with the Br2 type. While most small annular brooches are decorated with transverse lines, most of the examples that have been found for this study have D-shaped section, with the underside very flat. There is one definite parallel to the Br2-type from the Uncleby cemetery, which was found in Painsthorpe Wold Barrow 4.

In the discussion of Conversion period zoomorphic brooches, Geake noted five examples in her sample other than those found at Uncleby; Garton II grave 7, Sewerby grave 24, Castledyke grave 106, and a pair from a grave in Occaney Bay (Geake 1997, 52). The closest example of Br3 and Br4 types is the example from Sewerby, which is a penannular brooch. The brooch has a pair of confronting bird heads, which are the same style as the heads found on Br4—and probably the same as Br3, but with the corrosion it is difficult to state with certainty. The ring is decorated with groups of transverse lines, and is round-sectioned. In short, the Sewerby brooch is a near perfect composite of types Br3 and Br4.

The brooch from Castledyke grave 106 offers a good comparison to 31.1, or Br5. The Castledyke brooch has a shallow D-section, with two pairs of confronting bird heads in Style II with cabochon garnets set in the location of the eyes.

A number of safety pin brooches have been discovered. Nielson, for *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods,* has four of this type in her sample, and has classified them as her BR4 (2014, 223). Nielson does not include specific sites or objects, unlike Geake who notes ten examples; a bed burial from Swallowcliffe Down, Wiltshire with five nearly identical examples, Shudy Camps, Cambridgeshire with one, Kingston Down, Kent with 2, a *Grubenhäuser* at Mucking, Essex with one and the Uncleby example (1997, 35).

The Swallowcliffe Down examples are all made of silver and are decorated with groups of transverse lines on the surface of the plate (Speake 1989, 47). The plates are long and narrow with small protuberances on the top end, opposite the catch plate. Three of the pins are fragmentary, but the two complete pins both have a length of 3.1 cm (op. cit.).

The Kingston Down brooches were found near the left thigh of a female in grave 205 (Faussett 1856, 77-9; Owen Crocker 2004, 140). They are silver with narrow, triangular plates that are decorated with groups of transverse lines. The fixed wires of the brooches, or bow as it is sometimes called, have also been decorated with evenly spaced groups of transverse lines (White 1988, 40). Estimated measurements based on scaled photographs indicate that the brooches are between 3.6 cm and 3.8 cm in length with varying widths of 0.5 cm to 1 cm.

The Shudy Camp brooch is the closest parallel to the Uncleby example. The brooch is copper allow with a wider catch plate than the others. It also has a protuberance on the top end that curls over itself. Unlike the others, the plate is undecorated. The Shudy Camp fastener is approximately 3.4 cm in length, with the plate about 1cm - 1.5 cm long and 1 cm wide. There do not seem to be any direct parallels to 35.3, the curved fastener.

(iii) Brooch and Fastener Discussion

Classification

An overall study and discussion on simple annular brooches from the Conversion period is needed and will be explored in the following discussion, along with a proposed schema for these types of annular brooches. The most recent work to be done on the classification of brooches has come from the massive work edited by Hines and Bayliss (2013). However, as valuable as the overall work is, the classification on objects leaves much to be desired.

There is very little information available in regard to small, plain annular brooches, such as the Br1 and Br2 types discussed above. This lack of scholarship might be attributed to the frequency in which they occur throughout the Roman, early medieval, and periods beyond. To summarize Leeds, why focus on the 'minor antiquities' when one can study the 'richer and more pretentious material' (Leeds 1945, 2)?

According to the brooch section in Hines and Bayliss, Uncleby has only three brooch types, whereas what has been established above, there are at least six types from the cemetery. Prior to the Hines and Bayliss monograph, it appears that each author has attempted to create his or her own classification using Leeds (1945) as a starting point. Using this approach has drawbacks, primarily that Leeds also did not know what to do with the small annular brooches.

The discussion below on annular brooches is preceded by a classification of annular brooches that was begun by Leeds, ranging from types *a-g* (Table 9). If it had not been for the specific mention to Uncleby and Garton Slack, the annular brooches under discussion could have technically fallen under Leeds' Type *f*. However, given that he specifically set Uncleby and Garton Slack aside as examples of a different type of brooch would indicate that he did not consider them to be part of type *f*. Furthermore, the descriptions of type *g* and the unnamed type that follows, it seems clear that he is referring to two different styles of brooch. The small '1 inch' examples are described directly after the description of the flat brooches without a separate marking, which makes it seem as if the two types are linked, and which has led to confusion in annular brooch typologies and classifications.

Susan Hirst's excavation report of Sewerby attempted to clarify and simplify Leeds' classification of annular brooches (Table 9). By using his study as a starting point Hirst re-classified the brooches from Sewerby as flat-sectioned types I-IV, and round- or D- sectioned types V-VII.(1985, 55). All of the V-VII brooches are based on Leeds' Type *g*.

While Hirst attempted to be more detailed in her classifications, it still does not address the differences and variations of small annular brooches. All of the Uncleby brooches fall under her Type VII, defined as "Small brooches sometimes penannular in form and often with bird or animal head ornament, with rings decorated either are type V [large with transverse furrows] or VI [large bead-and-reel moulding], or plain" (1985, 55, 56). This description applies to four of the brooch types from the Uncleby cemetery (Br1, Br2, Br3 and Br4), all of which have different decorations and should be considered individually.

The study of annular brooches collected from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Castledyke, again, uses Leeds' classification as the primary basis for the discussion. While the report is thorough, the Leeds classification has been adapted in a different

manner than is seen in other work. Where Hirst used Leeds type *g* to describe her types as D- or round-sectioned (types V-VII), Drinkall has interpreted the *g*-type to be flat-section, and vice versa for type *f* (Hirst's types I-IV) (Drinkall 1998, 254-5). Again, this is easily attributed to the vagueness of Leeds' descriptions, but highlights the need for a unified classification of annular brooches. The small annular brooches from Castledyke appear to be considered as interpretations of Drinkall's type's *f* and *g*, with unspecified reference to Uncleby in the latter.

There is a major drawback that has now taken place in three attempted annular brooch classifications; the majority of these simple/common small brooches are all grouped together, despite their stylistic differences. The short descriptions of the types have now been shown, in one instance, to lead to possible problems in correctly or cohesively identifying annular brooch types, which could lead to being misrepresentative of dating. A comprehensive study and classification of these small brooches—and all annular brooches—would be a valuable tool for archaeologists; it could help refine the current suspected chronology, as well as identify possible trade or stylistic influences between Anglo-Saxon kingdoms/territories.

As far as can be deduced from the currently available classifications, it is possible that the small brooches can be given a more specific dating based on size, shape, manufacture technique and decoration. To better understand the morphology of the annular brooch in Anglo-Saxon England, the following is a general description of the types and their associated dates as described by the three leading examples of classifications (Tables 9-11):

Table 9 Leeds' and Hirst's annular brooch classifications (Leeds 1945, 46-9; Hirst 1985, 55)

Leeds' Types	Leeds' Description	Hirst's Types	Hirst's Descriptions	Associated Dates
a	Broad, flat penannular form that has an inner penannular ring which the pin is attached	*I* (Leeds' types *a-c*)	Flat-section, quoit brooch	Leeds: late 4th-5th cen. Hirst: first half of 5th cen.
b	Broad flat annular outer ring with has inner penannular ring which the pin is attached	*II* (Leeds' type *d*)	Small flat-section annular rings with resting notch	Leeds: 5th cen. Hirst: first half of 5th-early 6th cen.
c	Broad, flat annular ring with an opening in the inner edge for pin to attach with resting space opposite	*III* (Leeds' type *e*)	Large flat-section brooches with wide rings	Leeds: 5th cen. Hirst: 6th cen.
d	Smaller example of type *c*	*IV* (Leeds' type *e*)	Large flat-section brooches with narrow rings	Leeds: 5th cen. Hirst: 6th cen.
e	Similar to type *d*, but without the resting space—'always of a small size'	*V* (Leeds' type *g*)	Large D- or round-section rings decorated with transverse lines	Leeds: late 5th-early 6th cen. Hirst:
f	Narrow ring that is oval- or D-shaped in cross section, often decorated with bead-and-reel moulding	*VI* (Leeds' type *g*)	Large D- or round-section rings decorated with bead-and-reel moulding	Leeds: persistent through early Anglo-Saxon period Hirst:

g	Large, flat-section that is made in two widths; 1 cm or 5-7 mm	*VII* (Leeds' type *'g'*)	Small D-or round-section rings; decoration can be plain, with transverse lines, with bead-and-real, or more commonly with animal heads	Leeds: full Anglo-Saxon period Hirst: 7th cen.
'g' (or h?)	Small annular or penannular with average diameter of 1 in			Leeds: "Unquestionably late"

Table 10 Nielson's annular brooch classification (2013, 222-3; 367)

Nielson's Types	Description	Associated Date
Br3-a	Broad, flat annular where the diameter of the hole is less than half the total diameter	6th cen.
Br3-b	Moulded annular ring with flat back divided into small segments	Late 6th-early 7th cen.
Br3-c	Narrow, flat annular ring	6th cen.
Br3-d	Narrow, round-section annular ring	'later phase'—mid-7th-early 8th cen.?
B3-e	Annular ring with two or four animal heads	'later phase'—mid-7th-early 8th cen.?

As can be seen, the types are for the most part very general with generously assigned or questionable dates.

A more detailed classification of the small annular brooches is suggested below in table 11. The table of brooch types are referred to as Br1-5, with a brief description of the objects, and the classifications they were considered under in previous works:

Table 11 Hansen classifications of small annular brooches.

Hansen Type	Description	Other classifications
Br1	Plain annular brooch with round-section	Leeds: *g* Hirst: VII Nielson: Br3-d
Br2	Annular brooch with transverse lines decorating the ring, with round-section	Leeds: *g* Hirst: VII Nielson: Br3-d
Br3	Annular brooch with two zoomorphic features; the ring round-section with flat terminals (pseudo-penannular?)	Leeds: *g* Hirst: VII Nielson: Br3-e
Br4	Annular brooch with four zoomorphic features; the ring round-section with flat terminals (pseudo-penannular)	Leeds: *g* Hirst: VII Nielson: Br3-e
BR5	Annular brooch with two zoomorphic features; shallow D-section with flat underside (could be re-defined by material depending on other examples)	Leeds: *g* Hirst: VII Nielson: Br3-e

Function

The function of brooches is fairly straightforward; they were used as dress fasteners, although Geake notes that they could have been used to secure hair in a ponytail (Geake 1997, 54). As clothing fashions changed, so did the appearance and function of brooches; up until the 7th century brooches were used in pairs to secure cloaks or *peplos*-type garments, and were typically larger than the types that are being considered in this discussion (Owen Crocker 2004, 42-54). A *peplos* is a tubular garment that is fastened at the shoulder(s) with a single or pair of brooches, depending on the desired style of the wearer. The shoulder brooches would not have necessarily been a matching pair, and based on the archaeological evidence brooches of approximately the same size would have also been used (op. cit., 42).

Archaeology of graves dated to the second half of the 7th century reveals that brooches are less commonly found in pairs, and also less commonly found in female graves, suggesting that clothing fashion changed from the *peplos*-style to a tunic-like garment (Owen Crocker 2004, 150). Part of the new fashion was for

women to cover their heads by securing a veil-like piece of cloth to their outer garment with, according to Owen Crocker, a set of matching pins (or link pins) (op. cit., 148).

Owen-Crocker notes a Byzantine influence to clothing in the 7th century, which led to the use of a single larger and richer polychrome brooch to secure a cloak (Owen Cocker 2004, 147-148). She also observed that open cloaks or wraps would have been popular in the 7th century, and would not have been secured by brooches or pins (op. cit.). The fashions discussed by Owen Crocker do not seem to take into consideration the substantial amount of small annular brooches that have been found that date to the period.

It is possible to rectify this oversight by suggesting that the veil or head covering could have been worn independently of a cloak or wrap, and could have been secured with a single pin or brooch at the neck or side of the head—similar to a *hijab*. A majority of the small annular brooches are found near the head or shoulder of the remains, which could support the notion of the brooches used to fasten head coverings. Equally, the location of the brooches in the graves could convey a continued use as a cloak or dress fastener for thinner fabric, given that the size of the brooches may have been too insubstantial for thicker or heavier garments.

Figure 32 Detail of female-cloaked figures on the Franks Casket. Left: side panel, detail of primary cloaked figure with brooch. Right: front panel, detail of two females without obvious signs of brooches or fastening. Image courtesy of the British Museum (BM 1867.0120.1) .

The Franks Casket, which dates to the 8th century and has suggested Northumbrian associations, has two depictions of the cloak and singular brooch fastening, one of which is interpreted as a woman based on the length of the skirt

(fig. 32 left). The brooch is identifiable as a large circular object that is carved between the cloak edges at the chest or shoulder. The remaining four female-cloaked figures, from two separate scenes, do not have a brooch depiction, which follows Owen-Crocker's suggestion of an open-cloak fashion for the 7th century (Owen-Crocker 2004, 148-150) (fig. 32).

The scenes of the casket are not meant to represent contemporary events, but rather illustrate scenes from the Christian and Jewish traditions as well as Germanic mythology, folklore, and/or religious beliefs. The stories that are depicted would have been historical at the time that the carving was done, which could make contemporary fashion difficult to analyse, as the craftspeople could have been attempting to convey a sense of historic fashion. With that said, the depictions of the cloak fastened with a large single brooch were most likely contemporary in certain regions or wealthier groupings, but as stated above, by the 7th century the fashion had changed to having an open cloak or pin-link-set used to secure the cloak.

Looking at other depictions of dress from the Anglo-Saxon period, female head coverings were elaborately wrapped and draped, but do not show if there was a brooch or pin used to secure the fabric. This could suggest that the pins were either hidden within the folds or they were small enough not to warrant the detail. The depiction of St Etheldreda from the *Benediction of St Æthelwold*, dated to the 10th century, shows the saint with very elaborated head coverings (fig. 33). From the image it can be shown that the figure is wearing two separate pieces of fabric on her head; the first layer, which could be referred to as a wimple, was most likely plain cotton or linen, while the second layer, which was worn as a mantle of sorts, would have been a richer fabric of some sort and probably decorated with embroidery (Owen Crocker 2004, 148-150).

Figure 33 Detail of St Etheldreda from the Benedictional of St Æthelwold (British Library Add/MS/49598).

Again, the problem arises in attempting to depict the dated fashions; is the image representative of what St Etheldreda would have worn in the 7th century, or does the doubled head-covering represent 10th century fashion? There is yet another example of headdress and cloaks that may help to further inform on the discussion at hand; an ivory panel that dates to the 8th century (fig. 34). The *Genoels Elderen Panel* has four women with three different styles of cloak and/or head coverings. The figure on the far left is shown with fabric wound round the head like a turban, and a cloak fastened with a single large circular brooch. The figure on the far right is shown with a wrapped and draped headdress, and what is most likely a mantle or small open cloak placed on the shoulders. The two central figures have similar headdresses to that shown on St Etheldreda, complete with an under-wrap/wimple.

Figure 34 Detail of women *from Genoels Elderen* Ivory panel (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Musées du Cinquantenaire, no. 1474)

Because the wimple and mantle are seen in two different depictions from two different dates, it is not overly presumptuous to suggest that head coverings, single or double, were considered the norm for women of a certain class (maybe the double is reserved for Christian iconography?). Given the elaborate nature of the folds, it seems logical that pins or fasteners would have been used to help secure the garment, whether for function or fashion would have been up to the individual.

The primary dating context of the safety pins suggests manufacture and use throughout the 7th century (Geake 1997, 56). The safety pin has generated interesting discussions about form and function. Of the recorded examples that have been found in graves, they have all been found near the hip or thigh—some of them, such as Swallowcliffe Down, contained in a casket or bag—leading White to believe that the pins were used for 'undergarments or girdles' (White 1988, 41). Geake offers an alternative suggestion; that the safety pin brooches were used in the same way as modern safety pins, as quick fasteners to keep on hand, or possibly that they had amuletic significance (Geake 1997, 56).

Geake's suggestions validates an important aspect of the pins that White may have overlooked; that a majority of them were made of silver, and those that were made of copper alloy were frequently tinned, or gilded. The quality of the material and decoration would scarcely serve any purpose if these objects were hidden from view as fasteners for undergarments. Granted, an objection can be made with this argument in that it is making an assumption that silver and gold (imitated or not) are usually reserved for objects that can be displayed. It is exactly on that presumption that they can probably be excluded from undergarment use—why go through the trouble to replicate a silver or gold object only to have it hidden beneath a tunic?

(iv) Uncleby Brooch Discussion

The majority of annular brooches were described as being found near the head/neck of the deceased, as can be seen in the table below (Table 12). The other annular brooches were found at the shoulder. The safety pin brooch and similar curved fastener were both described as being found near the hip or waist. The location of the brooches in the graves corresponds with similar finds from other sites of the period.

Table 12 Uncleby brooch-grave information

Grave/Brooch	Position of Body	Location of brooch	No. of other grave goods
3.2 (Br4)	Contracted Right	Found on shoulder	7 +
12.1 (Br2)	Contracted Right	Found on shoulder	0
31.3 (Br5)	Contracted Right	In front of neck	11-12
35.1-2 (Br1)	Contracted Left	In front of face	5
35.3 (Br6-b)		At waist	
43.1 (Br3)	Contracted Right	At the neck	1
43.2 (Br6-a)		At hip	

45.1 (Br3)	Contracted Left	At breast	2+
62.3 (Br4)	Contracted Right	In front of face	13+
65.1 (B2)	Contracted	Left of head	3

The location of the annular brooches would seem to confirm Owen Crocker's suggestion of veils or head coverings. Below are a series of images that are meant to represent possible uses of the brooches for securing a veil or head covering, based on descriptions of graves (fig. 35). The representations are based on Owen-Crocker's descriptions (both written and illustrated), as well as the archaeological record from Uncleby and art historical representations from the 8th to 10th centuries. There are three suggested ways in which the headscarf could have been worn and secured with a single or pair of small annular brooches, although there are undoubtedly other ways in which the garment could have been worn.

The first example depicts a very simple way of wearing the head covering, either as a base layer or simple wimple. A piece of fabric would have covered the hair, ears and neck of the wearer and could have been secured by pins or brooches near the temple, or by wrapping a section of fabric in front of the neck and secured at the side with a single or pair of brooches. The second example shows a very simple hood that is secured with a single small annular brooch. The concept is the same as with a cloak, but for a finer fabric that could be worn independently of outerwear. The third example follows the same idea the previous examples, with a loose hood/covering with excess fabric wrapped around the neck and secured at the side.

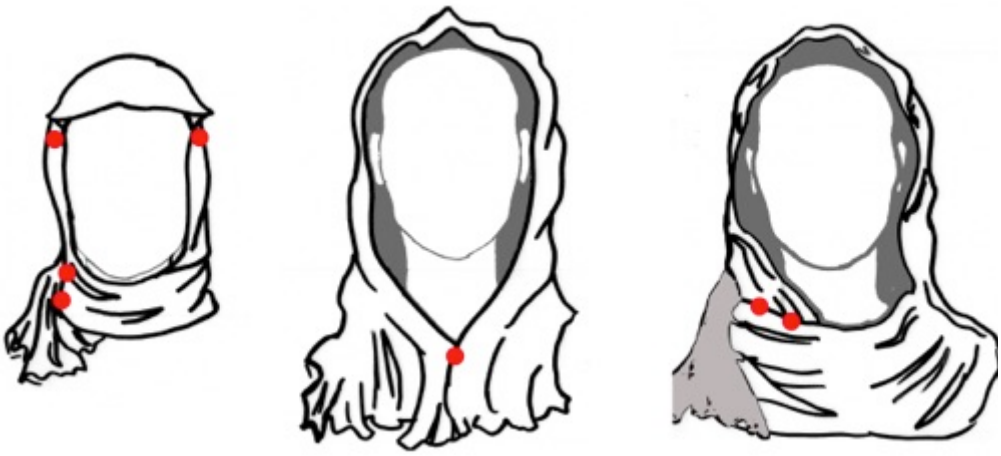


Figure 35 Reconstruction of headdresses with possible brooch locations based on location of brooches found in graves, from left: wimple or simple covering with brooches at temple or side of neck; simple head covering with single brooch below neck; wrapped head covering with brooch(es) at clavicle.

The fact that there are graves that share similar (if not identical) brooches led to the question of familial or social connections based on the style of the brooches. After reviewing the data, there do not appear to be any patterns associated with brooch-graves that could support, or dispute, the theory (there is not enough available information to make any kind of conclusion). All of the brooch-graves were found in the southern half of the barrow, with five in the west and three in the south/south-east.

Graves 35 and 43 both contained the Br6 type of fasteners, and were buried next to one another back-to-back. The annular brooches that were found in the graves do not have zoomorphic details. Aside from the brooches and fasteners, there are no other similar objects associated with the graves.

As Table 12 demonstrates, most of the graves were found with other grave goods, only grave 12 was void of other material. Beads—presumably necklaces in most cases—were discovered in five graves (3, 31, 43, 45 and 62), making them the most commonly associated object with the brooches, followed by knives which were found in four of the brooch-graves, grave 43 being the exception.

Given the number of buckles that were found in the cemetery (see below), it is surprising that only one of the eight brooch-graves contained a buckle as well. Grave 31 has by far the greatest variety of grave goods; aside from beads and knives, the grave also contained two silver pins, a gold pendant, a copper alloy bowl, a spatula tool, and miscellaneous fragments (or unidentifiable objects) of copper alloy

and iron. Compared to other graves from Uncleby, grave 31 can be considered a rich grave, or high status for the 'community'. A further discussion on the importance of this grave and collection of objects will be discussed in the following chapter.

6.3 Buckles

Number in Sample: 17 or 18 (out of 26)	Graves: *9*, 10, 13, 16, *23*, 31, 37, 42, *44*, *47*, *48*, 49, 53, *57*, 58, *59*, 60, 61, *64*, *66*, *67*, *68*, *I*

A variety of buckles were found in twenty-three graves from the Uncleby cemetery, of which only twelve of the buckles have been re-associated with their graves. Six of the buckles/loops are made of copper alloy, with the remaining 16 or seventeen made of iron. As much as possible the following descriptions loosely follow Marzinzik's typology (2003). Her work on buckles is very comprehensive, and for the purposes of this study the Types and Typegroups that Marzinzik created will be used. The two other classifications of buckles will be mentioned throughout the text, but will be discussed in the general buckle discussion below.

(i) Uncleby Buckle Description

Copper Alloy Buckles

All but one of the copper alloy buckles, 58.1, has a plate. The 58.1 loop is a common D-shape, like all of the other copper alloy buckles in the sample, with an extended tongue that curves over the edge of the loop. This falls under Marzinzik's type-group I.10d-*ii* (the I.10d-*ii* type is defined as being D- to oval-shaped with the axis of the loop only being slightly straighter than the curves top of the loop) (Marzinzik 2003, 30).

Three of the copper alloy buckles from Uncleby are considered to be the 'small simple' type (Geake 1997, 79) whereas under the Marzinzik classification they fall under types from II.24 (Marzinzik 2003, 51-52). The main characteristic of this buckle type is having a small square or rectangular plate that is sometimes decorated, and usually has one to three rivets at the far end of the plate. In the Uncleby examples two of the buckles, 37.1 and 49.1 have simple decoration with the remaining buckle, 10.1 undecorated.

Table 13 Descriptions of Marzinzik's buckle classification (2003).

Type II.24— *Small buckles with small rectangular or square plates*	**II.24a—** *Buckles with small rectangular plates* -narrow and long oval shaped loops -can be decorated, usually with incised lines -plate widths of 1 cm -3cm -plates usually have three rivets located at the far end	**II.24b-*i & -ii*—** *Buckles and plates that are smaller than 24a.* *i:* -plates are thin and strip-like -usually less than 2 cm wide -can have one or two rivets *ii:* -plates are much smaller than 24a; have narrow and very short plates -most are less than 1.5 cm long -Usually less than 2 cm wide

Buckle 10.1 is the simplest of the Uncleby examples and falls into Typegroup II.24a (Table 13). The plate is folded over the axis of the loop and secured by three rivets on the far edge. It is possible that the buckle was tinned or gilded, as there appear to be traces of this on the underside of the loop and plate—but this could also be translated as discolouration from corrosion and conservation.

The most elaborate buckle of the three is 37.1 and also is considered to be Typegroup II.24a. Again, the plate has been wrapped around the axis of the loop and secured at the far end with rivets—however 37.1 has four evenly spaced rivets rather than three. The far edge was also given a decorative treatment of minute scalloping. In the centre of the plate are a group of five incised lines that cross the width of the plate. Faint traces of lines can also be seen between the rivets and scalloped end. The plate was entirely gilded, with most of the surface still covered—interestingly, the back of the plate retains more gilt and brilliance than the front of the plate. Another feature that separates this buckle from the other two examples is the decorated loop, which has been incised with groups of transverse lines, similar to those seen on the Br2 brooch type (see above).

Buckle 49.1 differs from the other two examples due to its smaller size. Although it has the same characteristics as the II.24a type, Marzinzik would most likely place the buckle in the II.24b-ii Typegroup. The buckle has a narrow plate that has been folded over the axis of the loop and riveted together at the far end with

three copper alloy rivets. The back of the plate is now missing, and a looped plate around the loop suggests a repair made in its functional lifetime. A pair of parallel lines has been incised in the centre of the plate that run from the loop to the end, with a pair of lines also running the length on either edge.

Buckle 42.1 has many of the same characteristics as those mentioned above; a D-shaped loop, a copper alloy plate that is folded over the axis of the loop and secured with a rivet. However, the primary differences are that the plate tapers at the far end to create a rounded triangular shape and is then secured with a single iron rivet. According to Marzinzik's classification, the plate shape would suggest type II.18a, (2003, 45).

The final copper alloy buckle to be discussed is 31.8; an openwork buckle that was made from a single cast and fits neatly into Type II.26 (Marzinzik 2003, 53). The D-shaped loop is clearly part of the plate, with no signs of soldering or corroded attachment. The plate is approximately 4.45 cm in length and 1.8 cm wide. The plate ends with nicks on both edges and tapers into an embellishment that is now lost—as will be briefly discussed below, the plate could have terminated with a subtle decorative element or animal heads. The openwork decoration consists of a cross shape between inverted T-shapes. The shape at the far end could be either a T or another cruciform, however the rounded end of the plate is missing and therefore the shape is incomplete. A single rivet can be seen between the openwork shapes at the far end of the buckle, perhaps as part of a repair. The surface of the plate is also decorated with punched ring-and-dot motif, respecting the edges of the openwork design and the edges of the plate. The thin side of the plate has intervals of gadrooning (or rope-like twisting) evenly spaced around the edge.

Iron Buckles

Most of the iron buckles fall into two types; I.11a, which refers specifically D-shape loops that are slightly oval, and II.24a, which has been discussed above. There are two exceptions to the iron buckles; one of which is Unc11, that is a D-shaped loop but is very narrow in cross section compared to type I.11 and the other is 37.3, which is an fragmentary circle with a cross pin that is too large to be considered a brooch and is therefore thought to be a buckle of the I.12 type—a circular loop which tends to be a relatively common find (Marzinzik 2003, 34).

Because of the heavy corrosion to the iron objects, very little detail can be given at this time. Therefore the prescription of the classification to the loops cannot be held as definite, but best efforts have been made. Aside from the two iron loops that have already been mentioned in the above paragraph, five other loops were found at Uncleby—16.2, 53.1, 60.1, Unc12 and Unc14—that did not have plates associated with them. All of the loops appear to be shallow D-shape morphing towards oval, which is consistent with I.11a.

Marzinzik does not deal with plates as individual entities, so the objects that are here thought to be plates have been ascribed classification based on the same criteria as if they had their loops and are therefore considered classed as II.24a types given their shape and size. Three complete iron buckles were discovered, 44.1, 61.1 and Unc15, all of which are considered II.24a. All three examples have narrow oval-shaped loops with rectangular plates that fold over the axis, however Unc15 stands out from the group as also having a series of indentation on the underside of the back plate that are similar in shape and size to grains of rice, probably impressions of larvae.

The two remaining iron buckles are recognizable by their folded double plates and rectangular shape. Buckle 13.2 is the only iron buckle example to have a sample of textile fused to the surface. Woven fabric in a light or natural colour can be seen covering the (under?) plate, with traces of embroidery in a reddish colour. The embroidered decoration may represent flora, but cannot wholly be determined. The other buckle/plate, Unc13 is heavily corroded, but a front and back plate can be determined, with one of the far ends rounded.

(ii) Comparisons

Small simple buckles, like most of the Uncleby examples, were found to be the second most common grave good in Geake's sample of Conversion period grave goods (Geake 1997, 79). Geake's samples contained 275 of the 'small simple buckles', and eighty 'miscellaneous'. Small simple bucklers are defined as being no wider than 2 cm, have oval- or D-shape loops and are undecorated and can be iron and/or copper alloy, or silver—iron being the most common (Geake 1997, 79). On the other hand, miscellaneous buckles include openwork buckles, buckles with 'serrated' edges, and buckles with decoration of any kind (Geake 1997, 78-9).

The Castledyke cemetery yielded a total of 57 buckles, primarily made of iron (34 in total) and copper alloy (18 in total) (Drinkall 1998, 271-2). Drinkall noted that of the eighteen copper alloy buckles, only four were of the simple-type that have three rivets securing the plate. Two of the plates (graves 18 and 135) were decorated with incised cross-hatching, which can be considered part of the common decorative motif of incised lines that are frequently found in the Conversion Period (Geake 1997, 78; Drinkall 1998, 272).

Openwork buckles are not as frequent a find, but seem to be more common in Kent (Geake 1997, 79). The closest comparison to 31.8 is a buckle excavated at Breech Down, Kent (BM 1879.0524.54). The Breech Down buckle is 5.6 cm in length—only 0.6 cm shorter than the Uncleby example—and is decorated with two openwork cruciform motifs surrounded with ring-and-dot. The loop of the buckle has two sets of incised lines on either side of the tongue rest, and has small traces of remaining gilt. The end of the buckle terminates in what could be described as exaggerated scalloping or a robust, double-hump.

There are several other examples of openwork buckles, but perhaps the most similar to the Breech Down and Uncleby examples is a buckle that was found in Kingston Down grave 300. The buckle has an openwork pattern of four 'T' shapes—similar to those commonly found in cloisonné work from the period—with the stems meeting in the middle to create a pseudo-cruciform. Again, the openwork is surrounded with ring-and-dot motif. However, unlike the other examples that have been mentioned, the loop of the Kingston Down buckles is also decorated with ring-and-dot. The Kingston Down buckle is also brought into the current discussion because of the terminating animal heads that take the form of confronting boar heads. Given the missing end of 31.8, there is a possibility that the buckle could have also ended with a zoomorphic element; however, it is unlikely that a definitive answer will be found.

(iii) Broader discussion of buckles

The majority of buckles that have been discussed thus far fall under Geake's 'small simple buckles' (1997, 79), Marzinzik's Typegroup II.24a (2003, 51-2, 54) and Nielson's types Bu7 and Bu9 (2014, 145). The common defining characteristics of the types are that the buckles are all 2 cm in width or less, have D- or oval-shaped loops,

and have plates that fold over the axis of the loop to be attached to the strap/belt. Of course, there is flexibility to the already mentioned classifications, for example, some of the buckles in Geake's 80 examples of 'miscellaneous' include buckles that fit the above mentioned characteristics, but differ due to decoration or embellishment to the plate and/or loop (Geake 1997, 78). In order to avoid confusion in the following discussions, the term 'small buckle(s)' will be used when referring to a plain or decorated buckle that have a rectangular folded plate and/or D- or oval shaped loop.

Evidence gathered from cemeteries dating to the 7th century indicates that belts became narrower than the previous centuries, usually being no more than 2 cm in width (Geake 1997, 78-9; Marzinzik 2003, 51-4; Owen-Crocker 2004, 154). While there are examples of wider belts/buckles dating from this period, particularly associated with sites in Kent (and males), the overall trend appears to be for thin waist belts with metal buckles, or in the case of graves without buckles, a knotted belt or no belt at all (Owen-Crocker 2004, 154).

Geake, Marzinzik and Nielson all noted that iron was the prominent material associated with simple buckles, followed by copper alloy, and a small number of silver or unidentified material (Geake 2007, 79; Marzinzik 2003, 51; Nielson 2013, 146). Unlike a majority of Anglo-Saxon grave goods which have been commonly associated with a specific gender—such as workboxes for women and weapons for men—buckles do not seem to be a gender or age specific object (Geake 1997, 79). When the data has been further analysed to see if there is a certain material that is more common with male or female, Nielson noted that Bu7 (simple buckles with three or more rivets at the far end) and Bu9 (similar to the Bu7 type, but usually with fewer rivets) buckles that were made of iron were greater in confidently sexed male graves, and copper alloy buckles had a preponderance to female sexed graves (Nielson 2013, 146).

Openwork buckles present a slight problem when trying to give a comprehensive overview of statistics. The three classifications that are being relied on in this work all offer different numbers within their samples, most of which don't overlap. For example, Geake notes nine openwork buckles, whereas Marzinzik has three and Nielson four (Geake 1997, 78-9; Marzinzik 2003, 53, 226; Nielson 2013, 145). Geake and Marzinzik both note that openwork buckles are more frequently

found in Kent, but that there are examples north of the Thames, and that they are found more or less equally in male and female graves (op. cit.).

Openwork buckles are always cast as a single piece and are made of copper alloy. The primary design of the perforations has been remarked upon as possibly being symbolic of Christianity due to the frequency of cruciform shapes that are either obviously made or decoratively implied (Evison 1956, 93). It is presumed that the buckles would have been adhered to a colourful textile or leather strap, to allow the colour to show through the openings (Owen-Crocker 2004, 152). As was suggested in the description of 31.8, the same stepped or T-shapes can be found in the cell work of cloisonné. Evison reached the same conclusion, and went so far as to suggest a garnet coloured strap (woven textile or dyed leather) could have been used to emulate the gold and garnet cells (Evison 1956, 93). However, an openwork buckle from Mt Pleasant (Kent) was found with a piece of organic material (bone, horn or ivory) attached as a back plate, which alludes to the variety of decoration that the buckle could provide (Marzinzik 2003, 53).

Buckle loops without plates are also frequent finds throughout the Conversion Period. Marzinzik and Nielson included loops in their classifications; Nielson with a single entry of Bu8 (oval or slightly D-shaped loops) (2014, 146) and Marzinzik devoting the first half of her buckle classification to loops (2003, 17-35). Moving directly to the relevant section, the loops that are associated with the current discussion fall under Marzinzik's Typegroups I.*10d-ii* (buckles with D- to oval shaped loops) and I.11*a* (buckles with oval loops) (Marzinzik 2003, 31, 32). According to Marzinzik, oval loops are the most commonly found loops, with a sample size of 204 (op. cit.). Nielson combined the D- and oval shaped loops to get a sample size of 108, most of which were iron (Nielson 2013, 146).

The Marzinzik classification looks at the size of the buckle types to help create a chronology. Generally speaking, smaller oval and D-shaped buckles are considered to be of a later date, with the definition of 'late' referring to late 6th through 7th century (Marzinzik 2003, 32, 34). Consideration for the prescribed date was also based on the fabric of the buckle, with a slightly higher concentration of a specific shape, such as I.10*d*, that had a higher volume of copper alloy examples than other types or typegroups (op. cit.).

The dating of the buckles to the 7th century is consistent with Owen Crocker's views on the changes to female dress in the second half of the century. Contemporary (or near contemporary) depictions of women show the garments to be loose and draped, and none are shown with a buckle (Owen Crocker 2004, 153). However, there are examples of dress, roughly from the period, that depicts girdles (usually a narrow length of woven, braided or knotted textile) wrapped around the waist of the woman (Owen-Crocker 2004).

When discussing buckles from this period, the term should also include examples that consisted of the loop only. Marzinzik and Nielson include the 'loop only' buckle in their classifications and discussions, which would imply that they are. The lack of a plate does not necessarily indicate a fragmentary buckle, but rather demonstrates the movement towards leather or textile straps that could have been braided, sewn or knotted around the axis of the loop (Owen-Crocker 2004, 152).

(iv) Uncleby Buckle Discussion

Twenty-two of the buckles were found near the waist or hip. Because of the somewhat vague details about the locations of artefacts in relationship to the body, it is here considered that the terms waist and hip were used interchangeably. Due to the location of these 22 buckles in the graves, it is safe to assume that they were used as fastening devices for narrow belts that were worn around the middle of the trunk. The absence of buckles in graves does not necessarily indicate that the costume was not cinched or belted, but could suggest a belt or girdle that was knotted rather than buckled (Owen-Crocker 2004, 152).

Two graves, 37 and 48, contained buckles that were not found at the waist or hip area. In the case of grave 37, the copper alloy buckle (37.1) was found 'behind the shoulder'—presumably the right shoulder given that the individual was buried in a contracted position on the right side. Buckle 37.1 is the most elaborate of the simple buckle types found in the cemetery, with surface decoration, scalloped edges and (surviving) gilding. The excavation notes state that the remains of grave 37 were described as female, which poses some intrigue as to the function of the buckle in this instance (Smith 1912b, 151).

The most obvious suggestion would be that the buckle was part of a baldric or harness. However, this interpretation would suggest that the grave is male, citing

the discussion of belts and harnesses given by Owen-Crocker in which she does not make mention or reference to them in female contexts (2004, 152-3, 196). In this context, the buckle would have been prominently displayed, although it does not account for the location on the back of the body which would have been difficult for the wearer to fasten and unfasten on their own.

The second buckle from grave (37.3) was described as being found behind the head (Smith 1912b, 151). Buckle 37.3 is not typical of the other examples found in the cemetery, as it is the only circular example. The overall shape and size are similar to small annular brooches, however the tongue is atypical of brooch pins, and has more in common with buckle tongues, which is why it is here considered to be a buckle. Again, the function of the buckle is unclear, but could be construed as being a strap adjuster for a baldric or harness. Equally, the buckle in question could have been used as a hair accessory used to put the hair into a ponytail, as suggested for possible brooch uses by Geake (1997, 54).

The remaining buckle that was not found near the waist came from grave 48, and does suggest that it was used to fasten a baldric/harness. The iron buckle was found at the breast, along with a knife (Smith 1912b, 152). The buckle that was retrieved from grave 48 is currently unaccounted for, but could possibly be Unc13 or Unc15—the only unassociated iron buckles that have a loop and plate.

Unc15 offers some possible insight into the burial process for that individual (or general burial practices). As mentioned above in the description section, the underside of the plate has a scattering of grain-shaped impressions that have here been interpreted as evidence of larva/pupae. Further investigation is needed into identifying the type of pupae that left impressions in the buckle, which will help in creating a timeline for the burial rites associated with this individual. For example, larvae that were identified in artefacts retrieved from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Snape (Suffolk) are commonly associated with corpses that have begun the deterioration process and can burrow into the soil in order to lay eggs, which does not support or reject a 'display' period of the body prior to burial (Robinson 1996, 88-89).

Eleven out of the 23 buckle-graves can be sexed based on the (presumable) biological evidence that was produced by Greenwell/Smith (Smith 1912b), and the presence of gender-specific grave goods (such as weapons for males and jewellery

for females). Six male (graves 9, 48, 61, 64, 67 and 68) and five female (graves 13, 31, 49, 57 and 66) graves have been identified, with another grave that is most likely female (grave 42) (Table 14).

Table 14 Buckle-grave information showing material and gender.

Gender	Copper Alloy	Iron	Unspecified	Total
Male	0	6	0	6
Female	2	1	1	4
Unknown/Uncertain	4	7	2	13
Total	6	14	3	23

Iron is the dominant buckle material in the Uncleby sample, with over half of the buckles being made of the material. Most of the iron buckles were associated with male graves—again the sex/gender interpreted via biological analysis at the time of excavation, or based on accepted gender specific objects. Interestingly, there were zero accounts of copper alloy buckles associated with male graves. Granted, three of the copper alloy buckle-graves do not yield enough information to determine sex/gender, and could be either.

Three of the graves contained two buckles; grave 57, which is interpreted as being female, and graves 37 and Grave I which are uncertain. Both of the unsexed graves are recorded as having iron and copper alloy buckles; the material of the two buckles from grave 57 remains unclear, but are likely to have been iron, given the prominence of iron compared to copper alloy in the sample, and that the five unassociated buckles are iron.

Out of the 23 buckle-graves, other potential patterns emerge, for example 17 of the graves contained remains that were contracted on the right side, four that were contracted on the left, one extended, and one that is described as having the lower half of the body contracted to the right, and the upper half of the body supine (Table 15).

Table 15 Buckle-grave information pertaining to sex, body position and assemblage.

Grave	Gender	Buckle Material	Position of Body	Location of Buckle	Grave Goods	No. of Grave Goods
G9	*M*	*Fe*	*Con R*	*Hip*	*K, W, AeFr*	*3*
G10	---	Ae	Con L	Waist	K, St	2
G13	F	Fe	Con R	Waist	B(s), Pen, K	3
G16	---	Fe	Con R	Hip	K	1

G23	---	*Fe*	*Con R*	*Waist*	*K, FeFr*	*2*
G31	F	Ae	Con R	---	WB (2), Br, AgP (2), B(s), Pen, Bwl, K, St, FeFr	11
G37	---	Ae	Con R	Behind Shoulder	B	1
		Fe		Behind Head		
G42	F (?)	Ae	Con L	Hip	K	1
G44	---	Fe	Con R	Hip	---	0
G47	---	*Fe*	*Con L*	*Waist*	---	*0*
G48	*M*	*Fe*	*Con R*	*Breast*	*K*	*1*
G49	F	Ae	Con R	Waist	---	0
G53	---	Fe	Con R	Waist	K, FeFr	2
G57	*F*	---	*Ext*	*Waist*	*K, AeFr, GlFr*	*3*
		---		*Waist*		
G58	---	Ae	Con R	Hip	FeFr	1
G59	---	---	*Con R*	*Hip*	*P, FeFr*	*2*
G60	F (?)	Fe	Con R	Waist	K, AeFr	2
G61	M	Fe	Con R	Waist	K, W, AeFr	3
G64	*M*	*Fe*	*Con R*	*Hip*	*K, AeFr*	*2*
G66	*F*	*Fe*	*Con R*	*Waist*	*AgR, B(s), FeCh, AeMisc, St*	*5*
G67	*M*	*Fe*	*Con R*	*Hip*	*K, St*	*2*
G68	*M*	---	*Deviant*	*Waist (?)*	*K, W*	*2*
Gl	---	*Ae*	*Con L*	*Waist*	*K (2)*	*2*
		Fe		Waist		

All but three of the graves contained grave goods, with the most common being a knife, with 17 examples. The richest of the buckle-graves is grave 31, which contained 11 other graves goods, including one or two workboxes, a large bronze bowl and an assortment of jewellery. The buckle from the grave is the only openwork buckle to come from the cemetery. The quantity and quality of the grave assemblage, which included silver and gold objects, would suggest a higher social and/or economic standing within the community. As discussed above, openwork buckles have been dated to the last quarter of the 7th century, and are predominantly found in Kent. The buckle, as well as the gold pendant and silver annular brooch, may suggest a Kentish connection. Whether or not the connection is through relocation of the individual or commerce is uncertain.

6.4 Bowl

Number in Sample: 1	Grave: 31

While only one bowl was recovered, it is unique enough to warrant a small discussion in this chapter.

(i) Bowl Description

The Uncleby bowl was found in at least 30 fragments, primarily consisting of thin copper allow sheet that made up the body of the vessel, a drop handle, and a ring stand with four prongs (see appendix 2, fig. 117). The bowl was reconstructed in the 1970s, with the original material, and with an unspecified/unknown material, that is probably some form of fiberglass (YMT archive).

The original bowl was made with very thin copper alloy sheet that had a wide, flat rim. A substantial section of the bowl bottom survives, and is incised with very fine and evenly spaced concentric circles. The rectangular drop handle has a banded embellishment in the centre, and small applied 'elbow patches' on the corners. Each end of the handle bends 90-degrees outwards and has a round section, but transitions to D-shape section for the rest of the handle. The foot ring of the bowl would have had four feet, but currently only has three. It is undecorated. Missing from the bowl are presumably a second handle, and maybe escutcheons that would have attached to handle to the bowl; the handle was fixed to the body of the vessel at the time of its reconstruction.

(ii) Comparisons

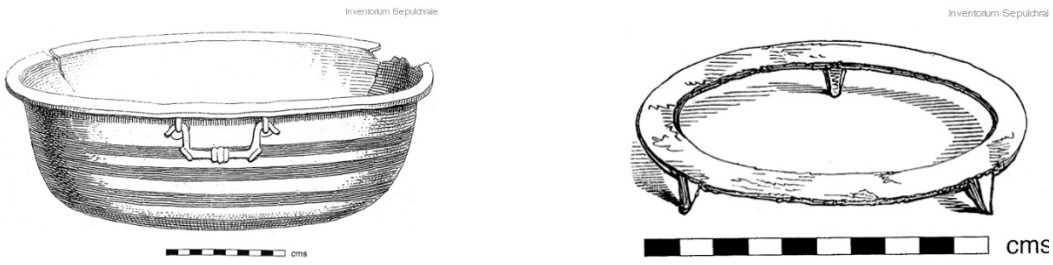


Figure 36 Illustrations of the trivet-bowl retrieved from grave 205 at Kingston Down.

The most complete and closest comparison to the Uncleby bowl was found in Kingston Down grave 205. Both of the bowls share the same drop-handle, the same trivet-ring style, and if the image is reliable, both are decorated with fine concentric circles/rings. Faussett believed that the interior of the bowl may have been gilded, but does not go into further detail to describe it (Faussett 1856, 77-9; *Novem Inventorium* Grave 205, 2007). Grave 205 contained a second bowl that is a Coptic hanging-bowl, which was discovered inside the trivet-bowl (*Novem Inventorium* Grave 205, 2007). The bowl is currently recorded as lost, but was part of the Mayer Collection at the National Museums Liverpool collection, leaving the original excavation and publication illustrations to base comparisons on (fig. 36).

Grave I of the Castledyke cemetery yielded a rectangular drop handle and fragments of a tripod-ring, as well as a hanging bowl (Drinkall 1998, 295). The vessel for the trivet-bowl does not exist, but the accompanying hanging-bowl does (Geake 1997, 87-8; Drinkall 1998, 295). At the time of publication, the Castledyke trivet-ring bowl was thought to be the only example found outside of Kent, however the other possibilities, including Uncleby, were included as being possible examples (Drinkall 1998, 295).

(iii) Bowl Discussion

This type of bowl is commonly referred to as drop handle bowl or tripod ring bowl, and is not a hanging bowl or Coptic bowl. As Geake noted, ring-stand bowls may have three or four feet, which prompted the suggestion of referring to them as trivet-bowls or trivet-ring bowls, rather than tripod (Geake 1997, 87-8). It is generally accepted that bowls of this type are continental, dating to the late 6th or early 7th centuries, based on examples found in Cologne, Morken and Lommersum (Ellis Davidson & Webster 1967, 32-3).

These types of bowls were not meant for the transportation of goods, which is evident by the thinness of the copper alloy sheet used for the vessel (Geake 1997, 88). They were most likely meant to heat, or keep warm, the contents, similar to a modern day chaffing dish. The rings in the bottom of the bowl could have helped to evenly distribute heat, and the tripod would have allowed enough space beneath the bowl for coals or a small flame to warm the vessel.

Copper alloy bowls are usually found in high status burials, such as Sutton Hoo, Finglesham and Taplow—all referred to as princely burials (Geake 1997, 84 table 4.16). Castledyke Grave I is no exception; the grave also contained a set of scales, a hanging bowl, a double-sided comb, copper alloy weights, Roman coins, a workbox, glass bead, gold bead, and a copper alloy ring (Drinkall 1998, 94-5).

Bronze bowls are found in both male and female graves, however there maybe be a stronger connection with trivet-ring bowls to females, and Coptic and hanging bowls with males. This is not a definitive rule, merely a suggestion based a small number of examples.

(iv) Uncleby Bowl Discussion

The bowl from grave 31 is the only vessel—excluding the workboxes—documented from the cemetery. In Smith's recording of the bowl, it was given a measurement of 13.5 inches, and was described as being placed on the hips of the woman in the grave (Smith 1912b, 151). This would suggest that the bowl was more or less intact at the time of excavation, or at the very least, slightly more intact. However, in one of the few instances that Greenwell did discuss the Uncleby excavation, he reports to Smith:

> *The bronze bowl was in a much decayed condition, nothing, so far as I remember, except part of the rim being left. Those remains are no doubt in the York Museum, and possibly have been overlooked by you, as you were looking for a bowl in its entirety.* (BMH 20/10/10)

If Greenwell was remembering correctly, this could question the provenance of the bowl in the Yorkshire Museum, bur for the time being is considered as the Uncleby bowl.

Again, the assemblage from grave 31 is one of the most varied in the cemetery; also present were two workboxes (both missing), an openwork buckle (31.8), silver brooch (31.3), a collection of beads (31.5), a gold pendant (31.6), two or three silver needles (31.4 and 31.13), as well as a knife, spatula, and unidentified iron objects (op. cit.). She—assuming grave 31 is of a female based on the collection of objects—appears to have a Kentish connection, whether it is through trade or

migration is unknown. The buckle, as discussed above, is more common to Kent, as are the brooch and bowl.

6.5 Combs

Number in Sample: 2	Graves: 62, 65

(i) Comb Descriptions

There are two combs in the Uncleby collection. The more complete of the two is 62.6, which is a composite double-sided bone (?) comb, which fits into Ashby's Type 12, defined as a long composite double-sided comb with a plano-convex sectioned connecting plate (Ashby 2011). The comb is 12.12 cm long, 3.17 cm wide at the narrowest point and 3.98 cm at the widest. Four tooth plates (not counting the endplates) are attached to the connecting plate with four strategically placed iron rivets. The teeth are slightly graduated at the ends. The spacing of the teeth appears to be approximately the same on both sides, and could best be described as coarse. The connecting plates are simple and plain aside from having a small lip that is present on all sides. There are small nicks visible on one edge of the one of the plates that corresponds with the cut teeth. One surface of the comb is noticeably darker than the other; where a piece of the connecting plate has broken off since being excavated; the tooth-plate(s) underneath are not discoloured.

The second comb, 65.4, is less easily identified, but is assumed to be the second comb that was found at the site. The comb exists as a collection of 17 calcined bone fragments that range in size from 0.97-2.63 cm in length, 0.76-2.19 cm wide, and 0.13-0.44 cm thick. A visual examination of the fragments reveals some similarities in thickness and width. Also taken into consideration is the shape of the individual fragment; ten of the fragments are plano-convex sectioned, and four are flat and smooth on both sides. This might suggest that the ten convex fragments were parts of the connecting plates, and the other four fragments mentioned could have been tooth plates. Because of the deterioration of the artefact, it is difficult to confidently ascribe certain attributes to the object, but is probably also Ashby type 12 (pers. com.).

(ii) Comparisons

A number of double-sided Type 12 combs have recently been discovered in settlement contexts in the Yorkshire Wolds. The most abundant of these sites is Burdale (E. Yorks.), which uncovered a total of 26 combs, 11 of which were double-sided and considered Type 12 (Ashby 2013, 14). Strong comparisons to 62.2 can be seen in three of the Burdale examples; Bur07 sf154, Bur07 sf242 and Bur07sf314 (Ashby in Richards & Roskams 2013).

Two of the Burdale combs have simple decoration on the connecting plates. On two fragments of sf154, a simple lozenge shape can be seen, with bands of vertical lines on either side. Along the edges of the connecting plate are a series of small notches that line up with the cuts of the tooth-plates, but these have clearly been enhanced for decoration. The fragment of connecting plate on sf242 has two sets of vertical banding on one side, again also with small notches along the edges, although not as pronounced at sf154.

The nearest burial site to Uncleby to produce combs is Garton Slack II. Mortimer recorded three combs found in two graves. The comb found in grave 22 is double-sided with ring and punch decoration on the connecting plates (Mortimer 1905, 253, fig701). The other combs were found in grave 12, one of which is a decorated single-sided comb, and the other was only described as being a smaller comb, which could have been a fragment of a double-sided comb (Mortimer 1905, 251, fig 671).

At Castledyke nine double-sided combs were found; six that are definitely Type 12 (from graves I, 10, 30, 50, 55 and 183), and three more that are probably Typ12 or variations of it (graves 31, 116 and 206). Graves 31 and 83 both noted that the combs were found near the head, and that the comb in grave 83 was contained in a box (Foreman 1998, 287).

(iii) Comb Discussion

Combs have been remarked as appearing fairly evenly distributed across England in the Conversion period, but in her sample, Geake has identified only three cemeteries in the north (Castledyke, Garton II and probably Uncleby), suggesting that they were perhaps not as widely distributed as other comb-types (Geake 1997, 64;

map 29 p. 231). They are fairly equally distributed between genders, with perhaps a slightly higher occurrence with women than men (op. cit.).

Anglo-Saxon combs are generally made from the antlers of red deer, but can also be made from livestock long bones, and very rarely in copper alloy (such as an example from Whitby), or even silver (Cuerdale hoard) (MacGregor 1985, 74; Ashby 2014, 21, 106-7). There are Roman examples of wooden combs, but if this material practice survived into the Anglo-Saxon period in England, the combs have not (MacGregor 1985, 74).

The making of double-sided composite combs was fairly tedious, and detailed work. Using antler as the material example, the craftsperson would have first had to cut excess tines and burs from the antler. The main shaft was then cut to the appropriate length to make the connecting plates and tooth plates, which were then cut into smaller pieces. The smaller tooth plates were then filed to the same thickness, and attached between the connecting plates with a series of rivets placed at every-other join and on the endplates (MacGregor 1985, 74-5). The rivets were usually iron, although copper alloy was used but more often in continental examples (Ashby 2011). It is at this point that the teeth were cut, which explains the notches that are found on connecting plates that correspond with the gaps between the teeth, and then trimmed to be a uniform length (MacGregor 1985, 75-6).

Combs are well-documented artefacts in cremation burials in the early Anglo-Saxon period, cited as the second most common find (Williams 2003, 105). In most cases, the comb was placed with the remains post-cremation, but may have been broken before being deposited (Richards 1992, 144; Williams 2003, 103). In the cremation cemetery at Sancton, East Yorkshire, over 200 graves were excavated, and at least 66 of them contained combs (Williams 2003, 105-7). The act of placing combs with inhumed burials is much less frequent in the Anglo-Saxon period. Sewerby and Loftus (E. Yorks.), for example, did not uncover any combs.

Hair grooming has, almost since the beginning of time, been used as an expression of identity, status, and individuality (Ashby 2014, 68-84). The length or style of a person's hair could denote any number of meanings; short hair in the early medieval period may have either signified a person's status as a slave, or long hair could express that a young Germanic man had yet to make his first hunting kill (Ashby 2014, 79-81). Intricate hairstyles and 'up-dos', like those seen on busts of

Roman empresses, surely required assistance and time to create and maintain, which shows that those women, at minimum a) had the time and leisure to create the styles, b) had the means to employ someone to assemble the style, and c) that their daily activities were not so strenuous as to make the hair come undone.

The idea that a comb can transform ones appearance is fairly strait forward. A common suggestion for combs placed in inhumations is that they provided a transformative agency for the person in the grave (Williams 2003; Ashby 2014). The intimacy associated with combing or arranging another person's hair is probably another aspect that the comb represents, and in contexts of dressing and arranging the dead, this would have been one of the final acts to share with a loved one.

Another suggestion for combs in Conversion Period contexts is that as well as being used as grooming implements, the comb could have also been used as a tool. Castledyke grave I contained a large array of objects, including a set of scales and weights, and a workbox (Drinkall 1998, 94-5). Grave 206 from the same site had a comb and a pair of shears (op. cit., 93-4). Could, in these contexts, combs be seen as tools for, or representative of, textile production? Perhaps bone and antler combs could have been used similarly to toothed weft beaters. One might even consider the archaeological evidence of combs in settlement contexts as evidence of craft or technology, particularly when such high numbers are yielded, as at Burdale.

(iv) Uncleby Comb Discussion

Both of the combs were found in graves that have been associated/attributed as female. Grave 62 contains one of the more elaborate assemblages that includes beads, silver rings, a bulla, a girdle-hanger/keys, a buckle, a Br3-type brooch (see brooch section above), a knife and a pyramid mount. The comb is described as being found by the neck (Smith 1912b, 153).

The second comb was found in a grave that is also associated with female graves goods (grave 65), and is therefore considered to be female in the current study. While the quantity of material from the grave is not as high as grave 62, grave 65 did contain the only example of gold and garnet/cloisonné work in the cemetery. The grave also contained an annular brooch of the Br2-type. All three objects were reportedly found on the left side of the head (Smith 1912b, 153). While there was no mention of other material in the grave or with the assemblage, the somewhat

random nature of the collection may suggest that the items had been placed in a bag or container or some kind.

6.6 Disc Pendants

Number in Sample: 2	Graves: ?31, ?65

(i) Disc Pendant Description

There are two gold disc pendants from the site. The first, Unc26 is the larger of the two. The face of the pendant has a central mount, which would have held a cabochon cut stone, most likely a garnet, or a piece of domed glass. The mount is surrounded with a thin-segmented band that is then enclosed with fine beaded wire. The open space of the pendant has a repetitive motif of V-shaped chevrons with ends that curl into the shape, creating a heart or sub-triangular pattern, made with beaded wire. The entire pendant is then framed with the beaded wire, and then segmented wire. The ribbed suspension loops is soldered to the pendant. Visible on the plate where the stone would have been mounted is a small puncture indentation that does not pierce the plate.

The second pendant, Unc27, is also a disc pendant with applied decoration. Similarly, there is a circular mount in the centre that is encompassed by fine beaded wire and braided wire. Radiating from the mount, which is empty, are four double-braided lines that make a cruciform design. Single-braided triangles have been applied on the remaining surface, radiating outwards. The pendant is further encircled with double-braided wire, and segmented wire. Again, a ribbed suspension loop has been attached. Similar to the other disc pendant, the plate where the stone would have been has three punctures in a triangular shape, but in this instance the punctures have pierced the plate.

(ii) Comparisons

Figure 37 Disc pendant comparisons, from left to right: A) Ganton Slack, grave 7 (Mortimer 1905, fig. 623); B) Acklam Wold, grave association unknown (Mortimer 1905, fig. 222); C) Street House, grave 10 (Sherlock 2012, plate 3.5); D) Street House, grave 70 (Sherlock 2012, plate 3.6).

Only three other sites in the Yorkshire Wolds and immediate environs have uncovered gold disc pendants; the first from an Acklam Wold grave that was discovered by workmen in 1866, and the second from Garton II. Both sites were excavated and recorded by Mortimer (1905, 94, 248), and more recently two pendants were discovered at Street House, Loftus (fig. 37) (Sherlock 2012).

The Acklam Wold pendant, now located in the British Museum, is intricately decorated in an elaborate cruciform pattern; the central boss has a small garnet set within a larger mound of white paste, which is encircled by a gold beaded setting. V-shaped arms of 'braided' lines, radiate from the boss, with small V-shapes inside the triangles. In between the primary arms of the cross, are a thin beaded lines that radiate from the boss, with a cabochon garnet set approximately halfway to the outside edge, with the line terminating again in small V-shapes (Mortimer 1905, plt. XXVII, fig. 222).

The Garton II pendant has a similar central boss, with a garnet set within a larger mound of white paste. Encircling the central boss are a series of equally spaced small beaded dots that are again encompassed by a ring of very fined beaded wire. Between the beaded wire and the edge is a continuous band of cross-waive design (Mortimer 1905, plt LXXXV fig. 638).

Both of the Street House pendants are roughly comparable to the Mortimer finds; the one from grave 70 is a variation of a cruciform design. A band of rectilinear garnet cell work that has four points radiating from it, also garnet cells, surrounds the central boss. Circular cells that have cabochon garnets in the centre top these lines/extensions. Alternating between the garnet points are parallel bands with

beaded dots set inside. These could be read as the arms of a cross. In between the arms, and reacting to the garnets, are a pair of confronting birds or serpents, which appear to be biting the settings/stones.

The second Street House pendant is based on a circular design. The central boss, which is empty but the garnet and foil were found at the time of excavation, is quite large compared to the other three examples so far described, and take up approximately a third of the surface space. A series of figure-eights radiate from the central boss, and are again encompassed by a thin braided band of wire. Between the band and the edge of the pendant are larger figure-eights, which are also perpendicular to the central boss. The looped designs are made-up of finely beaded wire.

(iii) Disc Pendant Discussion

Rather amazingly, detailed research or typologies of Anglo-Saxon pendants do not exist, even though they have been written about and discussed in excavation reports, and are found in nearly every Anglo-Saxon site in one form or another. The closest example is Nielson's work for the 2013 publication of Anglo-Saxon grave goods, separated the pendants by form, technique, decoration and 'other' (Nielson 2013, 210-215). While not explicitly explained, it appears that 'pendant' has been defined as an object with a suspension loop of some type, or an intentional perforation in larger natural objects (op. cit.). Following Nielson's typology, the disc brooches that are being discussed are considered PE1 type, which is defined as a "composite gold/silver pendant with filigree and semi-precious stones" (Nielson 2013, 211).

Filigree disc pendants appear to be products of the late 7th to early 8th centuries (Geake 1997, 38). They are always found with women, and near the neck, implicating that they were part of a necklace (op. cit. 38-9). While looking for comparisons to the Uncleby pendants, it has been noticed that designs on filigree disc pendants tend be one of two themes; cruciform or circular, with the amount of detail and decoration individual to each pendant.

With the discovery of the Staffordshire Horde in 2009, research into goldsmith practices in the Anglo-Saxon period has made great strides. A primary area of interest has been to analyse gold content and surface treatment of the gold

objects, with one study aiming to identify specific workshops based on the material composition, and to also determine if there were links to gold composition and specific object types (Blakelock, La Niece and Fern 2016). While the results did not indicate workshop or object associations, analysis of the gold objects from the horde did reveal a number of manufacturing methods that had rarely been researched or discussed in Anglo-Saxon jewellery.

The study used X-ray florescence analysis (XRF) and scanning electron microscopy with energy-dispersive X-ray analysis (SEM-EDX), both non-destructive techniques, to map the surface and sub-surface compositions of the metals (Blakelock 2016, 914). Among many findings, one was that gold content in the second half of the 7th century seems to have been substituted for higher contents of silver, suggesting that the supply of gold was scarce, or that frequency of recycled gold was increasing in this period (Blakelock, La Niece & Ferner 2016. 51, 52).

When examining gold content on filigreed objects, for example the sword pommel from the horde, the gold content was slightly different for surface and sub-surface features. The base plate for the pommel was between 73-76 Au, with 24-26 Ag content, whereas the filigree wire was 60-66 Au and 34-38 Ag (op. cit., 54 fig. 15). It was proposed that the difference in gold content was a decorative decision made by the goldsmith, and that the slight variations of colour would have enhanced the overall effect of the objects (op. cit., 53).

(iv) Uncleby Disc Pendant Discussion

The grave associations of the pendants may not be entirely accurate, as there are varying accounts of where they were found. Chronologically, the first *Malton Messenger* article states that a single grave was found with gold pendants (18 April 1868), and the follow-up article stated that two graves were found with a gold pendant each, but only provides description for one assemblage, grave 31, with 'a gold pendant' (25 April 1968). In the *Victoria County Histories*, Smith describes both of the pendants, and associates the 'C' scroll pendant with grave 31, and the other to grave 65 (Smith 1912a, 90, 91). Finally, Smith later describes both pendants as coming from the cemetery, but that it is unclear which pendant was found in grave 31, and that there is no record of where the second pendant was found (1912b, 151, 154).

We can probably dismiss the *VCH* pendant references in this instance, as we know that Smith had use of Greenwell's site diary for the later publication. Therefore, it is not possible to determine which pendant came from grave 31, or where the other pendant was found.

In 1997/8, the Department of Scientific Research at the British Museum conducted energy dispersive X-ray fluorescence (EDXRF) analysis on a number of non-ferrous objects from Uncleby, including the disc pendants. It is unclear which surface or features were analysed. Unc26 was found to be 66% gold alloyed with 31% silver and 3% copper. This balance is not uncommon in Anglo-Saxon gold, and is comparable to the clasps that were found at Taplow (Bucks.) (Blakelock, La Niece and Fern 2016, 52 table. 2). Unc27 had a much higher gold concentration; 75% gold alloyed with 23% silver and 3% copper.

6. 7 Hooked Tags

Number in Sample: 2	Grave: 66

(i) Hooked Tag Description

A single pair of hooked tags was found at Uncleby. The hooks are made of thin copper alloy sheet, in a triangular shape with perforations in the top two corners. The final tip of the triangle is curved inward, and maintains a sharp point. The plates are undecorated.

(ii) Comparisons

From the primary comparative sites, only one yielded other hooked tags. Castledyke grave 16 had a pair of copper alloy sheet hooked tags that are relatively similar to the Uncleby examples. The Castledyke hooks are decorated with incised lines and have three perforations along the top. They were found in the grave of a child, approximately six or seven years old; one was near the skull and the other was between the neck and upper chest area, with a suggested interpretation as fastenings for a headdress (Drinkall 1998, 271).

Hooked tags seem to have a higher distribution across Anglo-Saxon England south of the Humber (Geake 1997, 66). The Flixborough (Lincs.) settlement yielded 26 examples in copper alloy, silver and iron hooked tags (Thomas 2009, 17). The majority of the Flixborough hooks had some form of decoration, ranging from scalloped edges to chip carving. Only one hooked tag, no. 95, is described as plain and undecorated (op. cit., 20). A quick search on the Portable Antiquities Scheme database produced at least six other undecorated and triangular hooked tags from Lincolnshire, with a vague location of East Lindsey given, as the actual site has been made private (finds.org).

(iii) Hook Tag Discussion

Datable hooked tag-graves begin to appear in the 7th century and last until the 11th century (Geake 1997, 66; Owen-Crocker 2004, 154; Thomas 2009, 16). Hooked tags, like a majority of the basic object types, seem to be overlooked in the research field. While there is some information, hooked tags could benefit from an in depth research project at some other time. The most recent work done of the objects is a basic classification based on shield shape and decoration by Lewis and Naylor (2013). The system first separates the tags by shape; circular, triangular, quadrilateral and irregular. The hooked tags are then further divided by decoration to the plate, with a final subdivision to note if the shield is lobed (op. cit.). There is no discussion associated with the classification, however the work may be forthcoming.

Hooked tags appear to have been used as a multi-functional fastener in Anglo-Saxon dress and costume. The hooks have been found in a variety of locations within the grave, such as near the skull, neck, hips, knees and feet, emphasising the notion that they could be used in a variety of ways (Geake 1997, 66; Owen-Crocker 2004, 154). The objects have also been referred to as ‘garter hooks’ or ‘dress fastener’ due to their occasional association with the skeletal remains and the legs, however it has been pointed out that they objects may not have been directly intimate with the body, as the sharp point of the hook would have been against the body, which in turn may have led to discomfort by the wearer (Owen-Crocker 2004, 156).

One particular suggested use is that the hooks were used as fasteners for small pouches, as illustrated by Owen-Crocker (2004, 154 fig. 114). Both Owen-Crocker and Geake make arguments for pouch fasteners as a common function for the hooks, based on the location in the grave, the size and delicacy of the tags, and that no more than two are usually found in one grave (Geake 1997, 66; Owen-Crocker 2004, 154-5).

(iv) Uncleby Hook Tag Discussion

Given the relative infrequence of hooked tags, it is not surprising that Uncleby only contained one pair. Indeed, it could alternatively be viewed as yet another surprising object-type in the Uncleby collection. In Geake's sample of Conversion Period sites, only six graves were associated with hooked tags (Geake 1997, 66). However, the Uncleby hooks were not included in her discussion of the object types.

Based on the Lewis and Naylor classification, the Uncleby hooked tags are type A1x (triangular shield, undecorated and without lobes). However, the classification does not take into account if the hook is simply bent from the shield, as the Uncleby examples do, or if they are deliberately elongated or attached, as the case may be for most examples. Based on the dating of hooked tags, manufacture, morphology of shield shape, and decoration, the Uncleby tags could be considered one of the earliest types of hooked-tags. This does not necessarily date them, but could reflect an on-going style-type, personal preference, or economic status of the owner (working under the assumption that simpler is cheaper).

The grave goods associated with grave 66 do not aid in determining a date for two reasons; the first is that only four of the ten objects have been reconciled with the assemblage, and the second is that the unassociated objects are generic, such as beads, iron buckle and knife. The 1912 Society of Antiquaries report associates the grave with a female, and the remaining grave goods (iron chain and silver ring) help to support the gender identification.

It was suggested, based on the location of the hooks within the graves, that the hooked tags may have been attached to bags rather than clothing (Geake 1997, 66; Owen-Crocker 2004, 154-5). Placement near the feet, hips and knees could support this notion, as bags and boxes are frequently found near these places in the grave.

In fact, the grave description for grave 66 specifically states that the copper objects (presumably the hooked tags), and other objects that could be considered 'amuletic' (a round polished stone and a piece of jet) were "found in front of the knee (probably in a purse)," (Smith 1912b, 153-4). Based on the Victorian assumption that the objects were found in a purse or bag, a further presumption could be that the hooks were part of the bag.

6.8 Knives and Spatula Tools

Number in Sample: 26 (out of 43)	Graves: 3, 6, *7*, 8, 10, *11*, *13*, 15, 16, 22, *23*, 24, 26, 31, *32*, *33*, 39, *41*, 42, *45*, *48*, *50*, 52, 53, 56, 57, 60, 61, *62*, *64*, *66*, *67*, *68*, *I*

The following section will use Ottoway's classification of Anglo-Scandinavian blade shapes/types (1992), and was later adjusted for the Flixborough finds (2009).

(i) Descriptions

Knives

Thirty-seven knives were recorded in the Uncleby collection, however only 25 have survived/are accounted for. There are three primary back blade shapes (as defined by Ottaway); shape A, that has an angle on the back of the blade that slopes down towards the point (commonly referred to as an angle-back); shape C, which curves (convex) down at the tip of the back blade to meet the point, rather than an abrupt angle-change; and shape D which has a convex back blade that can range from sublte to dramatic (Ottaway 1992, 559-572; Ottaway 2009, 203-4). As far as can be determined by visual analysis, all of the knives have a single cutting edge that is straight—unless it has been sharpened to the point of having an S- or reverse S-curve, that is usually near the tang.

For the purpose of the knife discussion, shape A will be described as angled or angle-backed; shape C as curved-tip; and shape D as curved-back.

Angle-Back (fig. 38, A1-A3):

The majority of the Uncleby knives are angle-backed, with a total of 13. Within in the sample are two blades (53.2 and Unc20a) that fall under a subsection of Ottaway's classification, A2, which is defined as having the rear part of the blade back sloping upwards towards the angle (1992, 561). The rest of the angle-backed blades have parallel cutting and back edges, which is indicitive of Ottaway's A1 shape (op. cit). There is a wide range of blade length within the angle-back group: 4.6 cm-10.67 cm.

Curved-Tip (fig. 38, C1)*:*

Two blade have been visually interpreted as having curved tips: 22.2 and 61.2. Within the Ottaway classification, there are three subsections of the C shape type; C1 having parallel cutting and back edges with a convex curve to the tip, C2 that has the blade back sloping upwards (away from the tang), and C3 that has the blade back sloping downwards (away from the tang) (op. cit.).

Because of the preservation of the knives, there is a possibility that they may belong to the angle- or curved-back types.

Curved-Back (fig. 38, D1)*:*

Seven of the blades have curved backs, meaning that the blade back is entirely convex from tang to tip (op. cit.). The curve of the blade can range from a subtle arch to an extreme 'hogback'-like shape. The Uncleby collection tends to be slightly more extreme in terms of curvature. The blade lengths range from 5.33 cm – 8.55 cm.

Spatulate Tool:

There are four, possibly five, spatulate tools which are included in this section (but not in the knife count). While the objects do have blades attached to a tang, they differ from knives by the lack of cutting edges and the point at the tip of the blade. The blades are rectangular with parallel edges that terminate in a slightly curve tip. The blade is typically centrally (or very near) balanced on the tang.

Tang Descriptions

Knives

Nineteen of the 26 knives have partial or whole tangs that were visually evaluated to determine the type of tang. There are three primary tang shapes in the sample: Full (TangF), Wide (TangW), Tapered (TangT). There is one example that does not fit into any of the types, 52.1 has a long cylindical tang. Another example, 10.1, still has most of the handle attached, making the tang impossible to see without x-ray. A majority of the tangs have evidence of their handles.

Tapered Tang:

The tapered, or whittled as it is sometime called, tang is the most common in the Uncleby collection with a total of nine. This tang type is defined as having both edges sloping downward away from the blade, and can end in a dull point or a narrow edge (Markewitz 2007, fig. 1). Most of Uncleby tapered tangs are complete, with lengths ranging 1.7c cm to 5.84 cm and widths of 0.54 cm to 1.02 cm.

Wide Tang:

The wide tang is similar to the tapered tang, but has a less drastic/defined slope away from the blade. There are six examples of this tang type in the Uncleby section, half of which are complete and the others appear to be broken at the end. The lengths range from 1.33 cm to 4.62 cm, and wideth of 0.73 cm to 1.05 cm.

Full Tang:

There are two examples of the full tang on knives from the collection. A full tang is rectangular from blade to end. Both of the full tang examples are broken, with the lower section missing. Two tangs on the spatulate tools remain attached to the blade, with the remaining two or three blade only. Both of the tangs for the tools are full with a rectangular section.

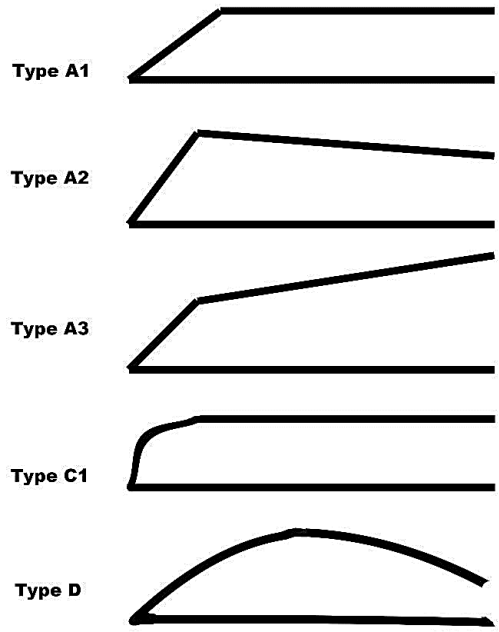


Figure 38 Knife blades by type based on Ottaway (1992)

(ii) Comparisons

Knives:

Knives are the most commonly found objects in Anglo-Saxon graves (Geake 1997, 102; Drinkall 1998, 279). The Sewerby cemetery yielded 26 knives in 25 graves (out of 58) (Hirst 1985, 88). Comparatively, the Castledyke cemetery, which was in use longer than Uncleby or Sewerby but has several similarities to both sites, yielded 84 knives in 75 graves (out of 201) (Drinkall 1998, 279).

Continuing with Sewerby knives as comparisons, the most common blade type, with nine examples, is what Evison called Type I, which is similar to Ottaway's (and the current classification that is being used) Type D (Hirst 1985, 88). Evison's Type I is defined as having a curved back and a curved cutting edge (Evison 1987, 113). The second most common knife from the Sewerby cemetery is Evison's Type 4 (Ottaway Type C), with four examples (Hirst 1985, 88; Evison 1987, 113).

As stated above, the most common blade shape from the Uncleby examples is the angle-back (Ottaway Type A1 or Evison Type 5), followed by curved-back blades with a strait cutting edge (Ottaway Types C and D or Evison Type 4). Only two angle-back knives were documented from the Sewerby cemetery, and conversely, there were not any curve-back blades with curved cutting edge knives documented in the Uncleby sample.

However, Castledyke appears to have more angle-back knives found in graves dating to the Conversion period. Thirty-nine knives were retrieved from 38 graves that were dated to the mid-7th and late-7th centuries, with ten of those belonging to the angle-backed family and seven belonging to the curved-back/strait cutting edge type (Drinkall 1998, 281). The Castledyke report also takes the blade size into consideration by subdividing the blade shapes into small (4 cm-9.9 cm), medium (10 cm-12.9 cm) and large (13 cm-17.5 cm) blade lengths (Drinkall 1998, 279). Twenty-one of the Castledyke blades from the 7th century are small, and 17 are considered medium, and one large.

The sizes of the Castledyke blades are comparable to Uncleby, as 18 are small, two are medium sized, and a further three that fall on the cusp of small and medium. The data for Sewerby blade lengths is not readily accessible, and is therefore not included.

Spatulate Tools:

Unlike knives, spatulate tools—also referred to as 'steel'—are found in far fewer numbers. When they are found, they are usually found in the late- 7th to early-8th century contexts, although there is at least one example from Castledyke that has been dated to the 6th century (Drinkall 1998, 284).

Four of these tools were found in the Sewerby cemetery; graves 37, 48, 52 and 56 (Hirst 1985, 88-9). A further two were found at Castledyke in graves 164 and 183 (Drinkall 1998, 279). Spatulate tools do not appear to be overly dominant in one particular area, and are found along the length of England, but tend to have small concentrations in the east (Geake 1997, 93).

It seems that the majority of the tools have round, or round-sectioned tangs (Ottaway 2009, 218), although it has been recognized that the tools can also have rectangular or sub-rectangular section tangs. The blades of spatulate tools always have a rectangular section, with no evidence of cutting edges. Some examples of the tool have perforations in the centre of the blade, such as two examples found at Flixborough (*2311* and *2312*). One of the tools (2311) is incomplete, but is complete enough to show that the blade had a perforated centre.

(iii) Discussion

Knives:

Knives of varying shapes and sizes are found in approximately half of 'Pagan' and Conversion period graves (Härke 1989, 144). They are usually found near the waist/hip, although have also been found on the chest and near the feet (Hirst 1985, 88; Evison 1987, 115; Geake 1997, 93; Drinkall 1998, 282-3). The majority of knives found in Conversion Period contexts tend to be rather small, as stated above, with most of the blade lengths under 10 cm—in a sample of 480 knives studied from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, the mean blade length was 9.1 cm, with 68% of the blades considered small (Härke 1989, 144).

The hip and waist locations in the grave suggest that the knife was worn or suspended from a belt, and it some instances there is archaeological evidence to suggest that they knife was sheathed (Hirst 1985, 88-9; Geake 1997, 93). In some/most examples of the chest placement of the knife, the arm of the deceased was crossed over the body/trunk, and therefore could suggest that the knife was somehow strapped to the forearm of the person, although it is difficult to actually determine if this is the case (Evison 1987, 115). The Castledyke knife report provided detailed information of the knife location in relationship to the deceased, and found that the left side (of hip, waist and legs) was favoured, which was interpreted as providing easy access to the blade for right-handed people—including the foot position which was speculated as providing easy access when squatting (Drinkall 1998, 282-3).

Occasionally knives are found in uncommon areas of the grave, such as near the head or placed in the grave away from the body—all of which can be seen in a number of graves from Castledyke and Sewerby. It is likely that in these cases the knife—and in instances of double knife burials, the second knife—was placed in the grave separate from the burial costume (Hirst 1985, 88; Ottaway 2009, 218).

Knives are found in both male and female graves, with a slightly higher percentage in male, according to Härke, but this statistic seems to vary from cemetery to cemetery, such as Sewerby, which had a higher percentage of female knife graves (Hirst 1985, 88; Härke 1989, 147). Härke undertook an analysis of blade length associated with age of death, with results suggesting that the size of the knife was a status symbol for both adult and juvenile males (1989, 147). However, out of

the 47 cemeteries and 925 knife-burials, only 80 sexed female graves were included (op. cit., 144). While the author did demonstrate patterns of male age and blade size, the study should be considered inconclusive in regard to giving any meaningful association between blade length and age correlations in a burial ritual context.

Spatulate Tools:

Similarly, spatulate tools are difficult to discuss in terms of function or meaning. In her study, Geake had a sample of 48 tools that were found across Anglo-Saxon England, demonstrating that they are far less common than knives, which she had 794 examples (1997, 92; 102). While their function is unknown, they are included in the current section due to the blade and tang construction, and the close connection to knives in burial contexts.

The tools have been referred to as both sharpening tools and fire-steels, even though there is no archaeological evidence to support either association (Geake 1997, 93). It has also been suggested that the objects are 'knife blanks' waiting to be worked into a knife (op. cit.) To date only one spatulate tool has had metallographic analysis; the tool, from Sewerby grave 48, was tested with the accompanying knife from the grave. The results of the spatulate tool revealed that the iron was significantly softer than that of the knife, and that the spatulate was 'clearly not intended as a tool or cutting implement' (Hirst 1985, 89).

Another spatulate tool from Sewerby, found in grave 56, had traces of an organic sheath on the blade and tang (Hirst 1985, 89). The presence of a covering, according to the author, is evidence that the tool did not have a handle adhered to the tang. Geake and Ottaway suggest that the lack of handle could indicate that the tool was meant to be used by both ends, however this argument is limited to examples with round-section tangs, and does not consider full or tapering tangs with rectangular sections (Geake 1997, 93; Ottaway 2009, 218).

It should also be noted that the spatulate tools are found in both male and female contexts, again, with a slightly higher concentration of male associations. For example, out of the four tools from Sewerby, two were definitely male, one most likely male, and the fourth example from an un-sexed grave, but thought to possibly be male (Hirst 1985, 89). The two Castledyke examples were associated with young females aged between 17 and 25 (Drinkall 1998, 283). Geake's sample of forty-eight spatulate tools found links to twenty-three male graves and fourteen female graves

(Geake 1997, 93). Again, like the knives, the tool and gender associations vary between cemeteries.

The spatulate tools are usually found in burials that also contain at least one knife—there are some instances that the grave contained two knives—and can belong to 'richly furnished burials', and to sparsely furnished burials (op. cit.). There is some differentiation in dating the items between the scholars; Evison states that they are 7th century and only found in England (1987, 110), Geake cites contexts that suggest a date as early as the 5th century, but concludes that they are more commonly found in the late 7th and early 8th centuries (1997, 92), and Hirst, citing Hawkes, also suggest late 7th and early 8th century contexts (Hirst 1985, 88).

(iv) Uncleby Knife and Spatula Discussion

Knives:

Knives occurred in just under half of the graves (35 out of 71). From that number, only two graves (22 and I) had two knives in the burial, and seven of the graves contained knives only. The knives are fairly evenly distributed throughout the cemetery, with a slightly higher concentration in the SE quadrant—which is not surprising as it is the most densely used area of the space (see iron distribution in 7.4).

Out of the 35 knife-burials, 13 have been associated with a gender—primarily based on Smith's catalogue, and also by strongly gendered associated objects—with six female (graves 3,13, 31, 57, 62 and 66) and seven male graves (graves 9, 11, 33, 61, 64, 67 and 68) (Smith 1912b). A further two graves are speculated to be female based on the grave good assemblages (graves 39 and 45). The remaining 20 graves do not yield enough information to even speculate the sex or gender of the deceased.

Trace remains of organic material can be seen on some of the blades and tangs of the Uncleby knives. Without scientific analysis, definite attributions of the material cannot be made.

Fourteen blades have what appear to be traces of organic material, primarily leather with some examples of wood and/or textile. The presence of the organic material suggests that the blades were sheathed. At least four of the blades (22.1, 31.10, 62.7 and Unc18) have smooth, thick areas that are prominent along the back edge of the blade, which has been interpreted as leather. Furthermore, the possible

sheaths have split lengthwise along the back, revealing the edge of the blade between the organic materials. In some instances thin slices of wood can be seen adhered to the blade, with the leather slightly overlapping. And in at least one example, Unc15, there may have been embossed decoration, although the lines are very faint and could be the result of deterioration.

The tip of 61.2 has a section of cross-weave that can be seen on the surface. The overall condition of the blade is rather poor, and the blade surface is very uneven. Two interpretations of the textile on the blade can be offered; the first is that the sheath of the knife was also covered in textile, such as an example found at Sewerby (Hirst 1985, 89). The Sewerby knife, found in grave 56, was interpreted as having a wooden sheath that was covered in leather and had remains of coarse threads (op. cit.). An alternative suggestion for the textile remains on 61.2 could be that the knife was not sheathed, and that the textile is from the clothing that was worn by the occupant of the grave. The textile is only found on one face of the blade, which would insinuate an unsheathed knife. The buckle from Grave 13 (13.2) may help to support this notion over the idea of a textile-covered sheath, given that the underside of the buckle has textile remains.

At least three of the blades have small, irregularly shaped impressions in the surface, similar to those found on buckle Unc15, although the knives do not have the same density of anomalies as the buckle. A possible interpretation of these impressions could be that they are larvae or pupae impressions, or could also be a general product of time and corrosion. Without proper testing and analysis of the indentations, positive identification of the impressions is not possible.

Eighteen of the knives retain traces of their handle, which are most likely to be bone or horn, as the material is most common in similar examples from the period (Ottaway 2009, 212). However, some of the handles may have been made from wood, which can be seen on 10.1. There is one other handle in the Uncleby collection that remains mostly intact, which is 52.1. The entire knife is the largest in the sample, measuring over 21 cm in length, approximately half of which is the tang/handle.

Spatulate Tools:

Smith notes that seven graves (6, 10, 31, 32, 52, 56 and 67) were found with ‘steels’ or ‘strike-a-lights’, which have been translated as referring to spatulate tools

(Smith 1912b). Where data is available, three of the graves are associated with Type A blades and two were associated with Type D blades. The majority of the spatula had traces of leather on the blade, suggesting that they would have been sheathed as well.

6.9 Seaxes

Number in Sample: 4	Graves: 9, 11, 61, 68

(i) Uncleby Seax Descriptions

Determining the difference between a seax, (sometime referred to as a single-edged sword, or a scramasax), and a knife can be challenging, given the different criteria proposed by researches to differentiate between the two. A brief discussion follows, but for the time being, a single-edged blade with lengths between 18 cm to 76 cm is being used as the qualifying characteristic (based on Gale 1989, 72). Under that definition, there are four seaxes in the Uncleby collection. All are angle-back, with traces of sheath on the blades and with traces of bone/horn handle on the tang. None of the blades were pattern-welded, which may help in determining their date (see below).

In order of blade length from least to greatest; the first to be discussed here comes from grave 61 (61.3), with a blade length of 26.41 cm, and 8.8 cm for the tang. The tip of the blade appears unbroken and rounded, although this could be evidence of the sheath, and not the overall shape of the blade.

The seax from grave 9 (9.2) has a blade length of 28.9 cm, and a longer tang, of 11.43 cm. The angle-back is much more distinct on this blade, compared to 61.3. The impression of a rivet can be seen on the cutting edge of the blade, possibly relating to the sheath that is noticeable on the surface of the blade. The tang has traces of the horn/bone handle, and appears incomplete, with the end broken off.

Thirdly is the seax from grave 68 (68.1), this has a less pronounced angle back, but could be partially obscured by the sheath remains. The blade is 31.4 cm long, with a 4.4 cm tang. The sheath is in a relatively better state of preservation, and incised lines can be seen when viewed under a magnifying glass. The tang has a large nodule, which has been interpreted as a rivet (Adam Parker, YMT, pers. comm.). A unique feature that sets 61.3 apart from the other two seaxes, is that the guard is still attached to the blade/tang.

Lastly is the largest seax, from the Whetstone grave 11 (11.1). Again, the angle-back is not as pronounced as 9.2, but in this instance this can almost certainly be attributed to the scabbard obscuring the outline of the blade. The blade is 44.9

cm in length, which is exceptional (and will be further discussed below), and has a 16.3 cm tang. Along one face of the blade are at least two, and as many as four, rivets, which strongly indicate a sheath for the blade. A faint incised line runs along the length of the blade, presumably sheath decoration. Most of a guard is present at the bottom of the blade, just above the tang, however this could be a remnant of the sheath, and not the seax itself. Interestingly, the tip of the blade is visible, where the scabbard has deteriorated, and shows a rounded tip that does not appear to be broken.

(ii) Comparisons

A total of four seaxes were found in the comparatives sites; two at Castledyke (from graves 51 and 94), one at Street House, Loftus (grave 29), and another at Flixborough (Lincs.) (unstratified, no. 984). A possible seax was found at 19 Whitecross Street, which was included in the seax discussion for Castledyke, which would bring the total to five. The Castledyke and Street House seaxes all had traces of the scabbard apparent on the blade, as well as evidence of the handle on the tang (Drinkall 1998, 248-50; Ottaway in Evans and Loveluck 2009, 123; Ottaway in Sherlock 2012, 62).

The Castledyke seaxes were both dated to the 7th century based on accompanying grave goods, particularly based on the shape of accompanying knives in the graves (Drinkall 1998, 248). The seax from grave 51 is quite similar to Uncleby 61.3 in both size and shape. It is considered a 'narrow seax', with a slightly curved back rather than an angle-back (Drinkall 1998, 157 fig. 71). The seax has a very long tang/handle that is 17.5 cm long, suggesting a 'two-handed' seax (discussed below). The seax from grave 94 is significantly shorter, with a blade length of 17.8 cm, but has a much smaller tang, which is slightly off centre of the blade (Drinkall 1998, 168 fig. 82). The blade is curved back with a straight cutting edge.

The Street House seax also has a curved back, but unlike the seaxes discussed thus far, has added decoration on the blade faces along the back of the blade. On one side is a pair of incised lines with two rows of dots between them, while the other side of the blade has the deep lines, but does not have the dots (Ottaway 2012, 62).

Lastly, a stray seax was found at Flixborough; it is angle-back, and was probably 30 cm in its complete form, but due to missing tips of the tang and blade, the length is 24.7 cm (Ottaway 2009, 123).

(iii) Seax Discussion

Most Anglo-Saxon swords and seaxes were made by utilizing a technique called pattern welding, in which a series of iron rods would be set in a row, usually with some of the rods twisted, and then forge welded, leaving behind patterns that could be reminiscent of hound's-tooth, or a series of ripples (Ellis Davidson 1998, 23-24; Underwood 1999, 48). Pattern welding was well established by the 3rd century AD in Britain, and became a prominent technique and decorative element throughout the 5th-7th centuries (Underwood 1999, 48). The decline of pattern welding began in the late 7th century, due to access to better materials and forge technology (Ellis Davidson 1998, 32; Underwood 1999, 48). The other method that was used for blade making is sometimes referred to as laminated, in which sheets of steel are sandwiched together, usually around an iron core, and then forged together (Tylecote and Gilmour 1986, 2-3; Underwood 1999, 48). While not as popular as pattern welding, the technique was also used throughout the Anglo-Saxon period (Underwood 1999, 48).

The seax still remains somewhat of a mystery in regard to its function. As already stated above, the seax could have a blade as small as 8 cm or as large as 76—with a gap between around 36 cm and 54 cm where they are very uncommon, and a 'complete absence of blade lengths in the 45 cm region' (Gale 1989, 71; Underwood 1999, 68). However, some researchers have proposed alternative measurements to help differentiate between large knives and seaxes, by proposing a minimum blade length of 18 cm and a maximum of 56 cm (Härke 1989, table 1; Geake 1997, 72). By either standard, there is a large difference between the minimum and maximum blade lengths, which could indicate its intended function (Tylecote and Gilmour 1989, 243).

Seaxes were usually decorated, aside from pattern-welding, they could have non-ferrous metal inlay decoration, incised lines and grooves, and/or inscriptions (Tylecote and Gilmour 1989, 123). It is tempting to say that blades with any

decorated treatments would have been reserved for ritual, or used as a status indicator, both of which could be the case (Gale 1989, 74, 80).

Some seaxes have much longer tangs and handles, and are referred to as 'two-handed' (Geake 1997, 74). The longer tang, and ergo handle, is given its name because it could be wielded with two hands, which would be useful for a more forceful chop or thrust. Like knives from the Anglo-Saxon period, the tangs are typically tapered, and would then be inserted into a bone, horn, or wood handle and fixed using a variety of organic materials like wood or glue (Underwood 1999, 69-70)

Contemporary stone carvings, such as an 8th-century cross fragment from Repton (Derbys.) and a set of 10th-century carved stones from Middleton (Yorks.) show warriors with seaxes across their waist with handles nearest the right hand (Gale 1989, 79, 81, fig. 6.15). In these contexts, the seax is clearly viewed as a weapon, but would it have been a replacement for the sword or spear? The seax has more versatility than the broad sword, allowing the bearer to stab and cut, and also has the benefit of being smaller (and presumably lighter) than the sword, offering more agility to the seax bearer. However, the shortness of the blade—even it if is a long seax—would put a person at a disadvantage against a sword or spear which had a greater reach than a seax (Gale 1989, 79).

In regard to a domestic, or daily function, it has been suggested that the seax may have been a tool used for hunting, and more specifically for gutting (Gale 1989, 80). Because knives were used for multiple purposes on a daily basis, and by both sexes, it begs the question: what could the seax have been used for in everyday life? The answer, in short, is that we may never have a conclusion. Literary sources, such as *Beowulf*, make reference to a 'whetted knife' (1546), and 'stabbing' (2703) or 'jabbing' (1765) blades, which could be (and have been) interpreted as seaxes (Underwood 1999, 71). In *Beowulf* it is clear that the seax is a weapon, but how much the text can be relied on for object research is questionable.

However, inlayed and surface decoration would have been costly, and may have only been used reluctantly for battle or domestic tasks. Gale has put forth the idea that decorated blades would have been used for ritual or symbolic disembowelment after the hunt, or that the blade was a trophy or signifier of sorts for skilled huntsman (1989, 80).

(iv) Uncleby Seax Discussion

The seax graves all had knives, as well as other objects; graves 9, 61 and 68 also contained buckles (9.3, 61.1, 68.3), and grave 11 contained a more complex assemblage, with a whetstone (11.2, see below), a bone handle (11.3), two iron loops and an iron 'hook and eye' (11.5). The whetstone was placed over the handle of the seax, which was presumably in front of the face, but cannot be determined from the grave description (Smith 1912b, 150).

All but one of the seax graves have been described as male, and in those accounts grave 61 was 'about 28 years old', and grave 68 was a 'young man' (Smith 1912b, 153, 154). Grave 9 was simply described as male, whereas grave 11 was not sexed, but can be assumed male due to the artefact assemblage (op. cit. 149, 150).

As always, there are some discrepancies between the Society of Antiquaries report and the surviving objects. Generally speaking, the seax measurements provided by Smith are within acceptable ranges for the actual objects that have been allocated to the graves. A probable date of late 7th to early 8th century can be given to the seaxes, based on the angle-back form and the lack of pattern-welding. As discussed above, the non-pattern-welding technique was used throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, but regained popularity in the late 7th century when higher quality material became more readily available (Davidson 1998, 32; Underwood 1999, 48). Additionally, the narrow, angled-back seax was common in the late 7th and early 8th centuries, so it is not unreasonable to put the Uncleby seaxes in this timeframe (Gale 1989, 71; Geake 1997, 14).

The seax from grave 11 (11.1) poses some interesting dilemmas. It seems to be a well-used statistic that seaxes do not come in blade lengths of approximately 31 cm-54 cm (Underwood 1999, 68), with a plain statement of a 'complete absence of blade lengths in the 45 cm region' (Gale 1989, 72). However, Geake pointed out that this is not the case in slightly earlier seaxes, such as examples from Lechlade with a 46.8 cm blade, and Marina Drive in Dunstable (Beds.) with 42.8 cm (Geake 1997, 72). For some reason, Uncleby 11.1 was not included in the study, which is 45.72 cm. Supposedly, this would suggest that 11.1 is earlier, and the non-pattern-welding could be evidence of earlier manufacture rather than later.

6.10 Slipknot Rings

Number in Sample: 3 (out of 6)	Graves: 3, 62, 66

(i) Description

Six silver knot-rings were discovered in three graves. Only three of the rings are accounted for; two from grave 3 (3.5 and 3.6) and one from grave 66 (66.1). Only one of the rings from grave 3 (3.6) still has the knot, the other (3.5) having broken away at some point in time. The ring from grave 66 (66.1) has a slightly different knot, but this may be due to age and preservation rather than style; initially the ring looks like it has a 'hook and eye' type closure, but further examination suggest that wire in the knot has broken, and the ends are not bent in a way that barely resembles a knot. Both of the surviving knots are of a simple twist, or almost figure-eight-type, referred to as slipknots.

(ii) Comparisons

Four or five knot-rings were found at Sewerby, three or four of which were found in grave 12 (Hirst 1985, 70). The only ring illustrated in the figure of artefacts from the grave is semi-circular fragment without the knot (Hirst 1985, fig 36g, p123). The text describes one of the rings as having a fragment of a knot, compared to a ring from grave 8 at Leighton Buzzard (Hyslop 1963, fig. 8, p. 174; Hirst 1985, 70). A complete ring from Sewerby is documented as a stray find, with a small pair of tweezers suspended from it (Hirst 1985, fig 59, p 146).

Another seven or eight slipknot rings were found in three graves at Castledyke. With the exception of two, they were all found on or near the neck, consistent with the placement of necklace-rings in other cemeteries. The other two rings, both from grave 134, were found near the hip (Drinkall 1998, 264).

(iii) Slipknot Ring Discussion

Wire rings are a common find in Anglo-Saxon graves, with the majority of found with women (Geake 1997, 50). In her sample, she had at least 348 examples, 300 of which were silver (op. cit., 48). They are commonly thought to be necklace-rings, acting as either pendants or decorative 'loops' to string beads across (op. cit.). Indeed, they are frequently found in association with beads and pendants, but have also been found to suspend small toiletries or tools, such as the example from Sewerby.

These rings appear to have flourished in the late 7th century, with four graves from separate sites (Finglesham (Kent), Buckland Cemetery in Dover (Kent), Butler's Field in Lechlade (Gloucs.), and Boss Hall in Ipswich (Suffolk)) coin dated to c.660-665 at the earliest, and c.680-690 at the latest (Geake 1997, 48).

(iv) Uncleby Slipknot Ring Discussion

All three of the Uncleby graves that contained knot-rings contained beads, and were found near the neck or head. Grave 3 was described as having three silver rings with some beads 'at the head', as well as a workbox and a Br4 type brooch (Smith 1912b, 149). Grave 62 also contained a Br4-type brooch, as well as a pair of silver rings, at the time described as earrings. This was a popular misconception in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, primarily based on the frequency in which they were found in graves near the head (Geake 1997, 49).

6.11 Spindle-Whorls

Number in Sample: 2 (out of 4)	Graves: 29, 62

(i) Uncleby Spindle-whorl Descriptions

Of the four recorded spindle-whorls, only two survive. They are both bone and have a similar size, shape, and decoration. Spindle-whorl 29.1 has three incised bands around the outside edge of the topside. The underside is in a delicate state, with the bone flaking away and resembling a peeling onion. Spindle-whorl 62.10 has a pair of incised bands around the perforation. Similarly, the underside of the object

has been damaged through natural deterioration of the material, and late 19th and early 20th century display and conservation techniques; a large amount of glue is still adhered to the underside surface, and photographs from the Yorkshire Museum archive show that the spindle-whorl was attached to paperboard via glue.

Of the two missing spindle-whorls from the cemetery, both were reported with grave 29. One of them was bone, and presumably would be similar to the two that have been described above. The other spindle-whorl was described as stone, and no other description was given.

(ii) Comparisons

Three spindle-whorls were found in the Castledyke cemetery. The whorls are all vastly different from one another, with the first, from grave 11, a typical plano-convex shape made of chalk and undecorated. The second, from Grave 17b, a stone doughnut-shaped whorl that is also undecorated. And the last example, from Grave 142 a sub-triangular shape that is made of undecorated bone (Foreman in Drinkall and Forman 1998, 294).

Flixborough yielded a number of spindle-whorls, primarily made of stone, however four examples were made of bone, but have later dates of the late 9th to 10th centuries. Only one spindle whorl was attributed to the late 7th-early 8th century phase (phase 2), which is stone with a set of incised lines or concentric circles on the face (Walton Rogers 2007, 282-3). The Flixborough whorls have been divided into a classification, with A1—defined as being hemispherical in shape, with a large flat face on one side—being the dominant shape for the Humber area of Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire (op. cit., fig. 9.3).

One of the bone examples from Flixborough (no. 2561), is approximately the same size as the Uncleby examples, and is the same shape. It is dated to the late 9th-mid 10th centuries, however. It has been brought into the current discussion primarily due to its manufacture, as it has been lathe-turned, as are most of the stone examples from this period (Walton Rogers 2007, 283). Given the consistencies in size and shape, it is likely that the Uncleby whorls were also made with a lathe.

(iii) Spindle-Whorl Discussion

The overall shapes and sizes of spindle whorls appear to have been fairly uniform until the Late Middle Ages, which makes them difficult objects to use for dating purposes (Walton Rogers 2007, 283-4). The primary concern for a whorl is the weight, for the heavier the whorl, the more tension is given to the yarn and a finer thread is produced. A whorl is placed at the end of a spindle and spun, allowing the thread to wind and drop. Whorls can be changed out, depending on the need for more or less weight. The end result is the spun yarn or thread wound around the spindle (MacGregor 1985, 185; Walton Rogers 2007, 283). Spindles could be made of a variety of materials, most commonly wood, but bone and iron spindles have been found as well (Owen-Crocker 2004, 274)

According to Geake's sample of spindle-whorls in the Anglo-Saxon period, chalk, stone, and clay are the most common materials, with bone ranking somewhere in the middle (Geake 1997, 58). A number of suggestions have been put forward to explain whorls in grave contexts, the most common that they were representative of a woman's spinning skill (Geake 1997, 59). It has also been suggested that they were meant to represent divination, and the destiny of man, based on the Norns of Norse mythology (op. cit. citing Andres 1993, 49).

Another function for whorls has been suggested as belt or purse fastenings (Geake 1997, 59 citing Lethbridge 1931, 76). Occasionally, whorls are found in anatomically sexed male graves, usually in the midriff area and without a buckle (Geake 1997, 59-60). The most common location to find whorls in graves is in the midriff area, but they are also found near the head, feet, hands and arms (Geake 1997, 59). These have been interpreted as part of bag or box collections (op. cit.).

(iv) Uncleby Spindle-Whorl Discussion

There is some confusion surrounding the exact number of spindle-whorls found in the Uncleby cemetery. The *Malton Messenger* reports three whorls found in grave 29, whereas Smith only notes two. Because the *Malton Messenger* article was written during and directly after the excavation, and assuming that the journalist had first-hand accounts of the openings, the following discussions will operate under the assumption that there were three whorls in grave 29, and that the information was mistakenly left out in the later account.

Both sources agree that two whorls that were found at the feet of grave 29, which might indicate that they were contained in a purse or other organic material that would have been lost to natural deterioration over time. While there were no other objects noted or recovered from the area near the feet, this could suggest that any other material was organic, and therefore would not have survived either. The *Malton Messenger* description includes the third whorl, stating that it was found in the midriff area.

Along with the spindle-whorls, grave 29 was found with the most textile related objects: a collection of threads and textile fragments (29.4), a workbox (see workbox discussion below; 29.3), and possibly a spindle. An iron object was described as a picklock in the *Malton Messenger* (25 April 1968) account of the excavation, and was later described as half of a girdle-hanger by Smith (1912b, 151). The iron object is currently unaccounted for in the Uncleby collection, but based on the *Malton Messenger* description, it could be a narrow and cylindrical piece of iron—similar to a Victorian picklock, and presumably why it was thus labelled. Furthermore, according to Smith the object was found under the workbox containing the thread, possibly providing another link to textile production.

The only other grave to have been mentioned with a spindle-whorl, grave 62, did not appear to have any other textile-related objects within the grave. Uncleby grave 62 has been cited as evidence of the 'buckle alternative' theory, noting that the spindle-whorl in the grave was found under the hip, presumably where a buckle would have been (Foreman 1998, 294). Similarly, the *Malton Messenger* notes that the third whorl from Grave 29 was also found under the hip, which could also lend support to the toggle theory. Both graves contained items that would normally have been suspended from a belt: 'girdle-hangers', a workbox, and a knife, respectively, suggesting that a belt or girdle of some sort would have been present. Neither grave was documented with a buckle, which gives further support for a function as fastener.

6.12 Sword

Number in Sample: 1	Grave: 5

(i) Uncleby Sword Description

There is one sword in the Uncleby collection, 5.1. The blade survives, mostly intact, however, there is at least one fragment in the Yorkshire Museum that is likely part of the sword (Unc23). The current state of the blade has a large piece missing on one side near the base; the remaining part has been interpreted as an off-centre handle, however the iron fragment, Unc23, fits the shape and size of the protruding blade fragment from historical photographs (Appendix 2, fig.121). At the time of excavation, a 'handle' was also recovered, however at this time, it is currently considered missing (*MM* 1868b; Smith 1912b, 149).

The blade is double-edged, and radiographic examination shows that it was not pattern-welded. It is in a delicate state of preservation, partially due to mid-20th century conservation techniques, and also to the ever-flocculating nature of iron. At the approximate mid-point of the blade the inner core is visible where the applied edges (and organic surface material?) have broken away, suggesting a laminate manufacture technique (see seax discussion above).

(ii) Comparisons

From the primary sample of sites used throughout the study, only Castledyke had a sword, from grave 179, and the possibility of a second in grave II. The sword from grave 179 has a blade length of 93.2 cm, approximately 12 cm longer than the Uncleby sword. The blade is pattern-welded, and was encased in a scabbard at the time of burial (Gilmour 1998, 246).

The second sword was found in the first phase of the excavation in 1939, and was originally measured at just over 18 inches (45.27 cm) in length (Drinkall and Foreman 1998, 95). Analysis of this blade revealed that it was not pattern-welded, similar to the Uncleby sword (Gilmour 1998, 246). The original find notes compared the sword to Iron Age finds, because of its relatively plain nature compared to other Anglo-Saxon swords (op. cit.).

The remaining contents of the Castledyke graves are both, in their own ways, very different from the Uncleby grave. The occupant of grave 179 was described as

an adolescent (14-16 years of age) 'presumed to be male' based on the accompanying grave goods (op. cit.). The other grave goods were a copper alloy bowl (similar to Uncleby 31.7) and a spear socket that is noted as actually belonging to grave 177 (op. cit.).

Osteological data for grave II was not available for the publication, but has been tentatively sexed as female, again based on the grave goods (op. cit.). Grave II also contained as workbox and some beads suspended on silver slip rings. Because of these findings, it has been suggested that II.1 is actually a weaving tool (sword beater?), rather than an actual sword (op. cit. citing Evison 1982, 112).

(iii) Sword Discussion:

For manufacture discussion, see Seax section.

By the time of the Conversion Period, weapon burials became less frequent than in the preceding centuries, with swords in particular becoming a rarity (Härke 1992, 159; Geake 1997, 72). The overall shift from furnished to unfurnished burials seems a likely contributing factor to the decrease of weapon burials, however other suggestions have been made such as the 'ancestral sword' phenomenon, generally meaning that the sword would be passed from one generation to the next via the male line (Geake 1997, 72 citing Ellis Davidson 1962/98, 52). Another suggestion is that the sword decreased in popularity as the seax increased in popularity in the mid- to late-7th century (Härke 1992, 159), probably due to its size, versatility as a weapon and tool, and the cost of manufacture.

The Anglo-Saxon sword, also known as a broad sword, was usually quite long, with a given average of 68 cm-81 cm in length and a maximum width of 6.5 cm (Bone 1989, 63-4). The swords were double-edged, with steel edges typically butt-welded onto the iron blade (Tylecote and Gilmore 1986, 245). The double edges and length dictate that the weapon would have been best used by swinging side to side, or using chopping-like motions rather than stabbing or thrusting; it has also been noticed that these types of swords were favoured by Roman cavalry who could easily swing the weapon from horseback, but there is little evidence to support the Anglo-Saxon use of horses in warfare (Davis 1989, 141-4).

Most sword-burials were part of larger assemblages, and interestingly, types of vessels seem to be present in approximately half of them (Geake 1997, 72). Half of the sword-graves in her study contained vessels, and therefore it can be assumed that the statistic can be applied to Anglo-Saxon sword-graves in general. Sword blades seem to always be contained in a sheath at the time of deposit (op. cit.). From the 16 complete swords that were found at Buckland all of the blades had traces of fur, fleece, and wood (Evison 1987, 22).

(iv) Uncleby Sword Discussion

The sword in grave 5 was the only object placed in the grave. It was set in front of the crouched remains, with the handle towards the head, and what may have been a sword fitting, described by Smith as 'a piece of bronze adjoining' the handle (1912b, 149). The contemporary sources do not identify the remains as male or female, but it is likely that the person was male, based on the sword and lack of any other artefacts.

6.13 Whetstones

Number in Sample: 2	Grave 11

Associated/Given Typology:
11.2: Ellis sub-group IVA (Ellis 1969, 172-4; Evison 1975, 83)
Unc22: Ellis sub-group IIB (Ellis 1969, 158-61; Evison 1975, 78-9)

(i) Whetstone Descriptions

The term 'whetstone' has traditionally been used to describe the type of objects that are currently being discussed. However, as will be shown below, at least one of them may not be, as it stands out from other examples. The stone found in Grave 11 (11.2), is a long bar made of local limestone that is light yellow in colour and measures 29.5cm x 5cm x 3.5cm (Ellis 1969, 173, 174; Evison 1975, 83). Ellis understood the origin of the stone to have most likely come from the Howardian Hills (Ellis 1969, 174). The stone is flat on the underside, with the top sloping towards one end. On the top face of the stone is a long groove that runs most of the length of the stone down one side. The groove has been interpreted as being a result of sharpening points of weapons or tools (Evison 1975, 83).

The second whetstone, Unc22, was found standing upright on the surface of the mound, approximately 10 inches from the foot of Grave 11 (see below for further discussion on relationship) (Smith 1912b, 149, 150; Evison 1975, 82). It is made of dark greenish-grey sandstone (greywacké) and is of a long, rectangular shape with rounded ends, measuring 47cm x 4.5cm x 5.2cm (Ellis 1969, 158; Evison 1975, 78-79). The stone was not local, and may have come from as far as Southeast Scotland (Ellis 1969, 161; Evison 1975, 79; Arnold 1997, 134). On face **A** are a set of roughly carved lines at one end, which may be an attempt at a runic inscription (fig. 39).

It should be noted that the *Malton Messenger* (25 April 1868) and most of the other contemporary news articles discussing the excavation, mentioned a portion of a third, smaller whetstone found on site, but do not give any further information. However, Smith does not include a third whetstone in the inventory, nor is there any evidence of its existence in the Yorkshire Museum or British Museum collections.

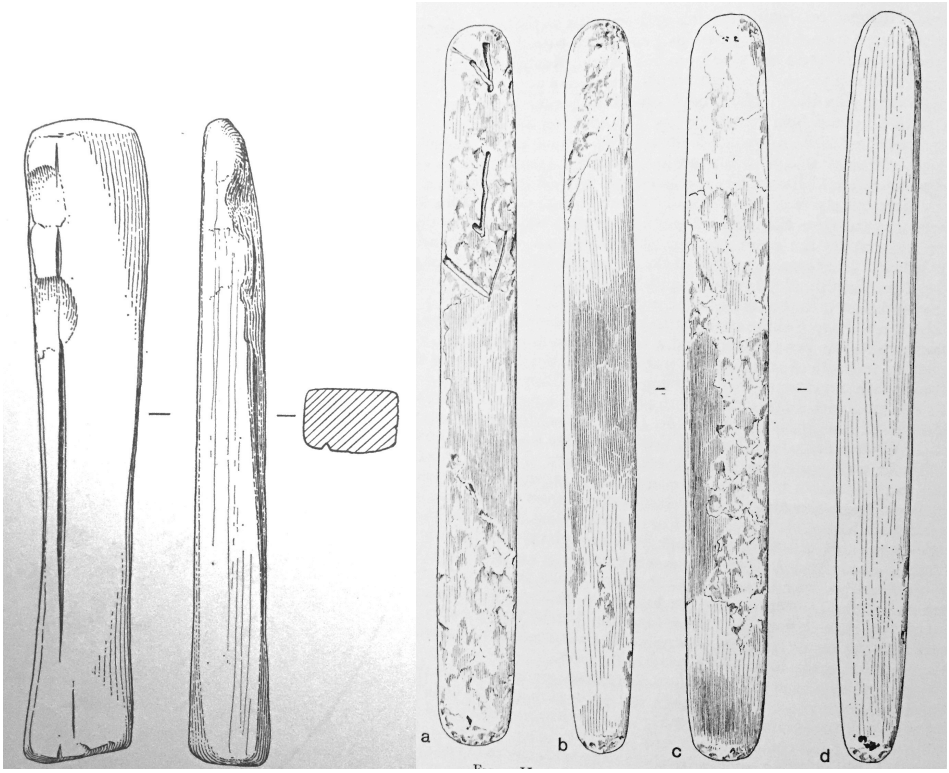


Figure 39 Details of 11.2 (left) and Unc22 (right) faces a-d taken from Evison (1975, p. 80 fig. 5; p. 81, fig. 6)

(ii) Comparisons

Only one comparison to 11.2 has been found, due to its unusually large size. This other stone was found in the grave of a boy, grave 162, at Buckland Dover, along with a broken end of another stone, and some knives (Evison 1987, 111, 252). The full stone is just over 20 cm long, and also has a deep groove along one side (op. cit. 252). Both stones are described as creamy coloured limestone, similar to 11.2 (Ellis in Evison 1987, 162).

At least two, but possibly three graves from the Castledyke cemetery contained fragments of sandstone or mudstone whetstones. The stone from grave 125 may be the closest comparison to 11.2, as it is the only Castledyke stone to be made out of sandstone, and the fragment measurements are comparable, measuring 6.5 cm x 4.1 cm .1.9 cm (Drinkall 1998, 71).

Perhaps because of the rarity of large greywacké stones, comparisons for Unc22 are written about with more frequency than their 'plain' counterparts. At least four stones have been compared to the Uncleby example—or rather, the Uncleby stone has been compared to four others. The most well known of these is the whetstone/sceptre from the princely burial at Sutton Hoo (Suffolk) Mound 1, which is a staggering 58 cm long (82 cm with the metal finial). The top of the stone bar is decorated with carved heads on each face, two of which are bearded and the other two not. Above the heads is a carved knop that was originally painted red, and this is encompassed by a copper-alloy finial that erupts from the stone into a large circle, that is then topped with a copper alloy stag.

Similarly, a top fragment of a whetstone from Loveden Hill (Lincs.) also has a head carved onto one face of the bar, without a beard and possibly representing a woman (Cramp, Everson and Stocker 1999, 182-6). It has been suggested that this stone would have been at least 40 cm long, in part based on the width and thickness of the stone, which are 4.5 cm - 5.5 cm and 2.2 cm – 5.5 cm respectively (op. cit.). These measurements are comparable to Sutton Hoo and Unc22.

Another greywacké stone was found in a grave, 3, in the Harrold (Beds.) cemetery. Although it is smaller than Sutton Hoo, Loveden and Unc22, with a maximum length of 17.5 cm and width of 2.5 cm, it has been placed within the same subgroup as the others based on the stone type (Evison 1970, 42). The Harrold stone is smooth on all faces, and undecorated, which may make it a more appropriate comparison to Unc22, despite its smaller size.

Another greywacké whetstone may have been found in grave 18 at Castledyke, but was not included in the illustrations because it had gone missing (Drinkall 1998, 40). The stone was described as "greenish sandstone, all surfaces smoothed, trapezoid in shape and tapering from one end to the other. A slight indentation due to wear was seen towards the wider end on one of the long sides" (op. cit.). The stone was recorded as just under 10 cm long, and 1 cm to 3.25 cm wide, and 0.8 cm to 1.4 cm thick. The first sentence of the description is in line with the previously described stones: dark in colour and smooth on all sides.

(iii) Whetstone Discussion

Whetstones are usually made up of a stone that has hard, angular minerals, such as quartz or garnet, as part of the fabric (Moore 1978, 61). The most common type of stone to be used in Medieval England are variations of sandstone and limestone, both of which are sedimentary rocks that contain varying levels of quartz depending on the location of deposition (Ellis 1969, Moore 1978, 61).

It has been suggested that there may be two types of whetstones found in Anglo-Saxon England; a type for use, which are typically smaller and show signs of wear, and a type for ceremonial purposes or status symbol that do not show signs of use, but signs of wear from frequent handling, and in some cases are decorated (Geake 1997, 96). In regard to the ceremonial object types, the term whetstone appears to be used out of a sense of tradition and lack of a better term. Because the objects in question so closely resemble whetstones in material and manufacturing technique, this is probably why they are accepted as whetstones.

Most attention to Anglo-Saxon whetstones has been given to the idea of the larger stones being representative of power or authority. However, to quote Geake "…those who have sought a high-status symbolic meaning for the whetstone have found what they are looking for" (1997, 96). There is little doubt that the Sutton Hoo stone from Mound 1 has an alternative function or symbolic meaning, but to ascribe a ceremonial significance to all whetstones, or whetstones of a certain size or fabric could be detrimental to understanding the overall role of the ceremonial stones, or the simple explanation that they were tools of a sort.

(iv) Uncleby Whetstone Discussion

Grave 11 is without a doubt the 'richest' male grave in the cemetery. As well as having the large 'functional' whetstone, 11.2, the grave also contained a large seax, a knife, an iron 'hook-and-eye', as well as a bone handle—that may or may not have belonged to the knife or seax (Smith 1912b, 150). Evison has convincingly argued that the second whetstone, Unc22, should be considered a part of the grave 11 assemblage, based on the proximity of to grave 11, which was placed approximately 10 inches from the foot of the grave (Evison 1975, 81).

The evidence from both stones suggests that 11.2 was definitely used as a whetstone over a long period of time, given the distinct slope on the surface of the stone, which can be attributed to a long history of sharpening. As mentioned above, there is a deep groove that runs the length of the stone that was used for sharpening points. All evidence points to this stone as being a tool, albeit a rather large example. The size of the stone may have been more appropriate for sharpening longer blades, like those of a seax or sword. It was clearly not a handheld object, based on the flattened side of the stone that has no evidence of sharpening wear. Therefore, it must have been placed on a surface, and the blade would have been dragged along the length.

Unc22 does pose some interesting possibilities. The marks that are on the end of face **A** are reminiscent of Norse or Anglo-Saxon runes. Aside from the etchings, there are small areas on the stone that have red paint on them. Evison originally believed that the paint was contemporary to the stone, similar to the paint on the Sutton Hoo whetstone, however it was determined that the pigments of the paint could not have existed before the 19th century (Evison 1975, 79 fn. 3). This begs the question: are the 'runic' inscriptions authentic? It has been presumed by some that the carvings were added to the stone sometime after the excavation (per. comm. Adam Parker, Assistant Curator, Yorkshire Museum). The markings are shallow and rudimentary, to be sure, however, natural weathering to the stone could easily explain the depth of the carvings. As to the crudeness of the lettering (assuming that the marks are runes), a lack of literacy from the carver could be offered as a tentative explanation—perhaps a person who was attempting to copy or mimic lettering they had seen elsewhere.

Unc22 does not show familiar signs of use that would be expected on a tool used for sharpening implements. Ellis goes so far as to suggest that this particular

stone may have 'ceremonial character' given the type and amount of wear (Ellis 1969, 159). Evison notes the uneven surface on all faces with an exception of smooth areas that are primarily seen on faces A and C; given the location and size of the smoothed areas she has hypothesised that this is where one would have held the stone upright while resting it in their lap (Evison 1975, 80-81).

6.14 Workboxes

Number in Sample: 3 *4-5 were reported by Smith (1912b), 3 survive.*	Graves: 1, 3, 29, *31*

Associated/Given Typology:
Gibson Type I (1993)

(i) Uncleby Workbox Descriptions

Both the *Malton Messenger* and Smith reported five workboxes found in four graves; Smith recorded graves 1, 3, 29 and 31, and the *MM* reported graves 1, an unspecified grave (could be graves 1, 2 or 3), 29 and 30 (actually grave 31) (25 April; Smith 1912b 149, 151). The boxes noted in grave 31 (*MM* grave 30) were not described in detail in either account, which might suggest that only fragments of the objects remained, and may explain why they are not present in the Yorkshire Museum or British Museum collections. The three boxes that do survive from are made of thin copper-alloy sheet. They are all cylindrical in form with pull/push lids that were attached to the body with a short chain, and have simple stamped decoration.

The box from Grave 1 (1.1) has the most elaborate decoration of the three; the body is decorated with a punched herringbone band that runs around the circumference; the top of the lid is decorated with a punched encircled cross that has larger (almost cabochon size and shape) punches in the centre of the cross and in the negative space of the arms. The underside of the body of 1.1 is also decorated with a central cross that is encircled by three bands of punched dot circles; the middle band consisting of a slightly larger 'punch' (fig. 40). It was described as being found near the left shoulder, surrounded by wood and iron nails (*MM* 25 April; Smith 1912b, 149).

The workbox from grave 3 (3.1) is slightly different from the others; the body of the container does not have any punched decoration, but is horizontally ribbed. The top of the box is decorated with three bands of punched dot concentric circles. The underside of the box is also decorated with three concentric circles, but additionally has a small, equal-armed cross in the centre, composed of solid lines rather than dots. The original copper-linked chain is still attached to the body, made of three 'S', or figure-eight, links.

The box from grave 29 (29.1) is the largest of the three, with a total height of 8.3 cm. The body has three bands of punched lines that wrap around the vessel; between the lines are a band of zigzags that overlap on one side to create an argyle pattern. Like 3.1, the top of the box is decorated with a simple concentric circle design, and the bottom with an encircled cross. The cross in 29.1 differs from the others slightly; 1.1 and 3.1 both have single line crosses whereas 29.1 is made of four lines with the ends connected by the circle, creating a shape that is similar to a cross pattée, or eight wedges. A corroded iron chain is still attached to the lid.

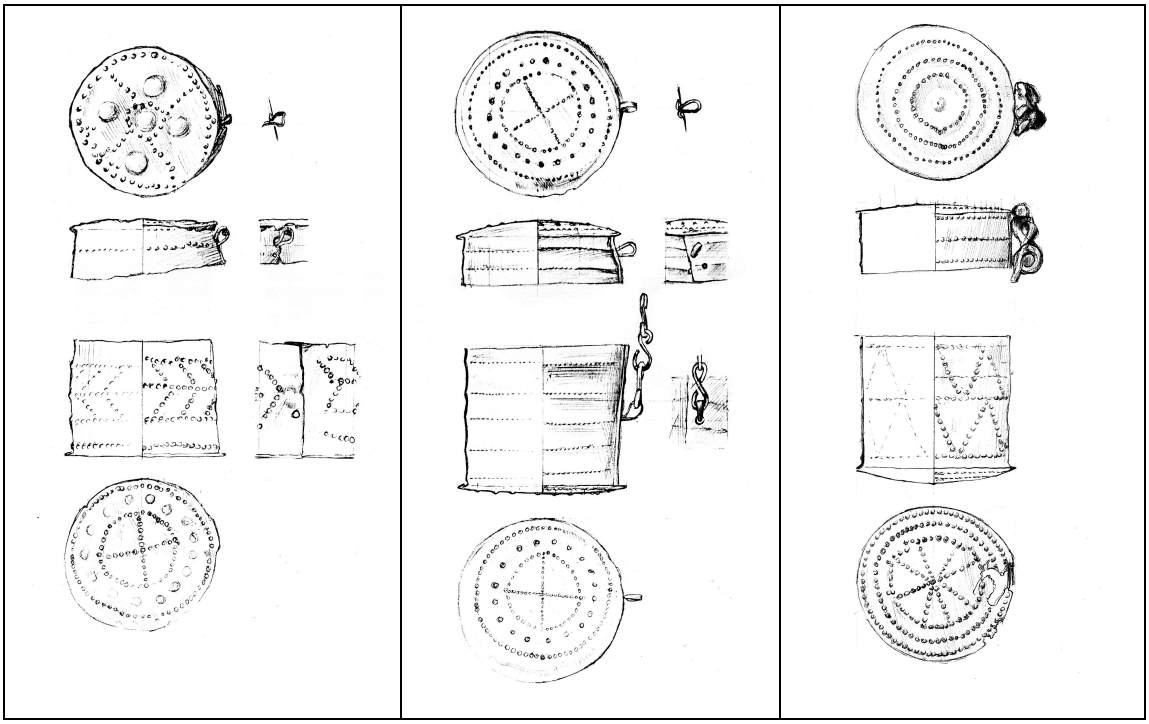


Figure 40 Illustrations of workboxes, from left to right: Box 1.1 detail of the body, top of the lid and bottom of the vessel. Box 3.1 detail of the body, top of the lid and bottom of the vessel. Box 29.1 detail of the body, top of the lid and bottom of the vessel. Illustrations by N. Griffiths.

(ii) Comparisons

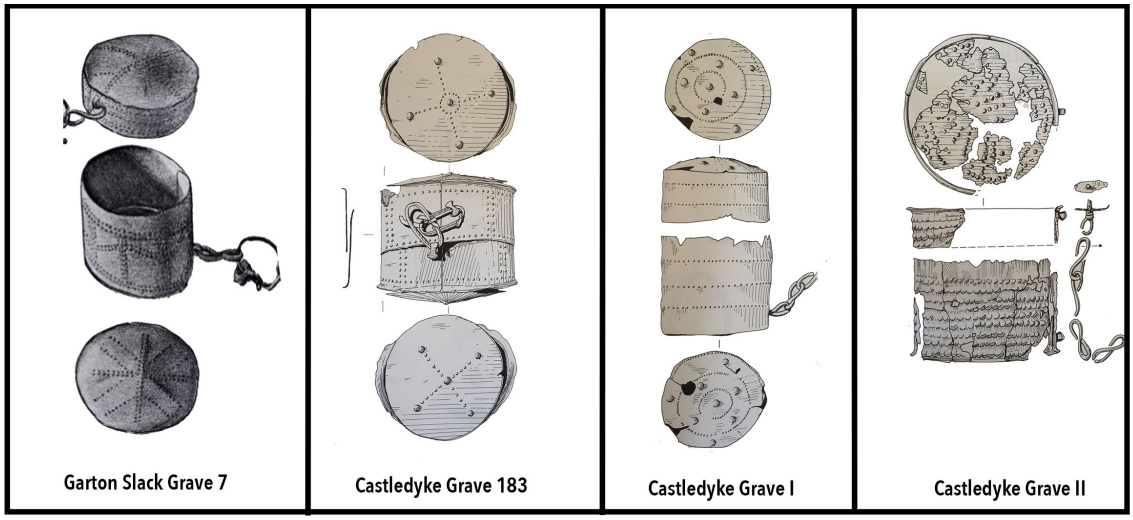


Figure 41 Workbox comparisons, from left to right: 1) Garton Slack grave 7 (Mortimer 1905, fig. 643); B) Castledyke Grave 183 (Drinkall 1998, fig. 114); C) Castledyke Grave I (Drinkall 1998, fig. 119); D) Castledyke Grave II (Drinkall 1998, fig. 121).

A workbox was found in Painsthorpe Wold Barrow 4, metres away from the Uncleby cemetery, in a woman's grave that also contained a Br2-type brooch, amethyst beads, a knife and the remains of a purse (Mortimer 1905, 117, plt. XXXV fig. 279). Mortimer does not provide a description beyond it being made of bronze, nor does the illustration show any design or pattern (op. cit.).

Grave 7 from Garton Slack, another site excavated by Mortimer, produced a workbox in a richly furnished female grave (1905, 248). In this example, the box was simply described as 'ornamented with dotted lines punched from the inside', but the accompanying illustration shows a detailed and complex pattern on the body of the box (op. cit. plt. 84, fig. 643). The body of the box is lined with two rows of dots on the bottom edge and approximately a fifth of the way down from the top. The space is separated with two rows of vertical bands, and the interior of the space has an upward pointing arrow-like design, again made from two rows of dots. The ends of the arrows appear to join; making a zigzag that encompasses the entire cylinder. The top of the box has a simple cruciform design in double-rowed dots, and the bottoms has a slightly more complex version of the design, with wider arms in-between the thinner, creating an asterisk or star motif (or a double-cruciform).

Castledyke also uncovered three workboxes, from graves I, II and 183 (Drinkall 1998, 285). The box from grave 183 has a simple design of dotted bands that are on the bottom edge and near the top, again approximately a fifth away from the edge, that are then separated by evenly spaced vertical bands of double-dots,

similar to the Garton Slack example, but without decoration inside the frames (Drinkall 1998, 200 fig. 114).

The box from Castledyke grave I was simply decorated with four rows of punched dots evenly spaced from the bottom edge to about a fifth of the way to the top edge (op. cit. 205, fig. 119). Both the top and bottom domes had a large central boss, encircled by a ring of smaller dots, followed by four evenly spaced larger dots, again encircled, and another four larger dots off-centre from the previous (op. cit.).

The third box from Castledyke, grave II, was more fragmented. The bottom of the box had fallen away or deteriorated at some point, and the top of the lid is fragmented to the point that a design cannot be deciphered. The body of the box was decorated with eight rows of tightly spaced repoussé dots (op. cit. 207, fig. 121). This was the only box from the Castledyke collection to be found containing anything; an assortment of textile remains, some adhering to an iron object, probably a pin, as well as other textile fragments and threads, and caper spurge (*euphorbia lathyris*) seeds (op. cit. 95).

(iii) Workbox Discussion

There are at least 50 confirmed workboxes that have been excavated in England, with a minimum of four others that have been definitely recognised through the Portable Antiquities Scheme (Geake 1997, 34; PAS). There are two types of workboxes that have been identified; Type I, which makes up approximately 80% of the corpus, is cylindrical with pull/push lids attached by a chain to the lid and body, whereas Type II—making up 5%— has a protruding plate to connect the lid and body of the container (Gibson 1993, 2-4). The remaining 15% of Gibson's examples were too deteriorated or incomplete and could therefore not be included in his typology.

All known examples are cylindrical in shape and measure 4 cm-7 cm in height, and 5 cm-6 cm in diameter (Geake 1997, 34). They have a simple construction of four pieces of copper alloy sheet; two rectangular sheets for the main container and the lid, and two discs for either end. The sheets are decorated before being formed into a cylinder where the overlapping ends are then riveted together. At least one of the attaching rivets on the body and lid are used to attach the chain in Type I workboxes. The discs, which are usually hammered to be convex, are added

by folding and crimping to the body and usually reinforced with solder (Gibson 1993, 2).

The containers typically have very simple punched dot decoration, although a few examples have added incised lines (Geake 1997, 34). One of the most common motifs to be found on the containers is the punched equal-arm cruciform design on the surface and/or underside of the container. Another common design element for the discs is concentric circles, which may or may not include a cruciform. Occasionally the boxes may be gilded or silvered (op. cit.). Implications and interpretations of the designs will be discussed below.

Four primary regions have been identified with high occurrences of the boxes; East Yorkshire and the Humber, the Cambridge region, The Upper Thames, and East Kent (Gibson 1993, 23). It has also been observed that a majority of workboxes were found in prehistoric barrows and monuments in East Yorkshire and Kent, but this could be related to antiquarian activity in the two regions and not necessarily representative of the original distribution (Gibson 1993, 22).

There are certain things that can be deduced from the design of the boxes; both ends are convex, making it impractical to set them on a surface without tilting or falling over. This would indicate that the contents of the containers would have been solid or large enough that items would not slip through the body seam or other small crevices. Hawkes noted the simple and elegant pull-push lids of the containers, suggesting that the contents would have been easily accessible and frequently used (1973, 197).

Meaney found flaws in the suggested 'easy access' of the boxes. She pointed out that many have been found with organic material still inside, which indicates that the seals were airtight, and therefore would not have been easily opened (1981, 181). She continues by suggesting that if the pull/push lids were as snuggly fitted as they appear, 'then it would be only too easy for the clumsy fingered to jerk at it and send the contents flying' (op. cit.). Similarly, it has been observed that the awkward bulkiness of the boxes, though small and light in weight, would have been a hindrance to the wearer if it was hung from the waist, and, furthermore would have been in danger of being damaged from constant bumping against the legs due to the thinness of the copper sheet (Hills 2011, 15).

The function of the workbox has been a source of discussion amongst archaeologists. Given that a number have been found with items relating to textile production—including thread, needles, cloth and leather fragments—they have been interpreted as containers relating to modern-day sewing kits and are therefore sometimes referred to as 'thread-boxes' (Hawkes 1973, 196-7; Meaney 1981, 181). However, other collections of objects have been found in the boxes, including toilette kits, roman coins, flora remnants, small stones and other 'amuletic' objects (Meaney 1981 181-7).

The dating, decoration and contents of the bronze boxes make the determination of use a point of discussion. The three primary suggested uses are as a thread-box/'sewing kit' (Hawkes 1973); acting as a 'symbolic first aid box' (Meaney 1981, 188); or as a container to hold Christian relics (Hills 2011). It is unanimously accepted that the containers were a female status symbol, but the nature of the status and whether it rested upon some religious or utilitarian role is unknown (Hawkes 1979; Meaney 1981; Evison 1987; Blackmore 2006; Hills 2011).

Workboxes are found in late 7th to early 8th century contexts, with women and sometimes children, putting them firmly towards the end of the Conversion Period (Geake 1997, 34). The simple decoration associated with workboxes could have Christian symbolism, but could equally—and most likely—be nothing more than a symmetrical and geometric design (Geake 1997, 43 citing Gibson 1993). There are a few examples of the decoration being overtly Christian in nature, such the finds from Burwell (Cambs.), North Leigh (Oxon.) and Cuxton (Kent) (Geake 1997, 43; Blackmore 2006, 35-41; Hills 2011, 18). Two bronze containers from Cuxton, only one of which is a traditional workbox, have very deliberate Christian iconography that was incised, faintly, onto the surface of the vessels at a later date (Blackmore 2006, 39). The original design of the suspension plate of the workbox had Style II animal heads that were re-worked to resemble fish or 'prophet saints', with a central image of a Latin cross on the top of a mound, flanked by two more crosses (Blackmore 2006, 39). Similarly, the workbox from North Leigh was also incised with a deliberately Christian cross, which may also have been a later addition to the object (Hills 2006, 18).

It is because of these examples, and the frequency of cruciform designs, that workboxes have been interpreted as reliquary boxes. When material does survive, it

is usually as small fragments of textile or thread that would not have many practical uses. The interpretation, therefore, is that they could be secondary relics from Christian saints (Hills 2006, 16-17). Alternatively, workboxes have been interpreted as symbols of healing, with the small fragments of thread and textile representative of 'ingredients' needed for medicinal charms, since the quantities needed would not have fit inside the container (Meaney 1981, 186-188).

This raises the question of personal preference. The majority of the cruciform shapes found on the workboxes are all equal-armed, which could just as easily be a metaphor for balance, a representation of the four seasons, the cardinal directions or any other number of meanings. That the Cuxton boxes had Christian symbols added at a later date would suggest that the original purpose of the boxes were not for personal reliquaries or anything else relating to Christianity. It is reasonable to presume that as beliefs changed, so did the functions and symbolism of objects, and workboxes could have been adapted and repurposed by their owners as devotional containers

However, the location of the boxes found in the graves implies that they were either suspended, or kept in a bag/purse that hung from the waist. This does not necessarily indicate daily use of the containers. Given the funerary contexts and condition of the boxes it may be suggested that the containers were worn on special occasions or for specific events—the fact that they are found as grave goods proposes that they do hold symbolic meaning. Meaney's argument for the boxes being symbolic as a first aid kit seems plausible, as does the argument for the boxes being representative of womanly skill in textile, healing and overall domestic use (Meaney 1981, 188; Hawkes 1973). Graves with workboxes are rarely found with other grave goods that would be considered 'high status', such as precious metal jewellery (Geake 1997, 35).

(iv) Uncleby Workbox Discussion

Considering the size of the cemetery, it is extraordinary to have four recorded workbox finds in one site, let alone a possible fifth. The *Malton Messenger* and Smith's article both contradict themselves when discussing the number of workboxes. The *Malton Messenger* clearly states in the opening paragraph that four bronze boxes were found throughout the excavation, but later in the article notes a

box in grave 1, another at the foot of a grave near grave 1, the box containing thread in grave 29, and a box in front of the waist of grave 30, and between the 'detached thigh and leg-bone' of the same grave (*MM* 25 1868).

Aside from clarifying the grave associations, the later account of the excavation is in line with the *Malton Messenger* article, with the exception that in his brief discussion of objects, Smith does not state how many boxes were found, only that they were found in 'four graves (at least)' (1912b, 154). As stated at the beginning of this section, the boxes from grave 31 were not described, but the remaining three boxes have been described in detail, and there is little doubt that the grave associations are accurate.

Based on the descriptions, it can be safely assumed that the workbox in grave 1 had been placed in a wooden box that was located near the shoulder of the individual (*MM* 25 April 1868; Smith 1912b, 149). This may not be an unusual placement of workboxes in the grave, as both the Painsthorpe Wold and Garton Slack boxes were found in containers within the grave (Mortimer 1905, 117, 248-50; Geake 1997, 35). Furthermore, given the placement of the box in grave 3, at the feet with two beads, this may indicate that the workbox was placed in a purse or other organic container.

The box from grave 29, and one from grave 31, were both found at the waist, which is where one would assume to find a workbox that had been suspended from a girdle. If we are to believe that a second workbox was found in grave 31, between the thigh and shin, one way to interpret this is that it may have been found behind the contracted remains, where it would have fallen if the box had been worn on the individuals left side. It has also been suggested that the second box from grave 31 may have actually belonged to the grave next to it, grave 30, which was unfurnished (Geake citing Gibson 1993, 192).

As has been mentioned above, the box from grave 29 contained a collection of threads and textile remains. The pieces were examined in 1966 by Wool Industries Research Association, which concluded that there were two types of fibres in the sample, a flax and wool (Crowfoot 1972). They were sent for examination again in 1972, and were examined by Elisabeth Crowfoot, M.L. Ryder and C.L. Haddock. The analysis was much more in depth, identifying seven different types of remains:

(a) A ball of thread made from a natural fibre, likely flax, and not dyed.

(b) A mass of woollen threads dyed with indigo, resulting in a dark blue or green, with some areas lighter.

(c) A small roll of red woollen thread, dyed with madder.

(d) Some coarse, dark golden-yellow woollen thread dyed with weld.

(e) Fragments of very dark, almost black, woollen thread that is naturally dyed.

(f) Three very small fragments of woven textiles, two of which are almost certainly tablet woven, and the third piece too deteriorated to tell.

(g) Fragments of hide, most likely lambskin. The largest piece was folded and had traces of textile, thought to be from (f).

All of the threads are Z spun, meaning that they are twisted to the left. Woollen threads (b), (c) and (e) are very tightly wound and springy, with the remaining threads appearing like loose yarn. The woven textile remains (f) were speculated as being tablet woven based on the frayed ends, but were alternatively suggested as being fringes from a larger piece of cloth. However, given that a leather piece (g) was found with remains of cloth inside the folds, thought to belong to one of the smaller fragments recovered, it was suggested that these items together may have been the end of a tablet-woven belt.

The unpublished report was finished with a suggestion for the workboxes that has not yet been introduced, "…perhaps these little boxes were also used for sentimental treasures such as fragments from children's garments" (Crowfoot 1972). The simplicity of this idea for a workbox, as a personal treasure-box, seems just as likely, if not more, as the suggestions that have already been put forth; as sewing boxes, first aid kits or Christian reliquaries.

6.15 Summary

Ideally, a grave has the potential to tell us many things about the individual and their community; who they were, what they did, what they believed in, and more. However, antiquarian sites, such as Uncleby, generally cannot provide enough hard evidence to create a complete picture. Because of this, the conclusions that can be made are limited, particularly for Anglian sites in the Yorkshire Wolds. As stated in chapters 2 and 3, Greenwell showed impartiality of Anglian sites that he

excavated, and while Mortimer was more thorough in documenting all of his activities, there is still a lack of Anglian attention in *Forty Years Research*. Based on what is available from Uncleby, the objects can give a brief glimpse into Anglian ideas of gender, as well as help to establish a period of use for the cemetery.

Evaluations of wealth and status are slightly more problematic to establish, in part because many of the comparable sites in East Yorkshire were excavated in the 19th century, which are usually less accessible for data gathering. Without comprehensive comparison of nearby sites, the complexity and inner workings of the social and cultural aspects of Anglian Uncleby are difficult to ascertain. Some objects in the Uncleby collection lend themselves towards a general idea of wealth and/or status based on the rarity of the material or object-type throughout Anglo-Saxon England, such as the whetstone that is loosely comparable to princely burial at Sutton Hoo. Others objects, like workboxes, may be less frequent in the rest of the country, but appear more often in northern England, and therefore may not be symbolic of status in Deira or Northumberland, but indicative of migration or trade with south.

From the 179 recorded objects in the Uncleby collection, 58 are currently missing or have been misplaced. Most of the missing objects are knives, with at least 13 unaccounted for, and followed by nine missing buckles. In some cases, these are the only objects that were found in graves. A further seven graves that contained assemblage combinations of knives, buckles and the occasional spatula have not been associated with any of the known collection. Aside from buckles and knives, other objects of higher quality/interest have been lost; a silver and carnelian pendant from grave 13, two spindle-whorls from grave 29, one or two workboxes from grave 31, a 'quartz bead' from grave 35 and a 'Samian ware' pendant from grave 39.

In one case of a missing object—a bead from grave 1—it was given a museum accession number (YMT 1947.214), and photographed, probably in the 1930s, as belonging to the collection (appendix 2). The photograph shows a spiral bead next to a label reading 'No. 1', with another label just below it reading 'at neck'. Even though the photograph is in black and white, the markings do not match with any of the spiral beads in the physical collection at the Yorkshire Museum.

Some of the missing objects, such as those described as iron fragments, may have been left in the grave, particularly if they were unidentifiable or in many small

and delicate pieces. Another option is that the objects have been temporarily misplaced in the Yorkshire Museum stores. This is not meant as a criticism or indictment against the museum, but is merely meant to offer a suggestion pertaining to the location of the objects that were presumably donated to the museum, however they have not been recorded in any catalogues or registers in the Yorkshire Museum Trust. Of course, another explanation for some of the missing objects may be that they were given away, traded, sold or looted from the site. For the most part, the missing objects do not affect the significance or dating of the site, but it would be remiss not to address them.

Containers

Based on the descriptions of the location of grave goods, up to nine graves may have had some type of organic container that was either an object in its own right or held part or all of the grave assemblage. Grave 1 almost certainly did, as the workbox (1.2) was described as having wood and iron nails around it (Smith 1912b, 149). The description for grave 66 questioned if part of the assemblage had been held in a purse (op. cit. 154). The contents, some bronze, a bead, a polished stone (66.9) and piece of jet (now missing), were all located in front of the knee, along with an iron chain (66.5). Other graves had similar clusters of objects that did not appear on the body; in grave 65 a comb (65.3) and small piece of cloisonné cell work (65.2) were found near the head (Smith 1912b, 153).

Small assemblages were also found near the feet in some graves, for example grave 29 had two spindle-whorls, and if we are to believe the accuracy of the description for grave 3, two beads (3.5 or 3.9) and a workbox (3.8) were located at the feet (Smith 1912b, 149, 151). Other graves were noted as having wood, rivets, and/or metal bands present; grave 38 was noted as having 'bronze with wood inside' (28.2) behind the head, and some bronze rivets near the shoulder and grave 60 had bronze bands with wood and rivets in front of the chest (Smith 1912b, 151, 153). Three more graves contained iron fragments; grave 23 had an 'indeterminate piece of iron at the feet', grave 26 contained two iron rods (26.2, 26.3) and a piece of copper alloy, and grave 31 had 'some' iron, not the knife or spatula tool, in front of the chest, between the workbox and brooch (31.1) (Smith 1912b, 150, 151).

The majority of vessels found in Anglo-Saxon graves, which can be wood, antler or leather, are only evident by decayed stains in the soil, or small metal attachments (Geake 1997, 81-2). These containers can be small boxes, cups, bowls or buckets. The only object in the Uncleby collection that can likely be associated with a vessel is a copper alloy clip (Unc8). Similar to fittings have been found in association with wooden cups and bowls; the clip would have been placed over a metal rim encircling the top edge of wood and then secured with a rivet (Geake 1997, 91-2; 300, fig. 4.36). Although only one was found, there may still be more in the grave that were overlooked or ignored due to disinterest from Greenwell or the labourer(s) working at the site.

Bags and purses are more difficult to identify. Some can be recognised by small metal fittings or rings, while others may have been draw-string bags that would leave no archaeological trace (Geake 1997, 80). In instances where there are no fittings, a tight cluster of objects suggests that they were contained in a purse or bag (op. cit.).

Assemblages

A small number of the objects may speak to wealth or status; such as the whetstones, workboxes and gold pendants, but the majority of the objects are more common, 'everyday' possessions. Most of the assemblages can be related to costume, with knives and/or buckles occurring in 43 graves—all but eight of the furnished graves. Other objects, like the brooches, hooked tags and beads/necklaces also relate to costume, but suggest that there was an awareness and decision to accessorise the deceased, rather than plainly interring them.

Eight graves contained larger assemblages; graves 29, 35 and 38 had six objects, grave 11 had seven objects, graves 3 and 66 contained nine, grave 31 had 12 or 13, and grave 66 contained 14 objects. Of the remaining graves, 14 had a single object; nine contained two objects; 11 contained three objects; five graves contained four objects, and four graves contained five objects.

Assemblages, like that from grave 31, contain more than costume related items, and include objects that were specifically relegated to the grave. The large bronze bowl was, clearly, not part of that woman's everyday attire, and maybe not an object that was used every day, but was interred nonetheless. The same can be

applied to objects that were intentionally placed in the grave; the spindle-whorls at the feet of grave 29, the comb and cloisonné fragment behind the head in grave 65; the whetstone in grave 11: the inclusion of these objects and their locations within the grave speak of intentional actions by the mourners/funeral attenders.

It has been suggested that objects placed in the grave, and not necessarily part of the costume, reflect the mourners rather than the individual (Williams 2006, 67). This theory is based around the idea of mnemonics—that the curation of the grave and associated objects are meant to be represent individual and social memories, rather than used to remark upon the identity or personality of the deceased (Williams 2006). To take this idea a step further, perhaps assemblages should be viewed as representative of the family or community of the person in the grave, rather than as literal indicators of age, status, identity, ethnicity, wealth and so on.

Dating the cemetery through objects

Geake created five overlapping 'lifespan' groups for the Anglo-Saxon period that she analysed, which generally showed how long an object type was in use and with what other object types it may be found (1997, 123, 137-9 table 6.1). The variety and uniqueness of objects from her groups D (c. 650-c. 725) and E (enduring after c.725) help to narrow down a chronology for objects and assemblages in the Uncleby cemetery (Table 16).

The objects that occur in the Uncleby collection and Geake's group D are: bullae, double tongue-buckles, twisted inlay beads, workboxes, openwork buckles and filigree disc pendants (Geake 1997, 138 table 6.1). All of these objects were in use for approximately 75 years, and rarely, if ever, are found outside of this period. Whetstones and hooked tags, meanwhile, have a slightly longer and later span, but with a noted frequency also c. 650-c. 725(op. cit.).

The variety of objects found in the Uncleby cemetery is fairly consistent with other Conversion Period sites. However, Smith noted the unusual lack of certain objects, primarily square-headed brooches, spears, and amber bead (Smith 1912b, 157). Based on the types of objects that are present, particularly the workboxes, the 'whetstones', and the gold filigree disc pendants, the lack of spears and amber help to narrow down the time period of the cemetery to the second half of the 7th

century, and possibly even more specific to the last quarter of the century. It is therefore not unusual that amber beads and spears, which are relatively frequent finds for the 6th and early 7th centuries, are absent in the Uncleby collection.

Based on this evidence, we can state with a reasonable degree of confidence that the cemetery was in use for the period between c. 650-c.725. This does not necessarily mean that this is the only timeframe for the cemetery, only that it was probably not in use before c. 650. Objects from Geake's group A, such as disc brooches, claw beakers, amber beads, and scutifom pendants, for example, (c.600-c.650) do not occur in the Uncleby collection. The remaining Uncleby object types are found in her groups B and C, which tended to have longer lifespans, and are slightly more common throughout the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period, and are not necessarily able to contribute in a more specific date range.

Table 16 Select object 'lifespans' based on Geake 1997 (Table 6.1)

Object Types	Date Ranges
Amethyst Bead	650-725
Bulla	650-725
Comb (dbl.)	550-725
Filigree Disc Pendant	660-725
Hooked Tag	660-725
Openwork Buckle	660-725
Whetstone	650-725
Workbox	660-725

Objects and Gender

Greenwell noted 71 Anglian inhumations in the cemetery. However, as previously demonstrated in chapter 5, five more burials have been identified in the course of this research. Of the 76 identified inhumations 52 were accompanied by at least one object, with the majority (36) containing multiple objects. Table 19 shows what objects were found in what grave (based on inventory provided by Smith), along with the total number of objects in the graves (see also Appendix A), and their probable gender/sex. There are at least 20 different types of objects in the Uncleby collection, with additional objects that cannot be identified due to poor preservation of the material.

It is common practice to utilize grave-good assemblages in order to ascribe gender to burials; with the general assumption that weapons are masculine, and therefore male, and that jewellery is feminine, so must be female. However, as Lucy discovered when comparing gendered assemblages to sexed remains at Sewerby and West Heslerton, the majority of the time the assumption that sex and gender were the same held true, but there were examples that showed discrepancies. Out of the 184 burials at West Heslerton, 23 were definitively sexed (seven male and 16 female), with an additional two probable females. At Sewerby six out of the 59 were definitely sexed (two male and four female), with two more males and four more females cited as probable (Lucy 1998, 43-44).

The weapon and jewellery assemblages that were analysed against the sexed remains at West Heslerton showed that three females were associated with weapon burials. Conversely, at Sewerby three males were associated with jewellery assemblages (op. cit.). Even though the numbers are small, it shows that archaeologists need to be careful and open-minded when considering sex and gender in these contexts.

Using grave goods to ascribe gender can be a useful exercise, but has certain limitations. For example, common objects such as knives and buckles are found equally distributed between both sexes and therefore cannot be gendered. Alternatively, objects such as seaxes and workboxes are very closely—and almost exclusively—reserved for one gender on the other.

In Conversion Period cemeteries, it is common to find higher numbers of feminine assemblages than masculine (Geake 1997, 128). There are exceptions, particularly in regard to representation of status and wealth, which are usually masculine, like Sutton Hoo, Burwell and Finglesham (op. cit.). As the sexed remains from West Heslerton and Sewerby showed, the number of female remains was at least double that of male (Lucy 1998, 43-44). The lower number of males does not mean that they were not present, but only indicates that their visibility in mortuary contexts is not as high.

The majority of the Uncleby objects are gender neutral, however there are some that are strong indicators of being masculine or feminine. When these objects are evaluated through their associated assemblages, a stronger association with one gender or another can be established. For the Uncleby assemblages, gender-

associations have not been made lightly. Where there are three or fewer grave goods, the assemblages have generally been considered neutral in this study. One grave has been included that contained only one object, but was determined and included through comparison to similar graves within Uncleby and other sites.

Fourteen out of Greenwell's 71 identified graves were assigned a gender, presumably based on grave good assemblages, but potentially allocated on the basis of craniology. The original report cited nine men and five women in the cemetery, although in two cases sex was used as the identifier (graves 3 and 9) (Smith1912b). Grave assemblages support six of the 14 associations (three masculine and three feminine), but seven of the remaining eight report gender neutral assemblages, such as a knife and/or buckle, which are found with men and women (Table 17). Grave 18 did not have any grave goods, but was presumably associated as male because of the length of the grave—6'10 in. x 1'3 in. x 9 in. (Smith 1912b, 150). Therefore it stands to reason that gender was probably determined by examination of the skeletal remains, however inaccurate and problematic that may be.

Table 17 (Left) Gender associations made by Greenwell and Smith with gender and gender associated assemblages. (Right) Additional gender associated objects/assemblages.

Grave/Gender/Gender Assemblage (1912)	Additional Grave/Gender Assemblage (2018)
3/F/F	1/F
9/M/M	5/M* (one: seax)
18/M/none	11/M
33/M/N	13/F
37/F/F?	29a/F
44/M/N	31/F
48/M/N	35/F
49/F/N	38/F
57/F/N	43/F
61/M/M	45/F
64/M/N	62/F
66/F/F	65/F
67/M/N	
68/M/M	

When including other strongly gendered grave assemblages, an additional two masculine and ten feminine graves can be added to the number (Table 17). Grave 5, which contained only a sword, is considered masculine based on an assumption that the other weapon graves are more likely to be masculine. This is

further validated by the frequency of swords and seaxes within male graves in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

Table 18 Graves with gender neutral objects/assemblages and graves without objects

Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	No Objects	No Objects	No Objects
Gr. 6	Gr. 22	Gr. 42	Gr. 58	Gr. 2	Gr. 20	Gr. 34
Gr. 7	Gr. 23	Gr. 46	Gr. 59	Gr. 4	Gr. 21	Gr. 36
Gr. 8	Gr. 24	Gr. 47	Gr. 60	Gr. 14	Gr. 27a	Gr. 40
Gr. 10	Gr. 25	Gr. 50	Gr. 63	Gr. 17	Gr. 27b	Gr. 51
Gr. 12	Gr. 32	Gr. 52	Gr. I	Gr. 18a	Gr. 28a	Gr. 54
Gr. 15	Gr. 39	Gr. 53		Gr. 18b	Gr. 28b	Gr. 55
Gr. 16	Gr. 41	Gr. 56		Gr. 18c	Gr. 29b	Gr. II
					Gr. III	

Based on the assemblages and Greenwell's information, there are 15 women and 11 men identified in the cemetery. The higher number of women visible in the mortuary landscape is not uncommon, nor does it suggest that there were more women than men in these communities. One argument for this imbalance is that women were the signifiers of wealth, status, and identity—possibly for their kin—and were thus given more elaborate mortuary furnishings (Geake 1997, 128). Geake also suggested that cemetery populations would be fairly balanced between the sexes, and concluded that 'our missing Conversion Period men are in unfurnished and undatable graves' (Geake 1997, 128). If this logic were extended to include gender neutral objects and assemblages, and assuming an equal balance of male and female, Uncleby would still have a higher proportion of women (Table 18). As Table 18 shows, there are a total of 50 graves that either have gender-neutral objects/assemblages, or have no objects. Following Geake's logic, there should be an additional 25 men and 25 women, bringing the final total to 40 women and 36 men.

Table 19 (p. 231) Assemblages by grave: B-Beads; BWL-Bowl; BR-Brooch; CMB-Comb; CLOI-Cloisonné cell; DrFit-Dress Fitting/Hook Tag; GH/Chain-Girdle Hanger or chain; Kn-Knife; PEND-Pendant; AG Ring-Silver slipknot ring; SUSP. R-Suspension Ring; SX-Seax; SP-Steel; SpWh-Spindle-whorl; Sw-Sword; WS-Whetstone; WB-Workbox; FeMis-Miscellaneous iron objects/fragments; AeMis-Miscellaneous copper alloy objects/fragments; O-other.

GRAVE	GENDER	B	BWL	BR	BU	CMB	CLOI	DrFt	GH/Chain	Kn	PEND	AG RING	SUSP. R	SX	SP	SpWh	Sw	WS	WB	Fe Mis	Ae Mis	Ag Mis	Other	TOTAL
G1	F	x																	x	x	xx			5
G3	F	xxx		x						x		xxx							x					9
G5	M																x							1
G6										x					x									2
G7										x			x									x		3
G8										x														1
G9	M				x					x				x							x			4
G10	M				x					x					x									3
G11										x				x				xx		xx			x	7
G12				x																				1
G13	F	x			x					x													x	4
G15										x														1
G16					x					x														2
G22										xx														2
G23					x					x										x				3
G24										x														1
G25		x																						1
G26										x										x	x			3
G29	F								x							xxx			x				x	6
G31		x	x		x					x	x				x				xx	x		xxx		12
G32	F									x					x									2
G33	M									x														1
G35	F			xx					xx				xx								xx			8
G37	F	x			xx																			3
G38	F	xx																		x	xx		x	6
G39										x													x	2
G41										x														1
G42					x					x														2
G43	F	x		x																	x			3
G44	M				x																			1
G45	F	xxx		x						x														5
G46																				x				1
G47					x																			1
G48	M				x					x														2
G49	F				x																			1
G50										x														1
G52										x					x					x				3
G53					x					x										x				3
G56										x					x									2
G57					xx					x											x		x	5
G58					x															x				2
G59					x															xx				3
G60					x					x											xx			4
G61	M				x					x				x							x		x	5
G62	F	x		x		x			x	x	x	x	xx			x					x	x		12
G63																				x				1
G64	M				x					x											xx			4
G65	F			x		x	x				x													4
G66	F	xx		x				xx	x	x		x											xx	10
G67	M				x					x					x									3
G68	M				x					x				x										3
GI					xx					xx														4
TOTAL		17	1	9	25	2	1	2	5	37	3	5	5	4	7	4	1	2	5	14	16	5	9	179

Chapter 7:

7.1 Summary of the research

The Uncleby project began as an object study of an Anglian cemetery. Throughout the research process it became evident that the site was more than its collection of artefacts. The site analysis and geophysical survey revealed an intricate relationship with the historic landscape and an Anglian fascination with Bronze Age, Iron Age and Roman features. A deliberate choice was made by the Anglians to incorporate their dead into this historical network, thus physically connecting them to a cosmological and ancestral past, present, and future.

The spatial use of the Bronze Age barrow has shown an obvious awareness of previous burials, some of which may have incorporated later burials, and others, like the Bronze Age cremation in the centre of the barrow, that were given wide margins by surrounding graves. The choice to bury the dead in a prehistoric monument may have been an attempt to establish ancestry in the area, or may have related to Anglo-Saxon beliefs of the afterlife—which are only speculative and based on later Norse and Icelandic mythology.

As a focal feature on the high escarpment, the barrow would have been a known landmark to people dwelling in, or travelling through, the Vale of York. To access the Wolds from the Vale of York, a traveller would probably have taken a track from the Vale that met with the Roman road, and then would have taken the Roman road to the intersection (that has been discussed in chapter 2) where the Uncleby barrow is situated. The large barrow that was surrounded by a number of smaller tumuli would have greeted the travellers, and accessing the Wolds from this point may have acted as a gateway for protection or luck granted by the spirits of the people buried there.

The people who used the Uncleby barrow for burials may have come from the Vale of York, or may have been members of a transhumance community that used the Wolds for livestock grazing. As the demographic studies in chapter 5 have suggested, there were likely a number of clans (family or household groups) that used the space as a cemetery over a relatively short period of time, probably a few generations only. It is not possible to determine where these people lived, but the

types of grave goods may suggest that it was a mixture of families that dwelled in the Vale and on the Wolds.

Burials that contained few objects, especially just a knife and/or buckle, may have died while tending to the livestock and the Wolds, and did not have a large number of objects to be interred with them in their temporary dwellings. Graves that contained larger assemblages could indicate that there was ready (and easy) access to the necessary grave furniture, which is suggestive of a more permanent home. Conversely, the range of objects and assemblages in the Anglian Unlceby burials could be representative of one large community that had a wide socio-economic range, and that the burials reflect that the wealth and status of the individuals.

Some of the Uncleby burials and accompanying assemblages can reflect a biography of the deceased. For example, a number of the objects found in grave 31 have strongly linked connections to Kent, but it is unlikely that she was transported from Kent to be buried in Yorkshire. The large bowl that she was buried with could represent hospitality, healing, or even ritual in the form of hydromancy (a form of divination that uses water). The workbox(es) could equally be representative of domestic 'status', occupation, healing, or, again, ritual. As section 6.14 discussed, the uses for a workbox range from 'sewing kit', to 'first aid kit', to Christian reliquary, or even a 'memory' box. The silver needles/pins that were found in the grave may have more to do with ritual than function, such as healing or weaving with the fates. So far, the bowl, workbox, and silver pin combination in grave 31 can suggest that the woman could have been a healer, textile worker, or 'housewife' and/or mother.

When the openwork buckle is added to the biography, it is tempting to put the workbox(es) into a Christian context, with both objects decorated with cruciform designs, and particularly when viewed from a Conversion Period point of view. Unfortunately there isn't enough evidence to take a stance either way; religion is almost impossible to determine in the majority of Conversion Period graves. In the late 7th to early 8th centuries when Christianity was replacing pagan belief systems in England, the church did not put any restrictions or doctrines in place regarding furnished burials, so to say that an unfurnished and extended burial must be

Christian would be presumptuous, just as saying a flexed and furnished burial would be pagan (Meaney 2003, 236, 239).

The silver and garnet brooch and the gold disc pendant may speak to the woman's affluence in life, or of her family's. The remaining objects—the knife, spatula tool and beads—are relatively difficult to discuss in terms of status or function, as they are either decorative or everyday tools. The combination of all of these objects tells is that the family of the woman in grave 31 were able to permanently part with a number of valuable and useful objects, which does suggest a level of wealth and status—but is it her status, or her family's? The bowl, brooch and buckle can all show Kentish links, but whether those were acquired through commerce or gifts, or if they indicate that she moved from Kent to Yorkshire is unknown.

Because the remains are unavailable for any biological or environmental testing, we cannot gain any further insight as to the origins/ethnicity or the age of the woman in Grave 31—or any of the graves for that matter. Without access to the remains, the domestic locations of the Uncleby burials will remain open-ended, as will questions surrounding biological relationships within the cemetery. Radiocarbon dating could help to definitely fit the Uncleby cemetery into the Conversion Period, however given the 19th century excavation the results may not be as accurate as they could normally be. However, the majority of the objects have put most of the burials firmly into the Conversion Period, so radiocarbon dating would just be superfluous.

Aside from the Anglian cemetery, the Uncleby project has added to our general knowledge of Canon William Greenwell, and to 19th century archaeological and collection practices. By looking for references to the Uncleby excavation in Greenwell's correspondence, a complex portrait of a man began to emerge. It became clear why this site remained overlooked for 44 years, and why the objects were given to the York Museum (now the Yorkshire Museum).

Through various letters and archives, Greenwell consistently expressed his preference for prehistory, both in terms of the archaeology and the artefacts. His dislike—bordering on disdain—for the early medieval period is evident in his donation of the Uncleby collection to the museum in 1874, for as he expressed in two letters to R.A. Smith, the Anglian's were too 'inferior' to be included in *British*

Barrows (BMH 24/10/10) and that collections that he deemed uninteresting, like Mortimer's flints, "…could go to local museums" (BMH 10/09/11).

The disregard for the excavation that he shows over 40 years later may be reflected in his original site notes. Though Greenwell's responses are all that are known, letters from R.A. Smith mush have asked questions about the site; Greenwell responds that he has "no recollection of the graves in which the two gold pendants were found: "Are you certain you have not overlooked the record [?] It seems odd that I should have omitted the finding of two such things" and later in the paragraph "As you say nothing of it I conclude you have found the grave in which the silver buckle occurred [G31.3]" (BMH 26/03/1912). The passages imply that Greenwell's notes—or lack thereof—were not well recorded, perhaps due to the relatively recent nature of the finds.

Despite Greenwell's reluctance towards the Uncleby site and collection, the surviving artefacts have proven to be very useful in piecing together the Uncleby cemetery and excavation. The objects and assemblages fit well within the established patterns for the late 7th- to early 8th- century Conversion period (Geake 1997). As would be expected, the (probable) female burials have higher visibility and variety of objects than the suggested/identified male burials. Furthermore, a number of the object-types—the workboxes, filigree disc pendants, amethyst beads, silver slipknot rings, spatula tools, and even the buckles—are predominantly found in the Conversion Period, which have established a date for most of the graves.

Aside from ascertaining a chronology for the site, the artefacts have provided links to other sites throughout the Yorkshire Wolds, and in some cases farther afield. The greywacké whetstone has been connected to the princely burial at Sutton Hoo and Loveden Hill; the openwork buckle and copper alloy bowl from grave 31 have implied Kentish connections; and some assemblages, like that belonging to grave 29, may even hint at industrial skill (see below).

The data available from the *Malton Messenger*, Smith article and the objects have shown that antiquarian sites and collections can provide additional value for study of the buried population. Using more recently excavated sites for comparisons and data extraction—such as age, gender and living populations—estimates and suggestions can be applied to antiquarian (and other) sites that did not (or could not) provide that information. While many of these aspects may never be truly known,

the projections can contribute to general observations of funerary and domestic studies of antiquarian excavations.

Furthermore, geophysical survey has shown that the Uncleby has a much more complex relationship with its immediate and historical landscape than previously realised. Situated at the crossroads of two primary Roman roads, the barrow would have been, relatively, easy to access. The fact that the other barrows were placed within metres of the primary Uncleby cemetery suggest that the area had always enjoyed a prominent location—for the Bronze Age population who erected the barrows, to the Iron Age people who, most likely, developed the track way seen in the geophysical survey, to the Romans who reinforced and enhanced existing paths, and the Anglian's who brought their dead to be laid to reset there.

7.2 Some Observations and Speculations

One of the more frustrating questions that remain unanswered is: who were these people, and where did they come from? Were they brought up from the Vale of York, or did they live and die on the Wolds? Recently a number of domestic sites, that may have started as grazing sites and evolved into more permanent residences, have been discovered and researched in the Yorkshire Wolds, such as Wharram Percy, Burdale, Cottam A, Cottam B and Cowlam. These sites have been dated to the Middle-Saxon period, and they all have a distinct lack of associated burials or cemeteries. Excavations at Wharram Percy uncovered the remains of a neonate, and another suspicious burial that appears to have been a burial of convenience (Milne and Richards 1992, 84-5). To state the obvious: with living, inevitably comes death. Whether or not the domestic sites on the high grounds of the Wolds were seasonally or permanently occupied, the inhabitants would have needed a space (and method) for disposing of the corpses. The Uncleby cemetery might be considered as a communal space for those living and working in the Wolds.

Industry and craft production have been identified at some nearby domestic sites, but the overall nature of the types of activity has not been defined. Burdale unearthed at least eight bone needles, four spindle-whorls, a textile picker/beater, and a number of combs. This may suggest the site had an active role in textile production. A tenuous connection to textile production, and possibly to a domestic origin, may be applied to graves 29, 31, 62 and possibly grave 65. Graves 29 and 31 both contained a number of artefacts that have been associated with textiles,

including spindle-whorls, silver needles and workboxes. Grave 62 was found with a spindle-whorl and a comb, and grave 65 with a comb. Speculatively speaking, these graves and their assemblages could be representative of textile skill referring to the individual, their family or their community. If this is accurate, and the objects are not read as symbols of divinity or references to mythology (which they might be), it stands to reason that these individuals lived and worked in Burdale, a mere 7 to 7.5 km away from the cemetery.

However, as has been reinforced throughout this thesis, any conclusions that might have been drawn about the individuals buried in the cemetery will, likely, always remain uncertain. Conjecture based on the evidence is all that can really be done in attempting to understand the people in the cemetery, rather than the cemetery as an object.

7.3 Impact and scope for further work

This thesis has demonstrated that a great deal of information can be extracted from a neglected antiquarian excavation. For the first time since the excavation, all of the material from the site is recorded in one place. Through thorough examination and analysis of the objects, study of the written sources and geophysical survey, a much better understanding of the cemetery has been reached.

Nonetheless, although the Uncleby site and material has limitations in what can be achieved, there is still more work that could be done on the site. Geophysical survey of the entire field where the cemetery is located will likely show more features, and may show that the cemetery extended much further beyond the barrow. Re-excavation of the barrow might uncover missed graves and/or objects that were overlooked in the original excavation, and should at the very least, provide skeletal material to be examined. There is also a chance that Greenwell's archaeological practices could be better understood providing information for further examination of other Greenwell sites.

Applied systematic evaluations through geophysical survey, as well as digging, could be useful to other scheduled monuments in the Yorkshire Wolds. As it stands, there are hundreds of protect archaeological sites that were excavated in the 19th century, most of which have remained untouched since the original excavation. By re-visiting these sites, features that may have been missed the first time around,

and investigations in the directly surrounding areas may show that the sites hold more archaeology that we know.

By re-examining these sites the archaeological history of the Yorkshire Wolds would increase. Some of the sites, such as Mortimer's Barrow 4 that has been pretty thoroughly excavated, might be de-scheduled and the land returned to the owner for cultivation. Conversely, a site like Uncleby might yield years worth of archaeological work and research, which when completed could either remain a monument, or be returned to the farmers. While there are multitude of ethics and issues that arise in this brief proposal, it could prove to be a useful exercise for future planning in regard to monument upkeep and public outreach.

Museums that house antiquarian collections could also benefit from an active group of researchers working on antiquarian sites. The research and examination of the objects would enhance the value of their collections, and make the artefacts accessible again, rather than remaining in a state of limbo. There are practical and ethical responsibilities of museums to preserve these collections, on behalf of the public, as well as the archaeologists who uncovered them. If the objects and collections are not put to use, or made accessible, what is the point in keeping them just to remain in boxes?

As this study of Uncleby has demonstrated, it is apparent that sites excavated over a century ago still have a lot to offer. Aside from the recorded excavations that took place in the Yorkshire Wolds, there may be more that were conducted by local societies and hobbyists, or by lesser-known/published archaeologists like Charles Monkman. By focusing on antiquarian excavations, more detailed information of the sites can contribute to further excavations and research for the future. Antiquarian excavations and collections are renewable resources that should be utilised, but first they must be made accessible.

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