Remembering the Dead in Anglo-Saxon England:

Memory Theory in Archaeology and History

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Abstract

Memory has become an increasingly popular subject of study within the humanities and social sciences within recent years and especially so within the disciplines of archaeology and history, where it has been part of studies into more general attitudes to the past. However, the field of 'memory studies' suffers from a lack of both methodological precision and theoretical clarification. Within history and archaeology in particular, there is a danger that the concept of memory has come to be applied too widely to carry any real meaning. This thesis aims to investigate the usefulness of memory theory within the field of archaeology, with particular reference to Anglo-Saxon England. It examines the theoretical background for such studies by analysing major approaches to memory within psychology and sociology, as well as how these approaches have been applied by historians and archaeologists to date. From this, it argues that metaphors of construction and technology are particularly useful for archaeological studies of memory and applies them to two case studies concerning the remembrance of the dead in Anglo-Saxon England. The first of these centres around the way grave goods acted as a technology that allowed memories of the dead to be shared with the community, enabling mourners to deal with their grief and fashion a lasting identity for the deceased. The second case study examines how the layout of the cemetery and the placing of the dead within it was related to ongoing processes of remembering the dead within the community. Together, these two case studies allow conclusions to be drawn regarding the ways in which memory changed over the period and the influences at work upon it.

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Chapter 1: Theories of memory

Introduction

'Every once in a while', state Gedi and Elam (1996, 30), 'there emerges a new innovative term [in the social sciences], like a bright shining star, with some great promise of clearing up old controversies and shedding new light on an all too familiar field of knowledge.' One such term that has come to prominence in recent years is memory, especially in the guise of 'social' or 'collective' memory, which has been seen as opening up new avenues of research across the humanities and social sciences. Memory undoubtedly carries great importance. It is an essential part of everyday life for individuals and groups, providing the means by which people are able to function as members of society, and forming the basis both for self-identity and for relationships between people and communities. Loss of memory through accident or disease makes it impossible for the individual to act effectively within society, while memories of past injustices, real or imagined, fuel conflict between groups. Despite its pervasive nature, interest in memory has only been a relatively recent phenomenon. In fact, prior to the 1980s, memory was in decline, barely warranting mention in academic textbooks and dictionaries, let alone forming a primary subject of study (Connerton 2006). Within the last twenty-five years, however, memory has boomed, both as a subject of academic research and as a matter of public interest. Dozens of studies have been produced into memory's function and importance within philosophy, cultural studies, architecture, sociology, psychology and literature, film and media studies (Radstone 2000), while at the same time there has been a popular reclaiming of memory through the archiving of

personal memories of national events, the massive upsurge in genealogy and the recent appearance of web-logs.

The recent interest in memory has seen it elevated to an almost heroic status but at the same time it is seen as increasingly under threat. Memory was chosen as the theme of the 1988 Wolfson College lectures at Oxford out of a concern that it was endangered worldwide by both governmental suppression and deterioration in public education (Butler 1989, vii-ix). Similarly, Nora (1989; 1992) saw memory as disappearing along with certain social groups, such as the peasantry. For him, '[w]e speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left' (1989, 7). Memory has been seen as a way of making the past more 'democratically accessible' (Laqueur 2000, 2), allowing the oppressed to produce their own narratives of the past which may contradict 'official' history (Connerton 2006). The upsurge in interest in memory as a topic of study has led to new challenges in its relationship with history, with each being blamed for eradicating the other (e.g. Nora 1989; 1992 for the threat posed by history; Klein 2000 for that by memory[1]). Whereas before, memory was considered a part of history, the two are now seen as fundamentally opposed (Gedi and Elam 1996). This may go some way to explaining why historians are increasingly approaching memory as a topic of study in its own right, rather than simply as a source of evidence. Most recently, and with particular importance for this thesis, the subject has also been taken up within archaeology, with several studies applying theories of memory developed within the social sciences to archaeological material.

[1] Hutton (1999) is among those who see the rise of memory as associated with the decline of history as a grand narrative, although is less concerned with apportioning blame.

It would be reasonable to assume that the study of memory in past societies might raise specific issues and debates. However, both historians and archaeologists have drawn heavily upon theories developed within the social sciences, showing little concern for their usefulness in interpreting the remains of the past. This is of concern for a number of reasons. The recent boom in memory studies has been variously attributed to Bourdieu's theory of 'practice' and the importance of historical context for meaning (Olick and Robbins 1998, 108), the end of the Cold War and the rise of ethnic conflict in Eastern Europe (Cairns and Roe 2003a), and disillusionment with modernity's faith in progress and objectivity (Thelen 2001; Radstone 2000, 3).[2] As these explanations of its new importance suggest, the concept of memory can be put to many uses and the approaches to explaining it vary enormously within as well as between disciplines. So much so that in their review of the major sociological theories of memory, Olick and Robbins (1998, 105) go so far as to describe memory studies as 'a non-paradigmatic, transdisciplinary, centreless enterprise'. This lack of direction in memory theory within the social sciences is further compounded by the variety of definitions that, as will be discussed below, range from the concrete to the abstract and differ according to the paradigms of the individual discipline.

As the concept of memory seems self-explanatory, archaeologists and historians seldom trouble to define it in their work. Yet the variations in definition within memory theory should make this a priority. Given the nature of the evidence with which they work, archaeologists and historians should be circumspect about the way they select and apply memory theory. In developing memory theory, social scientists have depended heavily on interviewing and testing volunteers, usually drawn from a Western, middle class

[2] This represents just a few examples of possible explanations offered; see also Klein 2000; Connerton 2006.

background, within a formal academic situation. Although they claim that testing universals such as language or brain function make their arguments cross-culturally applicable, they themselves propose that social context has a strong influence on the way memories are formed (as will be discussed below). The experimental situation can itself affect results, with the aims and assumptions of both experimenter and participants influencing the outcome. The fact that archaeologists and historians are not dealing with living test subjects who can be questioned about their responses and whose behaviour cannot be observed in controlled conditions means that social science theories should be carefully examined before being applied. Although the concept of memory may reveal much in the study of past societies, so far few studies in this area have reached their full potential. This thesis aims to investigate how memory theory might be applied to the study of the medieval period, with particular focus on its applicability to archaeological remains. It will firstly examine psychological and sociological theories of memory to determine their usefulness when applied in other disciplines. Secondly, it will review previous applications of such theories within medieval studies and develop a specifically archaeological theory of memory to apply to the material remains of this period. Subsequent chapters will apply the results of this to two case studies focusing on the mortuary evidence of Anglo-Saxon England in the fifth to tenth centuries. Finally, this evidence will be used to discuss how memory formed the basis of life – and death – in different communities and to examine how memory in general, and remembrance of the dead in particular, changed over the course of this period.

Mind and memory

The extent to which memory is an individual trait or a social phenomenon has major repercussions for the way it is studied, both in the social sciences and in history and archaeology. The approaches taken within memory studies can be placed on a spectrum ranging from those that see memory as an internal function centring on biological processes to, at the other end of the scale, those that maintain the influence of society is so great there can be no such thing as individual memory. Psychological interest in memory began in the late nineteenth century, with researchers utilizing the experimental method to focus on the learning, retention and recall of material (Ebbinghaus 1885 is the classic early study). The aim of cognitive psychologists was to identify the different types of memory and develop models of the way the brain processed and stored information and to explain what happened when that process failed – when forgetting occurred. *A Student's Dictionary of Psychology* (Hayes and Stratton 1993, 113) reveals the mechanistic way in which memory is often viewed in this field by defining it as 'the general term given to the storage and subsequent retrieval of information'. Gross (1992, 309), the standard A level textbook, takes a more abstract view when he refers to it as a hypothetical construct that is inseparable from the equally abstract concept of learning but still views it as a function of the brain linked to the three interrelated processes of registration, storage and retrieval.

Early studies examined the relationship between short-term memory (STM) and long-term memory (LTM), a distinction that was later criticized as false as it did not take

account of the different types of long-term memory (e.g. Craik and Lockhart 1972). Later researchers made qualitative distinctions between the types of information that an individual can hold in their LTM. Tulving (1972) subdivided LTM into semantic and episodic memory. The former serves as a store of general knowledge about the world, including concepts, rules and language, as well as of personal information such as your age. In contrast, episodic memory is seen as forming a 'record' of personal *experiences* drawn upon when the individual wishes to relive past events. Unlike semantic memory, which can be used without reference to where and when that knowledge was acquired, episodic memory is inseparable from its spatial-temporal context. Tulving (1985) later identified a third category, procedural memory, which contains information about how to perform physical tasks that cannot be identified consciously or described verbally to others, such as the knowledge of how to ride a bike. This model of the different types of long-term memory has received support from outside the laboratory through case studies of people whose amnesia from brain damage or disease causes them to experience difficulties with specific types of memory (Hayes 1994; Engel 1999). These indicate that memory is not so much one process as several. For instance, recent studies have shown that when people suffer damage to the hippocampus and connected areas of the medial temporal lobes they will find it almost impossible to recall specific events but seem able to learn new skills. On the other hand, patients whose basal ganglia have been damaged suffer the opposite symptoms, their episodic memory remains intact but their ability to learn is affected (Schacter 1995). This distinction between different types of memory raises the question of how we should define memory and whether we should distinguish between memories of personal experience and knowledge of the memories of others. Episodic memory is qualitatively different from semantic and procedural memory (Schacter 1996) so that learning about World War II in school produces different kinds of

memories to those of someone who actually lived through it, even though a pupil's knowledge about the experiences of war may be more wide-ranging. Memory and learning have been defined as two sides of the same coin (Gross 1992), as proof of learning always involves remembering and much of what is remembered in everyday life will have been learned, even if unconsciously. However, this distinction between memories of learned knowledge and those of personal experience is an important one for the study of memory in past societies and will be developed more fully below (see 30-33).

Although these theories of the different types of memory have found strong support through case studies, they have been criticized for their artificial approach and for their misleading assumption that memory is a simple matter of storage and retrieval (Schacter 1996). Various different models have been developed to explain how learning and recall actually works, which centre around issues of attention and rehearsal (e.g. Craik and Lockhart's (1972) Levels of Processing model and Baddeley and Hitch's (1974) Working Memory model; see Eysenck (1984; 1986), Gross (1992) and Hayes (1994) for a review of both). However, as our own experience can attest, the remembering or forgetting of different kinds of material can occur independently of any intention on the part of the individual. The issue of forgetting has been characterized within cognitive psychology as the failure of the biological process of memory, whether through the decay of the 'memory trace', the interference of other material within memory, or the effects of brain damage or disease (Gross 1992; Hayes 1994). Outside this approach, in psychoanalytical theory, forgetting has been seen as the result of repression, a defence mechanism that protects us from traumatic memories (Freud 1896a; 1896b; 1900; 1915).[3] Freud explained

[3] It has been noted that there is much less interest in forgetting than in memory within the humanities and social sciences but nevertheless lack of space prevents a full treatment of it here. See Forty and Küchler 1999; Connerton 2006.

all forgetting as the result of repression, as even apparently innocuous memories could lead through a chain of associations to bad memories (ibid.; Hayes 1994). The idea that repression is the cause of all, or even any, forgetting has proved controversial, as the results of experiments to test this hypothesis can be interpreted in different ways (Gross 1992). However, other psychologists have looked at the influence of factors outside the individual to explain remembering and forgetting.

Memory as a constructive process

From early on in the psychological study of memory, it was clear that accurate recall is the exception and not the rule. Bartlett (1932), who along with Ebbinghaus is considered one of the founding fathers of psychological memory research, spent many years studying the effects of social context on remembering. He found that the definitive moment in remembering occurs not at the time of learning but when the information or experience is being recalled. Bartlett realized that several factors influence the way memory works. The influence of these factors on remembering means that memories are not retrieved whole from a kind of perceptual store; they do not form an objective record of events. Instead, memories are constructed anew at the time they are needed; they are created in the present rather than the past and suit contemporary needs. This has been supported by recent psychophysiological studies into remembering in which electrical recordings of the brain have shown that the pattern of nerve impulses for recalled information is never exactly the same as that associated with the initial reception of the stimulus (Fischbach and Coyle 1995). Memories are therefore representations of how we experienced an event, not the event itself (Schacter 1996). Reality and imagination can combine to differing degrees in these constructions and while memory is usually mostly accurate, it is not unusual in

everyday life for an apparently accurate recollection to be shown to be false. Indeed, it is now known that the neural mechanisms that lead to memory are very similar to those used in imagination. This suggests that there is a physiological basis for the incorporation of inaccurate material in recall (Engel 1999, 5; cf. Casey 1977).

Bartlett's experiments showed that memory was strongly linked to emotions and preconceived ideas. When his subjects were asked to remember he found that their attitude towards the material was the first thing that emerged. What was recounted was shaped by that attitude and usually served to justify it. Their recall of learned material tended to fit in with their preconceived ideas of what that material ought to be like. Accurate recall was far more likely when the material fitted in with the subjects' prior knowledge and expectations. The result was that the stories the subjects were asked to learn became rationalized, shorter and more stereotyped. The material was altered during recall to suit the individual. For Bartlett, 'Remembering…is an imaginative reconstruction, or construction, built out of the relation of our attitude towards a whole active mass of organized past reactions or experience, and to a little outstanding detail which commonly appears in image or in language form' (1932, 213). The results of Bartlett's studies have been repeated by other researchers over the years (e.g. Neisser 1967; Schudson 1995; see also Engel 1999) showing that memory is highly selective and dependent upon the individual interests of the person doing the remembering.

Bartlett's experiments also revealed a much stronger influence on recall, the social situation in which remembering occurs. The intentions and personalities of rememberer and listener and the reason the memory is being recounted will have a formative effect on the memory itself (Cohen 1989; Engel 1999). However, society's influence on the

construction of memory does not stop at the context within which memories are recounted. Remembering is informed not just by the presence of other people and within the context of a conversation but against a background of social norms, institutions and networks of communication (Schudson 1995; Devine-Wright 2003). Bartlett argued that the data he had collected over several years showed that the manner and matter of recall is often predominantly determined by social influences. The specific aspects of group culture directly stimulate the response of individuals within that group, with group interests providing a framework by which individuals construct their memories. Bartlett's studies showed that social effects can even occur when no member of the group is present. When he asked his subjects to learn and then remember a non-Western folk-story entitled *The War of the Ghosts* he found that the story was transformed in line with social conventions and beliefs current in the social group to which the subjects belonged. The story became conventionalized to a Western style of narrative and much of the phrasing used while retelling the story became journalistic. Bartlett argued that in everyday life the importance of social factors on the form remembering takes can only be intensified. For him, 'the passing fashion of the group, the social catch-word, the prevailing approved general interest, the persistent social custom and institution set the stage and direct the action' of remembering (Bartlett 1932, 244).

Memory and society

In contrast to Bartlett, for whom memory could only ever be a psychological function, other researchers within the social sciences have argued that the influence of society is so strong that the notion of individual memory is a fallacy that tells us nothing useful about the way memories are formed and used (e.g. Gaskell and Wright 1997). Instead, they

maintain that memory can only function and have meaning within a group context. This research has been carried out under numerous different terms including collective, social, historical, cultural and shared memory and there are many different definitions. Some writers use one term, others draw distinctions between two or more, and still others regard them as interchangeable (Cattell and Climo 2002). For instance, Basabe, Gonzalez and Paez (1997) distinguish between social memory ('the influence of social factors on individual memory', which can be equated with Bartlett's arguments) and collective memory ('the distributed processes of memory or transactive memory with social functions').[4] Some argue that terms like 'collective memory' are too general and prefer more specific terms, e.g. official memory, vernacular memory, public memory, popular memory, family memory, historical memory, or cultural memory (Olick and Robbins 1998). This variety of terms and definitions has created a complex situation in memory research. Vinitzky-Seroussi (2001) has argued that the state of memory studies means that scholars may confuse the different ways memory works 'and in turn be confused, when they cannot distinguish between collective memory, collected memories, a collection of memories, cultural memory, historical memory, technological memory, personal memory and commemoration.' It has also been pointed out that there is an inherent danger in adding words like 'collective' or 'social' to terms better used to describe individual conditions, as doing so can only create terms that are essentially meaningless (e.g. Burke 1989; Gedi and Elam 1996; Hacking 1999).[5]

Despite the lack of theoretical order and a coherent methodology (Gedi and Elam 1996),

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[4] Kujit (2001, 86) even refers to 'individual and collective social memory', though without explaining the distinction.

[5] In this section, 'collective memory' will be used to refer to all these different types of memory, as it emphasizes the focus on the group that is central to all these studies. It should be noted though that not all the studies cited here necessarily use this specific term, unless explicitly stated.

these studies have underlined the influence of the social group on memory. This goes beyond Bartlett's discoveries on the effects of the immediate context in which remembering occurs to argue that remembering is not the preserve of individuals but of the social groups to which these individuals belong. We know that a significant proportion of remembering takes place in a social context, with people sharing, constructing and negotiating their memories with others (Engel 1999). Sharing memories in this way is an important part of developing and maintaining social relationships. Studies have also revealed that people within a given social group can possess memories of shared experience and that these memories share many common features. Several studies by Schumann and colleagues (1989; 1992; 1997; 1998, all cited in Devine-Wright 2003) found evidence that different generations have unique group memories of significant twentieth-century historical events (see discussion below, 21). They argued that it is adolescence and early adulthood that are critical for the formation of these group memories. Other studies have revealed that the way we learn the skill of remembering is also very much a social process (Neisser and Fivush 1994). According to Vygotsky's (1962 [1934]) theory of child development, by participating in adult-guided conversations about their experiences, children learn the culturally appropriate narrative forms for talking about the past. The influence of the adult in teaching the child how to remember has been further revealed in a study by Fivush (1994) who showed that the way parents talked to their children about the past was gender-specific and that children's own mode of recall later depends on the style to which they had been exposed. The type of memories recalled, the manner in which they are recounted and the social situations in which they are considered appropriate are learned at a young age.

However, while the influence of society and social groups has been widely recognized, researchers differ in both how strong this influence is and the means by which it exerts itself. Two major approaches can be distinguished here, those who see memory as social because of the way it is formed and structured, and those who see memory as social because of its content. Many psychologists and sociologists see memory as formed through language and conversation and therefore as a process that must be social rather than individual in nature. For instance, Bastide (1970, cited in Wachtel 1986) sees interaction between people within a group context as providing the structure that shapes memory. Conversation is seen as the social mechanism that guides remembering and influences the way memories are organized and recalled in the future (Banasik and Pennebaker 1997). Pennebaker (1997) defined collective memories as involving 'the ongoing talking and thinking about the event by the affected members of a society or culture'. Similarly, Middleton and Edwards (1990a; 1990b) focus upon conversational discourse as the sole process of remembering and forgetting. In this approach, what is important is not the truth of what happened in the past but the way versions of events are constructed in conversation, how they are shaped and fitted to context. This type of study focuses on the content of the conversation revealing that multiple interpretations of the past are possible. They argue that conversation is more than just a window upon mental processes but provides the environment in which thoughts are formulated, justified and socialized. These types of study have revealed much about the ways people can work together to remember the past and the influence this has on what they remember and the form those memories take. However, many of their conclusions about the importance of conversation for shaping memories are inescapable given the nature of their investigations. It is hardly surprising that they conclude memory is formed through language when they ask people to recall a past event verbally in a group (a point that has

also been made by Baddeley 1992). Although this is an important part of memory, there are other aspects too that these types of studies overlook. For instance, these studies seldom take account of the way two people recounting shared experiences differs to when one person is sharing memories unknown to the other (Engel 1999). In addition, these studies tend to over-emphasize consensus between people, on account of the types of tasks the participants have to carry out such as reconstructing the plot of a film. These types of studies do not take account of contentious memories, especially in oppressive state societies where elements of the past are effectively closed to discussion.

The language approach to memory takes the view that memory is social because it is constructed and recalled in a group situation. In contrast, other researchers (e.g. Basabe, Gonzalez and Paez 1997) take the view that collective memory is defined by its content rather than its formative process. In these approaches, collective memory refers to memories held by individuals within a group that refer to events relevant to the group as a whole and which have caused them to modify their institutions, beliefs and values, and which therefore have a formative effect on society. While retained memories are of relevance to the whole group, all members of that group will not necessarily have experienced them personally. This approach is echoed by Bellelli and Amatulli (1997) who argue that collective memory is more than simply the sharing of knowledge between individuals. Its significance derives from the meaning that is ascribed to that past knowledge through negotiation and discussion between those individuals. Similarly, Crumley (2002) has suggested that social memory is the means by which information is transmitted among individuals and groups and from one generation to the next.

A third approach that seems to unite these two approaches is the work of Connerton (1989) on habit memory. Connerton argues that if there is such a thing as social memory we will find it in performance and bodily habit. He divided memory into three kinds. The first two, personal memory and cognitive memory, are equivalent to episodic and semantic memory, respectively, as discussed above. Connerton describes this third type of memory as 'the ability to reproduce a certain performance'. He defines this as being able to carry out a physical performance whenever necessary, such as being able to ride a bike, which cannot be described verbally to others and which does not require a spatial-temporal context. Although he claims that this type of memory has been briefly touched upon by early twentieth-century philosophers such as Bergson (1911) and Russell (1921) and then ignored, this type of memory is clearly identical to Tulving's (1985) discussion of procedural memory (see above). What makes Connerton's study important is that, having defined memory thus, he then goes on to discuss something different. Connerton's work discusses the physical performance of commemorative ceremonies and bodily practices in a variety of historical contexts. His case studies differ from his definition of habit memory in that the performance carried out in such situations can be verbally described to others. Secondly, in the case of ceremonies, although it is not necessary to remember previous performances in order to repeat them, they do inherently refer to earlier ceremonies. The important elements in Connerton's case studies are the social aspects of the behaviour. A person can ride a bike in any social context and the method of how to do so never varies. However, certain bodily practices are only relevant in certain contexts and at certain times and places. Moreover, while the way of carrying out a ceremony can be verbally described to someone else, the meaning of that ceremony may be harder to explain. Connerton's arguments are useful because they provide a way of seeing memory as social in terms of both its structure and its content. It also provides a

link between the mental recollection of an event and the behaviour or actions that follow from this.

All researchers who work in the area of social or collective memory base their approach on the work of Halbwachs (1992), a French sociologist and a student of Durkheim who questioned the assumption that memory resides in the individual. Durkheim (1912, cited in Devine-Wright 2003) had introduced the concept of 'collective representations', which referred to a set of beliefs and sentiments common to the average members of a single society. Halbwachs adapted this concept, arguing that remembering took place only within the context of the group. He argued that memories are organized according to the social group to which they relate. To call to mind these memories, he says, we must adopt the attitude common to members of this group, putting ourselves in the perspective of the group's attitudes. As a result, Halbwachs maintained that individual memory could not be understood without reference to collective memory, as it is our membership of certain social groups that organizes our recollections and provides us with the state of mind and attitude to recall them. Indeed, he goes so far as to argue that no memory is possible outside the frameworks of society as it is this structure that determines what is to be remembered.

Halbwachs' work has been mined by sociologists to provide support for different types of studies, which, as has been discussed above, use varying definitions of social and collective memory. Perhaps part of the problem is that Halbwachs does not set out to define the concept of collective memory (as also noted by Gedi and Elam 1996) but rather to discuss how he sees memory as working in the real world. This discussion takes place within the functionalist perspective of Durkheim, who believed that the social group

constitutes a genuine psychical unit and is possessed of nearly all the characteristics of the human individual (Bartlett 1932). However, Halbwachs also had an early interest in individual psychology, which as Lewis Coser (1992) notes in his introduction to the translation of Halbwachs' work, continued to influence his work throughout his life. It is this contrast between two very different theoretical approaches that produces the ambiguity in Halbwachs' work (as has also been noted by Vromen 1986) and it is notable that for almost every researcher, in history and archaeology as well as sociology, there is a different interpretation of his work. On the one hand, Halbwachs speaks of collective memory as something that happens on the group level, for example, '...the various groups that compose society are capable at every moment of reconstructing their past' (1992, 182). Nevertheless, inherent in his discussion is the role of the individual in remembering and this is often highlighted at times when he attempts to cut the individual out. For instance, he maintains that individual memories cannot exist except where a given person is the unique product of a particular intersection of groups. But this in itself shows that an individual can hold memories that are unique to them. Similarly, he argues that memory is collective because there are many facts that the individual would forget if others did not keep the memory alive for them. While it is true that people know more together than they do separately, this in itself does not provide evidence for a collective memory. Instead, it again highlights the importance of individual memory.

Halbwachs' supporters insist he is not talking about some mystical 'group mind' (e.g. Burke 1989; Coser 1992; Basabe, Gonzalez and Paez 1997; Cattell and Climo 2002) and there are many instances in his work that show he is not. He argues, 'While the collective memory endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember' (1992, 48). It is the mind that reconstructs

memories but under the influence of society, which provides the framework for recall. Indeed, while Halbwachs initially insisted that the only real memory was collective memory, his conclusion suggests rather that individual and collective memory are two different but complementary ways of remembering (1992; see Gedi and Elam 1996). Gedi and Elaṃ (ibid.) see this retreat as something of an intellectual cop-out and both they and Misztal (2006) have criticized Halbwachs for failing to explain the relationship between individual and collective memory. However, as the idea that society can remember for itself has been untenable to most, if not all researchers, this does not seem much of a loss and the implications for this will be further developed below (24, 29, 36, 41). Where Halbwachs' work really falls down, though, is in its tendency to over-emphasize consensus in remembering, failing to take account of individual variations in group memory, especially over time, and to explain why some memories are privileged over others (Wachtel 1986; Boyarin 1994; Misztal 2006).

Memory and identity

The way people remember the past has repercussions for their lives in the present, most especially in terms of their identity. As has been recognized in anthropology, psychology and sociology, memories define who we are as individuals and groups (Cattell and Climo 2002). As identity has been a central concern among archaeologists, this relationship needs to be explored further. Psychologists have demonstrated that a strong link exists between memory and self-identity. The self, as discussed by psychologists, is a product of memory. The self is what a person believes themselves to be, based on memories of their past thoughts and actions (Cohen 1989; Olick and Robbins 1998). Self-identity is therefore seen as being closely linked to episodic memory (see above) and to

'autobiographical memory', which can be equated with accumulated episodic memory (Baddeley 2001).[6] However, as memory is highly selective, there is no straightforward connection between past experience and present self-identity. Not all of an individual's experiences are remembered and of those that are, only some add to their self-concept. The individual unconsciously selects what aspects of the past are integrated into the self, discarding others (Archibald 2002). Nor is self-identity fixed or static; it is constantly being re-negotiated and re-formed as new experiences occur and old experiences are reinterpreted or forgotten (Barclay 1994; Archibald 2002).

Narrative plays an important part in the conceptualising of the self. It is a feature of human nature, at least in Western culture, that people describe their past through stories about themselves (Bruner 1994; Neisser 1994; Cattell and Climo 2002). When people remember an event in their life it is usually within the context of a conversation (Gergen 1994; Engel 1999). The conversation provides the framework for what memories are recalled and how they are described. The self is not therefore an entity located in memory that can be brought forth when needed. Context defines content and mediates understanding through shared cultural knowledge; the social setting shapes the stories told (Cattell and Climo 2002). Knowledge, skills, emotion, intention and audience (either real or imagined) collaborate to create and re-create the self (Barclay 1994). However, this also has a reflexive effect on identity. For the selection and retelling of memories not only influences how we see ourselves but also helps shape the view that others hold of us. This

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[6] 'Autobiographical memory' is another contentious term within memory theory as its definition can vary between researchers. For example, Conway (1997) equates autobiographical memory with Tulving's episodic memory, though in a later work (2001) he distinguishes between episodic memory as relatively recent experiences and autobiographical memory as the longer term accumulation of personal knowledge. For Neisser (1994) autobiographical memory represents those aspects of episodic memory that played a significant part in the life of the rememberer. Cohen (1989) in contrast, suggests autobiographical memory can be subdivided like memory in general into declarative (e.g. where you went to school) and experiential (i.e. episodic). It can be specific, such as a memory of eating at a particular restaurant, or generic, such as the memory of family dinners. However, these variations in definition need not be of concern here.

is important because the sharing of personal memories helps in the establishment and maintenance of social relationships through the co-constructing of autobiographical memories and joint personal histories (Barclay 1994). The self is therefore not an entity that can stand alone from society. Davies (1997) sees the self as consciousness within particular social networks, embedded within a particular language. He shows how it is relationships between individuals, as members of families and society, that help foster the sense of who we are and our purpose in the world.

While psychological approaches follow the modern Western emphasis on the individual, seeing the self as distinct from its social context, other cultural traditions, regard self-identity as firmly rooted within culture and social relationships (Hayes 1994). It is therefore likely that the construction of identity in pre-modern times would place the self in the context of family and community relations. Sociological theories of memory and identity move beyond memories of personal experience to take in aspects of the group's past as well. Boyarin (1994) has noted how for Halbwachs (1992) collective memories are reminiscences about the past that link a given group of people with a shared identity, allowing them to maintain that identity over the course of a lifetime. Frijda (1997) argues that appropriating the (general) past is an element in the construction of a person's identity. Everything that adds to the history of the group may influence an individual's sense of self. He sees commemorative events as being especially important in this, as they can link individuals to past events they may themselves have not experienced by including them in present rituals. This is echoed by Cattell and Climo (2002), who argue that everyone is socialized into 'mnemonic communities' where they learn to remember much that they did not personally experience and to develop their 'sociobiographical memories'. These sociobiographic memories cross time and space, linking individuals

within and between generations with a common group identity. Indeed, Hobsbawm (1972, cited in Olick and Robbins 1998, 122) argues that, 'To be a member of any human community is to situate oneself with regard to one's (its) past, if only by rejecting it'. Therefore, an individual's identity can in part be constituted by second-hand memories of past events that continue to affect the group in the present.

However, social identity can also be created by the way that the group's concerns structure what is remembered and incorporated by individuals. Mannheim (1952 [1928] cited in Olick and Robbins) argued that the identity of a generation is shaped by the social and political events that they experience during their formative years. His arguments were developed by Schumann and Scott (1989, cited in Olick and Robbins 1998; also see above, 12) who asked different age cohorts to rank various historical events in terms of their perceived importance. They discovered strong generational differences in the way important events were perceived and remembered, with events from adolescence and early adulthood generally being considered the most important. Studies such as this suggest that group identity can be formed based on memories of shared experiences. Such shared reminiscences can bind people together in time, as in the generational studies, or in space, as with communities that live or work together. Again, as with individual identity, the importance of narrative can be seen (Hallam and Hockey 2001). Bellah et al (1985, 153, also cited in Olick and Robbins 1998, 122) write that 'Communities…have a history – in an important sense are constituted by their past – and for this reason we can speak of a real community as a 'community of memory', one that does not forget its past. In order not to forget that past, a community is involved in retelling its story, its constitutive narrative'. As identity based on past experience is context-derivative, based on current

social and cultural frameworks, the content and structure of such memories should differ widely according to the culture within which they occur (Barclay 1994).

However, while memories of the past can provide a basis for present group identity it can also be a source of conflict and struggles for power. Alonso's (1988) discussion of the role the past plays in the construction of social groups shows how there is seldom one version of the past in existence at a particular time. She shows how a 'popular' version of the past can be constructed in response to the conditions in which members of a group live and that these 'alternative' histories can hark back to an even older time than 'official' histories in order to gain credence. However, her work also reveals that the notion of two (or more) different strands of history at odds with each other is too simplistic. It should not be assumed that 'popular' memory is a coherent whole formulated in opposition to an 'official' memory. Rather, the two are entwined, each informing the other. Being created and recreated to answer each other's claims, they make sense only when taken together. This relationship between different versions of the past, whether between dominant and popular versions as in Alonso's analysis or between two communities of more equal power, does not remain fixed but is constantly being renegotiated. This has implications for discussing medieval views of the past, as written texts can give the appearance of a fixed version of the past when it might have been just one of many strategies to claim the past and the power that went with it. Although Alonso was writing specifically on the complexities of versions of the past in a modern nation-state, which potentially can contain many such dissenting voices by virtue of its size and the existence of mass media, the importance of varying perspectives on the past should not be overlooked in the study of the past.

The importance of dissenting voices in shaping memories of the past and the impact of this on identity really comes to the fore in studies of modern ethnic conflict. Mack (1983, cited in Devine-Wright 2003) has shown how the past can be used as a resource in conflict because of the emotional and motivational force associated with collective memories. Studies have shown that memories of victimization can contribute to the construction of an idealized group identity in the face of a dehumanized 'other'. Here, it is clear that how a group remembers its past can directly influence how it perceives itself now and how it interacts with other groups. Cairns and Roe (2003a) for example have discussed how memories of the past can influence present conflict, especially in prolonging it. People interpret their present experiences in the light of past ones; they define who they are and interpret how people act towards them in terms of the events of the past. For example, Mellor and Bretherton (2003) found that when asking Australian aborigines about their own experiences of racism, the interviewees would consistently reframe the question to talk about the experiences of their parents and grandparents, which they would then extend generically to refer to all aboriginal experience. Therefore, whatever their own personal experience, they still saw racism as an integral part of all aboriginal experience, including their own. Within aboriginal communities, social memories of experiences of dispossession, attempted genocide, removal of children and social dislocation constitute 'our story', which is passed on verbally and social identity is built around them (ibid.).

Conclusion

That memory pervades all aspects of life is self-evident. Its nature is fluid and variable; the way it works is inextricably linked to its objective. Memory's purpose has a direct

influence on how it works and the form it takes. As a result of this fluidity, memory can be all things to all people. Its nature enables it to be moulded to fit all aspects of life and human interaction and in the same way a variety of explanations can be applied to explain its form and its function. Part of the problem with these explanations lies in their rigid definitions of memory. An example of this can be found in the attempts by psychologists to set strict definitions for different types of memory. As will be seen later in this chapter, such precise types of memory are of little value. Although early twentieth century researchers, such as Bartlett (1932) and Halbwachs (1992) speak of memory in very broad terms, more recently researchers have investigated only one aspect, over-emphasising its importance as a defining characteristic. This has resulted in a fragmented, disjointed body of literature with no overall defining purpose in its approach.

The main area in which researchers are at odds concerns the extent to which memory is the result of individual differences or collective experiences. This is a contentious issue as researchers and theorists tend to argue their case simply from their own standpoint and not from the findings of a large body of research. So is it appropriate to speak of memory as a collective phenomenon? It is clear that there are inherently social aspects to memory. As Halbwachs has argued and Bartlett's experiments have shown, the individual cannot be isolated from the society in which they live. Culture and social context have a formative effect on what is remembered and the form those memories take. However, to go beyond this and argue that a 'collective memory' exists that is something over and above the individual pasts that comprise it is erroneous. As has been seen above, memory has an important role to play in the formation of identity, both of the individual and the group. So to say that there is no such thing as individual memory is akin to saying that there is no such thing as the individual. In the same way though, it is equally impossible

to remove the memories of the individual from their social context. When the concept of memory is removed from the research labs and placed in the real world, 'individual memory' and 'collective memory' are the same thing, with researchers emphasising particular characteristics according to their research aims and the paradigms of their discipline.

Memory theory in history and archaeology

Historians and archaeologists are increasingly seeing the potential of memory theory for their own studies. Recent studies in this area have revealed much about the way memory worked in the past and how people at the time perceived their own history. This is considered to be particularly important as not only does it have the potential to reveal much about people's mentalities and attitudes to their own time but it also affects the evidence that modern historians and archaeologists have to work from, as it was attitudes to the past that governed the preservation and destruction of documents and material remains (see Geary 1994 for the effect of eleventh-century selective preservation of texts on modern understandings of the medieval period). The theoretical basis for, and the approaches to, the subject of memory within these disciplines take their cue from the theories of memory that have already been discussed. This section will examine how archaeologists and historians have understood and applied theories of memory with particular reference to the medieval period and what they have revealed about the study of memory in doing so.

The concept of social memory

As the discussion of memory in the social sciences has shown, the concept has been subject to a wide variety of definitions and approaches. Nowhere has this been clearer than in the way it has been applied to past societies. The subject matter of the past, by its very nature, invariably calls on memory in some way and historians and archaeologists alike have found a range of material to which the concept of memory might be applied. In doing so, they have drawn heavily upon psychological and sociological theories and especially of the notion of 'social memory', with numerous works being produced that apply it to evidence from past societies.[7] Several researchers have followed Halbwachs in denying the existence of individual memory, at least to the extent that it is meaningful for society. Williams (2003a, 6; 2003b, 89), for example, has stated that memory is a social not a psychological phenomenon, which can reside in society rather than simply in the heads of individuals. Similarly, Innes (2001, 17) argues that we can understand memory 'not so much as an act of personal recollection but as a process of social commemoration in which information is transmitted over time and space'. This is also implicit in many studies of memory in prehistoric societies (e.g. Kovacik 1998; Chesson 2001a; 2001b; Hollimon 2001; Joyce 2000; 2001; Kujit 2001; Van Dyke 2003).

However, as when discussed by sociologists, the concept of social memory is vague and ill defined. Williams (2003a) fails to follow up his statement by explaining how exactly memory can exist outside people's heads in society. Innes' definition reduces memory to

[7] Historians and archaeologists have apparently been reluctant to use the term 'collective memory', which has enjoyed much more popularity within sociology, preferring the intellectually 'softer' idea of 'social memory', see comments by Fentress and Wickham (1992, ix) and below.

the process by which people pass information on to each other, a sort of public information service, which does not take account of memory's highly selective and constructive nature. In studies of social memory in the past, most researchers fail to directly address the concept itself, seemingly falling victim to the 'common sense' notion of memory, i.e. that it is self-explanatory so does not need defining. For instance, although Howard Williams (2003a, 5) in the introduction to his edited volume on the application of social memory theory to archaeological remains, argues that, 'explicitly theorising the nature of social memory and its relationship to identity and mortality in the past, is pivotal to an appreciation of past mortuary practices', few of the contributors to his volume openly discuss what they understand social memory to be. Of those that do, discussions are often vague and, as a result, many studies in this area fail to add anything of real value to our understanding of either social memory or past societies. For instance, Mike Williams' (2003) study on Iron Age bog bodies argues that the striking similarities between bog bodies from various locations in northern Europe suggest that 'they formed part of the communal knowledge and recollection of the past known as social memory'. He goes on to argue that the communities who took part in the rituals associated with bog bodies would have found them memorable because of the high levels of violence, stress and emotion that accompanied the ritual and also that the ritual would have been remembered in the same way by different people because they all shared a particular world-view. Remembering them was of great importance as the sacrifice brought tangible benefits to the community; if they were forgotten, their significance would have been lost. While all this is no doubt true, assuming that whole communities were allowed to witness these rituals, it is all rather obvious and adds little to our understanding of bog bodies, Iron Age society or social memory.

Where researchers do consider the nature of social memory, it is again seen in a variety of ways. As in the social sciences, there are two approaches to the study of social memory, one that defines it by its content, the other by its formative process. So for instance, Innes (1998) defines social memory as 'the shared views about the past which inform the identity of a social group'. Other historians also consider social memory, or just 'memory', to refer to memories of widely experienced events that are relevant to the identity of the whole social group (e.g. Butler 1989; Tonkin 1992). Perhaps because of its stress on the link between memory and the identity that a group has now, in the present, this interpretation of social memory suggests that it is something that exists in its own right, to which all members of a group have access simply by virtue of being members of that group. Although Innes acknowledges that one society will have a variety of social memories, which take account of the different positions of its members (for example, that the social memory of peasant farmers will be different from that of other social groups in the same society), it still suggests that people within a particular group will all have the same memories of the past and share the same attitude towards it. As we have seen, assumptions about the consensual nature of memory can often undermine discussions of it. In contrast, Van Dyke and Alcock (2003, 2) define social memory as 'the *construction* of a collective notion (not an individual belief) about the way things were in the past' (my emphasis). This is more suggestive of social memory as an active process, something in which individuals are constantly engaged, requiring mental activity and social interaction, rather than something that exists outside the group in its own right (see also Ollila 1999; Thelen 2001).

This active version of social memory is echoed by Fentress and Wickham (1992), who see it as referring to the sharing of memories that have relevance beyond the individual

between members of a group. Seeing memory as an active process in which members of a group are constantly participating means that there need be no dichotomy between 'personal recollection' and 'social memory' (see also Gedi and Elam 1996). Fentress and Wickham emphasize Halbwachs' (1992) idea that group identity structures the memories of individuals. However, they criticize Halbwachs' theory for failing to examine the other angle, that is the influence of individual memories on the groups those individuals compose. They argue that it is difficult to elaborate Halbwachs' theory without 'render[ing] the individual a sort of automaton, passively obeying the interiorized collective will' (1992, ix). It is to avoid this, they say, that they use the term 'social memory' rather than 'collective memory' and aim their research at examining the way memories are shared and how an agreed version of the past is constructed through communication (1992, x). They question the idea of a distinction between personal and social memory, since typically memories are a mixture of the two. Similarly, Lowenthal (1985) argues that the remembered past is both individual and collective, as a person can only recall their own experiences at first hand. Even when memories are made public they can never be fully shared, as to know of someone else's memory is not the same as having it. He notes also that memory has the effect of converting public events into personal experiences. People remember such things according to how they affected them and made them feel. Geary (1994) has also criticized previous studies, including Halbwachs' discussion of collective memory, for their over-emphasis on the assumed dichotomies within remembrance of the past, including that between individual and collective memory, collective memory and history, and oral and written remembering. He argues that such distinctions are deceptive, especially for understanding memory in the Middle Ages.

Although most attention has been focused on social memory, that of individuals has not been completely neglected. The importance of memories of individuals is at the forefront of work by historians such as Van Houts (1999) and colleagues (2001) who investigate how the memories of individual men and women were used to understand the past. Such studies have demonstrated the importance of social context in the construction and selection of memories of the past. Their focus has been on exploring the claims to authority over the past that the recording of memory implies and the uses to which these memories were put. For instance, Van Houts (1999) has discussed how women were the keepers of family memory and how, in the context of Ottonian Saxony, these memories could be put to use to safeguard the lands attached to nunneries. However, most studies in the area of individual memory have been primarily concerned with the issue of memory as a source for historical texts, what this indicates about the attitudes to the preservation of the past and what this means for historians today (e.g. Thompson 2000; Nip 2001; Quirk 2001; Watkins 2001; McKitterick 2004; see also Geary 1994). Such studies can tell us much about the ways people laid claim to memories of the past and how memory is always a selective process, attuned to the needs of the present. However, there is a danger with these studies, as with those of social memory, that 'memory' might be interpreted too broadly and applied to all attitudes to the past, as will be discussed in the next section.

Defining memory

It has already been noted that the concept of social memory has been applied to such a wide range of topics that it is in danger of losing all meaning. As Vinitzky-Seroussi (2001) has argued, 'if memory is everything and everything is memory, memory becomes such a catch-all phrase that it loses its significance'. The separation of 'social memory'

from any dependence upon memory as a cognitive process has led to a field of study where the concept can be applied to any form of knowledge or behaviour that references the past. However, as discussed at the start of the chapter, psychologists distinguish between the conscious recollection and sharing of memories between people in the construction of identity and social relationships and the unconscious use of learned knowledge that enables people to act in everyday life. Such a distinction could also be of use in studies of memory in past societies. This is echoed by Van Houts (1999) who differentiates between personal memory of events, which can survive up to 90-120 years and can take the form of recollection of personal experience or of second-hand experience passed on by an earlier generation, which she terms 'living memory', and knowledge of an older past, which might be characterized as myth or tradition and is beyond the recollection of any living person. This idea seems to have been shared by people in the Middle Ages, for instance, Walter Map wrote in the late twelfth century:

> 'It is in our own times that these things have arisen, and by our own times I mean this modern period, in the course of these last hundred years, at the end of which we now are, and of all of whose notable events the memory is fresh and clear enough; for there are still some centenarians alive and there are very many sons who possess, by the narration of their fathers and grandfathers, the certainty of things which they did not see' (*De Nugis Curialium*, cited in Van Houts 1999, 28).

This creates a distinction between what might be termed 'real' memory and culturally relevant knowledge about the past, which is learned and not experienced. The 'real' memory of an event could only be experienced by the person who had witnessed it and, while it could have been shared with others, only a limited number of people could have

known about it. This makes memory small-scale and local, it is not something which all members of a society could have experienced; it should not therefore be equated with, or confused with, traditions about the past or social knowledge, which can exist on a much larger scale. This distinction provides a useful way of defining memory in order to maintain its usefulness as a category of historical research.

The concept of memory should therefore be limited in its temporal scale. Remensnyder (1995; 1996) carried out a study on the way monasteries in the south of France in the early eleventh to mid-thirteenth centuries used their foundation legends to construct their identities in the present. She uses the term 'imaginative memory' to refer to social memories of events that our historical analysis shows did not happen. She uses the term 'imaginative' rather than collective or social to 'evoke the creative flair of the legends and their often fantastic transformations of reality' (1995, 1), emphasising the way memories can be as much invented as remembered. However, the stories evoked by the monks in the creation of their identities referred to events centuries beforehand and not to 'memory' at all, instead forming a part of the monks' social knowledge about the past. The issue here is not the imaginative nature of the legends, as we have already seen how memory can often involve unconscious invention, but the equation of events that occurred centuries ago with memory.

Just as memory should be limited to the time of personal experience, it should be equally restricted in its content. Fentress and Wickham's (1992) study included a discussion on how memories of past events could be shaped by different genres of storytelling in order to interact with an audience and their preconceived ideas. So for instance, they suggest that epic poetry like *La Chanson de Roland*, relates to sensory memory by using

formulaic language to fix images from the story in the minds of its listeners. The poem narrates the death of Roland, a story with which its audience would already have been familiar and believed to be true, as a succession of images, with no description or explanation to link one with the next. In contrast, they argue that an analysis of fairy tales shows the working of logical, semantic memory, using a series of consequential themes to move through the story; there is an easily perceptible logical strand running through each tale. Again, the audience would have recognized these themes and anticipated their outcome. The examples discussed by Fentress and Wickham do indicate the way story-tellers could use people's expectations based on their previous experiences to shape the narrative. However, although both genres rely upon the recollection of learned knowledge to communicate with the audience, they do not represent true memory. If we characterize all forms of narrative deriving from a particular cultural context as 'social memory' we lose its impact as a tool for understanding perceptions of the past.

Sharing memory

A further distinction has been suggested by historians between memory as a cognitive event experienced within the individual's head and the action of disseminating and preserving memory in the social world, i.e. speaking or writing about it (Fentress and Wickham 1992). This distinction implies that the act of making a memory social, in the sense of sharing it with other people, is fundamentally different from simply re-experiencing it. This process of acting to pass on memories is equated with commemoration, a deliberate act of preserving the past, as opposed to the often involuntary act of mental recall (Fentress and Wickham 1992). Schwartz (1982) has also suggested that commemorating the past carries with it an evaluative aspect, as it implies

that something is worth remembering. This distinction is echoed by Sarah Foot (1999) who goes further to question whether the concept of social memory as it stands is useful at all. She argues that the terms 'social' or 'collective' memory are semantically flawed, as the act of memory is personal and occurs only within the individual mind. She wishes to differentiate this from the idea of a pool of shared remembrance to which members of a group have access, as this is an act of *commemoration*, memorial but not reminiscent (ibid.). It involves drawing out a learned pattern, not an experienced one. This distinction cannot be absolute (as the learning of such material is in itself an experience in someone's life) but she argues that they represent two discrete cognitive acts. This is in part because memories are fundamentally altered by employing them in a common narrative. Therefore, these researchers argue that memory as an individual mental process should be distinguished from the constructed accounts of shared pasts, regardless of their dependence on individual memories. This is supported by psychological theories of memory, which suggest that the storage and cognitive experience of sensory memories of personal experience is qualitatively different from that of narrative, and therefore semantic, versions of the same memories (see above discussion, 5-7).

According to Fentress and Wickham's (1992) study, social memory is memory that can be articulated, whether in speech or in performance. In particular, they focused on narration as the primary means by which memories of the past were shared within a group (see above, 19-21, for the importance of narrative). According to Foot (1999), narrating the past gives it meaning, linking disparate fragmented memories together so that they can be understood, and also tying the past to the present. This can be related to the psychological work of Neisser (1967; 1982; see above, 9, 12), who showed how memory is not a passive process but involves thought and the processing of information.

Understanding does not take place at the time of the experience but later when its full significance is realized. When the event, its context and repercussions are understood, the experience is placed in a narrative. However, this process is not clear from the narratives themselves, which naturalize the memories. The existence of a narrative indicates that the memories have been rationalized, thought over and put into context; they have been selected as of relevance because they fit in with some aspect of the present.

Fentress and Wickham (1992) have shown how different narrative genres can shape the content of the memories they relate. For instance, they discuss the way memories of Charlemagne were structured both by the genre in which they were recalled and by the social and political context of the time (see also Remensnyder 1995, especially 182-201, for a similar discussion focusing on monastic foundation legends). In Einhard's account of the life of Charlemagne, heavily based on Suetonius' *Life of the Caesars* written 600 years before Charlemagne's birth, the king took on many of the features of this classical model. From the eleventh century, Charlemagne's story was also taken up in the vernacular *chansons de geste*, where it developed largely independently of the Einhardian tradition. Here, despite his apparent power, he is a weak and ineffectual king, a reflection of the weakness of the real French kings at this time. Fentress and Wickham therefore conclude that the social memory of Charlemagne changed to fit contemporary circumstances but however the story changed, it was always shaped by the genre in which it was told. However, it is questionable to what extent these stories of Charlemagne reflect 'true' memory. It must be borne in mind that an accurate recording of a ruler's life and personality, as with the *vitae* of saints, was not always the aim of the writer (Coleman 1997). Often such texts were aimed at providing an exemplar that drew upon established models, as in the case of Einhard's account. Even though Einhard knew Charlemagne, the

notion that his work was intended as a precise record may be anachronistic, equating more closely with modern ideas of biography than with medieval.

However, while it is clear that memories can be shaped by the way in which they are shared with others, we should be wary of placing too much emphasis on the distinction between remembering as a mental event and the act of sharing those memories with others. As we have already seen, 'personal' and 'social' memory cannot be easily separated and doing so creates a false dichotomy that adds little to our understanding of either term. While it is true that incorporating memories into a narrative does change them, as creating a story about the past, from autobiography to national history, automatically produces a beginning and an end, and a plot to go in between, the memories themselves still underlie the story, as has been shown by Van Houts (1999; 2001). In addition, narrative accounts of an individual's personal experience can still be retained mentally as memories. Just because something has been written down does not mean that it is not how it was remembered. As we have seen, Sarah Foot (1999) questions the use of the term 'social memory' to refer to the passing on of knowledge about the past through either speech or writing. Her criticism occurs at the beginning of an article describing how the Viking wars created such disruption that people forgot their past. She suggests that after King Alfred's decisive victory over the Danes at Edington in 878, a conscious effort was made to create a new past that reflected the present and Alfred's aspirations to rulership over all the Anglo-Saxon peoples outside the Danelaw. To do this, she argues, he created a myth of a single people with a common past, creating a story that showed how former disunity was necessary to allow present unity to develop. She says that this is different to memory as all freeborn young Englishmen, those on the receiving end of Alfred's educational reforms which was the tool for the creation of the new past, were to

know of the past was what they had learned from texts specially designed for that purpose. Their common past was not known to them through experience; it could not be remembered. She maintains that there is a meaningful distinction to be sustained between a reminiscent process associated with personal experience and the deliberate invention of a past for Alfred's new people.

However, it might be suggested that her distinction between memory as a cognitive process and the composition of a narrative of the past has arisen from her interpretation of the impact of the Viking wars on English society. For her, the English forgot the past when the Vikings destroyed the monasteries, which she sees as the keepers of the past. King Alfred then took the opportunity of deliberately creating a new narrative of the past to suit his purposes. It is not clear though why everyone would suddenly have forgotten the old past. Even though the young Englishmen would have learned Alfred's new past from the texts they read, they would still have access to family oral memories as well. Doubtless, Alfred was deliberately setting out to create a new version of the past that suited his view of his new kingdom. However, this does not mean that written versions of the past can be completely separated from the memories that underlie them. The sharing of memories with others does not make them any less the result of personal recollection. Foot seems to see written versions of the past as being politically charged in a way that memories are not, but this is not the case. As we have seen, memories too can be shaped by circumstances. We can see, then, that although the act of sharing memories always occurs with a particular purpose in mind, this should not disguise its basis in memory.

All of this means that we can see memory as being limited by both time and space and mediated by context. It is context that turns memories into narrative, as it provides the reason a memory needs to be told and defines the audience to whom it is presented. Geary (1994) emphasizes that the past is heavily influenced by the present situation. People and events were remembered only when and as long as they fitted in with contemporary concerns. Things that no longer held relevance to the past were quickly lost or transformed. These transformations seldom occur as the result of overarching political or ideological programs, or to major changes in the way the past was remembered, such as the increasing use of literacy, but to the particular and often relatively small-scale and local circumstances of the time. The creation of systems and structures to retain the past often followed regional forms, although striking similarities can be detected (ibid.).

Fentress and Wickham (1992) have followed research within the social sciences that suggests that what is remembered and how is influenced by present social circumstances that are specific to the group. So for example, they describe how peasant memories tend to focus on family members and actions within the community, even for larger-scale events, with local geography often acting as a mnemonic, influencing what is recalled and shaping memories, something that has also been shown for the early modern period by Fox (1999). In contrast, urban working class memories can be formed on the basis of geographical area, place or type of employment, political or religious alignment or ethnic origin. Unlike peasant time, which tends to be family based and generally cyclical (although they point out that peasant life does also follow a linear conception of time), working class perception of time is created by the temporalities of employment and their sense of space tends to be work-based also. From this analysis, Fentress and Wickham

argue that a social group's perception of the past cannot be entirely separated from their understanding of their position in the present.

Geary (1994) also argues that the context within which remembering takes place will affect the structure of memory itself. He contrasts Odilo of Cluny's (994-1049) *Epitaphium Adalheidae imperatricis* with the second *Vita Mahthildis Reginae*, written by an abbess or canoness of Nordhausen. These works present two radically different images of women and memory, each being a product of the context within which it was written. The former describes the way the Empress Adelaide secured the memory of her son Otto II by requesting the monks of Cluny to remember him in their prayers. The second relates how the Empress Matilda passed on to her granddaughter and namesake the duties of the abbey including that of remembering the dead, in particular herself and her husband Henry I. This difference between the Cluniac model of the woman as passive supplicant and the imperial model of the woman actively engaged in remembering her family's dead is replicated in other sources too (ibid.). Geary argues that it was the aim of Cluniac monasteries to show that it was they and not women who were best able to guard both the liturgical commemoration of the dead and the narrative formal memory of the past. Memory and its preservation are closely linked to attitudes towards central authority and the legitimate exercise of power. According to Geary, in Ottonian Saxony, imperial memory was entrusted to women, who were part of the imperial family, living in institutions with close contacts with the imperial house. In the west in contrast, monasteries used memory to claim an autonomous political basis outside of the domination by king or family.

The social and political context of recall affects not only how things are remembered and why but also the content of memory itself, as has been noted above with Charlemagne and the *chansons de geste*. Put simply, the person doing the remembering and the reason it is being recalled will influence both the content of memory and its interpretation. Geary's (1994) work has demonstrated that in the eleventh century, Cluniac monasteries were increasingly presenting themselves as the rightful and reliable preservers of family memory on behalf of the nobility. Yet the family memory they preserved seems to have been severely curtailed (ibid.). Institutions only remembered family members who had contributed to their land-holdings. For example, in the cartulary of Lérins an entry made in *c.*1125 describes in detail how over a century and a half the monastery acquired property that had originally been granted to Rodoard, one of the followers of William the Liberator, in 961. It represents a 'genealogy' of the house of Antibes Grasse, providing information on five generations of Rodoard's descendants, discussing the marriages and inheritances of nineteen of his descendants and their spouses. However, only individuals who shared in the progressive dismemberment of the estate or its ultimate reunification in the hands of the monks were present. This document demonstrates clearly how monasteries could serve as a repository of memory but only on their own terms. Other family history was not considered important. Monastic control of family memory in the eleventh century resulted in it becoming shortened, distorted and highly selective (ibid.). Of course, it should be pointed out that families may have retained a fuller account of the past orally among themselves. However, this shows how the identity and concerns of the keepers of memory have a direct influence on what is remembered and forgotten.

The social and political context that shapes memory is also closely related to issues of power and authority in the past. The Cluniac monks used their control of memory to

consolidate their own position, both in terms of recording their ownership of lands and properties but also in terms of further establishing their rights to control over the past. Numerous other examples of monasteries utilising memories of the past to secure their position in the present have also been provided in studies by Remensnyder (1995; 1996) and Van Houts (1999). Le Goff (1992, 97-97, also cited in Van Dyke and Alcock 2003, 3) states that, 'Collective memory…is one of the great stakes of developed and developing societies, of dominated and dominating classes, all of them struggling for power or for life, for survival and advancement'. Geary (1994, 6) has also noted that whoever has power over the past also controls the present and can direct the future. Therefore, not only are memories of the past selected according to the needs of the present, but those memories can also be powerful tools in that present.

Conclusion

This review of the way historians have utilized and applied memory theory to the study of the medieval period has raised a number of issues. It has confirmed that the assumed dichotomy between individual and social memory does little to aid our understanding of the way memory actually works. It has highlighted the dangers of confusing memory with related notions such as history, tradition, myth and what might be loosely termed as learned knowledge about the past. Memory can only be a useful concept for studying the medieval period if it is strictly defined. We have seen that in contrast true memory in the medieval period must be localized in both time and space, related to personal experience and the sharing of such experiences. Memory must always be related to context, which determines both what is worth remembering and the form those memories take. Finally, we have seen how memory can be a source of power and authority and can be used, both

consciously and unconsciously, to secure the position of both people and groups in the present.

Medieval memory

The studies of medieval memory discussed so far have all utilized modern theories of the concept developed within the social sciences. But to fully understand the workings of memory at this time we must also take account of how medieval people themselves comprehended it. Philosophers had been interested in the nature of memory and its workings from ancient times (see the classic studies of Yates 1966; Carruthers 1990; Coleman 1997 for full discussion of the different approaches to memory throughout the classical and medieval periods). In ancient times, memory was considered as a part of rhetoric, an essential technique that enabled orators to remember long speeches (Yates 1966; Carruthers 1990). Memory was seen as a skill that could be developed, which enabled the expansion of 'natural' memory by 'artificial' means. The three major surviving sources, Cicero's *De oratore*, the anonymous *Rhetorica ad herennium*, and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (ibid.), each describe the method of memorising long speeches through combining the information to be remembered with vivid mental images (ibid.). As well as retaining speeches, the artificial memory system could also be utilized for storing information for reference, such as lawyers' cases (*Ad herennium*, cited in Yates 1966). Memory was also seen as an essential part of thought and reasoning, providing the mental images necessary for this process (Aristotle, *De memoria et reminiscentia*, cited in Yates 1966; Augustine, *Confessions*, cited in Coleman 1997).

These understandings provided the basis for medieval discussions of memory from the thirteenth century by Thomas Aquinas and his teacher Albertus Magnus. For them, memory was not part of rhetoric but ethics, with memory treated as part of the cardinal virtue of Prudence (Yates 1966). However, it is far from clear to what extent ancient philosophies and techniques of memory affected understandings of the notion in the early medieval period. Rhetoric was still taught in the Mediterranean world in the fifth century, no doubt including the techniques of memory described by the classical authors, and it is certain that Jerome (d. 420) was familiar with the *Ad herennium* (Yates 1966). However, with the disappearance of rhetoric these memory techniques also seem to have vanished (Coleman 1997). Although interest in rhetoric and grammar was revived in the eighth and ninth centuries (ibid.), no treatments of memory and its techniques were forthcoming. While memory techniques are mentioned by Alcuin in his dialogue *Concerning Rhetoric and the Virtues*, he knows no details of how they work (Yates 1966) and most of the classic texts were unknown in the medieval world until the twelfth century (Carruthers 1990). Janet Coleman has characterized the early medieval view of memory as aimed towards salvation with the focus on establishing an institutional memory of obedience and learning and the suppression of memories of life outside the monastery. Cubitt (2000a) has argued against this characterization of monastic memory, which, rather than reflecting a serene, collective life could be a diverse collection of interpretations of the past, the site of contestation, and centred as much around the experience of individuals in their everyday duties and relationships as around the group experience of a closely regulated life of prayer. In this reading, memories of life in a monastic community centred on social interaction and everyday activities, as well as personal experiences outside the monastery, and could be contested and disputed within the monastery itself.

One thing that unites the concepts of memory from ancient to modern times is their intangibility. Memory is an intellectual construct, without a concrete form. Although operating through the structure of the brain, it has no precise physical location. Memory therefore cannot be understood or explained without recourse to the use of metaphors (Draaisma 1995; Antze and Lambek 1996; Hallam and Hockey 2001; Tilley 2002; Jones 2003). Metaphors by their nature are always appropriate to the context of the time and, more specifically, are strongly intertwined with ideas on contemporary technology (Thomas 1993; Boyarin 1994; Draaisma 1995). As Draaisma (1995, 3) has noted, 'The history of memory is a little like a tour of the depositories of a technology museum'. Often the technology in question relates to ways of artificially extending the memory. Aristotle (*De memoria*), Plato (*Theaetetus*) and Augustine (*De Trinitate*) related the workings of memory to the impressions made in wax by seals attached to letters, while Cicero (*De oratore*) likened the imprinting of images on memory to the inscription of letters on a wax tablet (all cited in Yates 1966; Carruthers 1990; Coleman 1997). These ideas can still be seen today through the survival of 'imprinting' and 'impression' as words for the retention of information. The idea of memory as a process of storage and retrieval also gave rise to a second major metaphor of memory as a physical space in which knowledge can be contained. For instance, in Plato's *Theaetetus*, Socrates likens the things stored in memory to pigeons housed in a pigeon-coop and Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* sees it as like an inventoried set of bins or animal pens into which knowledge is sorted (both cited in Carruthers 1990). The use of technology as a metaphor of memory was not confined to ancient sources. In the nineteenth century, memory was described with reference to recent developments in optical technology and we have seen, above, how psychological theories of memory in the 1960s and 1970s drew heavily on metaphors of computer technology for their concepts of storage, processing and retrieval

(Roediger 1980; Boyarin 1994; Draaisma 1995; see above, 5, 7). These metaphors all produce different views of memory, each derived from its own intellectual and technological context.

Literacy and memory

One of the most important developments in technologies of memory was the spread of literacy. Literacy is considered an important aspect of the development of society as it allows oral speech to be transmitted over time and space (Goody 1968). It is also closely related to understandings of memory, as the metaphor of memory as being like writing in the mind was commonplace is classical and medieval sources. The uses and functions of medieval literacy have been well studied (see for example McKitterick 1990c), as has the way written records were increasingly incorporated into, and eventually replaced, oral transactions (see Clanchy 1993). These studies have revealed that literacy is a complex issue and one that is far removed from modern understandings of what it means to be 'literate'. Some have attempted to establish how many people had basic literacy skills (e.g. Wormald 1977; Clanchy 1981; 1993), while others have discussed the extent to which writing was a normal part of Anglo-Saxon government (see Wormald 1977; Keynes 1990; Clanchy 1993 for differing views). However, such studies have been hampered not only by deficiencies in the evidence (Kelly 1990), but also by the question of what should be considered a basic level of literacy. Today, reading and writing are seen as mutually supporting skills but this was not the case in medieval times. There were undoubtedly many who could read reasonably well but had no writing skills, or indeed a wish to learn them.

Basic literacy was not an issue that concerned medieval commentators, unlike today where such concerns are a major part of government education policy and a central aspect of aid to the developing world. For people in the medieval period, being literate or *literati* meant more than the ability to read and write but referred instead to those learned in Latin and displaying high levels of knowledge of ancient culture (Harris 1989; McKitterick 1990a; Clanchy 1993). When it came to dealing with written texts, there were many levels of ability, which included listening, reading aloud and memorization at least as much as private reading and writing. However, it was often only those displaying unexpected levels of literacy that were commented upon. Modern scholars have applied many different definitions of what it means to be literate, for instance the ability to write one's name has often been taken as a basic standard. However, the importance of the signature varies from culture to culture, suggesting that the way literacy was used and the significance it had varied with context and generalizations should be avoided as they reveal little of the reality of the situation. It therefore needs to be discussed in its historical context to have meaning (Goody 1968; Harris 1989; McKitterick 1990a; 1990b).

In early medieval England, documents remained just one aspect of communication and supporting social and legal transactions. Boethius interpreted Aristotle as stating that a written word was an *inscriptio vocis articulatae* implying that a sentence was a record of spoken sound (*Commentarii* 23. 16-18, cited in Stock 1990). In addition it would seem much of the written documents of the early medieval period were for the purposes of recording oral transactions and were therefore to be used in conjunction with, rather than as a substitute for, oral pronouncements (Wormald 1977; Keynes 1990). Despite the recording of Anglo-Saxon law in written form, it was the word of the king that gave them weight, not the fact that they were written down (ibid.). Similarly, written charters seem

to have been incorporated into the highly visible formal ceremony already in existence, rather than taking its place as the means by which ownership of land was transferred (Kelly 1990; Clanchy 1993).

However, literacy has symbolic as well as practical functions. Although runic writing existed in England before the conversion, writing in the Latin alphabet was closely associated with Christianity, a religion of the Word and the Book (Mitchell 1990). The adoption of writing in any form, even in conjunction with continuing oral transactions, is not simply a question of skill but also of mentality. Orality and literacy are both forms of expression and performance. The development of literacy encouraged people to think about the different ways of communicating and test them in different areas. Writing is not simply the externalization of internal thoughts, it also implies a change internally, a new way of looking at the world (Stock 1990). The development of a literate mentality is not just a question of beginning to write things down, it is also an issue of preserving the documents in the long term. The earliest charters that seem to be authentic are from the 670s in Kent, Surrey, and the kingdoms of the West Saxons and Hwicce. The first surviving East Saxon charter can be dated shortly after. That they were so widespread by this date implies that they existed in written form before this but for some reason they were not preserved. This change in practice implies a change in mentalities towards time and the importance of preserving the past for the future either in or soon after the late seventh century. However, books and manuscripts were only one form of mnemonic (Yates 1966) in this period and literacy certainly did not eclipse other forms of remembering.

The present study – technologies of memory

Most of our knowledge for the medieval characterization and understanding of memory derives from an intellectual tradition. However, it is questionable how far these ideas might be applied to the memories of the vast majority of people at this time. If the structure of memory is always related to contemporary technology, we need to find a way of placing this relationship within its day-to-day context. For the vast majority of people, memory was a part of their everyday lives, embedded in their social networks and interactions (cf. Thomas 1993), and it is here that we need to look for Anglo-Saxon technologies of memory. The idea that contemporary technology might be related to the way memory operates has been explored by Thomas (1993, 32) who has argued that material culture is a technology of memory that condenses the social history of a community and the stories of individuals. This idea has been developed by Jones (2003; see also Williams 2003b), who has considered what technology might have formed the basis for a metaphor of memory in prehistoric Scotland. He argues that monuments at ritual sites form what he refers to as a 'technology of remembrance'. For him, the processes involved in building, rebuilding and using a monument embody the similar processes of remembering and forgetting. Continuity of use over a long period is equivalent to remembering, retaining memories of society. Discontinuity and abandonment, on the other hand, is the equivalent of forgetting those elements of society and the past that are no longer relevant. He therefore sees the way monuments are constructed and used as allowing memories to be evoked in specific ways. It is the physicality and longevity of such monuments that is important here, as they form a link between the past, present and future (Thomas 1993; Jones 2003). By envisaging memory as operating through technology, it becomes not a matter of storage and retrieval but a

form of practice. Jones argues that remembering and forgetting takes place as a person immerses themselves in technological activities, by which he means all activities that have some effect on material culture, both practical and ritual in nature. According to Jones, memory is not simply understood through ideas about technology; it also works through technology. Monuments and places provide a means of working through memories within society. For him, this also gives archaeologists a way to move beyond the assumed dichotomy between individual and social memories, as all types of memory are constructed through material technologies.

All this suggests that archaeology may be especially useful for the study of memories. Several scholars have suggested that archaeologists might access memory through ritual behaviour, such as burial practices and feasting at the graveside; objects, especially grave goods; and places, which can include buildings and monuments as well as landscape features (Tonkin 1992; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003; see for example Joyce 2000; 2001; Chesson 2001b; Meskell 2001; Williams 2003a). This thesis aims to consider early medieval 'technologies of memory' in the context of contemporary funerary practices, when memory might be expected to come to the fore. Chapter 2 will examine grave goods as a technology of memory while Chapter 3 will consider the significance of the cemetery as a mnemonic place. Chapter 4 will draw these discussions together and argue for a significant change in memory practices during the early medieval period in England.

Method

To examine the remembrance of the dead during the Anglo-Saxon period, four cemeteries were selected from the south-east of England, covering the date range from the late fifth

to early tenth centuries. The first cemetery, Spong Hill, Norfolk, is a mixed cemetery dated to the late fifth to late sixth centuries and was the site of intensive excavations in the 1970s and 80s, which uncovered the whole site. The second cemetery, Edix Hill (Barrington A), Cambridgeshire, was a site for inhumation burial in the sixth and early seventh centuries. This site was partially excavated in the nineteenth century and again in the late twentieth. Although only half the cemetery was excavated and ploughing and drainage works at the site damaged some skeletons, the recovered skeletons are believed to be a representative sample of the whole cemetery. The third cemetery, Apple Down, Sussex, is another mixed-rite cemetery, which dates from the late fifth/early sixth to late seventh/early eighth centuries. The final cemetery, Rivenhall cemetery 1, Essex, has been radiocarbon-dated to the late eighth to the early tenth centuries. All these cemeteries were selected on the basis of the quality of the data and of the excavation reports. Each provided a significant number of burials, usually with good survival, and the reports were thorough, with sufficient primary data to allow new analysis to be carried out. In the case of Rivenhall, no detailed grave catalogue was included in the published report due to lack of time and funds. However, the lack of published reports of dated Later Anglo-Saxon cemeteries means that the Rivenhall excavation provided the best available data. Although all four of these cemeteries are examined in Chapter 3, Rivenhall is excluded from Chapter 2, as it was unfurnished.

Archaeological background

The present study draws upon previous studies of Anglo-Saxon burial practices carried out from the nineteenth century onwards. The first person to identify Anglo-Saxon burials was the Reverend James Douglas in 1793; before this, such burials had been misidentified

as Roman remains. However, it was not until the work of Charles Roach Smith in the 1840s and 1850s that the identification of Anglo-Saxon graves was firmly established (Lucy 2000, 8, 10). Following on from this, the archaeological study of the Anglo-Saxon period grew in popularity and, with a rapidly expanding corpus of material remains derived from cemeteries, scholars began to investigate archaeology's potential for expanding on the historical knowledge of the period. One particularly influential piece of research was that of J.M. Kemble (1856) who noted the similarities between Anglo-Saxon cremation urns and those of the same period on the continent. The close relationship between the material culture of England and the continent was seen as providing confirmatory evidence of the story of Germanic invasions described in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

By the start of the twentieth century, sufficient Anglo-Saxon material existed to begin to create detailed typologies and chronologies for particular objects. This in turn was seen as the starting point for a more detailed account of the Germanic invasions than was given by the documentary sources. The first major synthesis of Anglo-Saxon material and its potential use for understanding the settlement of Germanic peoples in England was that of E.T. Leeds (1913). In this work, Leeds placed the Anglo-Saxon material within its continental context and discussed the ethnic make-up of the settlers through the types of material culture found in graves. He also highlighted the problems with the historical sources' depiction of the invasions and settlements and identified in what ways archaeology might supplement and enhance our knowledge of this process. Subsequent work (Leeds 1936) built upon and refined these conclusions in the light of an ever-growing corpus of material evidence from excavations. Leeds' research, as well as that of G. Baldwin Brown (1903-1915), Smith (1923) and Åberg (1926), identified the

distribution of material associated with particular ethnic groups and provided the basis for the beginning of detailed typologies. The destruction caused to objects found in cremation urns, however, meant that they were not subjected to the same analysis as those from inhumation graves and it was to be some time before the decoration on the urns themselves was to be arranged into a corpus (Myres 1977). Nevertheless, the existence of the urns was taken as an indicator of the earliest settlement of the incoming Anglo-Saxons and were seen as just as important in identifying the rate and distribution of settlement.

The development of chronologies of objects found in graves was seen as essential, not just for dating the graves in which they were found but also for identifying the earliest areas of settlement and the direction from which the settlers came. However, it was also dependent upon assumptions regarding the date of their arrival and the relationship between the practice of furnished burial and religion, it being believed that furnished burial would have ended with conversion to Christianity in *c.*600 (Hines 1999). Both of these aspects of cemetery interpretation were based upon the existing historical sources, which underwent several re-readings as attempts were made to reconcile them with the archaeological evidence. The assumption that conversion to Christianity automatically brought with it the end of furnished burial was questioned by T.C. Lethbridge (1931; 1936) as a result of his excavations at Shudy Camps and Burwell, both in Cambridgeshire. At both these sites, he found burials that were not typical of other cemeteries in this area and, while he initially considered that they may be indicative of another type of early cemetery, comparison of the type of objects found there with the barrow burials of Kent led him to the conclusion that these must be seventh century in date and therefore contemporary with the period of conversion. The similarity between the grave goods at these sites with those of Kent and the general lack of objects in most

graves argued for such cemeteries representing a transitional phase, with the creation of new Christian cemeteries but the lingering of some pagan burial habits. He also argued that some of the early pagan cemeteries also did not disappear with conversion but continued to be the burial places of 'obstinate pagans' into the seventh century. These arguments carried with them the implication that the timeframe for artefact chronology was longer than had originally been thought, a point that was also made by Leeds (1936), who was the first to describe this period as the 'Final Phase'. The notion of the 'Final Phase' cemetery as a distinct development from the earlier Migration period burials was further added to by Evison (1956) and Hyslop (1963). Together, these studies developed a strict definition of cemeteries of the conversion period as well-organised inhumation cemeteries, often with barrows, which were generally lacking in grave goods and especially those objects typical of earlier cemeteries, such as the various brooch types. The most important element though was the argument that these cemeteries represented the abandonment of pagan burial grounds and the foundation of new Christian cemeteries close by (e.g. Meaney and Hawkes 1970; Faull 1976). This model of transition between different phases of burial has been re-evaluated more recently in the light of new archaeological finds and more refined dating techniques (Boddington 1990; Hines 1999). These studies have indicated that the traditional Final Phase model is a little too rigid, with burial practices from the seventh century in fact showing more variety than was originally thought, and that the changes may start as early as the mid-sixth century, in some areas at least.

From the mid-twentieth century, the growing corpus of archaeological material and the development of better archaeological methods and new scientific techniques enabled the improvement of the old typologies and the development of new ones (Dickinson 1980;

Hines 1990). Major work in this area includes that on buckles (Hawkes and Dunning 1961; Evison 1968), pottery (Myres 1977; Evison 1979), shield bosses (Evison 1963) and various types of brooches (Leeds 1949; Avent 1975; Evison 1978; Dickinson 1979; 1993a). With the firmer establishment of dating and distribution of artefact types, there was also a further refinement of the relationship between the historical and archaeological evidence, for example with Hines (1994) in particular questioning the early to mid-fifth-century date of many urns and metal objects, which in turn undermines their use as indicators of the date and distribution of the first Anglo-Saxons (cf. Myres 1969; 1977). In addition, there was also a greater range of work interpreting the elements of Anglo-Saxon lifestyle expressed in the grave (e.g. Owen-Crocker 2004 on dress, first published in 1986; see also Chapter 2). Social identity had always been of interest to Anglo-Saxon archaeologists but it had generally been treated as a straightforward correlation between certain objects and the possession of a certain social and/or legal status, for instance, the idea that burial with a sword indicated a member of the warrior elite (e.g. Hawkes 1973; Alcock 1981; Evison 1987). From the 1960s, there arose within archaeology as a whole a more complex approach to the investigation of social status through burial practices. Proponents of this approach took the view that social structure, organization and individual status positions were all symbolized through variations in the form of mortuary ritual (e.g. Binford 1971; Tainter 1975). Many such studies took advantage of developments in computer software to carry out quantitative studies of material from several cemeteries and used the results to argue for the increasing stratification of Anglo-Saxon society in the late sixth and seventh centuries (e.g. Shephard 1979; Arnold 1980).

Subsequent studies, under the influence of post-processualism, have argued that objects can also have a symbolic importance, being symbols of power and belief, as well as of

status and wealth, and that they do not merely reflect the nature of society but help to construct it (Parker Pearson 1982; Shanks and Hodder 1995). Early studies again used systematic approaches to discern patterns in large amounts of material evidence in order to infer how social relations are symbolically represented in the burial rite (e.g. Pader 1980; 1982; Richards 1987). Such studies were dependent upon new advances in archaeological techniques as well as changes in perspective. For instance, Richards' (1987) study was the first to attempt an explanation of the decoration of cremation urns as symbolic of the social persona of the deceased rather than as typological markers, which was possible only because of new techniques in aging and sexing cremated human remains.

Later studies into the relationship between grave goods and Anglo-Saxon identity and social structure have been influenced by the arguments of Hodder (1982) and Shanks and Hodder (1995), among others, on the importance of context in the interpretation of material culture. For instance, Dickinson (2005) has argued that the zoomorphic metal fittings on shields of the mid-sixth to early seventh centuries drew upon images from Norse mythology of monsters and those who can defeat them to create a supernatural protective layer around the shield and its owner, enhancing the symbolic value of the shield and so its social meaning. Similarly, Härke (1989; 1992; 1997) has argued against the simple association between weapons and warriors, suggesting instead that burial with weapons was a rite with many different layers of symbolism, that made statements about ethnicity, family affiliations and elite status. In this area, 'identity' has come to replace 'social status' as the focus for research, incorporating all aspects of a person's social persona including their age, ethnicity, gender, religion, and their kinship and tribal affiliations. Although most studies focus on the practice of inhumation, these new

approaches have also been applied to cremation, with Williams (2001; 2002) examining the social meaning of the performance that lay behind cremation and what it meant for the social relationships between the living, and those between the living and the dead, and also of particular aspects of the rite such as the sacrifice of animals.

Gender, in particular, has been emphasised as a method of analysis in studies of Anglo-Saxon identity. Critiques of androcentric bias in historical studies had first appeared in the 1970s and in British archaeology from the early 1980s, where it developed partially under the influence of post-processual ideas about the multiplicity of interpretations of the past (Conkey and Gero 1991; Englestad 1991; Claassen 1992; Gilchrist 1994). Anglo-Saxon cemeteries are seen as an ideal place to study gender as they provide the clearest indications of attitudes to and relations between groups of men, women and children as well as of the socially constructed nature of gender (e.g. Brush 1988; Lucy 1997; 1998; Stoodley 1999; see also Hines 2003, 80-82). Such studies have critiqued our own assumptions about the nature and expression of gender, such as the tendency to ignore so-called 'gender neutral' burials in favour of those with overt expressions of masculinity or femininity such as weapons and jewellery burials (see especially Stoodley 1999). In particular, Stoodley's large-scale systematic investigation of the expression of gender in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries has indicated the variety of ways in which gender could be expressed, including the 'weak' association of certain objects with particular genders, the effect of age and the way in which gender could vary between regions and over time.

The issue of age and its effects on expressions of social identity has had less study devoted to it, although it sometimes appears in the context of gender studies (Härke 1997). Where Anglo-Saxon cemeteries are analysed in terms of age the focus tends to be

on children rather than on age divisions among adults (e.g. Crawford 1993; 1999; 2000; Lucy 1994; see also Kamp 2001; Baxter 2005). Both Crawford and Lucy have discussed the differential treatment of children in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, using such evidence to argue for attitudes to children and childhood in this period (see also Chapter 3). These and other studies have identified the existence of different age thresholds that carried with them greater status and responsibilities in comparison with the documentary evidence such as that from law-codes (e.g. Härke 1997). Härke has also extended this to include adult age groups, with the analysis of the types of objects found in graves to demonstrate particular age associations. For example, he found associations between the length of knife blades and age in male graves and argued that large knives were symbols of adult male status in the early Anglo-Saxon period (Härke 1989). Studies such as these on social identity and its expression in the Anglo-Saxon burial rite have not replaced 'traditional' studies of chronology and distribution of artefacts. Rather, they each build upon the findings of previous generations of scholars and are indicative of the range of research questions available within the present theoretical and methodological frameworks in Anglo-Saxon cemetery studies.

Chapter 2: Memory and Objects

Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 1, memory is not simply a mental process related to neural pathways and brain chemistry. As has been shown by numerous researchers, memory is formed within the context of social life and group relationships, being incorporated into language, rituals and bodily practices (Connerton 1989; Iggers 1999; Cattell and Climo 2002). However, social interaction does not just occur between people but incorporates their physical environment, both the landscape setting of natural and man-made features, which will be discussed in Chapter 4, and the objects that accompany people in their interactions (cf. Schiffer 1999, 2). This chapter will focus on how these interactions between people and material objects might form, and be formed by, memory. It has been argued that interaction with objects allows a direct re-engagement with past experience in ways that are not possible with language or ritual (Rowlands 1993; Seremtakis 1994, cited in Hallam and Hockey 2001, 11). As will be demonstrated, objects are the tools with which people engage with the past, serving in the creation and manipulation of memories that have resonance in the present. This chapter will explore the relationship between memory and objects though the grave goods of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. It will firstly consider recent developments in archaeology and the social sciences that may enhance our understanding of the relationship between memory and objects. It will then apply these ideas to the material from selected Anglo-Saxon cemeteries to discuss the implications of the interactions between memories and objects for contemporary funerary and commemorative practices.

Material culture studies

The phenomenon of material culture studies is a relatively recent one, having evolved slowly over the last twenty years. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, theoretical developments within the social sciences over the course of the twentieth century relegated material objects to a subordinate role in social processes or showed little interest in material culture at all (see Miller 1987; Olsen 2003; Tilley et al 2006a). Since then, objects have come to be recognized as an important part of individual and group identity and social relations and 'material culture studies' has become a discipline in its own right, with cross-disciplinary research groups at University College London and Durham University and its own academic journal, the Journal of Material Culture (Berger 1992; Attfield 2000; Buchli 2002; Olsen 2003; Tilley et al 2006a). This multidisciplinary approach has challenged the traditional view of the passive object reflecting human behaviour with the idea that objects can play an active role in social relations. One development within this field that has had an impact on archaeology is the notion of the object biography or life-history, originally proposed by Kopytoff (1986; see also Appadurai 1986). The basic premise of this model is that the meaning and value of an object can change throughout its 'life' and that such changes are cumulative so that the present significance of the object derives from the persons and events to which it was previously connected (Kopytoff 1986; Gosden and Marshall 1998; Walker 1999; Holtorf 2002). These changes in meaning need not be driven by the physical modification or use of an object; rather, meaning emerges from its interaction with people and with other things, and is therefore context-specific (Appadurai 1986; Holtorf 2002). These object biographies can be evoked, manipulated or contradicted by people according to their

needs and it is only within the context of their use that a society's relationship to the past may be understood (Lillios 1999; Hallam and Hockey 2001).

Anthropological and archaeological studies have revealed the potential importance of seemingly everyday objects in the construction and maintenance of social relationships. Bronislaw Malinowski (1922) showed how, for the Trobriand Islanders, the exchange of red shell necklaces and white shell bracelets within strict rules created a network of lifelong social relationships between individuals. Although Malinowski's study simplified the complexity of Trobriand social relations, other anthropological studies have also shown how possessions can carry something of their maker or owner with them through exchanges, which are formative in social relations (Weiner 1992). Prehistorians have also found object biographies useful in studying the relationship between material culture and society (Tilley 2006; Holtorf 2002). Skeates (1995), for instance, examines the role that axes played in the construction of social relationships in the central Mediterranean region between the Middle Neolithic and the Iron Age. He argues that the exchange, theft and inheritance of special axes created links between people and communities. These axes came to be representations of these social relations and may well have taken on the qualities of particular people who had been associated with them during their life-history. At some point in their history, certain axes were taken out of normal circulation and made into axe pendants, becoming heirlooms. Skeates' study shows how certain objects, imbued with links to the past, can claim a special role in the life of the community and were preserved accordingly.

Heirlooms lend themselves particularly well to studies of object biographies, as they provide clear indications that an object had a long history. Weiner (1985, 210) has argued

that heirlooms bring past time physically into the present, providing a direct link to ancestors and mythological events that then become part of the present owner's identity. Woodward's (2000) study of amber beads and portions of Beaker vessels in the early Bronze Age attempts to examine how some objects may have been used as relics and some as heirlooms, depending upon their different life-histories. She notes how certain objects become valuables not through their intrinsic worth but through sequences of exchange and overt display in society. It seems a large amount of social investment goes into creating and maintaining an object's status as a link to the past. Such objects were carefully curated, modified and re-used over long periods as relics or heirlooms. Their status depended on their previous life-history, especially where they were located. Such heirlooms had an important impact on identities and social relations through their link to the past. The possession of certain objects can be utilized in the maintenance of power and prestige (Hendon 2000). Lillios' (1999) study shows that the possession of heirlooms assisted in the construction and legitimation of social inequalities in chiefdom societies. She argues that heirlooms served to objectify memories and histories, acting as mnemonics to remind the living of their link to a distant ancestral past. As not everyone has equal access to that past, the possession, display and transmission of heirlooms helps to reify inherited social differences. As in Woodward's study, heirlooms are typically everyday items, such as farming tools, food vessels and jewellery, and as such, are integrally associated with productivity and social reproductivity.

The object biography approach has also been taken up by some medieval archaeologists, although here it has been applied primarily to special, rather than everyday, items. Williams (2001) has shown that the biographies of the grave goods at Sutton Hoo, whether they are exotic, antique or locally produced, reflect the gift-giving practices and

long-distance cultural interactions between elites in north-west Europe. The audience at the funeral would therefore presumably have been aware of the histories of these objects and were able to interpret correctly the social relationships they represented. Here, the object biographies represented ties in the present although they relied primarily on memory to maintain those social ties. In contrast, Eckardt and Williams' (2003) study on Anglo-Saxon re-use of Roman objects argues that an object's biography can tie individual and group identities to a mythological and supernatural past, as opposed to its known context of use. They suggest that, rather than being heirlooms, these objects were found on Roman sites and used as amulets to create links with a more distant, unknown past. As these objects were found rather than curated, Eckardt and Williams argue that they were 'objects without a past', lacking any known biography other than that of their discovery (ibid., 165). In this interpretation, objects with no history could be just as important in creating ties with the past.

Such studies reveal the way objects brought the past into the present in a way that fits contemporary needs. However, archaeologists should avoid the assumption that their understanding of an object's materiality matches that of people in the past (cf. Holtorf 2002). The biographical approach often treats the objects under study as an objective 'record' on which the past is 'inscribed' (e.g. Williams 2001, 40). It is therefore seen as something that is easily retrievable by the archaeologist, as its use and meaning can be read from its physical shape and the context of its archaeological discovery. It is often assumed that an object's biography provided a full and complete account of the way the object had been used. It does not take account of the ways people actively construct their past. In fact, like memory, the biography of an object can be highly selective and may even be invented to fit the needs of the present, while other aspects of its usage may be

forgotten. This is revealed by Remensnyder's (1996) discussion of a reliquary held at the monastery of Conques, south-west France, in the twelfth century. It is believed that this reliquary was made to represent the alpha of Christ (Rev. 1.8; 1.11) but was reinterpreted by the monks in the context of a contemporary legend that named Charlemagne as Conques' founder. Under this influence, the reliquary came to be seen as a letter 'A' given to the monastery by Charlemagne to indicate its precedence over his other foundations. Here, although the object's use remained unchanged, its actual biography was forgotten and a new one was invented to support Conques' claims of superiority over its rival abbey at Figeac. This illustrates how an object's biography can be as much the result of invention and forgetting as remembering.

This example has an effect on the way object biographies should be studied. Archaeologists are restricted to studying object biographies where they result in a real or apparent physical alteration of the object itself or its context of use. The meaning of an object can change, though, in ways that are archaeologically invisible and that are not related to the 'reality' of the object's prior use. These issues should be borne in mind when studying object biographies. To return to Eckardt and Williams's study on re-used Roman objects, it should not be assumed that such artefacts were 'objects without a past'. Leaving aside the authors' assumption that these objects must have been found rather than kept in circulation from the Roman to Anglo-Saxon period[1], there is no inherent reason that they should have had no biography, even if they were newly discovered on Roman sites rather than passed down as heirlooms. Biographies may well have been invented for

[1] It is assumed that if these artefacts were kept as heirlooms, there would be a bias of fourth-century objects in fifth-century graves. However, we cannot say how long the Anglo-Saxons might have kept cherished possessions or how frequently they would have been used, which would affect patterns of wear. It is possible that they were deliberately, and carefully, preserved for far longer than Williams and Eckardt, and other archaeologists, suppose possible. Outside the Anglo-Saxon context, Joyce's (2000) study of the prehispanic Maya (*c*.250-1000 AD) provides a good example of how heirlooms could be deliberately preserved for hundreds of years.

such objects that provided them with a long history prior to their rediscovery and not necessarily one that had supernatural connotations. In addition, there is no way of telling how long an object had been in circulation between its Anglo-Saxon rediscovery and its interment in a grave. These objects may have formed an important part of social relations for some time before they were interred with their owner in a grave.

Archaeologists should also be cautious of assuming that all members of a community would have interpreted an object's biography in the same way. Buc (1997) has shown in a medieval context how people could place different interpretations on an object, depending upon their position within the social relations it embodies. He examined the meanings of objects donated to monasteries by secular patrons and found that donated objects could stand as mnemonics for social relations and individual identities. Such objects could create and act as a reminder of social bonds between people, in particular, acting as a reminder of a person's authority over, or obligations to, a religious house. These objects could have multiple meanings, with the lay donor and the monastic recipient interpreting the object, and the social relationship it symbolized, differently. For instance, a lay donor may make a gift that he believes reflects his role as the monastery's protector, while the monks may see it as a symbol of his service to them. These objects could also act as memoria for the donor or recipient after their death or become a mnemonic for the institution's rights over property. This shows how the meaning that may be ascribed to such objects can depend on people's perspectives, as well as the social and political situation.

Memory, objects and identity

The object biography approach has demonstrated that objects can themselves carry a history that is relevant to people's identity and social relations in the present. Objects can serve to bring the past into the present, creating links to both the distant, mythological past and the more recent past contained within living memory. However, objects have a further significance as they are one of the means through which memory works in the construction of individual and group identity (see Chapter 1 for the link between memory and identity). By their very nature, objects are 'good to remember with' (Geary 1994, 20). They have permanence, an 'objectivity', which stands out in stark contrast to the transience of the human body (Kwint 1999; Hallam and Hockey 2001). They can therefore act as mnemonic devices, giving permanence to information and stories about the past, transmitting social knowledge from one generation to another and even acting as proof for certain events (Turner 1974; Richards 1992, 132; Moreland 2001, 38; see also Clanchy 1970; 1993; Van Houts 1999; Cubitt 2000a). Objects owned, worn and used during life would have maintained their form long after the death of their owner, acting as physical reminders of that person. Their very physicality also pertains to their importance for remembering. Stewart (1999) has argued that touch is the most 'liminal' and taboo-laden of the senses as it directly involves the thresholds of self and other, and that it is the sense most linked to emotion and feelings. Physical contact with certain objects on a day-to-day basis creates an emotional attachment between object and owner. Over a period of time, such an emotional attachment can provide a link to the past with which that object is associated. As Pointon (1999; cf. Taylor 1981) has shown for museum artefacts, touch can be crucial when connecting with the past through an object, for it is the handling of objects that triggers a desire and an ability to empathize with the past.

Sociological studies have underlined the importance of objects in the construction of individual and group identity. Objects can give an insight into the personality of the owners (Berger 1992). The social philosopher Hannah Arendt argued that 'the things of the world have the function of stabilising human life, and their objectivity lies in the fact that...men, their ever-changing nature notwithstanding can retrieve their sameness, that is, their identity, by being related to the same chair and the same table' (1958, 137; also cited in Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981, 16). Objects play an active part in people's lives, both practically by expanding or limiting their thoughts and actions, and symbolically by reflecting personality, status and skills (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981; Frayling 1999). They therefore have the capacity to make people more than they are or to restrict their abilities and inhibit their behaviour. The potential of people to act within society and the limiting forces imposed upon their actions construct the self but it is memories of past experiences that are essential in maintaining that self. Identity, like memory, is never complete but is an ongoing process constantly modified through social relations and interaction with the material world. Objects and identity can therefore be prospective as well as retrospective; being symbols of what society *could be* as well as reflections of what it *is* (Geertz 1993).

Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton's study (1981) of the significance of household objects in the creation of the self revealed that everyday goods that a person attends to regularly or has close to hand create permanence in their life and are therefore most involved in constructing their identity. These household objects both reflect and shape the owner's identity through their links to past experience, particularly associated with family and friends. In turn, the close link between objects and their owners mean that their belongings create memories in others after their death. A part of that person will live on

through the memories of others and in those objects most associated with them. Radley's (1990) study of the elderly in care homes has shown that people actively use objects to shape how others will remember them. By passing on treasured possessions known to be significant to the recipient, the elderly create in their survivors the kind of memory of themselves that they desire. Although both these studies reflect modern populations in a consumer society, anthropological studies have revealed that in some non-western societies, objects and personal identity are inextricably intertwined. Hoskins' (1998) study of the inhabitants of the Kodi district of the Eastern Indonesian island of Sumba revealed that a person's life-history was inseparable from those of objects they valued. Here, the people had no concept of directly talking about their lives; to find out about the person you had to ask them about their objects. Similarly, Weiner (1992) and Weiss (1997; see also Hoskins 2006) has shown how, in some societies, certain objects are so closely associated with their owners that they are inalienable and cannot be given away through gift or exchange.

However, while objects have great potential for serving as 'cues' for the construction of memories, it is not simply the case that any object can trigger a memory in any observer. Engel (1999) has argued that the potential of an object for creating memories depends as much upon the mental activity of the rememberer as it does on the nature of the object. Most importantly, for the object to have significance, a person has to be willing to engage with the past events it represents. In the same way that memory is mediated through social context, the decision about what object is 'good for remembering by' is a social one, not brought about purely through mental activity but also through changes to the context of the objects themselves or of their interpretation (Radley 1990). Studies of the possessions of the elderly in care homes have revealed the special significance given to

objects that have been removed from their original context. When a person moves into a care home, they make a conscious decision to take with them certain objects and dispose of others, based on their significance for their owner and their suitability for the new environment. Such studies reveal that the displacement of the objects from their original spatial and temporal context enhanced their significance and their associated memories (Radley 1990; Attfield 2000). The result was that those objects were placed at the centre of a narrative about the person's life-history (see Chapter 1 for the role of narrative in remembering). An anthropological study by Parkin (1999) has shown how people forced from their homes because of conflict often carry with them objects inscribed with personal memories that will assist them in re-establishing or re-defining their personal and collective identity. The selection of such items under crisis relates to issues of selective remembering and forgetting. His study has shown how in these extreme conditions, where normal social ties are disrupted and there is a lack of trust between people, emotional attachments to objects may come to replace those between individuals. Here, what a person owns may be more important to identity than the social ties such objects would normally represent.

The importance of objects in the construction of memory and identity has also been demonstrated for the medieval period. For instance, Cubitt (2000a, 271-2) has shown how the accumulation of objects such as books, relics and altar vessels by Benedict Biscop were an important part of the construction both of his memory and the identity of the monastic community at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. The importance of objects in remembering was also recognized at the time. Clanchy (1993) has discussed how, before charters were commonly used for recording land transactions in writing, it was usual practice to use an object to represent the transfer and act as a mnemonic for it in the

future. Examples include a cup given to Durham cathedral around the time of the Conquest by Copsi, earl of Northumberland, which according to a Durham writer forty years later was preserved in the church to retain the memory of the land transaction forever, and an ivory knife deposited at Tavistock Abbey in 1096 with a note explaining that it was by this knife that William Rufus had given the abbot seisin of a manor (ibid., 38, 156). These everyday objects were taken out of their usual context and involved in an elaborate, religious ritual to pass land from one owner to another. Everything about this act would have been designed to be memorable to all those present, not least because they often involved large estates. The object that represented the transaction was then retained as a mnemonic to remind everyone of this ceremony.

Memory, objects and death

It is arguable that the way a person's identity is perceived is open to change and manipulation upon their death. Given the close links between objects and memory in the creation and maintenance of identity during people's lifetimes, it can be expected that they are also involved in constructing the identity of the dead, especially as any such construction would be retrospective and therefore dependent on memory. Objects have certainly been shown to have an important role to play in dealing with death and the dead. They can provide a strategy for coping with loss, serving as a lasting connection to those who are absent (Unruh 1983; Ash 1996; Hallam and Hockey 2001). Walter (1996), discussing modern western contexts, has described how in grief a durable biography of the deceased's life is constructed, enabling the living to integrate the memory of the dead into their lives. This process occurs through conversation, which may focus on objects such as photographs and the belongings of the deceased (Hallam and Hockey 2001).

Unruh (1983) has shown that memories of the dead are the result of the interaction between the deceased person's self-image and the interpretation placed on everyday memories of the deceased by survivors. Unruh sees the individual concerned as being proactive in shaping how they will be remembered. As they see themselves nearing the end of their life, people in modern societies interpret their past lives and provide cues for survivors as to how they wish to be remembered, for instance, as a good father or successful businessman. Survivors then selectively reinterpret the images they are left with to create a lasting identity for that person, which may include impressions of which the deceased was unaware. Unruh sees objects as playing two parts in this process of 'identity preservation'. Firstly, as we have seen above (81-83), objects can be selected to form the centre of narratives about people's lives as a way of communicating memories to others. These objects are then passed on, either formally through wills or informally, to survivors who will understand and appreciate their significance, thus maintaining those memories after the person's death. Secondly, certain objects can become 'sacred' symbols of the deceased's life by being seen by others as representative of some aspect of their personality or experience (Unruh 1983, 347). These objects may be those chosen by the deceased but may also be items that have special significance for the survivors.[2] The creation of these sacred symbols by survivors takes place within the context of their reinterpreting the events of the deceased's life. Mundane activities can become special as they act as reminders of the deceased, while the continuation of joint activities, such as hobbies, can be a way of maintaining close emotional ties.

This study may have much significance for the study of Anglo-Saxon memories of the dead. Little is known about Anglo-Saxon concepts of old age but it is unlikely that they

[2] Grave sites and markers can also be viewed as such symbols, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, as can favourite places of the deceased.

experienced such clear age-related watersheds as in modern society, such as retirement. It is possible however that for those who survived early adulthood, often the peak of mortality, other events in the life cycle that were less directly related to age may have created an awareness of the approaching end of life and a similar kind of reflection on the past to that seen in modern society. These events might be the birth of grandchildren and the surrendering of responsibilities within the community and household to younger people. It may also be speculated that some of those who reached the upper limits of life expectancy in Anglo-Saxon society may have had reduced work duties as they experienced mobility problems and increasing fatigue. Those who were of higher status and could afford to employ workers and those with adult children who could take on the responsibilities of managing the household, land and animals would fall into this category. It is likely that such people may have been in a position to reflect back on their lives in the ways described by Unruh.

The importance of memory and objects in creating an identity for the dead has also been revealed in anthropological studies such as Küchler's (1987) study on Malangan-art, sculptures that are conceptualized as 'skins' which replace the decomposed body of the deceased, thus providing a container for the life force. These sculptures are displayed before being 'killed' and allowed to decompose to set free the life force so that it can be re-channelled into people and other sculptures. As no sculpture is preserved, the imagery of each is produced from memory, based on that which was current during the deceased's childhood. The artist is instructed how to design the sculpture by another elder. Rights over the imagery used are vital, as control over the re-embodiment of the memorized images constitutes political authority. Only those people who saw and acquired a particular style of imagery in their childhood have the rights over its reproduction.

However, the art that is produced is not a direct reproduction of that seen in childhood. Changes occur due to the interaction of recall and the social context in which it is produced. Malangan-art therefore relates not only to memories of a deceased individual and their place in the community but also to current social and political relationships. The production and decay of sculptures as part of the funerary rites is an essential part of severing the ties between the living and the dead and bringing an end to their social relationships, effectively 'ending' their memory (Hoskins 2006). The idea that objects can be deployed as part of the funerary rites to 'finish' memories of the dead has also been found among the Sabarl islanders of Papua New Guinea, where the final act of the funerary rites is to burn the personal belongings of the deceased, which are considered the most painful reminders of the dead (Battaglia 1992). Until then, the personal belongings are able to exert control over the thoughts and behaviour of the living. This does not mean that the dead were 'forgotten' as we would understand the term but that the grief of the living is managed so that the dead are no longer constantly brought to mind to influence the living (see also Taylor 1993).

Archaeologists have also recognized the importance of the relationship between objects, memory and identity within funerary practices. Here too, objects are seen as integral to the process of creating new identities for both the deceased and the living. For instance, Chesson's (2001b) study of the early Bronze Age in the southern Levant (ancient Israel, Jordan and Palestine) argued that burying the dead in a particular shaft tomb and providing them with certain combinations of grave goods created 'social memories' of a particular kin-group, which influenced how the dead were remembered and the social relations and identities forged between the living (although see Chapter 1 for problems with the term 'social memory'). Funerary rites are often seen as transforming the body,

both literally and metaphorically, representing a new role and place for the dead in social relations. For instance, Cummings (2003) argues that the addition, and possibly also the removal, of bones from Neolithic chambered tombs allowed memories of the dead to be transformed over time, linked to the transformation of the bones themselves. It is the process of transforming memories of the dead that Williams (2004b) refers to in his discussions of Anglo-Saxon social memory. For him, social memory is what links death and identity; it is the means by which elements of the deceased's life and social relationships are remembered or forgotten. He argues that social memory can involve both the retrospective commemoration of how the dead were in life and the creation of prospective memories of how the dead will be remembered in the future. Williams (2003b; 2004a; 2004b) argues that the act of cremation is particularly related to prospective memory as, although the destruction of the body and the creation of a new one in the post-cremation rites involves remembering aspects of the deceased's identity in life, it also involves selective forgetting so that they can become one of the idealized and archetypal dead. He sees portable artefacts at the funeral ritual as being actively involved in this 'memory-work'. In his case studies, Williams notes how combs and toilet implements, such as tweezers, occur far more frequently in cremation burials than in inhumations. He suggests that these items were probably used at key rites during the person's life cycle, being closely related to changing social status and its accompanying transformation of the body. They were therefore ideal tools for directing the way an individual's identity was transformed at the funeral, when the deceased's body was altered for the final time.

These ideas are interesting and serve to illustrate the possible ways in which objects may have been used to transform memories of the dead. However, their explanation of how

memory might work through objects to affect the identity of the dead is not entirely satisfying. Williams' approach singles out combs and toilet implements as key features of rites associated with the life cycle and argues that their presence at the funeral ritual was intended to remind observers of those rites. However, it does not explain why these objects were privileged over any other, why they were placed, whole, into the cremation urn, or why some examples are miniatures rather than full-sized working tools. He also does not adequately explain (2004b) why jewellery and weapons should be considered too closely connected to the deceased's identity in life to be included in cremations, despite being acceptable in inhumations where they are associated with the construction and display of personal and group identity, while toilet implements were not. His approach can therefore not provide a full explanation for these funerary rites or the role that objects and memory played in them.

The present study: remembering the dead through Anglo-Saxon grave goods

Objects have therefore been demonstrated to be instrumental in the creation and maintenance of identity during life and the manipulation and completion of identity in death. This occurs through the ongoing use of objects, which themselves had a history, in a given context. It has also been shown that it is usually everyday items, those most closely associated with the individual through touch and emotional attachment, that are most involved in this process and that the association between object and owner can intensify after death. All this suggests that the objects found in early Anglo-Saxon graves might be expected to be implicated in remembering the dead. Several sociological studies have emphasized the importance of touch and physical interaction with objects in the

creation of memory. It is notable that the majority of objects found in Anglo-Saxon graves are those associated with dress (James 1989). 'Dress' is used here and in what follows in its broadest possible sense to refer to any object worn or carried on the body to present a particular image of the wearer. In an Anglo-Saxon context, therefore, this includes weapons and grooming tools as well as clothing and items of personal adornment.

Dress, memory and identity

Within anthropology and sociology, there has been a growing appreciation of the importance of clothing and dress in social relations and identity. Clothing is particularly important in identity as it is worn on the body, acting as a barrier between the private person and the external world (Berger 1992; Lupton 1998; Attfield 2000; Hallam and Hockey 2001). Dress is deliberately selected to be a part of us, acting as a projection of the self, and can represent the materialisation of the different life-stages of the person (Ash 1996; Attfield 2000). In non-western societies, dress can also serve to link individual identity to a meaningful past, as it situates current styles in relation to the history of the people or community. Its proximity to the human body and its close relationship with self-image means that dress has a very strong emotional aspect to it, perhaps more so than any other object (Ash 1996; Hallam and Hockey 2001). Dress can be used as a way of expressing emotions in a way that is both personally and culturally meaningful, for example the practice of wearing black at modern funerals or, in some cultures, of rending the clothes in grief. Ash's (1996) discussion of the effect of encounters with her deceased husband's clothes revealed the strong mnemonic qualities of personal garments, reminding her of the past presence of their owner and of specific

events tied to particular items. For Ash, 'the garment becomes imbued with the essence of the person' (ibid., 219). However, while the garment can bring the past into the present by acting as a reminder of that person, it can also underline the disjuncture with the past, being a potent reminder of loss (ibid.; Hallam and Hockey 2001). Dress items can therefore create new memories by stressing the absence of the person with whom they were connected.

However, dress is not merely connected with the formation of individual identity and the memories of individual people. The selection of clothes is not purely the result of personal choice but is connected to various social and cultural pressures. Dress is a way of communicating and therefore needs to be comprehended by observers, even if the only understanding those observers have is the recognition of difference (Roach and Eicher 1979; Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski 1991; Barnes and Eicher 1992; Berger 1992; Eicher 1995; Effros 2002). Fashion and style are the result of various cultural practices and often follow strict codes. For instance, in modern western society clothes tend to be age-graded, as well as linked to occupation and therefore to class (Berger 1992). The contributors to Eicher's (1995) edited volume on dress and ethnic identity have indicated that the style and meaning of dress is not static but changes with context. Dress allows for members of different groups to be distinguished and also different ranks within a group. It is not possible to distinguish ethnic, gender and status elements of dress from each other as they are all inter-related (Effros 2002). For instance, Eicher (1995; see also Barnes and Eicher 1992) has shown that gender expression in dress has an ethnic element as it is related to issues of modesty, ostentation, concealment and exposure considered appropriate for the group. Similarly, gendered clothing will also have an age component as what is appropriate for a young girl to wear is not necessarily so for an older woman.

Archaeologists have long recognized that costume can be a medium for social messaging, expressing relationships between individuals and the wider community in terms of age, gender, status and ethnic and family identities (Effros 2002). Social differences between people would have been instantly visible, with foreigners, for instance, standing out in a crowd (Owen-Crocker 2004, 320). That costume could be used to present a particular image of someone was recognized at the time. Owen-Crocker (2005) has shown how the clothing in which people were depicted in medieval manuscript illustrations could be deliberately used to present certain messages to the audience. Her analysis of the picture of King Cnut and Queen Ælfgifu-Emma on the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester (London, British Library, MS Stowe 944) reveals that the clothes in which they were depicted presented them as wealthy but pious people and emphasized Cnut's Scandinavian origins as well as his rights to the English throne.

Studies of medieval wills have also indicated that the close association between personal belongings, memory and identity is not just a modern phenomenon but was recognized at the time, with the distribution of belongings, in particular, clothes and other dress items, being used to present a particular image of a person. Howell's (1996) study of fifteenth-century French women's wills found that the bequests, which were largely of clothes and households items, worked in two ways to present a specific image of the deceased. Firstly, the act presented a public image of the way the deceased wanted to be remembered. The will was made in the presence of the family and was proved in public, being read out in detail. The objects they listed were therefore instrumental in presenting the deceased as a wealthy benefactor and a member of a particular social group. Secondly, the gifts worked on a personal level, being chosen specifically for the intended recipient and accompanied by a request for prayer. Each item was a link between

benefactor and recipient and would act as mnemonic both for the donor and for the care for her soul. Clothing and other dress items can therefore be seen as instrumental in the presentation of a chosen image of the self and in the memorialization of a person after their death.

Funerary dress as a technology of memory

Chapter 1 argued that material culture, both portable objects and the landscape environment, can be seen as a technology of memory that allows people to actively engage with memories of the past as a group, revisiting and reworking those aspects of the past that have particular resonance in the present. This section will discuss the evidence from the furnished cemeteries of Spong Hill, Edix Hill and Apple Down in preparation for examining how grave goods might have functioned as a technology of memory. The aim is to provide an overview of similarities and differences within the furnished burial rite, both within and between cemeteries. Each cemetery is divided into women, men and children to examine variations within, as well as between, different age and sex groups. All those skeletons aged between ten and eighteen buried with gendered grave goods have been counted as adults.

Spong Hill, Norfolk - Inhumations

Fifty-seven inhumations were found at the cemetery at Spong Hill, dated from the late fifth to mid- or late-sixth century, in addition to a periglacial feature misidentified as grave 21 (Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984). The Spong Hill cemetery was characterized by

poor bone survival (Putnam 1984, 15), which caused problems for identifying age-related patterns. Of the fifty-seven inhumations, eleven adults (19.3% of the excavated population) could not be sexed by either the bones or the grave goods and so have been omitted from this study. The poor bone preservation also means that it is not always certain whether an object was worn, although in the great majority of cases the position of the object in the grave allows for an educated guess.

Women

The osteologist was only able to identify the remains of seventeen women from their skeletal remains (Putnam 1984, 16). However, following the excavators' assessment, a total of twenty-seven women (47.4% of the excavated population) could be identified, if grave goods were also used as indicators (ibid.; Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 115; for women and grave goods at Spong Hill see Table 1). This includes skeleton 33, identified as female by the excavators based on a couple of beads at one end of the grave (Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984). It should be noted, though, that there are no bones in this grave and at other cemeteries it is not unknown for men and children to have small numbers of beads. It has been assumed that all skeletons with female-gendered grave goods were socially, if not biologically, adults, although some may have been adolescents or children. Only ten of the twenty-seven identified women could be assigned an age. It should be noted that there is a good chance that some of the eleven unidentifiable graves also included women without gendered grave goods.

The majority of identified women at Spong Hill were dressed very uniformly, with twenty-one interred wearing the 'peplos'-type gown, typical of fifth- and sixth-century

'Anglian' and 'Saxon' cemeteries, over an under-dress (see Owen-Crocker 2004). Nineteen women fastened this over-gown with two brooches at the shoulders. Nine of these women also had a third brooch in the centre of the chest, which may have fastened a shawl or cloak, or pinned the gown to the under-garment, a common arrangement in Anglian areas, especially Suffolk and Cambridgeshire (see also Edix Hill, below; Owen-Crocker 2004, 54-55). Two other women had only a single brooch at the shoulder, one of whom paired it with a buckle. Sixteen of these women had a string of beads across the chest or around the neck, one had a necklace with pendants on and seven had wrist-clasps, another predominantly Anglian fashion (Owen-Crocker 2004, 56), presumably used to fasten the sleeves of the under-dress although the lack of bone means it is not certain that they were worn in every case. Seven of these women had evidence for a belt, with a surviving buckle or other fastener and/or items suspended from the waist. One other woman (Sk48) had wrist-clasps but no other jewellery. In contrast, one woman (Sk2) was wearing a style of dress more typically found in Kentish cemeteries, with a line of three brooches at the neck, chest and central waist, closing a front-opening garment rather than the peplos-style gown. A pair of cruciform brooches flanking the central brooch at the waist may have been attached to a belt and served to suspend objects (Owen-Crocker 2004), although in this case no objects were present. Unusually for this style of dress, however, skeleton 2 also had a string of beads across the chest in Anglian style, rather than suspended vertically from the brooches, as is more usual with Kentish-style costumes.

With the exception of the pair of equal-armed brooches in grave 46, which are generally considered to be manufactured outside England (Owen-Crocker 2004, 41), all the brooches are of 'Anglian' type, including all those worn by the woman in the Kentish-

style dress (Sk2). The annular brooch is the most common among the inhumations, with twenty-six examples found in thirteen graves. Annular brooches are usually found in pairs, although they are also the only type to be worn singly and in one case one was paired with a cruciform brooch. Cruciform brooches are also common, with eleven examples from eight graves. They are the most common brooch type used to fasten the cloak but only fastened the peplos-gown of three women, once as a pair (grave 22), and twice paired with another type of (circular) brooch (graves 26 and 58). Finally, they were also found as a pair worn at the waist of the woman with the Kentish-style dress. Different types of small-long brooches occur in a few graves, with pairs of trapezoidal-types occurring in two graves, and trefoil- and rectangular-types appearing singly in two other graves in conjunction with other brooches, including the Kentish-style costume of grave 2. Square-headed brooches also occur in three graves, each singly with one or two brooches of a different type. All of these brooches have a wide distribution (Owen-Crocker 2004, 42). Finally, grave 26 included a Romano-British bronze gilt disc brooch of the second century.

Twenty women at Spong Hill were interred with pots or potsherds, including the only three identified women buried without jewellery. In nine graves, the pot was complete or near complete. In two cases, a pot seems to have been deliberately cut in half (skeletons 3 and 17). The pots with skeleton 17 and 33 may have had a hole deliberately put in the base. Other pots were found in pieces. It is not clear whether this destruction was deliberate prior to burial or occurred after burial. Those pots in seven graves had organic residue surviving on the inside. Four or five women had wooden bowls buried with them (skeletons 18, 24, 45, and 58; skeleton 3 may have had either a wooden bowl or a box). It is possible that more women had these, as the only parts that survive are the metal repair

strips. Although some women at Spong Hill had tools attached to the belt as part of their costume, others had such items placed separately in their grave. Six women apparently had knives buried loose with them, while skeleton 22 had a spindle whorl and skeleton 24, a weaving batten.

Men

Only six skeletons were identified osteologically as adult males (Putnam 1984, 16), although the excavators identified a total of sixteen (28.1% if the population) by incorporating grave goods into the analysis (ibid.; Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 115; for men and grave goods see Table 2). It has been assumed that everyone with male-gendered grave goods were socially adults, although it should be borne in mind that young children at other cemeteries are sometimes found with weapons. It is not possible to comment upon age-related patterns as only six men could be assigned an approximate age.

As is typical of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, the male burials include a limited range and number of dress accessories. Seven men wore at least one buckled belt. In three more cases, buckles were found in the grave, though it is unclear whether they were worn. Three other men were also interred wearing belts, indicated in one case by studs and a strap-end at the waist, and in two other cases, by objects at the waist (each had a knife and one a purse). Other men may also have been wearing belts, which have left no trace. In total, eight men wore a knife at the waist; five more had knives in the grave, although it is unclear whether these were worn. In addition, two men wore a purse attached to their belt, one of whom also had a pin and tweezers attached in the same place. One other man also

had a pin, which was presumably worn as part of the dress, perhaps to fasten a cloak, although its location was unrecorded.

At Spong Hill, twelve of the sixteen identifiable men were buried with some kind of weapon. These were divided equally into those with one weapon (five with a spear and one with a shield) and those with two or more (both a shield and a spear and, in one case, a sword). The sword burial was a high status burial in a wooden chamber and was the only man to have a wooden bowl, as well as being the only inhumation at Spong Hill to have a bucket. As with the women, pots were a relatively common find among the Spong Hill inhumations, being discovered in seven graves among the men. Again, two of these pots had been cut vertically in half. Organic residue was only found on one pot (grave 51, one of those cut in half), although it is possible that they all contained either food or drink. In addition, potsherds were found in two of the graves in this group, although it is unclear whether these were deliberately buried.

Children

Only three children's graves (5.2% of the excavated population) were identified among the inhumations at Spong Hill. One, aged *c.*12 years, was found in a wooden chamber grave with adult male skeleton 31. The other two graves were empty but were assumed from their size to be those of children. As the grave goods in Grave 31 were probably more likely to have been associated with the adult male skeleton, they have been discussed above. There is too little information to make any comments on the nature of grave good provision for children in the inhumation graves at Spong Hill.

Spong Hill, Norfolk – Cremations

Due to the number of cremations found at the fifth-sixth century site of Spong Hill, it was decided that a sample should be selected to make the study more manageable. The sample consisted of all those urned cremations that could be aged and sexed and that were described as 'complete' in the catalogue. This included all those described as complete but 'crushed' or 'cracked' in parts IV and V of the published reports.[3] From this sample were eliminated all those cremations whose contents had gone missing, all those that were thought to be accessory vessels and all the double burials, which might be unrepresentative of general practice. This produced a sample of 223 urns (see Table 3), of which 145 (65%) contained grave goods (those with no identifiable grave goods are listed in Table 4). This should be representative of the cemetery as a whole, as around 70% of all complete urns contained objects (Hills 1977, 32).

Whether or not an object shows signs of fire damage has not been taken as conclusive proof that the item was worn during the funeral rites. Some beads showed no signs of fire damage but this was explained by the excavators as their having been away from the hottest part of the pyre. In contrast, other objects such as combs, which are unlikely to have been worn, do show signs of fire damage. Decisions about whether an item was worn have therefore been largely based upon common practice in inhumation cemeteries.

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[3] In the earlier reports, description of the urns was not as detailed as this, with any pots that were complete but crushed/cracked being simply described as 'complete'.

Women

In the sample of cremations, there were 83 adults and three older sub-adults (age 16-18 years) that were identified as definitely, probably or possibly female from their skeletal remains. In addition, one unsexed older sub-adult with female grave goods (cremation 1475) was included, producing a total of 87 women or 39% of the sample. There were sixty-two urns in the sample containing grave goods (see Table 5).

As has been noted elsewhere (Williams 2003b; 2004a), dress accessories such as brooches and beads are far less common in cremation urns than in inhumation burials. Only ten women in the sample had any brooches. Each was in a fragmentary state and in three cases the identification as a brooch was uncertain. Only one cremation from the sample (cremation 2376) had more than one brooch and here the finds were in a relatively good state of preservation. This woman was wearing a pair of disc brooches, presumably at the shoulders fastening a peplos-style over-gown, with a third, equal-armed, brooch, likely to have been worn in-between these two, in the same manner as the inhumed women at the site. Those cremated wearing brooches are almost all over the age of 25. Most are also under the age of 40, although up to three may have been older.

The most common brooch type among the Spong Hill inhumations was the annular brooch; however, this is not the case among the cremations. None was found in the sample and only three from the whole cemetery, one of which is tentative. The cruciform brooch, also common among the inhumations, is the most frequently occurring among the cremation sample, appearing in four urns. All the brooches in the sample were Anglian, with the exception of the equal-armed brooch and pair of saucer brooches found in urn

2376. As noted above, the equal-armed brooch is not thought to have been manufactured in England, while the saucer brooches were most popular in Saxon areas. In addition, one applied brooch was found in the sample. These, as noted above, are usually limited in distribution to the Upper Thames valley. In four cases, the brooch type could not be identified.

All but two of the women who had brooches had at least a couple of beads surviving, probably part of a bead string attached to the shoulders. Cremation 2376, which had three brooches, also had iron necklace rings that probably formed part of this string, as well as a silver finger ring. A further thirty-four women also had evidence for bead strings, with the number of beads varying between one and fifteen. This should be taken as a minimum number as many may have been lost on the pyre, while others became stuck together to form a glass lump. There is no clear association between the number of beads and a person's age in the sample, so the number of beads placed in the urn may have had more to do with their position on the pyre, the heat of the fire and the collection process after cremation. Nineteen urns contained ivory purse ring fragments. One woman wore a buckled belt, a rare find for the Spong Hill cremations. This woman, along with two others, also had bone or antler beads at the waist, which may have been used as girdle fasteners. Six more had bone or antler rings, which Hills (1977, 30) suggests may have been used as pendants. An alternative is that they may have been used as girdle fasteners, like the bone beads. There is no other evidence for buckles, strap ends or studs, all of which would have melted anyway unless made of iron.

Eight urns contained one or more toilet items (tweezers, razors, shears, and ear-scoops). I found no apparent relationship between age and burial with toilet items in the sample. As

noted by the excavators (Hills 1977), jewellery items and toilet items are largely exclusive of each other. Tweezers and shears are only found with dress accessories on two occasions in the sample, once with a possibly misidentified brooch (cremation 1724) and once with two broken bone beads (cremation 1109). However, it should be borne in mind that some of the melted bronze globules and lumps found in eight of these urns might be toilet items or tools. Finally, knives, which were often worn at the waist by inhumed individuals, were very rare, being found on only one or possibly two occasions, as were wrist-clasps, with only one example being found in the sample.

The toilet items found in the cremation urns are similar to those worn suspended from the belt in many inhumations. Hills (1977, 25) has noted that tweezers, shears, razors and ear scoops are frequently found together on a ring and some, although not all, show signs of burning. However, they do not seem to have had the same significance as those included with the inhumations. Many appear not to have been intended for use, with some being miniatures rather than full-sized, usable tools, while the blades of many of the shears were never sharpened (ibid.). In contrast, combs were frequently found in urns with both jewellery and toilet items. Other items were rarer, such as spindle whorls (four urns), Roman coins and bone playing pieces (one example of each). Finally, a few urns had unidentified lumps of glass, at least two of which were from glass vessels, and four contained evidence of wooden bowls.

Men

The sample of cremations included forty-one (18% of the sample) that were osteologically identified as definitely, probably or possibly male. Twenty-five of these cremations were furnished (see Table 6).

Only ten urns contained any dress accessories. Belts are harder to identify in cremations than inhumations, as we are dependent on the existence of buckles, none of which were found in the sample. However, two cremations (nos.1784 and 1990) had large beads and two more (cremations 1719 and 1878) had an antler ring, all of which may possibly have been used as belt fasteners. These latter two also had ivory purse ring fragments, as did two others (nos. 2511 and 3125), which can be worn suspended from the waist or shoulder (see Owen-Crocker 2004, 69). The most common dress item found in the sample of male cremations was beads, found in six urns (including the two already mentioned above), ranging in number from one to six, although, as with the female cremations, these will represent the minimum number of beads that where on the pyre. In addition, up to four urns may have contained brooches, although only one of these is identified for certain (a cruciform brooch in cremation 1719). Although beads are occasionally found in male inhumation graves, they are generally considered a feminine burial accessory and, while there is evidence that men wore brooches to fasten cloaks, especially in the later Anglo-Saxon period (Owen-Crocker 2004), they are rarely found in male inhumation graves.

As was noted for the women at Spong Hill, there is a lack of association between dress items and toilet items, although again combs are found with both groups. Only one urn

contained both types of object (cremation 1766) but this was one where identification of the brooch was only tentative. Twelve other urns also contained toilet items and/or tools. In three cases, there is evidence for the toilet items having been worn suspended from the waist, either on a suspension ring or in a leather pouch, although in one case the tweezers showed no signs of having been burned. Three urns contained evidence for containers having been placed on the pyre. In two cases, these were wooden bowls (identified through their surviving bronze clips); the other was a box or a bucket. Two more urns contained spindle whorls, which are more usually associated with female interments, although they are also sometimes discovered in male inhumations. Interestingly, both of these were found with urns containing a minimum of five or six beads, also generally a female item. Both dress accessories and toilet items are associated primarily with men over the age of 25 although they are also found on a few occasions with younger men. Almost half of the individuals buried with toilet items are aged over 30. However, as all but one of the sixteen men buried with no grave goods, were also aged over 25 and many may have been over 30, it is likely that these apparent age associations are the result of a large proportion of men dying within this age range.

Children

The sample of cremations included ninety-five children (43% of the sample), of which fifty-four were furnished (see Table 7). There was no association between any age group and lack of grave goods.

Seven urns in the sample contained a brooch, although in one case (cremation 2117) the identification of a melted bronze mass as a brooch was uncertain. Only four brooch types

could be identified, each different, so no conclusions can be drawn about their frequency. However, it can be noted that one of the few possible examples of an annular brooch with the cremated burials was with a child. Another brooch type found with the children in the sample is the applied brooch, which are relatively uncommon in Anglian cemeteries. It could be expected that all these brooches belong to girls cremated wearing the peplos-type gown like the women at this site, although the presence of brooches in the cremation urns of men (above) means that this cannot be certain. It is notable that of the seven individuals found with brooches, four are definitely under the age of five. This is unusual in cemeteries of this period, especially as brooches are relatively rare among the Spong Hill cremations as a whole. Twenty-two urns included at least one bead, one of which (cremation 2741) was of bone or antler and therefore possibly a dress fastener rather than part of a bead string. The number of beads in each urn varied from one to about ten and, as with the women, these represent the minimum number of beads the person was wearing for the funeral rites. Most, though, (ten individuals) had three beads or fewer. In addition, one infant (cremation 1763) had a pierced Roman coin, which may have been worn as a necklace. Again, as with the women's dress groups, toilet items and jewellery were mutually exclusive.

Nine urns contained toilet items, five of which also had combs. Combs were the most common item among children, with evidence for them occurring in twenty-four urns in total. Unlike the adults, though, combs were far less likely to be found in urns containing jewellery than in those containing toilet items (only three of the twenty-four urns contained jewellery). The problems with accurately aging some of the children mean that it is not possible to draw any conclusions about the relationship between the possession of toilet items and age at death. However, it is notable that of the nine individuals buried

with toilet items, at least six were definitely under the age of eight. In contrast, within the sample, combs show a definite age-related pattern, declining in frequency with increasing age: thirteen combs were found with children under the age of four, eight with those aged between four and eight years and only one with those definitely aged between eight and twelve. In addition, cremation 2349 had fragments of an ivory purse ring, two cremations had knives and one had a possible needle. Finally, cremation 1524 contained potsherds, although these may not have been deliberately deposited, and cremation 1821 had a possible vessel rim binding.

Edix Hill, Cambridgeshire

There were 149 skeletons found during the modern excavations at Edix Hill (dated from *c.*500 to the early seventh century), although one (skeleton 149) may have been Iron Age in date (Malim and Hines 1998). Of these, seventeen (11%) were unsexed adults or could only be identified as 'child/adolescent' or 'adolescent/adult' and so have been omitted from this study. In addition, 29 skeletons were found in the nineteenth century. None of these was osteologically examined but as there was 99% agreement between osteological and grave good sexing at this site (Duhig 1998), some could be sexed through their grave goods and have therefore been included in the relevant section, the remainder being excluded. Forty-three of the 149 skeletons from the modern excavations had no certain or identifiable grave goods (see Table 8). All skeletons from the modern excavations are referred to by their skeletal number, rather than their grave number, which is different, while all those from the nineteenth century are referred to by their grave number.

Women

Of the 149 skeletons found at Edix Hill in the modern excavations, forty were osteologically identified as definitely or possibly female, including the possibly Iron Age burial, skeleton 149 (Duhig 1998). In addition, two unsexable adult skeletons (skeletons 58B and 459) and three adolescents (skeletons 16B, 128, 424) were interred with typically female grave goods.[4] There were also nine graves from the nineteenth-century excavations at Edix Hill that can be identified as female from the grave goods. In total, therefore, there are 54 women, 45 from the modern excavations, examined here. Adult female burials represented 30% of both the recently excavated population and the total uncovered population.

Phase I – sixth century (see Table 9)

An examination of women's dress at Edix Hill shows that they were buried wearing the typical peplos-type gown of the fifth-sixth centuries. Sixteen of the fifty-four women were wearing two brooches at the shoulders and a bead string, although in one case (Sk58B), the beads were scattered around the hips, possibly attached to the belt. Two women (Sk20B and Grave 11) also had a third brooch fastening a shawl or cloak or pinning the peplos gown to the under-dress. In addition, skeleton 128 had two brooches but no beads, while 127A had a bead string and copper alloy stains on the clavicle, indicating her brooches had been removed at some point prior to excavation, possibly by

[4] The excavators identified three more unsexed adults with possibly female grave goods (skeletons 42A2, 369A and 683A), however, in each case the adult was interred with another individual in a disturbed context, making it unclear with whom the relevant grave goods had been buried and possibly resulting in the loss of other objects originally buried there. These three will therefore be excluded from the current study.

metal detectorists. Six women had a single brooch on one shoulder with a string of beads, including skeleton 424, whose brooch was found on the skull and 44A, whose right side and any possible second brooch had been destroyed by another burial. Skeleton 424 also had a buckle at the shoulder, which may have served as a second brooch. A further nine women from phase I and one more that could not be dated (Sk459) had beads but no brooches. Some women wore slip-knot rings, bead tubes and spangles on their bead strings and one had a pendant. Another woman (Sk45) had her beads and a brooch in a purse. Of the women with brooches, nine also had wrist-clasps fastening the sleeves of the under-gown. Another had wrist-clasps but no other jewellery items (Sk359), while skeleton 128 had a buckle at the wrist that may have served in place of a wrist-clasp. Owen-Crocker (2004, 56) has noted that, while wrist-clasps are mainly an Anglian fashion, at Edix Hill several women wore wrist-clasps in conjunction with (typically Saxon) saucer brooches.

It was relatively common for the women of phase I at Edix Hill to be buried wearing objects suspended from the waist, with fourteen women, in addition to undatable Sk459 (see Table 10) and graves 4 and 23, having a chatelaine, suspension rings or rods, suspended latch-lifters, toilet sets or purses hung from the waist. At least seven of these women wore a buckled belt, while two more had a buckled belt but no suspended items. Fourteen women from phase I had a knife, attached to the belt in at least five cases.[5] Two women, skeleton 530 and grave 5, had a bracelet in the grave and skeleton 44A was wearing a finger-ring, while skeleton 44B had two buckles on her chest that were not illustrated on the grave plan so their purpose is unclear. Non-worn objects were much rarer in phase I graves than dress accessories. A broken brooch (Sk128), a few knives and

[5] Four more women in undatable graves also had knives, see Table 10.

a set of tweezers (in the mouth of skeleton 526) were found loose in a few graves. Two women from phase I and two more undated graves had combs. Finally, one woman had a pot and another from the nineteenth-century excavations had a bucket, while two women had potsherds.

Malim and Hines (1998, 302) suggested that in phase I there may have been greater social differentiation between women of the 25-35 age band than among those of other ages.[6] Using correspondence analysis, Malim and Hines (1998, 313-317, for full description and discussion) have identified four costume groups based on the type and style of artefacts buried with women from Edix Hill and other contemporary cemeteries in the East Anglian and Cambridgeshire area. They stress the cultural and/or ethnic connotations of their costume groups, with the saucer brooches of Group A being a distinctly Saxon type both on the Continent and in Anglo-Saxon England; the cruciform and small-long brooch types of Group B being of Anglian type; and the cruciform brooches and type B 7 wrist-clasps of Group D being a particularly Anglo-Saxon development of other forms (ibid., 316; see also Owen-Crocker 2004, 41-42). They argue that the existence of these groups suggests the availability of different dress sets to women of sixth-century southern England but point out that some individual graves incorporate a mix of styles. For example, skeleton 128 has a mix of groups C & D; skeletons 44A and 4 have a mixture of groups B and D; and skeletons 526 and nineteenth-century grave 0 have artefacts from both groups B and C. Malim and Hines (ibid., 316) suggest that this mixing of styles means that it is unlikely that these costume groups represent a conscious symbolising of ethnic identity but that they may represent a complex mix of cultural identities.

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[6] In contrast, half of the phase II burials interred with surviving objects were over 35 years old at time of death.

Phase II – late sixth/seventh century (see Table 11)

It is well known that, as the range and number of grave goods interred at this date was much smaller than those of the earlier period, the graves in this phase are much more difficult to date. At Edix Hill, only seven women could be securely dated to this phase, compared with a total of thirty-six phase I burials. Only one Phase II skeleton had a brooch (Sk126) and it is typical of this period that it was worn singly (Owen-Crocker 2004, 138). The peplos gown had disappeared by this time, replaced by more-tailored clothing and brooches became much rarer (Owen-Crocker 2004, 138). Only one woman of this phase had a buckled belt at the waist (Sk683B, the only woman at the site to wear the buckle at the back). Skeleton 183 wore a buckle on each thigh, along with a ring and a pin at either shoulder. Two women each had a single bead, possibly sewn on to the costume. Five of the phase II women had a knife with them and three had items suspended from the waist. No grave goods were found with skeleton 119 from grave 35, a woman that had probably been buried elsewhere and then disinterred and forced into a small and cramped space between two other burials (Table 8; see Chapter 4 for discussion of this grave).

In contrast to phase I, non-worn objects are much more common in phase II graves, with eighteen non-worn items in six graves. Although thirteen of these items are to be found in one grave (Sk42B), there seems to be a clear change in terms of selecting what objects to include in the grave. In addition to the knives, combs, pots and buckets also found in some phase I women's graves, phase II graves include more work tools in the form of a weaving batten, spindle whorls and the 'workboxes', and also items that may have had an amuletic value or personal significance, such as a fossil and a sheep astragalus.

Men

Forty-eight adults were osteologically identified as definitely or possibly male. None of the unsexable adults at Edix Hill had masculine grave goods, although four adolescents (skeletons 13b, 147a, 188, 405) did and so have been included in this category. In addition, eight graves from the nineteenth-century excavations at Edix Hill can be identified as male from the grave goods, bringing the total to sixty (see Table 12 for furnished men's graves). Adult male burials represented 35% of the recently excavated population and 33% of the total uncovered population.

Unlike women's dress, there is no indication of a dramatic change in men's costume during the late sixth and early seventh century (Owen-Crocker 2004, 166), so both phases will be considered together. The only dress accessories for which we have any evidence are belts, as indicated by either a buckle or knife at the waist. The only other possible dress accessory found with a male skeleton is the ring found on the left shoulder of skeleton 151. This may have served as a clothes fastener stitched on to the tunic or cloak in the same way as the ring on the shoulders of three of the adult female skeletons. Finally, two men, skeletons 48 and 431, were found with a bead in their graves, which may have been sewn on to their clothes, as with the woman in Grave 15 from the nineteenth-century excavations, or been used as a tie for a belt. However, the grave context of both these men was disturbed so no definite conclusions can be drawn here.

Weaponry was the most popular type of artefact found with men at Edix Hill, being present in 33 of the 60 male graves (25 of the 52 men found during the modern excavations) and therefore about half of the adult male population. Fifteen men had a

spear, seven a shield and eleven had both. Of those men at Edix Hill that could be aged (i.e. those from the modern excavations), there seems to have been a tendency for a single weapon to be associated with young men under the age of 25 and older men over the age of 45. No man between the ages of 25 and 45 was buried with just one weapon. This may be partly due to a relative lack of men of these ages at Edix Hill, in comparison to younger men in particular. On the other hand, men of all ages were buried with both a shield and a spear, including men aged 25-45, so this may represent a real distinction. Looking at the artefacts buried with men of different age groups further illuminates what was considered appropriate for different men. Of those men aged under 25, 78% were buried with at least one weapon. In the 25-35 year old age group, this figure drops dramatically to 22%. For the older men, 75% of those aged 35-45 were buried with weapons and of those aged over 45, 33% were buried with one or more weapons.

In addition, as many as seven men may have been buried with some kind of container, with one bucket (Sk453A), several vessel mounts (skeletons 3B, 3C, 13A, 17 and 322A) and a glass vessel fragment (Sk8) being found. Some men were buried with grooming items, including combs (skeletons 3A2, 3B, 3C and 551) and tweezers (nineteenth-century Grave 22). In addition, skeleton 48 was buried with a spindle whorl, although in a disturbed context, and nineteenth-century Grave 3 with shears. There is no apparent link between burial with any of these items and age at Edix Hill, although it may be significant that three of the four men buried with combs were all buried together.

Children

There were forty-six immature individuals (those under c.18 years old) identified at Edix Hill, of which seven were classed as socially adults (Duhig 1998, 159, 161), being buried with adult artefacts, and so have been included above in the relevant category. In addition, four individuals were only designated 'child/adolescent' or 'adolescent/adult' in the catalogue, due to the state of preservation. These have been omitted from the present investigation, leaving 35 individuals in this group or 24% of the modern excavation (see Table 13). No children were identified from the nineteenth-century excavations.

Malim and Hines (1998, 296) note that the range and quantity of artefacts is much more limited in children's graves than it is in adults', as is usual in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (see Crawford 1993; Lucy 1994). Twenty-four of the thirty-five identifiable children were found without grave goods, or with fragmentary items of uncertain context. Malim and Hines (ibid.) have suggested that more children may actually have been buried with grave goods than we have evidence for, as there is a correlation between a lack of grave goods and poor bone preservation. Thirteen of the twenty-four children buried without grave goods had bone preservation of 15% or less, raising the possibility that any deposited objects would have been lost. In addition, it has been suggested that children might have been buried with organic items in their graves, such as wooden rattles, which would have been lost (Crawford 2000). This means that when assessing grave goods interred with children we may only have part of the picture.

The presence of a knife and/or buckle at the waist suggests a belt was worn by at least six individuals. Items of jewellery were found worn by a further six individuals, although in

one case it is possible that the beads spread from the adult female in the same grave. Among the children of Edix Hill, jewellery items and buckles or knives at the waist were mutually exclusive. Strings of beads occur in two or possibly three of these children, two aged between 10 and 12 years, and so on the verge of adulthood, the other around 18 months old. Another child of 3 years had a single bead under the chin, perhaps strung around the neck or sewn on to the clothes. A child of two had a slip-knot bracelet on their wrist, a find often associated with children, as are beads (Malim and Hines 1998, 296). Finally, a four-year old child had a ring on the chest, perhaps sewn on to the clothing as a fastener, or perhaps a tie for a belt. There are no apparent associations between particular age groups and dress accessories. In contrast to Crawford's (1993) general survey, which found a change in the way children were treated in cemeteries at the age of 4-5 years, Malim and Hines (1998, 296) found no evidence of a threshold between very young and older children at Edix Hill.

Non-worn objects are rare among children, as with women, only occurring in four, or possibly six, graves. The most common find is pottery, with pots uncovered in the graves of skeleton 20A, an infant, and skeleton 679, aged *c.*18 months, and possibly also in the grave of skeleton 584, aged three years. Iron Age pottery sherds were also found with skeleton 679 and Anglo-Saxon potsherds with skeleton 130, an un-sexed individual aged 15-16 years. Pottery was also fairly frequently associated with infants and children at Great Chesterford but is less so at other sites (Evison 1994; Malim and Hines 1998, 296).

The only other certain grave find was a spear buried with five-year old skeleton 632.

Apple Down, Sussex

The Apple Down site consists of two cemeteries: cemetery 1 (late fifth/early sixth – seventh centuries) contained 121 inhumations and 64 cremations, while cemetery 2 (seventh/early eighth century) contained thirteen inhumations in eleven graves. Of the inhumations, eleven were excluded from this study because their sex and/or age could not be identified. The state of preservation of the cremations meant that sexing them osteologically was only possible in two cases (Harman 1990). As cremations at Apple Down were not generally interred with gendered artefacts, they will be considered in a separate section to the inhumations. As cemetery 2 was so small and overlapped in date with cemetery 1, they will both be considered together.

Women

Forty skeletons were osteologically sexed as female, with a further four probably female (Harman 1990). In addition, one juvenile (Sk13, age 11-13) was buried with adult female grave goods so will be considered here as an adult female. This leaves 45 women, or 36% of the inhumed population (see Table 14 for furnished women's graves), fourteen of whom were buried without grave goods (see Table 15).

Four women, all buried in the sixth century, can be identified as wearing the Anglian/Saxon style of costume also seen at Edix Hill and among the majority of the Spong Hill inhumations. In one case, the woman was wearing two brooches at the shoulders with a brooch string in-between. The other three women had no brooches but a

string of beads across the chest or around the neck, which also implies the peplos-style gown. In contrast, five other women (four from the sixth century and one from the seventh) were wearing the style of dress associated with Kentish cemeteries, as was seen in one of the Spong Hill inhumations. One of these women had a line of three brooches closing a front-fastening gown (see Owen-Crocker 2004, 90-93), while three have a single brooch at the waist. Two of these women had a string of beads suspended from the brooch at the waist (skeletons 13 and 128). Skeleton 14 had only a few beads by the right knee, which may have been sewn on to the dress. The other skeleton, 48, had no beads, although she was the only woman wearing an identifiably 'ethnic' style of dress to be buried in the seventh century. One other woman seems to have been wearing the Kentish-style dress, skeleton 130, who had a bead string suspended from the waist but no brooch. There is no apparent association between the wearing of either of these costumes and age, although none of the 'Anglian' women was under 25 years. This may be the result, though, of few women in the cemetery as a whole being under this age.

The brooches from the sixth-century graves were all Saxon in origin (skeletons 10, 13 and 14 had cast saucer brooches and skeleton 128 had a button brooch) but it is not uncommon for non-Kentish brooches to be worn with Kentish-style dress (ibid.; see also Spong Hill grave 2, above, and Buckland, Dover graves 13, 20, 48). Grave 14 also had an additional, Jutlandic-type great square-headed brooch on the chest, possibly from a Kentish workshop (Down and Welch 1990, 95). The woman buried in the seventh century had a penannular brooch, found in all areas of Anglo-Saxon England. Only two women had purses, both of whom were buried early in the cemetery's use.

Fifteen women from Apple Down were wearing a buckled belt and twelve more were presumably wearing a belt as they had a knife at the waist. The only other dress items are the pins found in four graves, usually at the chest or neck; an orange bead sewn on the shoulder of one of these women (Sk151); and a hook at the back of the skull of undated skeleton 23, which may have been used to fasten a veil to a cloth fillet, although it may be unassociated with the grave. Undated skeleton 137B may have had objects at the waist, possibly in a purse or pouch that has left no surviving trace, including a Roman coin, although most are unidentifiable.

Non-costume grave items are rarer than costume accessories in the graves of the women at Apple Down. Four women from the cemeteries at Apple Down were accompanied by a tool or implement in their graves. Skeleton 13 had a piece of worked antler, thought to be an implement of some kind. Graves 33 and 88 each had a needle and grave 97 has already been noted as having a knife behind the left shoulder rather than at the waist. Skeleton 13 had a Roman coin behind the skull. Apart from skeleton 72, described above, two women had grooming items with them: skeleton 86 had a toilet set and skeleton 72 had a comb and tweezers.

Men

Forty skeletons were identified as adult males and one more was considered probably male (Harman 1990). One sub-adult aged 16-18 (skeleton 91) was also sexed as male, and two more were buried with male-gendered grave goods and so will be included in this section (skeletons 113 and 121, see Table 16 for furnished burials). This leaves 44 men or 35% of the inhumed population, fifteen of whom had no grave goods (see Table 15).

Men at Apple Down are commonly found with surviving evidence for belts and knives at the waist. Of the twenty-nine furnished graves, twenty-two had evidence for a belt at the waist. Seven men have knives at the waist but no buckle (although one, Sk163, had a ring on his abdomen that may have stood in for a buckle). Fifteen men had a buckled belt and a knife at the waist, although skeleton 62's knife was found by the right arm and it is unclear whether this was its original location. Only a couple of men from Apple Down had other objects worn at the waist. Skeletons 63 and 125 each had tweezers attached to their belts. The latter also had a purse worn at the hip, as did skeleton 68. Skeleton 125 also had a bead by the left thigh, possibly sewn on to his tunic. Finally, it is possible that the perforated lead disc found on the skull of skeleton 91 and the perforated fossil bead near the skull of skeleton 55 was attached to a cap, although neither of these is certain. Eighteen men were buried with at least one weapon - thirteen with a spear, one with a shield, and three with both - while one man had a sword. This man was one of two weapon burials with a bucket, while another had a wooden bowl or possibly a box. The sword burial and one of the shield burials were in a disturbed context so it is possible other objects were originally interred within the grave. Shields seem to be associated most frequently with men in their twenties and thirties, although one was found with a man aged over 45, and as there were only four men with shields at Apple Down this may not be significant. Spears were found with men of all ages at Apple Down and there is no apparent association with any particular age group, nor is there any link between age group and belt sets.

The men's graves at Apple Down were comparatively easy to date, compared with those from Edix Hill, with 28 of the 44 graves dated at least to a specific century. However, as the dates given could not be more specific than this for the majority of the graves, it is not

possible to make any inferences about changes in men's burial practices over time, other than that it can be expected that burial with grave goods would have declined in line with the changes in other Anglo-Saxon cemeteries over the course of the seventh century.

Children

Thirty-seven skeletons were osteologically assessed as sub-adults (i.e. those under *c.*18 years old, Down and Welch 1990; Harman 1990). As discussed above, one was sexed as male while three more were interred with gendered artefacts and have therefore been considered, above, as adults. This leaves 33 inhumed individuals to be discussed in this section, or 26% of the inhumed population (see Table 17 for furnished children's burials), seventeen of whom had no grave goods (see Table 15).

Just under half of the 33 children identified at Apple Down were therefore buried with grave goods, of which fourteen had dress accessories and only two did not. Six children had jewellery items with them, at least four of whom were from the sixth century. Five of these were, presumably, girls as they had typically feminine items. Three wore a string of beads at the neck (Sk90 and 38) or on the chest (Sk141). In each case, the beads were the only items found. Another child had a bangle and a finger ring, both found by the upper arm. Only one child, skeleton 15, had a brooch at the shoulder, which was perforated and had a small wire ring, a bead and bucket mounts attached. According to the excavators, this was not being used for a dress fastening but as a frame for the bucket mounts (Down and Welch 1990, 98). The sixth individual, unsexed skeleton 85, aged 15-17, had a bead at the neck and a Roman coin at the waist, neither of which is necessarily typical of a female burial in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries generally. However, at Apple Down, only adult

women were found with Roman coins, so it is possible that this was also a young woman. Jewellery items are particularly associated with individuals under 5 years old; only one individual was older than this (Sk85, aged 15-17).

Seven other children were buried wearing belts, indicated either by surviving buckles or by knives at the waist. One child (Sk104) was wearing two belts. Of the three remaining furnished inhumations, one had a knife on the chest; another, a knife at the feet and a pot; and the other just a pot. There may have been a change in the treatment of children at around the age of four or five in terms of their grave goods (cf. Crawford 1993). All but one of those with jewellery items were four years or younger, while all those with belts, pots and knives were four years or older. However, no other age-related pattern was found.

Cremations

Of the 66 cremated individuals, 21 were identified as adults, including two that were buried with a child or possible child, eleven were identified as 'adolescent/adult', and seven as 'child/adult'. There were ten individuals identified as an infant, child or 'infant/child', including two children buried in a pot with an adult. Finally, seventeen could not be aged due to poor preservation or disturbance. This study shall omit those cremations and examine the remaining 49 individuals in 47 interments.

The majority of the cremations (39 individuals, see Table 18) were unfurnished. Only six of the cremated individuals had any surviving evidence for dress, consisting of two buckled belts, a Roman brooch, a single bead, a perforated Roman coin and a collection

of unidentified bronze globules. None of these can be assigned with confidence to a gender, as the Roman brooch, the only potentially gender specific object, might have been worn by a child or possibly a man to fasten a cloak. Twelve of the cremations had pottery accessory vessels or parts of pots buried with them (it is not clear from the catalogue whether the potsherds are contained within the pottery urn or not). One (cremation 40) had a pottery bowl, five had an entire pot, two a pot base and four, one or more potsherds. This group included four children and four adults (cremation 124 included the cremated material of both a child and an adult) as well as three 'child/adults' and two unidentified individuals. In addition, two cremations from the dress accessories group were also found to have potsherds

Thirty-six of the sixty-four cremation burials were buried in pottery urns, nineteen were either un-urned or placed in an organic container that has left no trace, while in nine cases it was not clear from the catalogue whether a container was present or not. All the cremations buried with an accessory vessel or potsherds were placed in an urn before burial. This includes the two individuals with possible dress accessories and potsherds. Of the remaining four cremation burials with possible dress accessories, only one was in an urn. Of the thirty-nine cremations with no grave goods, twenty were urned, sixteen were un-urned and in the remaining three cases, it is unknown whether they were in a container.

Discussion: Dress as a technology of memory

The above description of the objects recovered from graves at Spong Hill, Edix Hill and Apple Down has emphasized the importance of items of dress in Anglo-Saxon funerary practices. As has been discussed above (90-93), dress is important in the construction and projection of identity and can include many objects that are carried rather than worn on the body, such as weapons and tools. It has been shown that at the three cemeteries in this study, the great majority of objects in graves were those used to protect or modify the body, clothes and their accessories, weapons, and grooming items, or that enable the performance of certain tasks, such as tools. These are also precisely the types of objects that might be expected to have strong mnemonic associations through daily use or through their association with important events in their owners' lives, such as rituals associated with coming-of-age, marriage or childbearing. It an be argued therefore that the arrangement of the dress and accompanying objects in the grave was a tableau that made a statement about the aspects of the deceased's identity that the survivors considered most worthy of remembrance, just as dress in manuscript drawings projected a particular image of the wearer (see above, 92). The most important mnemonic object of all is the deceased's body, as it provides the framework upon which memories of them are constructed and advertised to the community, as well as being the most personal reminder of the deceased and their life (cf. Mizoguchi 1993). At the funeral, memories of the deceased's life are put on display for the community, laid out in a manner that was understandable to the entire audience through the arrangement of the body and its belongings (cf. Halsall 1998; 2003). This enabled memories of the past to be revisited and examined and a new identity constructed for the deceased for the future.

Memory and grief

Archaeologists and historians are increasingly recognising the importance of emotion in studying the past, especially when examining responses to death, which can be a seriously disruptive force, both emotionally and socially (e.g. Meskell 1994; 2001; Chesson 2001a; Cubitt 2001; Joyce 2001; contra Ariès 1974; 1983). The studies discussed above (81-2, 84-5), indicate that a person's death can intensify the memory associations of their belongings and lead to their reinterpretation. Memories of the past are no longer seen as part of an ongoing narrative of the person's life, but as defining moments in a story that is now finished. Sociological studies, such as Unruh (1983, see above, 84-5), have shown how looking back on a person's life and reinterpreting memories of them in the light of their death is a part of the grieving process. Grief is not the only emotion that comes into play here, as reminiscing on the past can be both a negative and a positive experience, as people encounter memories of anger or joy. Revisiting memories of a person can therefore involve forgiving, or forgetting, negative qualities as well as reminiscing about good times. Dealing with a person's belongings is one way in which memories of them are revisited and reinterpreted, with each object acting as a mnemonic for aspects of that person's life. Sorting through the belongings of the deceased is therefore a coping strategy that allows the mourners to re-experience and come-to-terms with the past in order to move on with their lives. To understand the way in which objects can act as a technology of memory, therefore, we need to examine the way in which dealing with the deceased's belongings relates to the mourners' memories of them.

While in modern western society, dealing with the belongings of the deceased is generally something that occurs subsequent to the funeral, and is often seen as a final stage in the

practicalities of dealing with a death, in an early Anglo-Saxon context it was an integral part of the funerary preparations, and of the funeral itself, and marked the beginning of what may have been a long commemorative process. At this time, the funeral seems to have been arranged and carried out by the deceased's family, with the women probably taking primary responsibility (Down and Welch 1990; Geary 1994; Samson 1999; Effros 2002; Geake 2003; Halsall 2003; see also Gregory of Tours, *GC* 102, for contemporary supporting evidence).[7] It has also been argued that the funeral usually took place very soon after death, a matter of a day or two at the most.[8] This suggests that the process of preparing the body, its clothes and accompanying objects occurred within a short period after death, perhaps even a matter of hours, and at a time of intense emotions. The strength of these emotions immediately after the death of a loved one can make the memories associated with the deceased's belongings overwhelming (Unruh 1983; Battaglia 1992; Ash 1996). However, the funerary ritual itself provided a means of dealing with these emotions (Metcalf and Huntington 1991; Meskell 2001).

In Chapter 1, it was argued that the distinction between personal and social memory was a false dichotomy and that to fully understand the workings of memory we should not try to separate them. The concept of technologies of memory allows us to better understand the relationship between people's individual experiences of the past and the social context in which remembering takes place. Both Meskell (2001), on ancient Egypt, and Joyce

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[7] Goody (1983) has demonstrated how the definition of family and kinship in the medieval period can vary depending upon the circumstances. For instance, kinship for the purposes of inheritance might follow one set of rules while participation in the system of feud might follow another. In this thesis, 'family' is used to refer to the immediate family or household, as it is those immediate relatives who would be most involved in the funeral preparations. The wider, extended family will be referred to as the kin-group.

[8] Some have argued (Wells and Green 1973; Hawkes 1976; see Chapter 4) that burial took place at sunrise on the day after death, others (e.g. Bullough 1983; Boddington 1990), following medieval parallels, that it occurred on the same day. In the case of cremations, this would refer to the cremation itself rather than the subsequent burial, which might have been held back until a gathering of several communities at a pre-arranged time (Kirk 1956). Time would have to be allowed for preparations to be made, for instance for a feast and in the case of cremations, wood to be gathered. However, medieval and early modern parallels imply a burial within two or three days of death.

(2001), on Formative Period Mexico (1500 BC - 300 AD), have argued that the public display of grief through formal rites can make this emotion bearable. It has been shown that the selection of grave goods followed highly standardized social 'rules', which draw upon various aspects of Anglo-Saxon culture, such as gender and status roles, warrior ideology and attitudes to the past, and could have different meanings at different times and places (e.g. Härke 1990; 1997; Lucy 1997; 1998; Stoodley 1999). These social rules provided a way of structuring both thought and action at a time when the normal activities of life were brought to a halt. The standardized repertoire of grave goods provided a means of mediating memories of the deceased to prevent the survivors being overwhelmed as they prepared for the funeral. The structure provided by the norms of Anglo-Saxon burial practices therefore allowed the expression of memories and emotions within a cultural framework that was meaningful for the whole community. This enabled the survivors to detach themselves emotionally and socially from the dead, a psychological effect of mortuary rites that has been demonstrated in numerous anthropological studies (e.g. Bloch and Parry 1982; Metcalf and Huntington 1991; Battaglia 1992; Taylor 1993). The belongings of the deceased, in particular those most closely associated with them, were the tools by which this transition was achieved. In short, the objects selected for burial with the deceased were a technology for reinterpreting personal memories within a structure that enabled the survivors' grief to be made social and shared with the community.

The personal and the social in technologies of memory

The sharing of emotionally intense memories with the community through the 'rules' of the funeral rites allows the deceased's family to recast their memories within the

framework of the idealized social role appropriate to the age, gender and social status of the deceased. Although this was related to events of the deceased's life, it was also structured by idealistic notions of particular social groups. So, for instance, a young man might be remembered as an idealized representation of a warrior, even though the weapons with which he was interred may never have been used in combat. Similarly, a young woman might have been remembered for the alliance of kin-groups her marriage created, represented by domestic items such as keys or weaving equipment, even if her death meant she never fulfilled the household roles that equipment represents. The gendered aspects of the Anglo-Saxon burial rite have been well discussed (e.g. Brush 1988; Lucy 1997; Stoodley 1999). These studies, along with the evidence presented above from Spong Hill, Edix Hill and Apple Down, indicate clear differences in the ways masculinity and femininity were constructed, with the former being related to physical prowess through the burial of weapons and the latter to the decoration of the body. However, despite these differences in gender construction, it is likely that much of the daily work would have been done by both sexes and a significant amount by children too. Therefore, although men and women would undoubtedly have had different roles, rights and responsibilities, gender construction in death also involves some idealization. This can be underlined by the provision of weaponry with individuals who would have been physically incapable of wielding it, such as young boys, elderly men and the disabled (Härke 1990; for example Sk632 at Edix Hill, a five year old with a spear). This provides an illustration of the way the Anglo-Saxon funerary practices represented an idealization of the dead in their remembrance.

This idealisation of the dead is also paralleled in other historical contexts. In Roman funerary epigraphy, the dead could sometimes be depicted as a mythical hero, with an

individual head on an idealized body selected according to age, gender or career. For example, a funerary statue of the mid-first century AD from Ostia depicts a young girl as Diana, showing her possessed of the idealized qualities of youth, beauty and *virtus*, appropriate for her age and gender (D'Ambra 1998, 107). In Roman funerary portraiture, the aim was often not to depict a likeness of the deceased but to express ideal qualities about the person. So for instance, the emperor Augustus was depicted as youthful despite dying in old age to represent his godlike powers, while people who died young could be depicted as much older, suggesting the potential that was lost through death (ibid.). The attribution of idealistic qualities to the dead can also be seen on some of the rune-stones of tenth- and eleventh-century Scandinavia. A minority of these stones include epithets to the deceased that, as Sawyer (2000) has demonstrated, incorporate a limited number of standardized traits such as being physically or mentally adept, loyal to the lord or generous to their own followers. For example, the Örby stone from Uppsala describes Vigmund the steersman as the 'shrewdest of men', while the Aspa stone from Södermanland refers to the commemorated men, Anund and Ragnvald, as men of rank and 'swiftest of deed in Sweden' (Jansson 1987, 70-71, 105).

These examples from the Roman Empire and medieval Scandinavia provide examples of the way memories of the deceased could be reconstructed within an idealized social framework. Although the context in which this occurs shapes the process of idealization, so each situation is different, it does suggest parallels for the idealization of memories of the dead as part of the grieving process. In the context of the early Anglo-Saxon period, it is grave goods, rather than stone memorials, that allow the social persona of the dead to be reconstructed and presented to the community. Objects here act as a technology of memory to provide the link between the personal memories of the family and friends and

the social framework in which the memories are constructed. As grave goods are closely related to events of the life cycle (as demonstrated by Halsall 1996; Stoodley 1999 etc), they work to place the biography of the deceased in the contemporary context of their funeral. Memories of the deceased are therefore mediated through culturally established ways of remembrance that situate them within the family and community relationships that form the basis of society.

The revisiting of memories at the funeral did not just occur within the context of constructing a socially relevant identity for the deceased. Remembrance of individuals also took place within the context of previous burials of the family and the wider community. Each funeral would have called to mind that of other family members, which would in turn affect the remembrance of the recently deceased (cf. Mizoguchi 1993). It is not possible to comment on whether certain families followed particular memorial practices in selecting grave goods in these three cemeteries, as identification of families can only be partial and tentative (although see Chapter 4 for clustering of family groups). It would also be expected that members of a family would be buried with different types of grave goods according to their status within that family, rather than with identical items. However, a few interesting points can be made regarding similarities between the grave goods of possibly related people at Edix Hill. Three men clustered together near the top of the hill with congenital abnormalities suggesting a familial relationship were buried with the same equipment and were laid out in an almost identical fashion (graves 33, 46 and 48, see next chapter for a more thorough discussion of this and similar groups). Also at Edix Hill, two women buried in one grave (skeletons 44A and B) were both wearing wrist-clasps of Form B 7 and had fragments of Form B 13C. It is possible to speculate that certain types of dress items might have been common within particular families and

were used to indicate family ties, although this can be no more than speculation. No other instances of possible family burials could be used to support or disprove this hypothesis at any of the three cemeteries. Overall, the signalling of family ties through grave goods would have occurred not through the provision of identical items but through associating the individual with the family through actions and words in the funerary ritual. However, objects and the memories associated with them would also have been important in situating the individual within the family's network of social relationships, past and present. For instance, brooches have been seen as linked to a woman's coming-of-age, marriage and/or childbearing. This would have important implications for the family's social position and ties with other families in the local area. Such ties would have been under threat when the girl or woman died and the brooches she was interred wearing would have served as a mnemonic for the social ties between her birth family and her husband's family.

Ethnicity has always been an integral part of archaeological discussions of Anglo-Saxon funerary practice. Clothing and its accessories can also be seen as conveying messages about the ethnicity of the wearer. However, it is not the case that the clothing simply reflects the ethnicity of the wearer, as suggested by the culture-history approach. The relationship between clothing and ethnicity is far more complex than this, incorporating issues of gender, age and status as well as of modesty and appropriate behaviour (Eicher 1995). Women's costume has often been seen as closely linked to ethnicity, through the style of dress as a whole (i.e. Anglian/Saxon or Kentish style) and through the styles of decoration on dress accessories, especially brooches. The differences in style of women's dress between the inhumations in the three cemeteries indicate the different cultural backgrounds in which remembrance could occur. All the women at Edix Hill and most of

the women inhumations at Spong Hill were wearing the Anglian/Saxon style of dress. At Spong Hill, one of the inhumed women (skeleton 2) was wearing the Kentish style of dress, although an element of the Anglian style was present in the bead string across the chest. It might be supposed that this represents her style of dress during life, implying that she came from an area where Kentish dress was predominantly worn and that she maintained that fashion throughout her life. At Apple Down, both styles of dress were worn concurrently by the women of the community. Of those women for whom dress style could be discerned, four had the Anglian costume and five the Kentish. These different styles of dress would have created an obvious distinction between the women of the community. Just as skeleton 2 would have stood out in the community that practised inhumation at Spong Hill, the women of Apple Down were clearly polarized into two separate groups by their dress styles. These different costumes would have carried particular cultural and historical associations. Dressing the individual in the appropriate costume for the funeral served to create mnemonic ties to the rest of the community, and to the dead.

Brooch styles have also been seen as ethnic signifiers with various ones identified as Anglian, Saxon or Kentish (see above discussion). If this is the case, this might be considered as another 'layer' of ethnic or cultural identity on top of costume styles. At Spong Hill, all the brooches buried with the female inhumations are of Anglian type, with the exception of two equal-armed brooches interred with a woman in grave 46. The female cremations included brooches of Anglian and Saxon type as well as another continental equal-armed brooch. This might suggest that, while the cremations are from several different communities, the inhumations are from just one, and one that followed 'Anglian' cultural practices, whatever those are. Brooches of both Anglian and Saxon

style have been found at Edix Hill. At this site, some women have items of Anglian type, others have those of Saxon type, while others have items that represent a cultural mixing and development of the other two forms (Malim and Hines 1998, 313-317; see above discussion). One woman from phase II at Edix Hill had a local copy of a Kentish-style brooch. Most of the brooches at Apple Down were of 'Saxon' origin although one woman had a brooch possibly from a Kentish workshop. Malim and Hines (ibid.) have linked different brooch styles as well as different styles of other jewellery types to different 'costume' groups (see above). They see these costume groups as representing a complex mix of cultural identities rather than projecting a particular ethnicity. It seems unlikely that members of a community would need to project their ethnicity to each other. It might be that, within a community, different brooch types convey remembrance of familial or kinship groups, which are themselves related to ethnic and other identities. These messages may have been supported by women's clothing itself, which was brightly coloured and may have been patterned (Owen-Crocker 2004).

Although it is often women's costume that is associated with the construction of ethnicity, it is also arguable that men's grave goods, in particular weapons, fulfilled the same function. Härke (1990) has argued that ethnicity has a direct relationship with male grave goods, with men of continental origin being buried with weaponry and those of Romano-British descent buried without. However, this straightforward association between ethnicity and material culture has been shown to be too simplistic. Rather, we might expect the expression of ethnicity to be inseparable from age, gender and social status, just as we see in the women's graves. This is supported by the fact that the weapon burial rite seems to be age- and status-restricted. We can therefore expect that burial with weapons was signalling something more than simply a person's ethnic group. Just as

ethnicity carries with it ideological and moral issues concerning appropriate behaviour for women, it also affects the rights and responsibilities of men in society. Providing weaponry for the funeral would have acted as a reminder of how well those men fulfilled their obligations in life. Grave goods such as brooches and weapons therefore do not simply signal the ethnicity of the individual concerned or make statements about a person's wealth, status or family ties. They also influence the remembrance of the dead by situating them within the context of what is appropriate in their society. By following the 'rules' of burial, the survivors make a clear statement that the deceased led a 'good' life, fulfilling their obligations to family and society, obligations that would have varied depending upon their social position. The deceased is idealized, fitted within a social framework about what is worth remembering. When the survivors bury a woman wearing the Anglian-style dress and Anglian brooches, they are not simply advertising her ethnicity but they are creating a memory of her as a 'good' Anglian woman, fulfilling the obligations to her family that Anglian culture specifies as necessary, being a good daughter, forming a marriage alliance with a suitable family and being a good wife to her husband. The culture within which burial takes place influences what is worth remembering and therefore how the dead are treated.

However, society alone does not control the form remembrance takes. The discussion of the three cemeteries has also revealed a great deal of individual variation. Grave good provision varies both locally and regionally. There is also often variation within specific social groups in a single cemetery, for instance children of the same age can be treated differently, while not all young women are buried with objects signalling the 'feminine' gender. Other aspects of the burial not under study here can also be highly individualistic, such as the decoration of cremation pots (Richards 1987, 206). Individual differences in

burial rites tend to be sidelined in archaeological discussions, in favour of similarities between people of a particular age or sex (e.g. Stoodley 1999). Unusual burials are often explained away rather than discussed within the context of the community in which they are buried, with men or women buried with opposite-gender grave goods seen as the result of a mistake on the part of the osteologist (e.g. Hirst 1985; Evison 1987; see also Stoodley 1999 for discussion), although some unusual burials have been the subject of consideration (Dickinson 1993b; Reynolds 2002). However, these variations within groups are at least as important for understanding Anglo-Saxon burial practices and how memories of the deceased were re-evaluated and dealt with in the context of the funeral (Joyce 2001).

The deceased's unique personality would have been remembered as preparations were made for the funeral, with memories being triggered through the survivors' interaction with their belongings. The way the family remembered the individual was constitutive of the types of grave goods interred and may also have been linked to the way the deceased wanted to be remembered. For example, people provided with buckets and other feasting equipment may have been remembered for their hospitality and generosity, which in turn would have triggered specific memories of the feasts themselves. Funerals provide the perfect opportunity for reminiscence and events such as these, in which the deceased's personality came to the fore, are common material. Gaming pieces (e.g. Spong Hill female cremation 1751) have been suggested as representing the leisure time enjoyed by the deceased (Stoodley 1999) but may also have been associated in the minds of the family with enjoyable events. Unusual burials within a cemetery may also indicate the importance of personal memories. One such unusual grave is that of skeleton 48 at Edix Hill, a man aged 25-35 who was apparently buried with a spindle whorl, an object more

usually found with women (although it is also found with cremations at Spong Hill that were sexed as male). It may be that his family were making a particular statement about his taking on some traditionally female tasks due to circumstances. However, this was a disturbed context and it might be that the spindle whorl has no deliberate association with this man.

Cremation and inhumation

Cremation and inhumation represent two rites that inevitably carry different meanings. While they both involve many of the same elements, such as the preparation and laying-out of the corpse and belongings as a tableau, the destruction of the body and its possessions on the pyre seems to imply a depersonalization of the deceased and the construction of a new identity for them, which will affect the way they are remembered. As well as differences in types of grave goods laid out with the deceased on the pyre compared with the inhumations, the act of cremation also involves a further opportunity for shaping the way the deceased was remembered through the selection of remains from the pyre for burial.

Spong Hill

It is not just the act of cremation itself that transforms the way the dead are remembered. At both mixed rite cemeteries under study here, there is a clear distinction between the types of objects selected for each rite. At Spong Hill, the earlier of the two cemeteries, the inhumed adult women tended to be buried with jewellery items (although it should be

pointed out that this might be largely due to our dependence on the grave goods for sexing at this cemetery). Tools and grooming items worn attached to the belt or suspended from the waist (toilet sets, keys/latch-lifters and knives) are few in number. In fact, none of the female inhumations had toilet items, which is fairly unusual as they are found with female inhumations at other sites, including Edix Hill, as well as with one of the male inhumations at Spong Hill. In contrast, among the women cremations, jewellery items, especially brooches, are rarer and the suspended items are much more common. In addition, jewellery combinations vary between groups. Among the inhumations, brooches and beads are more usually found together than separately. In contrast, among the cremations, beads and brooches were seldom found together, perhaps partly because brooches are so rare in general.

This contrast between inhumations and cremations is also found among the men. Male clothing accessories that survive decomposition are rare and mostly consist of belt buckles and any items worn attached to the belt. Among the Spong Hill inhumations, every identifiable adult male has a buckled belt. In contrast, none of the male cremations in the sample had a buckle in the urn and from the cemetery as a whole only fifteen urns did so. Men were much more rarely interred with objects that were worn on the body than were women, however this is a surprising lack of belt buckles for a cemetery this size, especially in comparison to the inhumations at the same site, and it bears out the finding that the body was much less a focus for remembrance among people who were cremated than among those who were inhumed. Interestingly, at Spong Hill, some of the male cremations were identified as having brooches or beads interred with them. Although there is no reason why men should not have worn these things, and indeed manuscript evidence from later in the period indicates that they did (Owen-Crocker 2004), they are

rarely found among men's grave goods. Their inclusion here may have had a number of explanations. Some may have been misidentified as male by the osteologist, as most of the sexing of the cremations was tentative. However, if we assume a misidentification here, it must raise doubts about sexing across the whole site. It may be that people were not very careful in collecting cremated remains from the pyre and that these brooches belong to another individual. This is possible if more than one person was cremated at a time or if the same pyre was rebuilt for each funeral. The idea that people were careless in collecting the remains of loved ones does not fit well with the evidence for the investment of time and resources in funerary practices. Another possible explanation is that these brooches belonged to other family members and were deliberately kept back to add into another urn when that person died. This would suggest that deliberate mnemonic associations were made between certain individuals through their grave goods. Finally, it is possible that that these brooches and beads were actually worn by the cremated men at the funeral indicating a major difference in the way memories were formed through objects between inhumations and cremations. Williams (2004a) has argued that jewellery items such as brooches are too closely linked to personal memory for the purposes of cremation and that this is why they are generally excluded from cremation urns. In contrast, he suggests toilet items to be closely linked to the transformation of the body on the pyre and are therefore more suitable for the construction of memory in this context. It could be argued that if brooches etc are related to family relationships and ethnicity, these were considered less important for remembrance of the dead among those practising the cremation rite. Instead, memory was much more highly personalized, focusing on the body of the deceased, itself a mnemonic object, rather than their social relationships.

Apple Down

There is also a difference in terms of the selection of objects for the funeral between the inhumations and the cremations at Apple Down but this takes a different form to what we have seen at Spong Hill. At the latter site, although there were differences between the two rites, furnished burial was the norm for both. At Apple Down, there is a greater disparity. Here, the vast majority of cremations were unfurnished and were lacking even the unidentifiable bits of melted bronze that were a feature of many urns at Spong Hill. There are several possible explanations for this, all of which have an impact on the remembrance of the dead. One possibility is that objects placed on the pyre with these individuals were completely destroyed. The inability of the osteologist to sex the cremated remains at Apple Down may support the notion of an intensively destructive funeral pyre. However, buckles, a brooch and a coin found with some cremations were easily identifiable, implying that this was not the case. Another possibility is that objects placed with these individuals on the pyre were made of organic materials, such as wooden bowls or buckets, or cloth. This is feasible and if it was the case would imply a very different way of constructing memories through objects compared with Apple Down's inhumations or the cremations at Spong Hill. This would in turn indicate that objects were deployed in the reconstruction of memories in different ways within different cultural areas, as well as depending upon the particular funerary rites. It is also possible that most objects such as brooches were included in the funerary rites but that they were deliberately not selected from the pyre for including in the urn. Finally, it also possible that the majority of cremated people at Apple Down were cremated without accompanying objects. Whichever of these scenarios is correct, the evidence suggests that there were major differences in the way the cremated and inhumed dead were

remembered at Apple Down and also between the cremated dead of Apple Down and Spong Hill, as might be expected between two different cultural areas (Richards 1987, especially 194-5).

The frequency of occurrence of toilet items such as combs and tweezers among the cremations of Spong Hill and their lack of association with dress accessories has been discussed above. This pattern is not repeated at Apple Down. At Apple Down, there are no instances of toilet items being found with cremations and only four inhumations have them, so neither rite shows an association with these objects at this site. The occurrence of dress accessories however shows more similarity with the situation at Spong Hill. Dress items occur in seven cremations at Apple Down, which, like those at Spong Hill, is only a fairly small percentage of the cremations. Some of these appear to be quite similar to objects found with inhumation burials. Two cremations have buckles only, as do six women and three children from the inhumations. A single bead was found in an urn containing a child aged 9-11 years and an adult, as with two women and a child among the inhumations. A perforated Roman coin was found with a cremation and was also a feature among some of the women's and children's inhumation graves. Only one object found with the cremations is not found with the inhumations, a Roman brooch. The types of objects used are very similar in both inhumations and cremations at Apple Down therefore, although the way they are used is very different. None of the cremations has what might be considered a full costume. None has the Anglo-Saxon brooches and bead strings of the women's costume, for instance, nor do any have weapons, although this is not unusual for Anglo-Saxon cremations.

The lack of grave goods with most cremations and the almost token nature of the objects where they do occur reveal how the act of cremation differed from that of inhumation in the way the dead were remembered at Apple Down. Objects seem to have played little role in the construction of memories of the cremated dead. It is possible that the dead were laid out on the pyre with the same objects as were selected for inhumations but that after the cremation itself these were no longer seen as suitable for the remembrance of the dead. Alternatively, most were laid out without such items; perhaps many wore no clothing but were wrapped in shrouds. With the Apple Down cremations, the objects associated with a person's life cycle were not seen as suitable for constructing memory. Their belongings may have been viewed as severed from their owner by that person's death or by the act of cremation itself. It is possible that their belongings were distributed among relatives as reminders of the deceased or that they were inherited by one person. At the cremation, the main focus for memory was the body of the deceased, itself a powerful mnemonic object, and its transformation. By separating the body from the objects with which it had interacted during life, the dead were cut off from the living and were 'reborn' in a new form. This is a contrast to the inhumations at Apple Down, which, like other contemporary inhumations, focused on the social persona as well as the personal in the remembrance of the dead. It is clear that the way people were remembered could vary depending on the type of funerary ritual the family followed. This did not simply relate to the transformation of the body and its belongings on the pyre, despite the apparent similarities in laying out the body for display, but also to different ways of constructing memories from the death of the individual. This implies a different mind-set that valued different aspects of the individual's social persona for remembrance. As remembrance of the dead affected a family's identity and relationship to the rest of the

community, this implies that memory could carry different meanings and values depending on the context.

Children

The need to study children as a separate category to adults has been demonstrated for archaeology by Meskell (2001) and Baxter (2005), and for the Anglo-Saxon period in particular by Crawford's (2000) cemeteries study and Kuefler's (1991) survey of the documentary evidence. They have revealed how archaeologists often treat children in past societies as lesser versions of adults rather than as social actors in their own right. In cemetery studies, for instance, children are often seen as reflecting their parents' social status, even though children's graves do not have the same range of objects and are seldom seen as 'wealthy', even though some must have had high-status parents (Crawford 2000). More recent studies have shown that children have a major role to play in social and economic life. They are also undergoing a constant process of socialisation (see discussion by Baxter 2005), in which they learn the roles and expectations of their gender, ethnicity and social status and those of others, as well as religious and ideological beliefs and their family's economic practices. Socialization is not a one-way process, however, in which children are passive learners. Rather, it is a dialogue in which children reinterpret what they see and hear around them. This means that, rather than simply replicating adult ideas and behaviour, society changes with each generation (Baxter 2005). Children are therefore a distinct social group and this is supported by them receiving special treatment in death, as their loss represents a major emotional blow to the family and affects their hopes and aspirations for the future (Lucy 1994; Crawford 2000; Baxter 2005).

It has been argued above that sorting through the deceased's belongings and selecting socially appropriate items for the funeral allows memories to be re-visited and a new identity constructed for the deceased without grief overwhelming the mourners. However, as is widely recognized, children have far fewer grave goods than adults and a much more restricted range of items when they do occur. The importance of possessions in remembrance can vary from site to site. Children at Edix Hill, for instance, are far less likely to be interred with grave goods than are children at other sites: 61.5% of children here had no grave goods, compared with 51.5% at Apple Down and 43% in the Spong Hill cremations. This is particularly interesting when you compare this figure to the adults at Edix Hill. Only 21% of men and 11% of women at this site were buried without grave goods, the lowest percentages for adults at all three cemeteries. This means that while adults at Edix Hill were more likely to be buried with grave goods than those at the other two sites, their children were far less likely to be so.

The majority of the objects buried with children at the three cemeteries under study are dress accessories, all of which can also be found in adult graves at the same cemetery. However, the intention does not seem to have been to provide them with adult grave goods. At the inhumation cemeteries (Edix Hill and Apple Down; there were too few children among the Spong Hill inhumations to warrant discussion), although some children were buried with jewellery or weapons, they were never buried with the 'full kit' found with the adults. Most usually had just a single item from the adult assemblage such as a bead string or a bracelet. Some objects were definitely adults-only apart from exceptional cases: from the two cemeteries only one child, from Apple Down, had a brooch, which was worn on the shoulder in a manner unlike any of the adults in this cemetery, and only one, from Edix Hill, had weaponry, a spear although he was lacking

the knife that accompanied all adult male spear burials. On the other hand, greater similarity exists between adult and child inhumations among those who had 'non-gendered' objects only, such as a belt or a knife. These objects seem to have been appropriate for any age group and there is no apparent difference in provision of them.

Among the Spong Hill cremations by contrast, there is much greater agreement between the grave goods buried with adults, especially women, and children. All of the combinations of children's grave goods are also found for women and for some men. It has already been noted that some of the male cremations have comparable dress items to some of the women and the observation that children are buried with the same items as adults suggests that something different is going on among the Spong Hill cremations in the way objects and memory interact. The similarities in grave good provision between men, women and children would imply that memories were being constructed according to a different set of 'rules' compared with the inhumations in all three cemeteries. This is supported by the differences between cremations and inhumations in grave good provision already discussed for the Spong Hill site. The expression of personal memories of the deceased through objects takes place within a different social framework for those practising cremation. Gender, age and social status seem less important than among the inhumations and it may be suggested that the idealization of the dead takes a different form.

The most obvious reason for the general lack of grave goods is that children are unlikely to have owned as many things as did adults, or that the objects associated with them were not seen as fully belonging to them. Children would have had fewer of the types of objects interred with adults, as they had not been through the rites of passage most

commonly associated with the acquisition of gender-specific items such as jewellery and weapons. It is possible that many of the objects they did possess, such as clothes, belts and knives, were viewed by the parents as their property, rather than the child's. Such things may therefore have been kept for use by other family members. Other items that may have belonged to children, in particular toys and playthings, may not have survived, if made of organic materials, or may not have been recognized as significant by the parents (cf. Baxter 2005). This suggests that the process of sorting-through belongings may not have been as important for the remembrance of children as it was for adults. This may be because the death of a child, while devastating for the family, caused less disruption in social relations. While emotionally important to their parents, therefore, the death of a child was less likely to result in disruption to ties and obligations to other families and so there was less of a need for sharing grief with the community (cf. Joyce 2001). While the funerals of adults were occasions for the reworking of memories for the creation of a lasting identity and the 'finishing' of memory ties to the living (cf. Battaglia 1992), memories associated with children were far more personal and of less relevance to the whole community. The use of objects to share memories with the people outside the family was therefore probably only relevant in cases where a child had been betrothed or in some other way represented a tie to another family.

The changing role of objects in remembrance of the dead

If objects were central to the construction and preservation of the memory of the dead, as has been argued throughout this chapter, the change in style and type of grave goods that took place during the late sixth and early seventh century implies a change in the nature and function of memory. Women's clothing, in particular, undergoes major changes at

this time, which have been discussed as the result of changes in fashion, due to continental influence, as well as in techniques of clothing manufacture (Geake 1997; Owen-Crocker 2004). At the same time, though, weapons also become less frequently interred, new objects appeared, such as workboxes, and buckles became smaller and less ostentatious. Whether the reduction in numbers of grave goods overall is due to the same causes as the changes in women's dress fashions is impossible to assess.

The affect of the change in the range and style of grave goods deposited with women during this period can be seen most clearly at Edix Hill.[9] What we see here is a dramatic difference in the way objects are used to construct memories. In phase I, the great majority of grave goods buried with women formed part of their costume and non-worn items were very rare. In phase II, objects worn as part of the costume became comparatively much rarer and are selected from a much smaller range of items, as is the case at all cemeteries of this period, while at the same time a wide range of grave goods that were not worn on the body appear. Many of these new items were found in the graves of just two women, making them stand out. In contrast, during phase I, no woman received special treatment in terms of the objects selected for her. While changes in the appearance and frequency of clothing fasteners and items of personal adornment might be ascribed to changes in fashion among the living, this cannot explain the contemporary decline in weapons burials or the appearance of new items in graves. It is reasonable to assume, for instance, that some women must have possessed workboxes before this period but they were not considered suitable for interment. This seems to imply that what was considered worth remembering and the role of objects in reconstructing memories of the dead changed at this time.

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[9] Problems with dating the men's graves at Edix Hill mean that overall changes here cannot be identified.

Apple Down also covers the period of change in style and type of grave goods. As at Edix Hill, the burials of the later period are much more difficult to identify, as there are fewer diagnostic objects with which to date them. The objects buried at this site undergo the usual changes, with brooches and bead strings disappearing to be replaced by pins. Unlike the women at Edix Hill, however, there is no shift in the seventh century to items that were not worn on the body. All of the objects from seventh-century graves were part of the deceased's costume. The men of the late sixth/early seventh century at Apple Down do not seem to experience the same changes in appropriate grave goods. During this period in general, weapons decline in frequency and this can be seen at Apple Down although the difference is only a small one (seven weapons burials of the later period compared with ten earlier ones). It is evident therefore that changes in the way the dead were remembered through objects during the late sixth and seventh centuries were not of the same character everywhere, varying between different cultural groups. The extent to which these changes took hold also seems to have varied within communities. For instance, while the weapon burial rite continued largely unchanged into the seventh century, it became increasingly restricted. Here, while the objects continued to be used in the same way, they were appropriate for the remembrance of an increasingly smaller group of men. However, in such a situation, weapons burials may have taken on a greater significance for memory, highlighting ties to the past. It can be argued therefore that the reduction in objects interred with the dead in the late sixth and seventh centuries need not be an indication that objects were less involved in the construction of memories. Instead, their role changed and they may have taken on a significance that is not archaeologically visible.

Conclusion – technologies of memory and the end of furnished burial

This chapter has argued that the objects buried in graves during the fifth to seventh centuries can be viewed as a technology that allowed memories of the dead to be re-experienced and reconstructed to create a lasting identity for the deceased and to allow the mourners to move on with their lives. As this did not occur within the privacy of the family but was a process played out within the arena of the community, the range of objects used for the construction of memories was restricted to allow meaning to be easily conveyed (cf. Halsall 1998; 2003). This led to the idealization of the dead into a limited range of identities that had significance within these communities. The expression of memories of the dead in ways that were accessible to the whole community means that we cannot distinguish between 'personal' and 'social' memory. The issue of grief is of central importance here as it is a motivating force in the arrangement of the funeral and in the remembrance of the dead. Anthropological studies (especially Battaglia 1992; Taylor 1993; see above) have indicated that funerary rites are seen as a way of 'finishing' memories of the dead and that the disposal, and often the destruction, of the deceased's personal belongings play an important part in this process. It might be argued that a similar process is occurring in Anglo-Saxon funerary rites, with the burial of those objects that were so closely associated with the dead as to be considered inalienable (cf. Weiner 1992; Weiss 1997). Objects can therefore be seen as a technology for finishing memories of the dead, to create a lasting identity for them and to separate them from the ongoing lives of the living. However, it should not be assumed that the display of memories at the funeral was entirely a matter of consensus. Joyce (2001) has argued that burial practices are constrained by the expectation of evaluation by others in the community. This implies that the community might express approval or disapproval of the way an individual was

remembered by their family, based upon whether or not it fits in with their own memories. This suggests that the remembrance of the dead could be an arena for disputes between different groups, as well as a time for strengthening social ties (see also Eves 1996 for contested memories at funerals). However, such disputes are unlikely to be archaeologically visible, so we cannot be certain of their nature.

If grave goods can be seen as a way of strengthening memories of the dead by creating a lasting identity for the deceased, we might ask what the end of furnished burial meant for objects as a technology of memory. Their disappearance from graves in the eighth century (with a few exceptions such as churchmen and, later, Scandinavians) might imply that objects were no longer considered useful tools of remembrance. However, the evidence of wills implies that this was not the case. Several Anglo-Saxon wills include bequests of personal belongings, such as jewellery, clothes and household objects, by both men and women, to religious houses in return for remembrance (see also Crick 2000a; b). Such objects were not offered merely for payment but were obviously expected to be inseparable from the memory of the donor. So, for instance, the will of Ælflæd, wife of Ealdorman Brihtnoth, dated to *c.*1002, gave a ring to Ely that was the pair to the one she had given as burial fee for her husband (Whitelock 1930, no. XV; Sawyer 1968, no. 1486). There was clearly an expectation that these objects would act as preservers of memory of both herself and her husband. Alternatively, objects could be kept within the family to preserve the memories of deceased individuals. For instance, in a contemporary will, Wulfric Spott left to his goddaughter the brooch or pendant that was her grandmother's (Whitelock 1930, no. XVII; Sawyer 1968, no. 1536).[10] In this example, it seems clear his goddaughter must have been aware of the brooch and its description

[10] I am grateful to Naomi Beaumont for bringing both these wills to my attention.

seems to imply its value was related to its past ownership. Both Howell (1996) and Van Houts (1999) have commented on how personal belongings were rarely donated to the church, which was likely to sell them. This suggests that personal belongings were so closely connected with the individual that it was considered desirable to pass them to someone who would remember the deceased personally and this may well have been the motivation for leaving treasured possessions to family members. However, it is likely that truly inalienable possessions were those given to the church, where they would be preserved along with the memory of the individual, rather than becoming associated with the memories of subsequent owners.

Whether left to the church or family members, though, it can be seen that objects continued to have mnemonic associations after their owners' death throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. Although objects are only mentioned in Anglo-Saxon wills from the mid-tenth century, it is likely objects were given away earlier than this without them being recorded. On the continent, objects were mentioned in wills as early as the sixth century (Janes 1998; Effros 2002). Objects are not subject to the same disputes over title as land and can be handed over personally and kept secure by their owner, meaning that there was less incentive for them to be recorded in wills (Crick 2000b, 21). In addition, the objects listed in wills tend to be the most expensive items and so therefore represent the practice of those of the highest status. It is likely that objects were also left to family members and religious houses by people of lower status, who did not leave wills. Object donation was therefore likely to have been practised on a much wider scale than that for which we have evidence.

The Anglo-Saxon evidence seems to suggest a major change from burying personal belongings with their deceased owners to leaving them to family members or religious houses, albeit one that occurred slowly over several generations. There is around two centuries between the disappearance of grave goods and the first evidence for the disposal of objects in Anglo-Saxon wills and we have no evidence for how the relationship between objects and memory evolved in the meantime. However, it is likely that the change does not represent a radical disjuncture but a development of a practice that was already in place. Not all of an individual's possessions would have been buried with them and it is reasonable to assume that other objects would have been preserved among the family. This would be supported by the continental evidence, which suggests the practice of furnished burial and of donating objects through wills occurred simultaneously (Effros 2002). In addition, there always seem to have been certain objects that were inalienable from the memory of their owner, whether they were buried in the grave or donated to the church for their commemoration. However, the end of furnished burial does indicate a change in the uses to which objects and memory might be put, especially in terms of the time-scale and location in which those memories might be developed. The interment of objects in the grave means that their influence on memory is restricted to the time of the funeral. By keeping all personal belongings rather than disposing of them in this way, there is far greater scope for the preservation of memories of an individual person. It can be argued that it was Christianity, and the changing mentalities that developed over the generations after conversion that affected this alteration in the relationship between objects and memory, through its linking of the remembrance of the dead to the fate of the soul (see especially Hadley 2001a; Thompson 2004). In the centuries after conversion, objects came to be deployed as mnemonic aids to assist the soul, by reminding the living of their obligations to pray for them. In this way, the end of furnished burial can be

characterized not as the prohibition of a pagan practice by church authorities, but as the result of changing attitudes to remembrance of the dead that were the product of the culture of the mid-late Anglo-Saxon period.

Chapter 3 – Memory, Landscape and the Dead

Introduction

Chapter 1 demonstrated the importance of place in metaphors of memory from the ancient world to the present day and developed the idea that places and objects can be viewed as a technology that allows memories of the past to be reconstructed and re-experienced within a given social context. Chapter 2 explored this idea through the evidence of grave goods from early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and raised the question of what the end of furnished burial meant for remembrance of the dead. This chapter will explore another aspect of how memories of the dead might be constructed at the funeral, and after, by looking at the placing of the dead within the cemetery itself. As this is an issue that affects remembrance throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, this chapter has a greater temporal range than the last. It will firstly examine developments within concepts of landscape and place in archaeology and how these might relate to attitudes to the past, in general, and to memory, in particular. It will then carry out a review of cemetery organization across a wide range of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, as no such overview currently exists, in order to provide a background for the more detailed study. Finally, it will examine cemetery organization within the four study cemeteries of Spong Hill, Edix Hill, Apple Down and Rivenhall to discuss how placement of the dead might be related to memory.

The significance of landscape

The importance of landscape as an explanatory category for human behaviour has only recently come to the fore in archaeology and geography. Prior to this, the physical environment was viewed purely as a backdrop to human action, seen as an objective, neutral container for events, rather than something that could influence or direct human behaviour (Tilley 1994). As the surrounding environment was passive, with no inherent meaning, it was not expected that attitudes to it could vary between cultures or through time. Archaeologists considered that its only effect on human activity was in providing resources. As a result, its perceived value within archaeological research was in studies of the economy and subsistence practices (Knapp and Ashmore 1999). Under this approach, quantification was the order of the day with computer models being used to examine site distribution and the effects of distance on people's diet and activities. These concepts were always judged in absolute not perceptual terms, so that social and psychological factors on behaviour were not taken into account.

More recently, changes in archaeological theory have caused archaeologists to rethink the relationship between people and their environment. Greater understanding of other societies and awareness of our own assumptions has led to the idea that people's understanding of landscape, place and space is not neutral but is informed by their cultural context (Barrett 1994; Roymans 1995). Thus, space cannot mean the same thing in all societies. This approach, influenced by post-processualism, argues that landscape and space are not objective categories, existing outside human action, but are actively involved in creating society and culture. Landscape is not a container or backdrop for human events but a medium through which they are acted out and thus has a direct

influence on what shape these events take. Instead of being static and fixed, it is undergoing constant change, if not always in appearance then certainly in meaning, and this change can be related to changes in the social order (Tilley 1994; Knapp and Ashmore 1999).

These ideas have been greatly influenced by phenomenology, which began as a critique of the 'natural attitude' that, under the influence of western science, takes for granted the notion of the landscape and space as a 'blank environment' (Casey 1996, 13-14). Under this natural attitude, a distinction is made between space and place that rests on the assumed distinction between 'nature' and 'culture'. This was the position of Western philosophers and mathematicians who searched for mathematical expressions of space, such as Newton, Descartes and Galileo (ibid.). Space was seen as a natural phenomenon, existing independently of the people that live within it. 'Perception' of this environment was considered to be sense input only, with no interpretation or value judgement on the part of the observer. The notion of somewhere as a place was seen as arising *out of* space, as the product of space plus time (another 'neutral' category), as experienced by people. This idea has been soundly criticized by phenomenologists, especially Casey (1996), who question the idea that there can be such a thing as a non-place. They argue that place comes prior to space rather than the other way around because it is not possible to separate somewhere from our understanding and knowledge of it: we can never be outside place. Perception can never be a matter simply of receiving information through the senses but always involves interpretation, based on pre-existing knowledge. Space is therefore a product of place, arising from experience, which in turn derives from cultural conceptions of a building or area of the landscape (Casey 1996). To take an example, a church can never possess neutral space; the space within its walls is defined not just by its

physicality but also by the observer's understanding of what a church is and what it represents. Space can only ever be experienced through the individual's position in society, which affects what parts they are allowed to access and what they understand the place to mean (Craik 1986). Phenomenologists see understandings of landscape as arising from the experience of the human body as it engages with its environment (Casey 1996, 21).

These ideas have had a great deal of influence within prehistoric archaeology, which has attempted to understand place by re-creating the experience of the individual in the past as they moved through it (Knapp and Ashmore 1999; e.g. Barrett 1994; Tilley 1994). These studies maintain that people interpret the landscape through their bodily experience of it, which is directly related to issues of access, inclusion and exclusion, which are in turn are the result of social status and power. Studies of Neolithic ritual sites have revealed that access to and interaction with monuments can be controlled by and limited to a select group of people (Tilley 1994). The amount of access an individual has to such a site directly affects how that individual perceives and understands it. There are socially acceptable (and presumably unacceptable) ways of moving through the landscape, which can vary with space and time, for instance seasonally (De Certeau 1984, cited in Tilley 1994, 28). The importance of power and social control here means that while landscape is created through the relationship between humans and environment, it is perceived as completely natural and 'right' by people at the time (Crumley 1994; Richards 1999).

The importance of the body in the experience of landscape means that many archaeologists have seen a reciprocal relationship in the creation of place and personal identity. Just as people 'create' the landscape through their perceptions of it, their

experiences in place actively construct their sense of self. Barrett (1994) has argued that it is the physical movements of the body in relation to other people and the surrounding environment that constructs people's identities and their position in the social world. Similarly, Tilley (1993) argues that personal biographies are formed through encounters with particular places in a cultural landscape and the recognition and understanding of their meaning. Boundaries and the creation of areas that are 'ours' or not, 'inside' or 'outside', can be directly related to issues of self-definition, 'us' and 'them' (Tuan 1979).

However, while studies such as these have been important in altering the way archaeologists approach studies of ancient monuments, siting them within their surrounding area and bringing in the point of view of real people rather than aerial photos and sequential diagrams, they also raise a number of problems. The focus on the movement of the body as the basis for understanding landscape and constructing personal identity can be criticized for placing too much emphasis on the individual, physical experience to the exclusion of other social influences (e.g. Küchler 1993; Overing and Osborn 1994). This risks applying modern western assumptions to the past and may be largely the result of the methodology used in such studies, which rely upon the ability of the modern archaeologist to recreate the experiences of past people by moving through the landscape in the same way. The very theory itself may also undermine the ability of archaeologists to truly empathize with the people of the past. Although writers such as Tilley have emphasized the way that landscape is created in the mind of the observer and the subjective nature of carrying out landscape archaeology, stating that 'what space is depends on who is experiencing it and how' (1994, 11), his case studies show little awareness that his experience of Neolithic landscape features as a twentieth-century archaeologist may be entirely different from that of a person in the Neolithic.

In addition, the idea that landscape is a phenomenon created within the individual mind, as has been argued by Bender (1993a) and Knapp and Ashmore (1999), among others, has been criticized as being too abstract to carry any real meaning. Olsen (2003) has argued that, far from being created solely in the mind of the beholder, we must see landscape as having 'real' qualities that shape people's perceptions of them. In other words, their physicality cannot just be reduced to a cognitive experience. Olsen, among others (Attfield 2000; Ingold 2000) criticizes the notion that seems to be prevalent in many studies that the body is the only 'real' physical thing and that it roams about in a world fashioned entirely from human cognition. He sees more of a dialectic going on between observer and physical reality, that cultural context does affect the way the landscape is understood but that the physical reality also has a part to play.

A contrasting study is that by Overing and Osborn (1994), who make no pretence at objectivity or at recreating the medieval mind-set in their travels around Scandinavia searching for 'the very place' where *Beowulf* and the Icelandic sagas were set. Throughout their travels, their engagement with the physical environment and the medieval literature creates different perceptions of the landscape in each of them and thus different understandings of the stories and characters within them. They illustrate very well how modern scholars can only ever gain an impression of how people in the past engaged with their surroundings and of how that impression is governed by personal experience. Their interests lie both in the historical 'reality' of the landscape and in how their understandings of the texts altered after their experience of the places in which they were set. Unlike landscape archaeologists, who still claim a level of objectivity in their investigations, Overing and Osborn were keen to experience the landscape in an overtly emotional and personal way, finding some areas associated with *Beowulf* 'satisfying' and

others not, some contemporary historical sites 'beautiful' and others 'aggressive'. Their aim in situating places from literature in the real world is as much about their own satisfaction as it is about understanding the sources. In contrast to many landscape archaeologists, Overing and Osborn were much more aware of the relationship between the individual, the landscape and the narrative they construct. They overtly ask how the reader is involved in the realization of the narrative and what kinds of processes are involved in the negotiation between modern landscape and narratives about the past (1994, 41). The issues raised by their work could prove very useful in furthering archaeological understandings of the relationship between personal perspective and landscape.

The early medieval landscape

Studies of the landscape have been less popular among medievalists than among prehistorians. Until relatively recently, researchers tended to approach landscape in terms of mapping the Anglo-Saxon settlement and the development of kingdoms through documentary and archaeological evidence (e.g. Evison 1981; Welch 1983; Myres 1986) or of inferring social status from the use of space within a settlement (cf. Carver 1989, 143). However, critiques of both the culture-historical and processual approaches have led to new area of study on the early medieval landscape. For instance, both Lucy (1998) and Williams (1999) have investigated the landscape context for the location of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, arguing that sites were deliberately selected for their high visibility and so their location was related to issues of power and display as well as how the land was experienced by the living in their daily lives. Other studies, such as Semple (1998) and Reynolds (2002), have combined archaeological and documentary evidence to examine

Anglo-Saxon understandings of 'liminal' places in the landscape, while historians such as Nicholas Howe (2002) have examined the variety of Anglo-Saxon attitudes to the landscapes they experienced, through the medium of Old English literature.

As these studies indicate, archaeological theory can reveal many ways in which the landscape affected people's perceptions of the world. Interpretations of the landscape are dependent upon the cultural context, with places deriving their meaning from people's understanding of the world. According to Tilley (1994), the bestowing of place-names and the incorporation of a place into mythology transforms the landscape from something that is experienced physically into something that is experienced historically and socially. Cultural changes can lead to places being interpreted and acquiring a new significance. For example, Semple (1998) argued that documentary sources from the later Anglo-Saxon period indicate a change in perception of prehistoric barrows as a result of the conversion to Christianity and contemporary changes in settlement patterns. According to her, these changes led to a mental reordering of the landscape, so that barrows on the periphery of territories became associated with supernatural entities, and therefore places to fear under Christianity, while those at the centre of settlement areas became important community centres, serving as hundred meeting places.

As already noted, perceptions of the landscape are also closely related to the construction of people's identity (Roymans 1995). Just as the life-history of an object can form an inherent part of people's identities (see Chapter 2), the landscape can also produce 'biographic encounters' for individuals as they move about within it (Tilley 1994, 27). Even something as simple as a sense of belonging to a particular place is active in this process. Understandings of place are therefore important in defining identities of the in-

group and the out-group (cf. Jonker 1995). This is not merely defined by the movement of the individual through the landscape but is informed by the wider social context. Such identities are not static but can vary at different times, as different levels of identity are brought into play. For instance, from the late seventh century, the Humber seems to have served as a major frontier and the sources describe Northumbrians and Southumbrians living either side of it. On the other hand, a number of other sources refer to the *Humbrenses*, an apparently older name for the people living around the Humber (Dumville 1989, 127). This indicates the fluid nature of understandings of place and that we must be wary about applying our own interpretations (such as a major river being a barrier between peoples) to the past. The biography of landscape should therefore emphasize its social and ideological dimensions and how perceptions and ideas of it changed over time.

Landscape, memory and the past

One aspect of the growing interest in landscape's influence on society and ideology has focused on the perception of landscape features from an earlier time in human history. The way people interact with older evidence of human activity can be suggestive of how they perceived their own past and how this was used in the present. The perception of the past within the past has become a popular subject within archaeology in recent years (e.g. Bradley 1987; Holtorf 1998; Williams 1998a; 1998b). The relationship between time and space and the way they are perceived has been seen as a central aspect of such studies. As with understandings of place and space, however, the way researchers approach the concept of time has been the focus of debate, especially the way modern assumptions can affect our understanding of the past (e.g. Gurevich 1985). For instance, Boyarin (1994)

has shown that studies are often based on the idea of a link between a nation and a sharply bounded space, which stems from the assumption that time is linear and therefore irreversible. Scholars therefore often speak of the past in territorial and national metaphors (e.g. Lowenthal 1985; Nora 1989; 1992). Concepts of time, like space and place, mean different things to different cultures (Gurevich 1985). In discussing the relationship between time and space in the early medieval period, we must understand how those concepts were constructed at the time.

Scholars often characterize time and space as separate entities (Casey 1996). In contrast, Boyarin (1994) sees time and space as indissolubly linked through the body, which moves through both simultaneously. This perspective can also be found among many prehistoric archaeologists influenced by phenomenology. Barrett (1994, 72) sees time and space linked together not just in their theoretical aspects but also practically in the allocation of certain spaces and periods of time to particular activities, for instance, the commemoration of the dead. Barrett (1994) insists that an understanding of place depends on its context in time, as meanings change depending on who is gathered at a particular locale, the time of year and the activities that are taking place (see also Bender 1993a; Jonker 1995; Hallam and Hockey 2001). The significance of a place also relates to memories of previous activities at that site, expectations of what will happen in the future, and other aspects of people's lives at that time. The significance of place is therefore constantly modified by memory, as meaning accumulates with each visit (Tilley 1994, 27).

Time is therefore an important concept in understanding how landscape affects people's ideology and behaviour. Archaeologists are interested in both concepts of the past and the

future, and how they influence social life. However, it is perceptions of the past that have received the most attention, not least because they are the most archaeologically visible. Studies of attitudes to the past have focused particularly on the re-use of landscape features of earlier eras, as such activity clearly demonstrates an engagement with an earlier time. These studies have been used to demonstrate that the past was a resource that could be created, reformed and manipulated in the service of the present. For instance, Bonnie Effros (2001) has argued that ancient ruins in Gaul continued to have significance throughout the early medieval period, providing both a source for the reinterpretation of the past and a medium for creating power and identity in the present. Similarly, La Rocca (1996) has shown how abandoned Roman towns in Italy became sites of importance again under the ownership of local elites, who used them to attract people to live in an area would assist them in consolidating their own authority.

The past is an inherent part of experiencing the landscape. For Ingold (1993), the landscape is a story of past actions and events, and to perceive the landscape is therefore to carry out an act of remembrance. As with memory in general, this is not so much the recall of an internal image but rather it is constructed through engaging actively with an environment that bears marks of the past (Ingold 1993; Richards 1999). From Ingold's perspective, the landscape has a reciprocal relationship with the people who use it, as it embodies the stories of the past that give it meaning. As people interact with the landscape they engage with the stories it contains. Anthropological studies have shown how in pre-industrial societies stories attached to the landscape give meaning to present activity, as well as informing people's identities. For instance, Morphy (1995) has shown how Australian aborigines interpret land, even land that they have never encountered before, in relation to their ancestral myths. For the Aborigines, the past is always present

in the landscape. The shape of lakes, the positions of trees and stones, can tell them about a place's relationship to the past. According to Morphy, the landscape itself is a part of that past, it is not merely a sign system that conveys a message about it. To an observer, this message can change over time, depending upon the present concerns of the aboriginal people; each generation of aborigines, however, asserts that it is following ancestrally preordained paths.

This suggests that landscape could be central to the preservation and ordering of memory, as well as being closely linked to the more distant past through the survival of features associated with earlier societies, such as Roman ruins and prehistoric monuments. Interaction between memory and landscape had a great impact on identities and social relations in early medieval England. Memory was intimately bound up with land organization and ownership and thus with the ways land was worked and encountered. Before title deeds and maps, estate boundaries had to be remembered. This could be done by creating a mental 'map' or schema, in which the estate boundaries were visualized using established boundary markers as mnemonic aids (cf. Reynolds 1999). Remembering each marker along the route would trigger the memory of the next and so on in a similar way to the 'memory palaces' used as mnemonic devices by ancient orators, described in Chapter 1. From the eighth century, such mental maps were incorporated into charters, although they were not a common feature until the tenth century (Stenton 1955; Hooke 1990; Kelly 1990).

It is likely, though, that the form of these mental maps was already well established before the first boundary clause was included in a charter. That most were recorded in Old English and not Latin implies that they were well-established ways of recalling the

boundaries of an estate, rather than that they were created for the purpose of the land transfer the charter records. The use of the vernacular would also have made memorization possible for those not fluent in Latin. It was also clearly expected that the owners, and workers, of an estate would already be familiar with its boundaries (Kelly 1990). A grant by Hlothhere, king of Kent, to Abbot Brihtwold of land in Thanet in 679 refers twice to the 'well-known boundaries' of the estate (Sawyer 1968, no. 8; Whitelock 1979, no. 56) and documentary sources suggest that it was common practice for people to ride the boundaries of estates when they were conferred on someone else and in cases of dispute over ownership. An early eleventh-century dispute between the bishop of Hereford and one Wulfstan and his son over an estate at Inkberrow, Worcestershire, was settled by riding the estate boundaries, which proved to be the same as when the land had been conferred, thus proving it belonged to the bishop (Hooke 1985). It would seem from this case that witnesses to a transaction were expected to actively memorize the boundaries of an estate in case a dispute arose and boundary markers served as mnemonic devices in this process.

The form the boundary markers take in the charters also indicates more than a passing familiarity with the places described. Topographical features often serve as boundary markers but often seem vague or of temporary duration to modern readers, such as the instruction to progress 'thus to an ash-tree' on the boundary of a collection of estates granted by Bishop Ealhun of Worcester to King Berhtwulf in 849 (Sawyer 1968, no. 272; Hooke 1990, 135-142). Others indicate that such features were well known in the locality, for instance 'the hart's wallowing-place' and 'the roe-deer's lair' from the same charter (ibid.). Such descriptions may also indicate the mnemonic nature of these features, as specific names and the images they conjure up would have been an aid to recall. The

choice of markers were not the result of chance but were deliberately selected for their memorable nature. In addition, some features such as crosses would have been installed purposely to act as markers, perhaps on stretches of the boundary where there were fewer memorable features. That many extant boundary clauses were added in the tenth and eleventh centuries to charters of eighth- and ninth-century date (Reynolds 1999), may indicate an increasing concern that people in the future should remember and preserve the estate boundaries. Whether this was a result of an increasing awareness of the power of documents to project information into the future or of changes in land holding practices putting estates in the control of people unfamiliar with the area, such as monasteries and cathedrals, is not clear.

As well as serving to aid in matters of land organization and ownership, memory is implicated in tying people to particular areas of land or landscape features. The names of certain individuals came to be closely associated with particular places. Many place-names of Anglo-Saxon origin incorporate a personal name. Philologists used to consider that names associating a settlement with a particular person were of a date early in the Anglo-Saxon period, being the earliest type of Old English place-name. This has subsequently been revised, especially through the work of Cameron (1961), Gelling (1978) and Hooke (1985) and it is now thought that most place-names of this type were later in date, although there is still an argument for those incorporating 'archaic' personal names being early (Gelling 1978). It is likely that most place-names incorporating personal names were coined in the ninth to eleventh centuries and associate an estate with one of its owners during this period. Gelling (ibid.) has suggested that at least some such place-names may have been coined when the land was granted by a king, bishop or nobleman to a person of noble class but that this cannot be ascertained due to the poor

survival of documents. She notes that there are at least thirty instances of place-names in which the first element is the name of the last pre-Conquest holder of the estate in Domesday Book.

The lack of detailed evidence for the naming and ownership of estates throughout the Anglo-Saxon period means that it is difficult to determine when names were coined and how long they survived. There may be many place-names incorporating personal names that have been lost because they were not written down or the documents have not survived. Where such names have survived to the present, it is uncertain for how long people remembered its significance. Nevertheless, it is clear that the memories of past owners survived in some areas through the association of their personal name with the estate. For example, an estate at modern-day Bibury, Gloucestershire, was leased to Leppa and his daughter Beage for their two lives in a document dated 718-45 (Sawyer 1968, no. 1254). The name Bibury, 'Beage's manor house', is first recorded in a charter of 899 (Sawyer 1968, no. 1279). Gelling (1978) suggests the name may have come into use around 150 years earlier as a result of Beage rebuilding the manor house. She also suggests that Fladbury, 'Flæde's manor house', in Worcestershire, may have been named for a similar reason in the mid-seventh century, before the name was recorded in a charter of the late seventh century (Sawyer 1968, no. 76). For how long people in the area remembered Flæde or Beage and the stories that were doubtless associated with them and their estates is a matter for debate. Another example of the survival of an association of an estate with a person can be found in the charter for an estate at *Caldinccotan*, Bredon, Worcestershire, dated 984, which includes the instruction 'so that thus to Cyneburg's land boundary' (Sawyer 1968, no. 347). Cyneburg is a woman commemorated in the name of nearby Kemerton, which was known as *Cyneburgingctun* in 840 (Hooke 1990, 307-310).

Personal names are also often associated with specific areas of the landscape such as boundary markers and hundred meeting-places. For instance, one of the boundary markers of the estate at Bibury granted to Leppa and Beage is called *Leppan crundlas* (Gelling 1978, 'quarry/chalk-pit on the boundary of the estate belonging to Leppa'). Similarly, a charter for land at Clopton, Worcestershire, leased by Oswald, archbishop of Worcester, to Wulfgar, *clericus*, in 985, incorporates boundaries of adjacent estates named as 'Ælfric's boundary' and 'Cyneþegn's boundary' (Sawyer 1968, no. 352; Hooke 1990, 318-321). Both Ælfric and Cyneþegn had leased land from Oswald in 963 and 943 respectively (Sawyer 1968, nos. 303 & 1297; Hooke 1990). Personal names are also often elements in the names of hundred meeting-places and of the hundred itself, and these can be preserved in modern place-names, as with Broxash Hundred, Herefordshire, from 'Brocce's ash tree', as well as *Bremesesce* Hundred, 'Breme's ash tree', mentioned in Domesday Book, which survives today as Bromash (Gelling 1978).

Other landscape features could also give names to hundreds and their meeting-places, including hills or mounds, some of which were also burial sites, and crosses (Gelling 1978; Hooke 1985; Reynolds 1999). Cameron (1961) has suggested that those hundred meeting-places that link a cross to a particular person, such as Osgoldcross, West Yorkshire, ('Ásgautr's cross'); Brothercross, Norfolk, ('Broðir's cross'); and Guiltcross, Norfolk, ('Gildi's cross'), may represent a memorial cross to the named men. If this is so, it may be associated with the similar practice of naming burial mounds, and associated settlements, by a man's personal name, as at Taplow, 'Tæppa's tumulus' and possibly also at Challow, 'Ceawa's tumulus', Berkshire, and Offlow, 'Offa's tumulus', Staffordshire, although neither of the latter two barrows have survived (Gelling 1978). Reynolds (1999) has also noted that the shire court for Berkshire was held at

cwicelmshlæw, 'Cwichelm's barrow'. As with place-names associated with settlements and estates, it is not possible to say how long associations with particular people survived in memory or how many such names have been lost. We cannot be sure whether these were real people or merely myths that became attached to particular places. However, they indicate the way stories of the past could become a part of the landscape. The places themselves not only acted as a mnemonic to aid in the preservation of these stories, but also were the embodiment of those stories.

The way memories of particular people and events could be tied to places in the landscape can also be seen in the development of popular saints' cults. Cubitt (2000b) has argued that the veneration of royal saints and others who met violent deaths, such as Kings Oswald, Oswiu and Edwin of Northumbria, Edward the Martyr and princes Kenelm of Mercia and Æthelred and Æthelberht of Kent, began as a popular cult attached to their places of death. These popular cults shared a number of common features, including miracles that benefited the poor and punished their oppressors; motifs from mythology such as wolves, sacred trees and wells; and a strong, localized topographical element, which often included landscape features and named places. For instance, devotion to Oswald of Northumbria is attested at battle sites associated with him, at Heavenfield where he defeated Caedwalla, and at *Maserfelth* where he was killed. At these sites, miracles included the healing of the poor and of livestock, in contrast to the church foci of Oswald's cult where miracles followed biblical and hagiographical models (ibid., 60-61). Again, with these stories we can see how narratives of the past were closely tied to the familiar landscape. They would have been encountered every day as people moved about their local environment and the landscape features themselves act as a mnemonic for the preservation of these stories.

Other types of stories were also associated with the land and the people in it. Myths and origin legends were as much a part of the memory of the Anglo-Saxons as their own lives and were just as closely connected with the landscape. Place-name evidence indicates a close relationship between certain places in the landscape and figures from mythology. Prehistoric earthworks were a particular focus for such stories, with the Neolithic long barrow now known as Adam's Grave, in Alton Priors, Wiltshire, called *Wodnesbeorg*, 'Woden's barrow', in Old English (Gelling 1978). Linear earthworks were also often associated with Woden such as the post-Roman Wansdyke, and with the god in his form of Grim, such as the Iron Age Grimes Dyke in Barwick-in-Elmet (ibid.; Faull 1979). The place-names of many other sites also incorporated references to the pagan religion, such as Wednesbury, Staffordshire ('open land sacred to Woden'); Thundersley, Essex ('grave sacred to Thunor'); and names of the Harrow type suggestive of a shrine (Cameron 1961; Gelling 1978; see also Wilson 1992 for discussion and examples). These pagan-type place-names and those names incorporating *scucca* (meaning 'demon/evil spirit'), for example, Shugborough, Staffordshire, and boundary clauses referring to *grendelsmere* reveal the way stories and myths of the past were attached to special places (for examples of *grendelsmere* in charter boundaries see Whitelock 1979 no. 69; Hooke 1990, 162-167).

Known places within the landscape were important in the development and interpretation of knowledge of the past. One of the most important sources for the relationship between place and perceptions of the past is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. As Sims-Williams (1983) has demonstrated, the *Chronicle* placed well-known stories about the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in England into a chronological time frame and sited them firmly within a familiar landscape. The *Chronicle* incorporates known landmarks such as the Saxon shore-fort at Anderida, Pevensey, hill-forts at Old Sarum, Wiltshire, and Barbury Castle, and the

Roman cities of Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath into the narratives of conquest and kingdom formation. At the same time, landscape places could add their own elements to stories of the past, through people's attempts to understand how the land the world in which they live. For instance, in the *Chronicle*, folk-etymology produces the descriptions of how Portsmouth takes its name from Port who landed there with two ships in 501, while the battle at *Wippedesfleot* provides the story of the slaying of Wipped (Sims-Williams 1983; Yorke 1989). In this way, places within the landscape could provide a reality for the stories of the past, bringing the people and events of past times into the present for the Anglo-Saxons. Places could also act as mnemonics for these stories, which would have a much better chance of being preserved if they were a part of people's everyday lives and experience of the landscape. The type of stories recorded in the Chronicle indicates the importance of place and the origin myths it embodies in people's identities. Morphy (1995) has argued that when people move into a new country they do not impose new myths on it in order to take control, rather they act as if it is they that have been taken over by the new country. The *Chronicle* suggests that this occurred with the Anglo-Saxons, their history becoming tied in with the land that they conquered and their present social and political circumstances being shaped by interactions between their ancestors and the land itself.

Knapp and Ashmore (1999) have argued that the landscape can fix personal and social histories in space, giving the past a concrete form through continuity. Knapp and Ashmore have also suggested that the land can both reflect social organization and order social relations and that certain places can create feelings of belonging and order which have a direct impact on identities. Gurevich (1985, 45) has shown for the medieval period that land and its ownership was closely tied up with people, their status and rights. The

interaction between landscape and memory may therefore have more to tell us about early medieval identities and social relations. The ownership of land, for instance, could have an impact on family memory and identity, providing a 'symbolic capital' that explained and justified a family's status through the memories of how it had been acquired (Geary 1999, 171). The spiritual *Manual* written by the Carolingian noblewoman Dhuoda for her eldest son, William, in 841-843 demonstrates the close link between commemoration and inheritance. In this, she urges William to pray for and remember those members of his family from whom he will inherit property. For Dhuoda, remembrance and commemoration of ancestors was central to preserving and maintaining their estates within the family (Innes 2001). Memories of land and land-holding could also be central to the identity of religious institutions, as demonstrated by Van Houts (1999) who showed how commemoration of the donors of lands could be used to safeguard the rights of monastic houses into the future (see also McKitterick 2004; and Chapter 1, above).

The present study: cemetery organization as a technology of memory

Place is therefore deeply implicated in people's relationships with memory and the past and plays an important role part in the construction of present identities. It can be argued that this would especially be the case for the community cemetery, as a site for the negotiation of identity among the living through their relationships with the dead. Cemeteries were extremely powerful places that could make claims about belonging to a place and a community (Barley 1995). They could also be scenes of the manipulation of memory in the service of the present and for the assertion and maintenance of social relationships between different people. For instance, Williams (1999) has argued that early medieval barrow burials were deliberately placed within the landscape to recreate

and reference the Bronze Age barrows that they resemble in order to make claims about power and rights to occupy that land. Other studies have also stressed the importance of the landscape context of burials, arguing that this is related to the creation of identity and the legitimation of authority (e.g. Roymans 1995; for discussion of previous studies see Lucy 1998).

The discussion in Chapter 1 demonstrated that memory cannot be understood without recourse to the use of metaphors. One metaphor that has had a long history in philosophies of memory is the spatial metaphor, as typified by the medieval 'storehouse' and modern computer model of remembering (Roediger 1980; Nora 1989; Boyarin 1994; Draaisma 1995; Connerton 2006). Both Crumley (1999) and Tilley (1999) have argued specifically for the significance of landscape features as involved in the transmission of memory within society. Place has the power to evoke memories of past experiences in our lives and can embody elements of the past. As such, it has a strong emotional component, which is important in creating a sense of identity and belonging (Casey 1996; Chesson 2001b). Similarly, Jones (2003; see Chapter 1) has seen the building, rebuilding and maintenance of prehistoric monuments in Scotland as productive of processes of remembering and forgetting. Continuing use and reuse of these monuments allows the reworking of the social and ideological concepts associated with them, with some elements being forgotten and others preserved and projected into the future through the monument's longevity. In the same way, the early medieval cemetery can also be seen as a 'technology of memory', with the organization and layout being productive of the same processes of remembering and forgetting. Cemeteries should not merely be understood by the contents of the graves but also by the environment created above the ground through their layout and surface features. While the tableau created at the grave-side is involved in

memory processes (as discussed in Chapter 2), it can only ever be a temporary display and it is the landscape of the cemetery itself that is instrumental in projecting memory forwards, for it is with this environment that people continue to engage, perhaps for generations into the future. Before moving on to examine whether burial location relates to memory in the early medieval period, it is worth examining the various aspects of cemetery organization prevalent throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.

Cemetery organization[1]

Orientation and alignment[2]

An examination of the orientation and alignment of graves within Anglo-Saxon cemeteries reveals that the vast majority of cemeteries seem to have been laid out following some pattern that was acceptable to the community as a whole. However, Anglo-Saxon cemeteries can be remarkably varied in the way they were organized, displaying both regional and temporal differences. The orientation and alignment of graves at any given site could be affected by natural topography, pre-existing features from earlier phases of use, for instance Roman ruins or prehistoric monuments or boundaries, or by other Anglo-Saxon activity in the form of buildings or other standing monuments (see Rahtz 1978 for a review of all the possibilities). The organization of a cemetery may also take into account earlier burials, with 'founder's graves' or other

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[1] To avoid long references, authors of cemetery reports are only cited when they make a specific argument. A list of all sites referred to can be found in the back of the thesis.

[2] In this study, 'orientation' is used to refer to the exact direction in which the skeleton is pointing, while 'alignment' will refer to the general axis of the grave. So, a 'west-east orientation' means that the skeleton is laid out with the head to the west, while a 'west-east alignment' means that the grave is on a west-east axis but the head of the skeleton could be either at the west or east end of the grave.

important burials affecting the alignment of subsequent interments. The way Anglo-Saxon graves were oriented was also affected over time by changes in mentality, the way the dead were perceived and by increasing control over burial by ecclesiastical and secular authorities.

In the early phase (i.e. the fifth to seventh centuries), cemetery organization was very much a local affair. Each cemetery, whether cremation or inhumation, had its own layout. When considering the orientation of graves within a cemetery, it is now widely recognized that simplistic divisions on the lines of 'pagan' or 'Christian' alignment can tell us little. West-east aligned burials, originally considered to be evidence of Christian burial, were a prevalent feature of cemeteries before conversion, accounting for some 61% of all burials available in Faull's (1977) study on regional variation in orientation (see also Penn 2000). Cemeteries such as Broughton Lodge, Nottinghamshire; Camerton, Avon; Winnall II, Hampshire; and Kingston Down and Polhill, in Kent, were mostly or entirely oriented with their heads to the west or west-north-west. In East Anglia, west-east aligned graves are almost universal (Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001), occurring at Snape and Westgarth Gardens, Suffolk, and at Bergh Apton, Spong Hill, Morning Thorpe and Harford Farm, all in Norfolk. At some of these, orientation is not exact, as at Westgarth Gardens, where it is more nearly west-north-west to east-south-east (Penn 2000). This predomination of west-east alignment is also mirrored on the Continent, where Germanic and Merovingian cemeteries switched from a general north-south to a west-east alignment by the fourth or fifth century (Penn 2000, 69). On the other hand, in many other Anglo-Saxon cemeteries burials are predominantly oriented south-north, such as at Great Chesterford, Essex, and Beckford A and B, Worcestershire, or south-west to north-east, as at Chamberlain's Barn II, Bedfordshire. Others contain a roughly equal mixture of the

two, as at Apple Down, Sussex. At some cemeteries, the direction in which the person was facing seems to have been less important than their overall alignment, so at Sewerby, the majority of burials were aligned on a west-east axis but their head could be towards either direction. There is evidence at Buckland, Dover, and Springfield Lyons, Essex, where the laying-out of graves was very precise, that markers were used for orienting graves upon (Evison 1987; Tyler and Major 2005).

In the Middle and Late Anglo-Saxon periods, alignment and orientation continued to be factors decided by the individual cemetery environment. West-east alignment seems to have become more frequent, for instance at the later seventh-century cemetery at Harford Farm, Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk, but was not applied to all burials. Lucy's (1999, 16-18) study of Northumbrian burials found that while early phase cemeteries could contain south-north or west-east aligned burials, by the eighth century all known cemeteries in Northumbria were west-east oriented. Boddington (1990, contra Lethbridge 1936) has also suggested that this change in orientation at a certain date is reflected in the lay-out of burials at Shudy Camps, which, according to him, changed from south-west to north-east aligned graves in the early phase to west-east orientation later on. Similarly, at Lechlade, Gloucestershire, in the early seventh century there was a major change in grave alignment from north-east to south-west orientation related to a Romano-British ditch to an alignment centred on mound burial 187, which was almost perpendicular to the earlier arrangement. Alignment and orientation continued to be of ideological significance to the community. Changes in alignment at any given site can reveal differences in beliefs concerning the positioning of the body and the space around it. At the cemetery site on Ailcy Hill, Ripon, for instance, the alignment of graves changed with each successive phase of use, along with the community using it. The earliest phase was the burial place

of a sixth- or seventh-century rural community who buried their dead in clusters, probably relating to kin or household groups, with some west-east and perhaps some north-south burials. Sometime in the first half of the seventh century, a major ideological shift occurred that led to this local community reordering their cemetery in rows on a west-east alignment, destroying the earlier phase of graves. Around the year 700, another change occurred when the site became used for adult male burials in coffins, perhaps associated with the monastery established by Wilfrid, bishop of Ripon, or with high-status secular males. A final phase overlay and cut these burials, on a slightly different alignment. The presence of a juvenile with spinal tuberculosis, which had caused a severely twisted back, led the excavators to suggest Ailcy Hill had become a burial place for 'outsiders' (Hall and Whyman 1996). This site indicates very well how the needs and mentalities of the community using a cemetery affected the alignment of the graves.

Various explanations have been suggested for differences in alignment and orientation of graves within and between cemeteries. The religious argument, that orientation reflects whether a person was a pagan or a Christian, has now been largely discounted (e.g. Leeds 1913, 28; Evison 1987). Not only are many pre-Conversion burials aligned on the west-east axis (Rahtz 1978) but Rodwell (1984) has shown that many major early churches and their accompanying burial grounds were not necessarily oriented on the liturgically correct east-west alignment, but often followed that of existing features, especially Roman buildings. An alternative argument was suggested by Faull (1977), who argued that the orientation of burial reflects ethnicity, with native Romano-British buried with their heads to the north and incoming Germanic migrants aligned with head to the west.[3] However, this argument relies on several ideas that have since been disproved. Firstly,

[3] Contra Loveluck 1995, who argued that east-west alignment of Anglo-Saxon barrow burials in the Peak District indicated native British influence.

she assumes that the appearance of burials with the head to the north in the Iron Age, Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods must indicate continuity of practice and meaning across this whole time span. However, there is no reason to think that burial with the head to the north meant the same thing in each of these periods or that there is any link of blood or identity between the peoples practising it. Secondly, her argument is based on the notion that the 'Migration' period was a time of mass population movement from the Continent into eastern England. As a result, she sees the majority burial rite, alignment on the west-east axis, as linked to the dominant population group at that time, i.e. the incoming Germanic population. Finally, her argument is based on the idea that ethnicity refers to bounded, easily distinguishable groups and that it is reflected in the burial rite. More recently, this understanding of ethnicity has been superseded by the concept of ethnicity as fluid and changeable. Faull's article was an important one for arguing that the Anglo-Saxon migration may not have led to the decimation of the native population; however, it does not provide a convincing explanation for cemetery organization.

It has been argued that alignment on the east-west axis may have been intended to position the body in line with the sun. For many years, the 'solar hypothesis' was used to explain variations in east-west grave orientation, which maintained that grave alignment was towards sunrise on the day of burial. Grave orientation would therefore vary with the seasonal movement of the sun (see also Boddington 1990). It was thought that by estimating the position of the sun it could be postulated at which time of year an individual died, so revealing information about seasonal mortality (e.g. Wells and Green 1973; Hawkes 1976). However, this has been disputed both through the documentary evidence, which suggests burial occurred on the day of death, and therefore no dawn vigil was kept, and by thorough statistical analysis which indicates the pattern of mortality

produced by this hypothesis is at complete odds with what is known of medieval rural mortality (Bullough 1983; Boddington 1990; Kendall 1982). Instead, variation in alignment within a cemetery can be explained simply by the margin of error in trying to dig a grave aligned on a particular point (Kendall 1982; Boddington 1990). It is still possible that west-east aligned graves were oriented towards the sun; however, we cannot go further than this in discussing its implications for Anglo-Saxon death and burial.

Traditional explanations have therefore not provided a convincing explanation for grave orientation and alignment. It may be that, as orientation seems to often be a local decision, the deciding factor might be something more relevant to the particular community. The alignment of graves at some cemeteries of the fifth to seventh centuries seems to have taken account of other physical features in the immediate vicinity. For example, at Broughton Lodge, the majority of burials were aligned on the adjacent Roman road that formed one of the cemetery's boundaries. This is also a feature of the cemeteries at Burwell and Shudy Camps, Cambridgeshire, and suggests there was an easily perceivable boundary to the site. Burials in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries could also be aligned upon features of an earlier period. For instance, at Berinsfield, Oxfordshire, the burials were aligned on a Roman ditch, while at others, such as Snell's Corner, Horndean, Hampshire, they were aligned on prehistoric monuments. Middle and Late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were also often aligned on a specific feature. This is especially the case with churchyard and monastic burial grounds. Graves could be aligned with churches, as at Raunds Furnells, Northamptonshire, where burial began in the tenth century, or focus on a particular point as at the eighth- to tenth-century site at Addingham, West Yorkshire, where the focus may have been a cross or mausoleum, and at the late seventh- to ninth-century cemetery at Whitton, Lincolnshire. Similarly, the tenth-century

cemetery site at York Minster in the courtyard of the Roman principia was aligned on the Roman grid system (Rodwell 1984; Carver 1995), while the earliest burials from the mid-late Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Caister-on-Sea, Norfolk, were influenced by the line of the Roman defences.

Orientation may also have been linked to ideas about 'good' and 'bad' directions and places within the landscape. It has been shown that some graves within a cemetery were on a reversed orientation, the opposite of the norm. For instance, at Great Chesterford, the majority of burials were oriented either south-north (70 individuals) or west-east (59 individuals). However, nine were oriented north-south, of which four were infants, and a further four were buried on an east-west orientation, including three infants (Evison 1994). Evison (1988, 41; 1994) has argued that normal orientation was denied to individuals who were not seen as full members of the community, i.e. infants, children, adolescents, women from outside the community and slaves. The seventh-century cemetery at Holborough, Kent, consists of exclusively west-east oriented burials, with the exception of one infant who was buried on a north-south orientation (Crawford 1993). Often those buried in the opposite direction to the majority were also marked in some other way. At both Snell's Corner, Horndean, Hampshire, and Holywell Row, Suffolk, one older woman was buried in the reverse direction to all other burials, and in both cases, she was the only one to be buried in a crouched position. Many multiple burials are also marked out by different alignments (Stoodley 2002). However, Evison's argument is a difficult one to prove or disprove. Not all members of these social groups were treated in this way, even within these particular cemeteries, so there was clearly no hard and fast rule. In addition, some of the reverse burials at Great Chesterford are associated with re-used Romano-British tumuli, which would usually be argued to be a sign of high status

burials. Unusual alignments may alternatively be the result of some burials being focused on a particular feature, as in some churchyards like Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, and North Elmham, Norfolk, where burials close to paths or boundaries are aligned on that feature even if it is noticeably divergent from west-east (Rahtz 1978; Wade-Martins 1980, fig. 158; Rodwell 1984, figs. 63, 81; Darling and Gurney 1993, 253). For instance, at Broughton Lodge, burials with an unusual orientation were grouped at the edges of the cemetery and were aligned upon the cemetery boundary closest to them, whereas the majority were aligned upon the Roman road to which the cemetery was adjacent.

Layout

As with the orientation and alignment of graves, an examination of the layout of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries suggests some kind of overall plan even if organization is not strictly regimented or it breaks down over time. Variation is again apparent in different cemeteries and at different times. Early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries usually show evidence of clustering in groups with spaces in between. As these groups usually include all ages and sexes they are often interpreted as kin or household groups, as for instance at West Heslerton, Yorkshire, and Spong Hill, Norfolk (McKinley 1994; Lucy 1998; Haughton and Powlesland 1999). At some sites, this argument can be further supported by the distribution of epigenetic, or non-metric, traits that may indicate familial relationships, for instance at Edix Hill, Cambridgeshire, and Berinsfield, Oxfordshire (Boyle et al 1995; Malim and Hines 1998; see also Jørgensen 1987; 1990; 1991; Ringtved 1997 for family plots). Similarly, smaller cemeteries may represent the burial place of a single family, as at the early fifth-century cemetery at West Hendred, Oxfordshire (Hamerow 1993). Clustering of graves in Reihengräber cemeteries on the Continent have also been

plausibly interpreted as family plots (Halsall 1995). Here, there is also documentary evidence that suggests it was expected that members of a family would be buried together (e.g. Gregory of Tours, *GC* 51).

Other early period cemeteries are partly or wholly arranged in rows, as at Beckford B, Worcestershire; Chamberlain's Barn II, Bedfordshire; Westgarth Gardens, Suffolk; Lechlade, Gloucestershire; Lyminge, Kent; Marina Drive, Dunstable, Bedfordshire; Shudy Camps, Cambridgeshire; and Broughton Lodge, Nottinghamshire. Again, some of these seem to have also been arranged in family plots, with evidence of clustering found at Buckland, Dover, and Shudy Camps. However, while the arrangement of burials into rows seems to imply an overall plan for the layout of the cemetery, this plan often seems to break down over time or be subject to changes. At Westgarth Gardens, Suffolk, for instance, burials before the mid-sixth century had been arranged partly in rows and are found close together in the north-west area of the cemetery. This changed in the late sixth and seventh centuries when burial shifted away from this area to the east and south and became more widely spaced and irregularly positioned (West 1988; Evison 1994).

Some early period cemeteries show organization on the basis of age and/or sex. For example, at Sewerby, Yorkshire, females and most infants and children under 12 years were clustered in the central area of the cemetery, while all 12-25 year olds were buried on the eastern side of the site (Hirst 1985; Lucy 1998). The sixth-century burials at Lechlade, Gloucestershire, were also partially organized by sex, with almost all of the burials in the north-west part of the cemetery being females oriented north-south. From their accompanying grave goods, it is likely that the young children in the same area were also female (Miles and Palmer 1986). At Uncleby, Yorkshire, segregation seems to have

been on the basis of gender roles, with burials containing jewellery to the west and south side of the prehistoric barrow that formed the focal point, and weapons burials clustered to the south-east (Lucy 1998). Sometimes segregation could be applied to one social group only. At Empingham II, Leicestershire, there was no overt organization of the burials into discrete groups with the exception of one group of adult males, three single and one triple burial, at the north-west end of the cemetery. All were buried with weapons and represented the full range of burial dates at the site. This clustering of weapons burials within a given cemetery can also be seen at Mucking cemetery II, Essex, and at Bradstow School, Broadstairs, Kent.

Many sites show evidence of the layout being reworked periodically. At Hamwic site SOU 13, the graves were laid out in rows but the rows had been reworked five times, leading to at least one-third of all burials being redeposited and many others losing parts to later grave cuts (Morton 1992a; 1992b). This site had a church building and such disturbance is often a feature of later Anglo-Saxon cemeteries attached to a church, although it is not a feature of Hamwic site SOU 32 which also had some form of building. At The Booths/Tanner's Row, Pontefract, burial went through three successive phases, one of which was associated with the stone-built church found at the site (Wilmott 1987). This site again shows a great deal of disturbance, with disturbed bones being stacked around new coffins. At Hereford Castle Green, which also had a church or chapel, burial again went through a series of phases, each of which affected the layout and the burial rite (Shoesmith 1980).

At cremation cemeteries, gender and age roles and social status could be reflected in the stamps chosen to decorate cremation urns (Richards 1987). Clustering of particular stamp

groups within some cremation cemeteries, such as Millgate, Newark-on-Trent, indicates that, as at inhumation cemeteries, social roles may be important variables in determining a cemetery's layout. At Thurmaston, Leicestershire, group 2 vessels cluster in two areas, both approximately equidistant from the Bronze Age barrow that is the focus of the cemetery, while group 3 urns are also close together. Similarly, group 4 urns, although scattered, were broadly equidistant from the barrow. At Broughton Lodge, examination of complete urns that are likely to have been excavated in situ indicates that the distribution of each stamp-linked group is usually restricted to one part of the site, with the exception of group 14. It has been suggested that the choice of stamps used to decorate cremation urns was representative of family ties and lineages, having heraldic or totemic significance (Arnold and Russell 1983). If this is the case, it suggests clustering of stamp groups within a cemetery may be related to the family plots seen in most contemporary inhumation cemeteries. At mixed-rite cemeteries, there is often segregation between the different types of burial. At Portway, Andover, inhumations were largely in the east of the cemetery, while cremations were in the west with un-urned cremations on the periphery. At Empingham II, Leicestershire, the one cremation at the site was also located on the periphery. In contrast, at Snape, Suffolk, cremations and inhumations are both found spread across the whole site.

From the seventh century onwards, cemetery layouts changed. Geake (1997) found that cemeteries of the Conversion period seem on the whole to be more carefully organized than earlier ones, with a greater proportion of sites having a consistent west-east orientation, well-spaced graves and sometimes rows. However, cemeteries of the Middle and Late Anglo-Saxon periods were not characterized by any particular form of layout but varied between sites and changed over time. At some sites, burial continued in clusters

that may be family or household groups, as at the second cemetery at Rivenhall, Essex, where burial in the churchyard from the early tenth to the nineteenth centuries was arranged in tight intersecting groups rather than in the rows that characterized the first cemetery here (see below). This is especially the case with the burials of the period from the early tenth to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the available space in between these clusters remained unused. The excavators interpret these as family groups (Rodwell and Rodwell 1985). At other cemeteries, rows were the norm, as at Addingham; Hamwic SOU 32 and 13; Burgh Castle, Norfolk; and the pre-church cemetery at Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire. The original graveyard at Raunds Furnells was also organized in rows but these broke down as it filled up and burials spilled over into adjacent areas with no attempt to organize them. Subsequent to this, the cemetery was re-planned, with new burial areas laid out in rows (Boddington 1996).

From this period at least, there developed a perception of 'desirable' and 'undesirable' burial areas, especially in the context of churchyard burial. After St Peter's church was built at Barton-upon-Humber, burial was concentrated along the south and east sides of the building (Rodwell and Rodwell 1982). At other sites this could be related to other divisions in society, so for instance at Raunds males tended to be concentrated to the south of the church and females to the north (Boddington 1996). Several cemeteries of the later period show evidence of zones containing the burials of different sections of the population, for instance at Hartlepool Church Walk, Cleveland, where infants were clustered in the south-east corner of the site. In addition, a group of graves was concentrated around a coffin burial and another group was characterized by pebble edgings around the graves. Similar clusters can also be seen at Swinegate, York; St Peter's, Barton-on-Humber; St Mark's, Lincoln; Jarrow, Tyne and Wear; Raunds,

Northamptonshire; and Winchester, Hampshire. There is little evidence that most cemeteries of the tenth and eleventh centuries were organized by sex. However, at St Mark's, Lincoln, there was a tendency for males to be buried to the north of the earliest (phase VIII) church and females to the south of the later phase IX church (Hadley and Buckberry 2005). Similarly, at Raunds Furnells, a higher number of males were found immediately south of the church, while clusters of male burials at certain sites such as Ailcy Hill, Ripon, and Hereford, may represent the burials of religious communities (Gilmour and Stocker 1986; Boddington 1996; Hall and Whyman 1996; Hadley 2001a).

Disturbance and relocation

Accidental disturbance is a feature of most Anglo-Saxon cemeteries but from the seventh century onwards, there came a new development in cemetery organization. From this time people seem to have been more willing, and in some cases may have found it desirable, to move certain bodies after burial. This does not seem to have been practised at earlier sites, although sometimes a secondary or further interment in an existing grave resulted in the bones of the primary interment being stacked to one side within the grave cut. Although empty graves are sometimes found at early sites, they are usually ascribed to differential preservation, especially in the case of children and infants, rather than the disinterment of a body and, given the nature of the soil at many of these sites and the quality of the excavation, there is little reason to think otherwise (e.g. Parfitt 1995).

By contrast, at some later sites there does seem to have been a deliberate policy of moving and reburying certain individuals. At Addingham, this seems to have been the result of a desire for burial in one particular part of the cemetery. Here, burial began at the

eastern side of the cemetery, with graves being fitted into any available space even if this meant the body had to be placed on its side rather than supine. As space was filled, burial began further to the west. After some length of time, during which disarticulation had occurred, some of these western-most bodies were removed and reinterred as piles of bones in graves on the east side. In some cases, a grave on the east side might be opened for a new deposit, with the bones of the primary interment being piled to one side. One grave contained the remains of six or seven people (Adams 1996). Similarly at Pontefract, primary interments were moved carefully to one side to make way for subsequent burial in the same plot and at Barton-upon-Humber a few empty graves were suggestive of people having been disinterred for reburial elsewhere (Rodwell and Rodwell 1982; Hadley 2001a, 66). It is not known where those from Barton-upon-Humber were reinterred but the empty graves included two large prominent ones, suggesting families of high status may have disinterred the remains of relatives for reburial, perhaps in a private mausoleum or chapel (Rodwell and Rodwell 1982). Similarly, at Whitton, Lincolnshire, the state of preservation of the skeletons, some of whom were missing small bones from the hands and feet but were otherwise intact, indicates at least some had been disinterred soon after burial and moved to a position on the edge of the cemetery (Hadley 2001b). There is also evidence that at some sites collective secondary burial was carried out. At Repton, Derbyshire, a mausoleum contained the disarticulated remains of over two hundred people which has been linked to the monastic site there (Halsall 2000; Hadley 2001a, 102; contra Biddle and Biddle 1992), while Bede refers to the disinterment and reburial in one place within the church of the bones of the inhabitants of the double house at Barking Abbey (*HE* IV, 10). It should be noted though that we might not always know if disturbance occurred, as it would depend on the state of decay at the time of disturbance and the preservation of the skeletal remains in the modern period, and the excavator being

able to distinguish Anglo-Saxon disturbance from later damage. This means that we may be under-estimating the extent of post-burial interference.

Multiple burials

Multiple burials are a feature of most Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, especially in the early part of the period (Stoodley 2002). Examples of multiple inhumations can be found from the fifth and sixth centuries at Apple Down, Sussex; and at Baston and Fonaby, both in Lincolnshire. Examples from the seventh and eighth centuries include Bedhampton and Winnall II, both in Hampshire, while Raunds Furnells, Northamptonshire, is a rarer example of multiple burials in a tenth to eleventh century churchyard (cf. Stoodley 2002). Stoodley's (2002) study has shown that the interment of multiple burials cannot be explained simply by a lack of space. Indeed, if this was the case, it would be expected that more examples would be found in churchyards, which had a finite amount of space, than in earlier field cemeteries. Although there is not much in the way of regional variation, the practice seems to have increased in frequency during the seventh century and continued into the Middle Anglo-Saxon period (ibid.). There are two types of multiple burials found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. The first, contemporary multiple burials, where two or more bodies are buried in the same grave at the same time, is the most common, representing 70.6% of Stoodley's sample. Of these, 89% are double burials, while there are 17 examples of triple interments, one of a quadruple burial and one incidence of five in a single grave. The second type are consecutive multiple burials, where a grave is reopened to allow the burial of another individual. These are rarer, representing 23.7% of the total sample. Only around half of all the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Stoodley's sample show evidence of this type of burial. In one-third of consecutive multiple burials,

the later interment seriously disturbed the primary burial and it is not always easy to say whether re-use was deliberate or accidental. It is also debatable in some cemeteries whether the impetus for re-use is the individual in the grave or the grave location itself.

Stoodley's review of multiple burials from early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries revealed that there were social rules for appropriate multiple burials. For instance, in contemporary interments, it was more common for an adult to be paired with a sub-adult than with another adult and there was a clear tendency to pair an adult male with an older sub-adult and a female with a younger one. In contrast, with consecutive multiple burials, Stoodley found that female and infant combinations are relatively rare, with many females paired with adolescents. Stoodley has stressed the point that these 'rules' concerning multiple burials tell us about social conventions of burial in this period. However, this pattern may also be influenced by survival rates and mortality within a given community. Stoodley has argued that consecutive multiple burials are unlikely to be those of a single family as, if this were the case, he would expect the pattern to be similar to that of contemporary multiple burials. However, contrary to his argument, consecutive multiple burials may also represent a single family, where the child survived infancy to be interred with a deceased family member later. Indeed, it could be argued that consecutive multiple burials are more likely to represent members of a family, as effort is made to place two particular people together in death, whereas contemporary burials may simply represent those who died at a similar time. Stoodley argues that the amount of destruction that occurs with consecutive burials means they should not be seen as family plots, although he then adds that in cases where care is taken we may be looking at related individuals. It may be that it is the location, rather than the primary interment, that is important in instances where the existing burial is destroyed but alternatively it may be that destruction

of a body that had already decomposed was not as significant to them as we might expect. Multiple burials contain a high number of children in comparison to their low incidence in cemeteries in general. Crawford (1993) has shown that about 17% of infant burials (22 of 130 identifiable infants) are in a double or multiple burial, compared with the rest of the aged population, of which 9% are in double or multiple burials (15 of 1141).

Multiple interments have also been found at cremation cemeteries with one or more urns buried together, with examples being found at Baston, Lincolnshire; Spong Hill, Norfolk; and Great Chesterford, Essex, although it is not always certain whether these were deliberate associations. At Caistor-by-Norwich, some urns were grouped together in pits that were lined with large flints or tiles. At some sites, there were examples of the remains of two or more people interred in the same urn, as at Markshall, Norfolk, and possibly Lechlade, Gloucestershire. At Spong Hill, where 2284 cremated individuals have been identified, there were ninety instances of dual cremations, or 4.1% of the identified population (McKinley 1994). This compares with similar figures of 6% at Loveden Hill, 6.8% at Millgate, Newark-on-Trent, at least 4.5% at Sancton and the lower figure of 1.9% at Illington (McKinley 1994). At some cremation cemeteries, however, such as at Alton, Hampshire, and Portway, Andover, there is no evidence for either of these practices.

Children in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries

It is well known that children are under-represented in early medieval cemeteries, especially in those of the early part of the period, although this can vary from site to site (Hirst 1985; Crawford 1993; Lucy 1994, 26; Haughton and Powlesland 1999; in contrast to Great Chesterford where all deceased children were probably interred, Evison 1994,

31). This is in contrast to Roman and medieval cemeteries where the incidence of children is much higher (Lucy 1994). Where they are present, they quite often receive special treatment, often in terms of their location within the cemetery, as well as their orientation. For instance, as was noted above, sub-adults are among those that might receive burial on a reversed orientation to the rest of the community, while at some early period cemeteries, children might be interred in a specific area. At the late fifth- to early seventh-century site at Broughton Lodge, there is a marked absence of sub-adults in the central area of the cemetery, with a concentration of juveniles on the western edge and another of children in the south and south-west of the site, while at Garton Station, East Yorkshire, six of the seven children found were buried within the large central Iron Age square enclosure.

In the later part of the period, children are more highly represented in cemeteries, especially those attached to churches (Lucy 1994). The tendency to separate them from the rest of the community continued although other methods of distinguishing them disappeared (ibid.). In churchyard burials, children's and infant's graves are often located close to the church building, known as 'eaves-drip' burials, for example at Cherry Hinton, Cambridgeshire; Compton Bassett, Wiltshire; Nunnaminster, Winchester; Rivenhall, Essex; and Raunds Furnells, Northamptonshire; although this was not the case at every site (Crawford 1993; Lucy and Reynolds 2002a; Hadley and Buckberry 2005). Clusters of children under the age of twelve have also been found at York Minster, while at Swinegate, York, children under six years were buried together, and at St Andrew's, Fishergate, York, 75% of under-fives from the early period of the cemetery were found in the western third of the excavated area. It is uncertain whether these also represent 'eaves-drip' burials as in each case the location of the church was unknown (Stroud and Kemp 1993; Lucy 1994; Daniels 1999; Hadley and Buckberry 2005).

Documentary sources from the end of the period also support the notion that the deaths of children were perceived as different from those of older people, which provides a context for the differential treatment of children in cemeteries. For example, in the eleventh century, Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham, referred to the death of children as *mors acerba*, the bitter death, contrasting with *mors naturalis*, the natural death, of older people (cited in Thompson 2004). However, such texts provide few explanations for the differential treatment of children in the pre-Christian period, during which time childhood may have been perceived differently (Keufler 1991; Lucy 1994).

Buildings and ancient monuments

Buildings and other above-ground features could often have an effect on the layout of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, often providing the focus for burial. As has already been noted (see above), cemetery organization can be strongly influenced by pre-existing features in the landscape, whether naturally occurring or man-made. For instance, the family groups at Great Chesterford are focused on four reused Romano-British tumuli, while the cemetery at Linton Heath, Cambridgeshire, is also arranged around a large tumulus with primary Roman burials. Beckford A, and plot V of the Beckford B cemetery, Worcestershire, along with Westgarth Gardens, Suffolk, may also have focused on a pre-existing tumulus, as suggested by the curved or circular nature of their individual layouts (Evison 1994; Evison and Hill 1996). At Thornham, Norfolk, twenty-four later seventh-century burials were found within a first-century earthwork enclosure (Penn 2000). Finally, at Garton Station, Yorkshire, and Kirkby la Thorpe, Lincolnshire, burial focused on a series of Iron Age square and round enclosures or barrows.

Alternatively, Anglo-Saxon buildings could define the layout of a cemetery, with greater effect for the later part of the period than the earlier. Traces of some form of building have been found at many sites, although it is not always clear what purpose they served. Excavation suggests the early period cemeteries of Lyminge, Kent, and Bishopstone, East Sussex, may each have had two buildings (Hirst 1985). At Springfield Lyons, Essex, there is evidence for a wooden structure within the ditch of the Bronze Age barrow that is the focus of the cemetery, although Blair (1995; contra Tyler and Major 2005) has alternatively suggested it is a hedged enclosure and possibly a shrine. In the later part of the period, such buildings are usually interpreted as early churches, chapels or mausolea. At Crayke, Yorkshire, the orientation of the excavated Late Anglo-Saxon burials suggests that they were probably aligned with a building standing in the location of the current Crayke Hall, as their alignment did not match that of the current church or the slope of the hill (Adams 1990). The seventh- to tenth-century burials at Burgh Castle, Norfolk, were aligned along one wall of the Roman fort in which the cemetery was located and up against an Anglo-Saxon building, which may have been a church (Johnson 1983). Where a church or chapel did exist at a cemetery site, there is often a marked propensity for burials to be made as close to it as possible, for instance at North Elmham Park (Wade-Martins 1980).

The history of the cemetery at Rivenhall, Essex, shows how the location of a building linked to the cemetery could have a strong effect on the layout of that cemetery. Here, a small structure formed from a room surviving from the second-century Roman villa at the site provided the focus of burial in the ninth to early tenth centuries, with the six earliest burials predating the structure. This phase of the cemetery is characterized by six rows of burials close to this presumed shrine or mausoleum. In the tenth century, a small wooden

church was built and the location of burial shifted to be close to it (Rodwell and Rodwell 1985; see discussion below). Similarly at Raunds Furnells, Northamptonshire, the building of a new church in the late eleventh or early twelfth century within the existing cemetery had a major effect on burial layout. Grave mounds, markers and crosses adjacent to the church were moved, as were some burials. Individuals in stone coffins were reburied in pits and their coffins re-used.

Grave markers

Buildings and natural and man-made features were not the only things affecting the landscape of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery. Many cemeteries would also have been characterized by the type and arrangement of above-ground markers on graves. Few studies have been interested in grave markers, with the exception of the ever-growing body of material on stone sculpture (e.g. Cramp 1992; Okasha 1994; Bailey 1996; Sidebottom 2000; Hawkes 2002; Karkov and Orton 2003), and of those that do, most take their memorial role for granted. As with all other aspects of cemetery organization, however, there was a great deal of local variety in grave markers, corresponding to the needs and ideals of the individual community. In the early part of the period, there is often little direct evidence for the use of grave markers. However, these cemeteries do tend to be characterized by a lack of inter-cutting or disturbance of earlier burials. It is generally assumed, therefore, that it was the norm for there to be some form of above-ground marker. If such markers were generally used, they were not always successful, with a few burials at most cemeteries being severely damaged or destroyed. On the other hand, it is clear that on many occasions attempts were made to minimize accidental disturbance. For instance, at Great Chesterford, Essex, grave 2B was dug at an angle to

minimize its disturbance of earlier grave 2A and the legs of the adult female in 2B were bent to allow her to fit in a smaller grave (Evison 1994).

Many sites show evidence that graves were deliberately inserted into small spaces, even though there was ample room elsewhere, suggesting that the placement of a body alongside certain other burials was often seen as important, and supporting the notion that grave markers were the norm in this period. Disturbance of some graves in this process may be the result of the markers identifying the location but not the precise alignment or size of the grave. In cases where disturbance does occur, the grave diggers appear reluctant to abandon the grave and begin again elsewhere. Although there are instances of empty graves in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, few seem to have been abandoned because of contact with an existing grave. It would seem that the choice of burial location was important and once decided upon it was rarely changed. It is difficult to always say whether burials were placed close together through accident or design. However, if some form of marker was the norm it makes it more likely that the latter is true.

Although grave markers have to be assumed in some cemeteries rather than proven, there are many instances from the early period where it is archaeologically demonstrable. Wooden markers may have been used at some sites of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries. Holes for free-standing posts have been found close to the edges of some inhumation graves as at Apple Down, Sussex; Portway, Andover; Sewerby, Yorkshire; Berinsfield, Oxfordshire; and St Peter's, Broadstairs, and Finglesham, both in Kent. At Springfield Lyons, Essex, at least three and possibly four graves had slots along the centre of the grave in the upper fill, presumably for some form of wooden marker (Tyler and Major 2005). Cremations were sometimes marked by wooden structures consisting of

four or more posts at sites of the same period, which have been interpreted as shrines, for instance at Berinsfield; Apple Down; Alton, Hampshire; Lechlade, Gloucestershire; and Ozengell, Ramsgate; as were some inhumations at Bradstow School, Broadstairs, and Barham Downs, both in Kent. At the early period inhumation cemeteries at St Peter's and Bradstow School, both Broadstairs, Kent, vertical wooden posts were arranged in pairs along the edge of the grave-cut of some burials and may have been the basis for some form of roofed structure. At Snape, Suffolk, three inhumations may have been covered with some form of wooden structure. Four-post structures may have stood over boat grave 47 and over grave 2, as well as over grave 148 at Morning Thorpe (Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001). One example from St Peter's indicates a pitched structure over the grave (Hogarth 1973). Some cemeteries in Kent had graves surrounded by shallow, penannular ditches with a post-hole at the entrance e.g. Finglesham and Barham Downs.

At St Peter's, Broadstairs, some graves were surrounded by kerbs made from thick sandstone slabs, which originally stood between six inches and one-and-a-half feet above the ground surface (Hogarth 1973). The use of timber structures or markers continued into the later part of the period too, as at the ninth-century cemetery of St Peter's, Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire, where one grave had been marked with a timber structure consisting of four substantial post-holes at each corner, and at Thwing, East Yorkshire, where wooden markers were used in the eighth and ninth centuries (Rodwell and Rodwell 1982; Hadley 2001a). Such markers continued in use until at least the tenth and eleventh centuries, for instance at Raunds Furnells, there is evidence for post-holes and slots at the side and head of some graves (Boddington 1996). Graves could also be demarcated within the cemetery through fencing off certain areas, as at Sewerby, Lankhills, Apple Down and possibly Portway, where narrow slots were found in conjunction with some

post-holes and were interpreted as the foundations of wattle fences or perhaps hedges (Hirst 1985; Down and Welch 1990). At Hamwic site SOU 32 there is also evidence of part of an eighth-century cemetery being fenced off (Morton 1992a; 1992b). There may also be evidence of lines of fence-posts at Springfield Lyons although it is difficult to say conclusively whether these were associated with the cemetery or the later settlement (Tyler and Major 2005).

Mounds could also be used to mark graves at some cemetery sites. It is often assumed in the absence of any obvious marker that most graves had some form of small mound, however temporary. At other sites, it is more certain that this was the case, such as at Finglesham, Kent (Penn 2000). The more recent excavations at Buckland, Dover, uncovered at least two graves with ring-ditches suggestive of large mounds (Parfitt 1994; 1995). Eight ring-ditches, one annular and the rest probably penannular in shape, were also found at the mixed-rite cemetery at Snape, Suffolk, although due to poor preservation only three could be attributed to the Anglo-Saxon cemetery with some certainty (Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001). At Springfield Lyons, there were two inhumation graves surrounded by ring-ditches, one penannular and one circular, and another circular ring-ditch surrounded two cremations placed next to each other. St Peter's, Broadstairs, also contained graves surrounded by penannular or ring-ditches, although it is unclear whether they represent mounds (Hogarth 1973). The seventh- and eighth-century cemetery at St Stephen's Lane/Buttermarket, Ipswich also contained some inhumations covered by mounds, as did the eighth-century cemetery at Hamwic SOU 32. Occasionally, individual graves could be inserted into pre-existing features to emphasise them. We have already seen how groups of burials could be placed on top of pre-existing Roman mounds at certain cemeteries. At Berinsfield, Oxfordshire, one burial was dug into the fill of a late

Neolithic/early Bronze Age pond barrow. Hogarth (1973) has noted that at St Peter's Broadstairs, there was a clear tendency for external structures marking the grave to cluster in groups and to be located at the periphery of the cemetery. The presence of chalk pits just outside the boundaries of the seventh-century cemetery at Shudy Camps, Cambridgeshire, led its excavator to suggest that some or all of the graves may have been marked with chalk mounds (Lethbridge 1936). This may also have been a feature of the eleventh-century graves at Norwich Castle Bailey, at least one of which had a capping of packed chalk (Ayers 1985).

From the seventh century, stone grave markers appeared within Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, all apparently associated with churches and monastic sites. Although few have been found in situ over a grave, it is assumed that at least the majority had a function as a grave marker (Thompson 2004).These markers take various forms including recumbent slabs, crosses, hogbacks, and upright head and end stones (Cramp 1984). Regional variations in style coupled with local uniformity suggest that many were produced at central workshops, perhaps under some form of ecclesiastical management (ibid.; Thompson 2004). At religious communities, stone grave markers often included names and other commemorative script. For instance, at the York Minster site several small, upright grave markers of the seventh to ninth centuries known as stelae were found with the deceased's name (Carver 1995). One states: 'Here [beneath this] turf [or tomb?] rest the [remains?] of Wulfhere' (ibid.), suggesting that at least some of them were originally situated over the deceased's grave although the lack of weathering on some has led to suggestions that they were erected in a building. Other incised grave markers from this period have been found at Hartlepool, Monkwearmouth, Jarrow and Whitby (Hadley 2001a).

During the tenth and eleventh centuries, stone sculpture in churchyards became increasingly common. Examples include upright markers at St Mark's, Lincoln, and a number of burials from York Minster with decorated slabs and end-stones, often re-used from other contexts (Gilmour and Stocker 1986; Carver 1995). Hadley (2001a), among others, has argued that the increase in social display at the graveside through the use of grave markers at this time was due to society undergoing a major transition in political and ecclesiastical organization. She relates it to similar ostentatious displays by males competing for power through the use of grave goods in the early part of the Anglo-Saxon period and notes that many pieces of early tenth-century sculpture incorporated images of warriors and scenes from heroic culture. For instance, there are carvings of winged beasts on slabs from York Minster and York's parish churches of St Olaf, St Denys and St Mary Bishophill Junior, as well as Jelling-style dragons from Middleton in the Vale of Pickering (Thompson 2004).

Cemetery boundaries

The incorporation of some people within a cemetery and the exclusion of others through control over space and access to it can reveal a great deal about issues of identity and social order, as well as the way people remembered the dead. The archaeological evidence suggests there were many changes in the way communities viewed cemetery space over the Anglo-Saxon period. The notion of the cemetery as a bounded space separate from the rest of the social world seems to have developed slowly. As far as can be determined archaeologically, in the early Anglo-Saxon period cemeteries were established without the creation of a physical boundary (Hunn, Lawson and Farley 1994). Not all excavations are able to determine the limits of the cemetery but, where they do,

there is no evidence for the creation of a ditch or fence separating the cemetery from the rest of the landscape. At some sites, burial seems to stop rather abruptly, such as at Morning Thorpe and Shudy Camps, which suggests there may have been some form of boundary that has left no archaeological trace, or that for some other reason a conscious decision was made not to extend burial beyond a certain point (Meaney 2003). At other cemeteries, such as Snape, Suffolk, the density of burial tapers off towards the edges. This contrasting evidence suggests that at some cemeteries the space approved by the community for burial might be restricted, although at others this was not the case.

However, there are examples of an existing feature of the landscape serving as a partial boundary at some early period cemeteries. At Empingham II, Leicestershire, the southern edge was marked by a Roman or Iron Age track, although no physical boundary was found to the north, east or west. Similarly, at Dinton, Buckinghamshire, the limits of the cemetery seem to have been marked by an Iron Age ditch, on which some burials were aligned, and by a natural ridgeway to the south. The limits of the Broughton Lodge cemetery seem to have been quite clearly marked. The Fosse Way marks the western boundary, the northern edge seems to have been marked by a series of narrow linear features, possibly gullies, while to the south-east there was a ditch of unknown date. It would seem that the community at this site thought it important to have an area marked out for burial, separated from other places. Millgate, Newark-on-Trent, is also partly bounded by the Fosse Way but no other physical boundaries were found, despite the south-east, south and west limits being ascertained. But while existing features could serve as a boundary for a cemetery, people in the fifth to seventh centuries did not appear to think it necessary to delineate the area of burial themselves.

A growing concern with marking out the area of burial with a new physical boundary only seems to have arisen towards the end of the period and was linked to the Christianization of space. Although some monasteries were surrounded by a physical boundary from the seventh century (Thomas 1971; Cramp 1976; Morris 1983), the notion of the churchyard as a sacred space that needed to be separated from the rest of the world only appeared in the late ninth century (Iogna-Prat 2002, cited in Zadora-Rio 2003). It is likely that rites for the consecration of cemeteries developed from this time, although the earliest Anglo-Saxon evidence dates from a century later, just one element in the increasing role the church was playing in controlling burial practices at this time (Effros 1997; Hadley 2001a; Gittos 2002; Zadora-Rio 2003). Another aspect of the codification of sacred space can be seen in the changing definition of sanctuary at this time. Although the concept can be found in early Kentish laws specifying the period of time in which it could be claimed, the tenth-century laws show a marked change in the understanding of the concept with a concern to define it in spatial terms (Gittos 2002). It is from the ninth and tenth centuries, also, that we find the first evidence for the deliberate creation of boundaries around burial grounds, usually in association with churches. For instance, in the tenth century, ditches were cut to define a graveyard around the already established church at Raunds Furnells, Northamptonshire, at the same time as burial started (Boddington 1990). At St Mark's, Lincoln, a boundary line marked by a small ditch with a substantial fence was found to the west of the first timber church, built in the late tenth to late eleventh century, and is believed to be contemporary with it (Gilmour and Stocker 1986).

The side effect of the notion of the churchyard as a sacred space was the idea that certain people did not warrant burial there and should be excluded. From the early tenth century,

law-codes legislate against the burial of criminals in churchyards. So for instance, II Æthelstan. 26 (*c.*926-930, Whitelock 1979, no. 35) prohibits oath breakers from burial in a consecrated cemetery unless they have done penance, while Cnut's laws (*c.*1020-1023, Whitelock 1979, no. 50) stated that an executed criminal was to lie in unconsecrated ground (see also Gittos 2002; Thompson 2004). Although the surviving documentary evidence for this is all from late in the period, there is evidence of the same practices from much earlier, with sixth- and seventh-century sources showing that the bodies of criminals were often left unburied (Effros 1997). In Anglo-Saxon England, archaeological evidence for 'deviant' burials excluded from the community cemetery dates from as early as the seventh or eighth century, for instance, at Walkington Wold, Yorkshire; Staines, Surrey; Stonehenge, Wiltshire; and Old Dairy Cottage, Littleton, Hampshire (Hadley 2001a; Pitts et al 2002; Hadley and Buckberry 2005). Often such cemetery sites were on the boundaries of estates, as revealed by charter evidence contemporary with the burials (Reynolds 2002). Other deviant burials can be found at community cemeteries, as at North Elmham, Norfolk, where an executed or murdered man was buried on the boundary of the churchyard (Wade-Martins 1980; Lucy and Reynolds 2002a). Similarly, at Caister-on-Sea, Norfolk, two burials were found inside the Roman fort, separate from the cemetery that had developed outside it, one of which was a prone burial with their arm raised above their head (Darling and Gurney 1993). Finally, Sutton Hoo was also the site of an execution cemetery from the seventh to the tenth/eleventh centuries as well as a place of execution and some of the satellite burials around Mound 5 showed signs of hanging or beheading and perhaps even quartering (Carver 1998).

Method

All site analysis of the four cemeteries under study here was carried out using the published site report. The extent of discussion of burial location was varied between different reports. In the case of Edix Hill, the excavators included discussion on many elements of the cemetery organization. However, on close inspection I found that some of the results discussed by the authors did not tally with the grave catalogue. For instance, the description of the orientation of a particular grave given in the summary table, e.g. 'south-north' was not always backed up by the orientation given in degrees from north for the same grave. In some cases, where two graves were of almost identical orientation in degrees, one may be described as 'south-north' and the other 'south-east to north-west'. As a result, I chose to use the degrees from north, as given in the catalogue rather than in the summary table, as it was thought the catalogue itself would be less subject to errors of copying. The site reports from the other cemeteries did not include orientation given in degrees but only the general orientation.

The discussion of 'burial location' and 'disturbance and relocation' at Edix Hill in this thesis is the result of a combination of my own analysis and the discussion included by the excavators in the site report. The discussion on 'multiple burials' at Edix Hill is my own analysis based on the grave catalogue and plans, as was the sections on children and grave markers. Wherever I used the analysis carried out by the excavators, I checked it with reference to the grave catalogue. In contrast to the Edix Hill report, the Spong Hill site reports do not contain much discussion, with the exception of that by McKinley (1994), as the main aim with these published reports was to make the data available as soon as possible. This means that with the exception of those discussions directly

referenced to the report authors (below), all the analysis of the location of burials was carried out purposely for this study. The excavation report for the Apple Down cemetery included more discussion by the excavators on the organization of the burials. However, all analysis and figures given here are the result of my own analysis for this thesis. At Rivenhall, discussion of the layout of cemetery 1 was only one small part of the whole report but most aspects of the cemetery's organization were covered by the report authors. The sections on the organization of the cemetery by age, sex or family relationships were carried out especially for this thesis; however, the lack of a grave catalogue meant I was dependent on the skeletal analysis reports and the discussions of stratigraphy by the report authors so my own analysis was limited. Throughout this section I have incorporated the discussion included in the excavation reports where appropriate, referencing the authors.

In the discussions of the location of children's burials at the different cemeteries, I have taken children to refer to those under the age of about twelve, following the arguments of Crawford (1993). However, in most of the cemeteries I have also included all skeletons demonstrably yet to achieve physical maturity as they are usually few in number. The cremation cemetery at Spong Hill provides an exception to this, where the burials of sub-adults number in the hundreds. To keep the sample for this cemetery manageable, only the location of the burial of sub-adults under the age of twelve were examined. At this site, children buried in one urn with another individual were also omitted as being unrepresentative of usual child burial, as were those of indeterminate age, e.g. 'infant/juveniles', in order to assess any distinction between different age groups.

Orientation and alignment

The catalogue of inhumations does not give orientation from north in degrees so my analysis had to focus on the description of orientation. Due to the state of preservation of the skeletal material, it was only possible to identify the position of the head in 46 out of 57 graves (see fig. 1). My analysis revealed that most of these 46 were oriented west to east, as also noted by the excavators, 59% (27 individual graves) of all those with discernible orientations. A further nine graves (20%) were found to have a similar orientation of west-northwest to east-southeast, and six graves (13%) were west-southwest to east-northeast. Only two graves (nos. 19 and 44) were buried with a reverse orientation of heads to the east, representing 4.34% of the 46 burials with a discernible orientation (Hills and Penn 1981, 4; Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 1). One of these, grave 44, a female, had a different shaped skull to the rest of the inhumation population at Spong Hill and, as with the similar case at Edix Hill, may therefore represent a stranger (Putnam 1984).

Layout

The cemetery at Spong Hill was begun in the north-west part of a large Roman enclosure (no. 146) with subsequent burials extending outside that enclosure to the north and west, towards the settlement, rather than to the south and east where there was ample room within the enclosure itself (see fig. 2). The inhumations form a distinct group on the

north-eastern edge of the cemetery, with a few cremation urns scattered among them. All but one of the inhumation burials are to be found north of large Roman enclosure ditch 146. Six cremation urns on the northern-most edge of the cemetery, among a group of inhumations, are separated from the rest of the cremation cemetery, which otherwise finishes quite abruptly on this north side (Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 11). There is some suggestion of an attempt to lay the inhumations out in rows. My examination of the site plans revealed one long line of graves laid end to end, with at least six and possibly as many as eleven graves in it, ranging roughly west to east across the whole inhumation area (see fig. 2). The six certain ones of these are aligned on the north-west corner of the Early Saxon enclosure 581 (Rickett 1995, 43). Rickett (ibid.) has noted that if this line is projected westwards it coincides with a gap between two buildings in the settlement and suggests that they may be aligned along a pathway or boundary. North of these, and at the west end of the line, there is another row of three graves laid end to end. North of these again, a group of six graves were laid out in two short rows side-by-side (see fig. 2).

As at Edix Hill, topographical features have an influence on cemetery organization. The eastern inhumations seem to cluster around two ring-ditches, which are possibly the remnants of two Anglo-Saxon barrows, although they share their west-east alignment with the interments inside them rather than radiating around the ring-ditches themselves as occurs at other sites. Some of the inhumations at Spong Hill also seem to coincide with earlier ditches, as at Edix Hill and other sites discussed above, e.g. graves 51 and 48 in ditch 570 (see fig. 2). All of these involve ditches that run in an east to west direction, matching the alignment of the graves themselves. However, this may simply be coincidence as, unlike at Edix Hill, there is no apparent clustering of inhumations in ditches (for Edix Hill, see below). Although cremation urns are also found in earlier

ditches at the site, there is no indication that these were considered particularly attractive locations or places to be avoided.

My examination of the site attempted to determine whether the cemetery was organized according to age, sex/gender or family groups. The cremation cemetery shows evidence of clustering in some areas. For instance, although most cremations are within Roman enclosure 146, a cluster is to be found outside, to the west of this apparent boundary (see fig. 2). In the inhumation cemetery there seems to be no attempt at organization by the age or sex of the individual. Both males and females were found across the whole inhumation area, as were adults of all ages. However, all of the skeletons in the ring-ditches (graves 31, 32, 40 and 41) contained adult males,[4] while three of the four inhumations in the ditch of one of the barrows were women (inhumations 42, 44, 47; the fourth could not be sexed; see fig. 3). Many of the burials in enclosure 570 seem quite wealthy but not all of them and there are 'wealthy' burials outside it too. As there is nothing to suggest organization of the cemetery by age or sex, it is most likely organized in 'family plots' (McKinley 1994, 103).

The excavators carried out an analysis of the distribution of stamp groups on cremation urns when the second catalogue was published, before work had been completed at the site (Hills and Penn 1981, 20, 22, fig. 3). They found that the stamp-linked groups were clustered around the edges of the cemetery and that some had a very limited distribution, being clustered very tightly together in one area. For instance, stamp group 1 was only found among a group of cremations at the western edge of the cemetery outside Roman enclosure 146 (see fig. 2). Stamp group 7 had a wider distribution but was still confined

[4] Inhumation 31 also contained the remains of a child of about 12 years.

to the northern edge of the cemetery and almost all examples were found in clusters. Hills and Penn (ibid.) note that many of the more widely distributed stamp-linked groups have also been found at other cremation cemeteries so may be of none-local origin. The excavators suggest that the clusters may indicate family groups or the work of local potters, while the more widely distributed ones may represent the results of exchange or exogamy.

Since Hills and Penn's analysis of stamp-linked groups, more urns have been excavated and all have now been studied and assigned to a stamp-linked group where appropriate (Hills, Penn and Rickett 1987; 1994). For the present study, I extended the analysis of the distribution of stamp-linked groups to include all the examples from each group. Eleven stamp-linked groups were selected from the groups defined by the excavators for analysis of burial location. Only groups that were represented by five or more individual urns were chosen. These groups were numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, 7/12, 8, 31, 42, 47, 49 and 60. My analysis showed that the vast majority of pots in all the selected stamp-linked groups were found around the edges of the cemetery, rather than in the centre. There was a marked propensity for pots in many of the stamp-linked groups to cluster to the north and west of the site. The seven pots in group 1, the nine urns in group 4, the ten urns in group 8 and thirty of the thirty-two pots in group 7/12 (including inhumation accessory vessel 42/2) were found on the north and west edges, outside Roman enclosure 146, being either in the ditch or outside it.

Most urns of the stamp-linked groups were found around the edges of the cemetery with few in the centre. The two remaining urns in group 7/12 were found in the centre of the cemetery, as were two from group 2, one from group 31 and one from group 49. The

remaining five urns from group 2 and the remaining nine urns from group 31 were scattered around the edges of the cemetery, as were all seven urns from group 5 and the six urns of group 47. The five urns in group 42 were in a tight cluster to the north-east of the cemetery, the remaining six urns of group 49 were clustered to the south-east and the ten urns of group 60 were fairly close together in the south of the cemetery. There were a few cases of pots from a particular stamp-linked group being buried adjacent to each other. Three urns of group 1, for instance, were close together to the west of ditch 146, although buried in separate pits, while three of the group 7 urns were buried together in one pit with five others. However, most instances of burials of several urns in one pit involved urns from different groups. So for example, a group 5 urn was in a pit with a group 4 urn and several others, while cremation 1029 of stamp-linked group 1 was buried in a pit with plain cremation urn 1028. Following Arnold and Russell's (1983, see above) arguments that stamps on pottery urns are expressions of family ties and lineage, it can be argued that the distribution of stamp-linked groups implies clustering in family groups at Spong Hill.

Disturbance and relocation

The post-burial interference identifiable at Spong Hill seems to have been largely the result of grave robbing. Some cremations that were identified as un-urned have been reassessed as urned cremations that had been deliberately emptied out by grave robbers looking for artefacts. There were thirty empty urns recovered during excavation, one of which was intact and lying on its side, which may also suggest robbing (McKinley 1994).

Multiple burials

Multiple burials do not seem to have been a feature of inhumation burials at Spong Hill. My analysis discovered only two graves that had the bones of more than one individual in it. The first, inhumation 23, contained the bones of a male aged over 22 years and an adult female. However, the excavator believed it likely that the female's bones were secondary from a disturbed cremation burial (Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 70-71; see fig. 3). The second was inhumation 31, a timber-lined grave, containing the bones of an adult male and a child, which had been disturbed by robbers. The bones themselves were very disturbed, as was the whole grave, by the robber pit so it cannot be certain that this was an intentional double burial. On the other hand, bone survival was very poor at Spong Hill and in many cases the inhumations were left simply as a stain in the soil. It is possible therefore that there were other multiple inhumation burials that cannot be detected, particularly if they had no grave goods. Multiple burials involving one or more children would be particularly hard to identify as they may not leave a clear mark in the grave.

There are several instances of cremations being found in inhumation graves, although it is not always clear whether this association was intentional (Hills and Penn 1981, 3; see fig. 3). The excavators have argued that cremation 2136, in the middle of inhumation 46, and cremation 2138, in the middle of inhumation 41, must have been deliberate depositions and were probably contemporary burials. Other examples include cremation 2140, which cuts inhumation 50, cremation 2142, which cuts inhumation 52 and cremation 2021 cutting the ring-ditch around inhumations 31 and 32. With these cases, it is difficult to say whether they are accidental or deliberate. However, the excavators argue that scattered cremation 2139 in the fill of inhumation 46 is probably a deliberate deposit as the lack of

other cremations in that area of the cemetery means it is unlikely to have been a disturbed urn (Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 11). Double burials of cremations and inhumations have a parallel in the mixed-rite cemetery at Snape, Suffolk, where two cremations (graves 88 and 89) were deliberately placed in the grave-cut of inhumation 17 during back-filling (Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001, 234).

There are ninety double cremations at Spong Hill, where the remains of two individuals placed in one urn together at the same time, although it is unclear if they were cremated at the same time. This is 4.1% of all identified individuals, which is a similar frequency to that of contemporary cremation cemeteries elsewhere in England (McKinley 1994). McKinley (1994, 100) has assessed the frequency with which different ages and sexes were placed together. The majority (70%) were of an adult and a sub-adult, 22.2% were of two adults and only 7.8% were of two sub-adults. These figures bear out Stoodley's (2002) findings for multiple inhumations that it was most common for an adult to be buried with a sub-adult. However, it was not possible to compare the relationships between different ages and sexes with Stoodley's findings as too few of the cremated individuals could be sexed. Some kind of family relationship is assumed here although it cannot be proven and its exact nature cannot be determined (McKinley 1994). McKinley also suggests that the numbers of adults cremated with young children may have been in reality much higher and that the bones of the children may be overlooked in some cremation urns.

There were also several examples of more than one cremation urn being placed together in a single pit (McKinley 1994, 103). Some of these may have been interred at the same time while others were added subsequently, respecting earlier interments. In one case,

cremation 3033, a young juvenile in a small vessel, was placed inside urn 3032, which contained an adult female, on top of most of the bone (McKinley 1994, 103). Where two urns were buried together at the same time, it seems to suggest that some urns may have been kept for some time before burial or that the burial pits may have been left open until both intended people were buried there (McKinley 1994, 103, 105). This indicates a high level of planning in the organization of the cemetery and funerary rites. These groups of burials support the notion of organization in family or household plots already suggested by the appearance of clustering and the distribution of stamp-groups. In some cases, family plots seem to have been maintained over many years, with two or three connected pits being dug, each with several urns (McKinley 1994). An example of one such 'plot' shows eleven urns in two or three connected pits, with a range of ages and sexes as would be expected if a whole family was represented. All these urns were placed in such a way as to respect existing interments (ibid., 105). The excavators have also demonstrated that pots in associated groups show some consistency of association of types of decoration, either similar pots together, or more often, plain urns associated with elaborately decorated ones. For example, linear chevron patterns are found consistently with vertically bossed pots (Hills 1977, 11).

Children at Spong Hill

For the present study I analysed the distribution and location of the graves of children, both inhumations and cremations. As already noted in Chapter 2, of fifty-seven inhumation burials, only three could be identified as those of sub-adults (see fig. 3). A child aged c.12 years was buried in chamber grave 31 with an adult male (Putnam 1984). The other two sub-adults, inhumations 3 and 16, were found to the north-west of the

inhumation area. Both of these were judged to be less than 18 years old but the lack of bone means that a more accurate assessment could not be made. As one was able to be sexed as male it is likely he was not much younger than 18. Therefore, they may have been old enough to be treated as adults in the burial rite and so can tell us little about the treatment of children at Spong Hill. Three more graves were identified as possibly those of children on the basis of size and shape of the grave cut, inhumations 25, 52 and 53. However, all three were empty of bones. Of these, inhumations 52 and 53 were adjacent to each other beside the large ring-ditches in the east of the inhumation area, while inhumation 25 was some distance away. The incidence of child inhumation at Spong Hill has been remarked as atypically low, even for a cemetery of this period, and does not match the high incidence of child mortality shown by the cremation burials (Putnam 1984). The evidence therefore suggests that inhumation was seldom seen as an appropriate rite for children but that where it was, their graves were not marked out in any special way by their location.

An examination of the spatial layout of the cremation cemetery reveals that there was no special location for the burial of the cremated remains of infants and children under the age of twelve. Infants and children were found spread across the whole of the cremation cemetery. The study looked at 306 infant and juvenile cremation burials and their location within the cemetery was ascertained using the coordinates for each urn supplied in the grave catalogues. On average, each grid square in the cemetery had 6.16 infant and juvenile cremations buried within it. The frequency of child burials seems to be roughly the same as that of burials generally across the cremation cemetery. Those areas with fewer than average infant and juvenile burials, such as the area west of ditch 146 and the inhumation area, coincided with areas of less dense burial generally. Similarly, those

areas with higher than average numbers of infant and juvenile burials, such as the south of the cemetery where there was an average of 13.25 such burials per grid square, were also areas of especially dense burial.

When the proportions of infant (0-4 years) and juvenile (5-12 years) burials are compared to each other, it can be seen that they are roughly the same across the whole cemetery. Infants represent 61.1% of all children looked at (306 individuals) across the whole cemetery (juveniles represent 38.9%). The proportion of juveniles compared to infants is unusually high in the area north of ditch 146, and especially in the inhumation area where juveniles represent 55.6% of cremated individuals under 12 years. There is a disproportionately high number of infants compared with juveniles in the centre of the cemetery (infants = 79%) and in the south-east of the cemetery (infants = 70%). However, whether this represents a preference of certain areas for particular individuals or an avoidance of others is difficult to determine.

Buildings and ancient monuments

A square enclosure (no. 581; see fig. 2) to the west of the ring-ditches cut a couple of inhumation graves and was in turn cut by cremations. The function of this enclosure is unknown, although it is possible it is a shrine of some kind as it is similar to one found at Morning Thorpe that was interpreted as the foundation of a building (Rickett 1995, 154). It does not seem to have been a particular focus for burial (Hills and Penn 1981, 5). The use of earlier ditches for interments has been discussed above.

Post-hole group 5, two groups of six post-holes, just on the very north-west edge of the cemetery, has been interpreted as possible mortuary structures, as has post-hole group 1 on the east side of the cemetery. Building 3, on the western edge of the cemetery, may also be associated with it, although the other building directly to the north seems to have been domestic in nature (Rickett 1995, 154). These mortuary structures were aligned either west-east or north-south, matching the alignments of the Iron Age and Roman enclosure ditches. They are also respected by the cremations, with no burials occurring inside them. They appear to be unassociated with the inhumation burials, occurring only in the cremation area of the cemetery.

Grave markers

Two large, shallow ring-ditches surrounded chamber graves containing inhumations, and a third, smaller, ring-ditch was close by with an inhumation inside it. One of the larger ring-ditches had a second burial placed inside it, alongside the first (Hills and Penn 1981, 4; see fig. 2). The more easterly (and the earlier) of the two larger ring-ditches attracted three more inhumations in its ditch. A fourth one that intersects the ditch (grave 42) may predate it (Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 12). All of these were crouched burials, which is unusual at Spong Hill as most of the inhumations were extended, and one had reverse orientation (ibid., 2; see fig. 1). A curved ditch partially surrounded another inhumation placed close to the two larger ring-ditches, so that this grave was effectively enclosed on all sides.

Evidence for other types of grave markers is sparse at Spong Hill. No actual markers have survived but some cremation urns were covered by heaps of flints and, in one case, two

pots buried together were covered by a large piece of sandstone (Hills 1977). Large flint nodules were also found in the large pits of multiple burials and may have been markers to indicate their location for future interments (McKinley 1994, 105). Rickett (1995, 42) has noted that there are two post-holes within ring-ditch 834, which may have been for setting out the ring-ditch, as a line between them would roughly bisect it, rather than grave markers (see fig. 3). The excavators have also noted six stone-lined post-holes in the north-west part of the cemetery which have no particular pattern or obvious function and which show no evidence of cremations clustering around them (Hills 1977, 11). The site plans indicate a number of other possible marker posts scattered across the cemetery, but due to the nature of the sandy soil any identification as such can only be tentative and no firm conclusions can be drawn on their use as marker posts within the Anglo-Saxon cemetery (Julian D. Richards pers. comm.).

Cemetery boundaries

The Spong Hill cemetery is covered by numerous ditches of earlier periods, some of which appear to form a boundary for interments (Hills 1977; Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984; see fig. 2). The excavators found evidence that the site had been at least partially cleared in the late fourth/early fifth century prior to the cemetery being started so many of the ditches were no longer a feature in the Anglo-Saxon period (Rickett 1995). However, some ditches remained to form boundaries for the cemetery. The large Roman ditch 146 was still mostly extant and seems to have formed a boundary to the north and west of the cemetery in its earliest phase, separating it from the nearby settlement (ibid., 42). It may have been less visible in its northern portion, where dumping had occurred in parts during the fourth century and where cremations were buried in the edges of the silted ditch

(ibid.). The western ditch of enclosure 146 had no burials in it and the amount of space between it and the burials to the east of it suggest that its internal bank may have still partially survived in this area (ibid., 26). Subsequently, the decision was made to bury outside this ditch, although why this should be preferred to extending the cemetery to the south is not clear; perhaps proximity to the settlement came to be considered particularly desirable. It is possible that a new boundary was created to include this extension such as a hedge or stone or wooden markers. The presence of such a boundary would explain the neat edge of the cemetery on every side, except the inhumation area to the north-east, and especially to the south where there was no archaeologically visible boundary (Rickett 1995, 43). Ditch 1463 was re-cut in the Anglo-Saxon period to form a north-eastern boundary to the cemetery, an unusual occurrence as the Anglo-Saxons did not tend to create such boundaries for their burial grounds (see discussion above).

Roman enclosure 570 also survived to the early Anglo-Saxon period, although perhaps only as a slight earthwork (Rickett 1995, 42; see fig. 2). This enclosure may have served as a boundary for the ring-ditches and their associated burials, and as a focus for burials placed in its ditches. During the period of the cemetery's use, a smaller enclosure, 581, was constructed on the western side of Roman enclosure 570, right up against it. The purpose of this enclosure is unknown. Although it cuts two inhumations, and is cut by two or three inhumations as well as several cremations, the interior was not used for any burials. It may have served as some form of ritual enclosure and it could have remained in use after its ditches had silted up and been used for burial (Rickett 1995, 42). A similar enclosure to 581 was found at Morning Thorpe, here it was later than the inhumations and thought to be the foundation of a structure (ibid., 154; Green et al 1987). Other ditches discovered during the excavation were not present during the period of the cemetery's

use, being either centuries old and silted up, or post-medieval (Rickett 1995, 10, 14). Rickett (1995, 42) has suggested that there would have been little silting or dumping in ditches when the cemetery was in use, so there would have been little change in the appearance of these ditches over time.

Edix Hill, Cambridgeshire[5]

Orientation and alignment

As has already been seen in the above discussion, the orientation and alignment of graves could vary greatly between early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. At Edix Hill, there was a tendency for people to be buried with their head in the south and west sectors of the compass (see fig. 4). Calculating the directional orientation of burial from the degrees from north given in the excavation catalogue (Malim and Hines 1998, 42-153), my analysis shows that the majority of people were interred on a roughly south-west to north-east alignment: 65 individuals in 58 graves, or 44% of all individuals. A further thirty individuals (20%, in 26 graves) were interred approximately south to north; eleven (7%) lay south-east to north-west; fourteen (9%) were on a west to east axis; and one (less than 1%) was aligned opposite to this, lying east to west. The orientation of the remaining 28 (19%) could not be assessed with confidence. Although many early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries contain burials aligned in one direction only, it is not unusual for a variety of orientations to be present in others, as at Sewerby, Portway, Alton and King Harry Lane,

[5] In Chapter 3, the burials from the modern excavations at Edix Hill were referred to by their skeletal number to differentiate them from those found in the nineteenth century, which only had a grave number. In this chapter, however, only the burials from the modern excavation are used and, as we are primarily interested in the grave rather than its contents, they will be referred to by their grave number.

St Albans (Cook and Dacre 1985; Hirst 1985; Evison 1988; Stead 1989). At Edix Hill, the predominant orientation was with the head to the south. Only approximately seven individuals in six graves were buried with their heads in the northern sector (i.e. those with orientation <90° or >270°). As discussed above, Evison (1988; 1994) has argued that those buried on an unusual orientation within a given cemetery were seen as being outsiders in some way. Malim and Hines (1998) have suggested that this is the case for the man buried on an east-west orientation at Edix Hill, as his skull was of a markedly different shape to that of the rest of the population. He may therefore have been someone who was originally from outside the community and was marked out as such in death.

As the excavators have already noted, the orientation of graves at Edix Hill was not related to any astronomical event, nor does the orientation or alignment of graves seem to relate to age, gender or status. Instead, pre-existing topographical features were more important, especially the contours of the hill itself and the position of Iron Age ditches (Malim and Hines 1998, 26; see fig. 5). This is also a feature of the cemetery at Buckland, Dover, where burials were aligned north-west to south-east following the contour of the hill-slope (Parfitt 1994). At Edix Hill, many of the graves were aligned along the contours of the hill. In a few instances, the graves are aligned so that they point up the hill, with the feet towards the summit. Iron Age ditches on the site also influenced the orientation of burials. For instance, seven graves were uncovered that ran along Iron Age ditch F304/F543 at the extreme west of the excavation site. Three more graves were close by and followed the same alignment. Another group of burials were associated with Iron Age ditch F579 (Malim and Hines 1998, 26). However, not all graves that cut or were associated with Iron Age ditches were aligned on them. The excavators note that burials only tend to be aligned on Iron Age ditches that run along west-east orientations; those

that are more north-south do not tend to attract burials (ibid.). It is difficult to say to what extent these ditches were noticeable features in the Anglo-Saxon period. Nevertheless, it does seem likely that where clusters of burials occur either in or close to Iron Age ditches that the choice of burial location was deliberate. If the Iron Age ditches thus used for burials were highly visible in the Anglo-Saxon period, this in itself may account for the clustering of burials associated with them, as semi-silted ditches may have a different soil colour, which would have marked out the area. At Snape, Suffolk, semi-silted hollows also attracted inhumations, with graves 17, 36 and 44 dug into an amorphous patch of light grey sand. Similarly, at Harford Farm, Norfolk, four graves were inserted into an Iron Age ditch and three more were in the ditch of a Bronze Age barrow, although none of these were aligned with the ditch they cut (Penn 2000, fig. 5). The different colour soil and the contours of the ditch may have served to draw attention to the burial although it has also been suggested that digging in these locations would be easier, requiring less effort (Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001, 239).

Layout

Edix Hill is typical of many early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in that its organization seems to have been on the basis of family or household groups (Malim and Hines 1998; see discussion above). Although it is not possible to confidently identify family groups across the cemetery, it is possible to suggest some examples of kin relationships on the basis of clustering of graves, epigenetic traits and multiple burials, as the excavators have already discussed (Malim and Hines 1998, 308-313). Blood relationships may be indicated in some cases by epigenetic traits, which are usually minor skeletal variants produced by the interaction of genetic predisposition and environmental influences (Duhig 1998, 188-

189). These are harmless and usually go unnoticed during life although occasionally the environmental influence can lead to an otherwise harmless skeletal anomaly becoming akin to a developmental disorder (ibid., 191).

The excavators have associated graves 33, 46 and 48, each containing an adult male, with each other due to their close proximity on the crest of Edix Hill, similar layout of the body and the presence of metopic sutures (Malim and Hines 1998, 308; see fig. 6).[6] Graves 46 and 48 also provide examples of spondylolysis, strengthening the case that these individuals are related.[7] Grave 35, containing a woman with no epigenetic traits, was inserted between graves 46 and 48 with some difficulty and may also be related, although perhaps through marriage or adoption rather than genetically. The skeleton in grave 48 also had Wormian bones, a condition that is related to metopism.[8] Nearby were three other males (graves 31, 34 and 62), and two unsexed juveniles (graves 15 and 40), all of whom had Wormian bones present (fig. 6). With the exception of grave 31, these graves were on a similar, although not identical, alignment to each other, as well as to grave 48. Another group of three metopic individuals (graves 100, 105 and 12) were found in another part of the cemetery on the same alignment as each other and in association with an Iron Age ditch. On the same alignment as these three and again associated with the ditch, were two graves (41 and 55), the occupants of which had Wormian bones (fig. 6). Malim and Hines (1998, 311) have commented upon the way that, apart from a couple of isolated cases in the east of the site, individuals with metopism and/or Wormian bones cluster around the crest of Edix Hill and form a north-

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[6] The metopic suture on the frontal bone of the skull should close around the age of two but in some individuals fails to do so (Duhig 1998, 189).
[7] Spondylolysis is the condition where the vertebral arch is found separated from the body of the vertebrae. In some cases, the vertebral body can slip forwards, causing the condition of spondylolysthesis, which produces slowly increasing sciatic pain (Duhig 1998, 191).
[8] Wormian bones are extra bones in the skull that remain separate and do not fuse with the rest of the skull (Duhig 1998, 189).

south band on the hill, although whether this pattern would hold out if the site were to be completely excavated is unknown.

Another putative group is that centred around the barrow on the crest of Edix Hill, covering graves 60, 61 and 62 (fig. 6). These may be linked to the graves just discussed through their proximity and concurrence of alignment. Grave 60 is on the same alignment as graves 33 and 46, while graves 61 and 62 are on a similar alignment with grave 34. Other examples of close proximity of people demonstrating the same epigenetic traits include graves 101 and 103, two children with additional vertebrae, and graves 19A and 20, two adult women with the same condition (some relationship may also be supposed between the two women in grave 19). However, not all individuals demonstrating a particular epigenetic trait are grouped together. Many are scattered across the site, which Malim and Hines (ibid., 311) explain as examples of individuals marrying into other families and being buried with them. Family, although not necessarily blood, relationships may also be supposed in cases where successive graves have been laid close to or overlapping earlier ones. It has already been noted that the skeleton in grave 35 had been folded up to fit the small space between two existing graves. Graves 15, 19 and 20 formed a complex stratigraphic group, with graves 15 and 20 placed to cut grave 19 (see fig. 6). Some damage had occurred to grave 19 when 15 was dug and, as the excavators have suggested, this may indicate a case of the location of a family plot being known but the exact orientation forgotten (Malim and Hines 1998, 51). Malim and Hines have also identified another possible family group at the top of the hill on the basis of similarity of alignment but with no epigenetic traits. These graves, nos. 1, 2, 7, 17, 18 and 36, are oriented at right angles to the contours of the hill, in contrast to the group centring around graves 33, 46 and 48, which were aligned on the contours of the hill. Where this other

group can be dated they have been identified as belonging to the second phase, *c.*575-650, whereas the grave 48 group included burials from all phases in the cemetery's use.

As was shown in the general discussion on the organization of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, some early period cemeteries show evidence of clustering on the basis of age, sex or status. At Edix Hill, only about half of the cemetery was excavated so any conclusions drawn upon this subject can only be partial, as even though a representative sample was taken, clusters of particular types of burial may have been missed. An apparent concentration of shield and spear graves were found on the top of the hill, along with a cluster of immature and feminine graves, while those people interred with a single weapon are more widely dispersed across the cemetery as a whole (Malim and Hines 1998, 301; see fig. 7). The excavators also found that although the wealthier feminine graves of phase I were not clustered on the top of the hill this changed in phase II and wealthy feminine burials appeared here. Malim and Hines (ibid., 303) have suggested that the hill top may have been a predominantly male area of burial in phase I but not phase II, however, it is difficult to determine whether this was the case due to the difficulty in dating men's graves. The top of Edix Hill can therefore be seen as a desirable location for a variety of different burials, including weapons graves, wealthy feminine graves and those of sub-adults, either in different phases or at the same time. This may be partly due to this area being the focus of the whole cemetery and therefore likely to attract all kinds of burials wherever there was space, or it may represent the familial nature of the cemetery organization, as all age and gender groups would be expected to be present in a plot. Malim and Hines (1998, 311) have suggested that in the early phase, *c.* 500-575, the top of the hill was the burial site for one powerful family, characterized by epigenetic traits. This family continued to inter its members there throughout the second phase but

were joined by a second high status family who may have been rivals or companions of the first.

Disturbance and relocation

Malim and Hines (1998, 42) identified 23 instances where the digging of a grave disturbed an existing interment (26% of 114 burial locations) but in most cases this was simply one edge of the grave cut overlapping another. This may be the result of attempts to place particular graves close to each other and may actually support the suggestion that people were deliberately placing certain graves together, and thus remembering their location, rather than that they forgot them. The general discussion above found that the deliberate re-interment of graves seems to be a feature of the eighth century and after and this is largely borne out at Edix Hill. The only sure case of a skeleton being deliberately re-interred is that of skeleton 591, a child aged around seven, who was redeposited at the feet of adult male skeleton 576, whose grave cut had disturbed it (Malim and Hines 1998, 42). This may indicate that the location of the child's grave had been forgotten and was accidentally disturbed but that the burying party took care when it was discovered to preserve it, or that a miscalculation was made when trying to locate the child to bury the adult close by. It does not suggest the kind of situation that occurs in later Anglo-Saxon cemeteries where an individual is dug up and re-interred in a better location, or where an existing grave is deliberately emptied so that the desirable location can be used by another. In contrast, there is one example of a skeleton apparently being moved post-interment to a particular location of the cemetery that was in some way seen as desirable. The skeleton in grave 35 has already been mentioned above for the way it was grossly distorted to fit in between two existing graves on the brow of the hill (graves 46 and 48;

see fig. 8). The position the skeleton was found in (with the legs apparently crossed in a sitting position and body folded over to one side) has been considered impossible for an intact body to achieve, so it may be argued that the woman was originally buried elsewhere and then moved when partially decomposed. This may be the result of a dispute about where she was allowed to be buried, which in turn suggests that the 'rules' regarding appropriate burial were not always straightforward or accepted by everyone.

There are indications of post-burial interference with some interments at Edix Hill. A pit was dug to the left of skeleton 103 in grave 31 and most of the individual's left side was removed except for the lower leg (see fig. 8). This must have occurred when the body was only partially decomposed, as the articulated left foot remained by the spine. Similarly, skeleton 33 in grave 16, a prone burial so already unusual, was missing the lower part of the body and of the right arm (see fig. 8). In neither case is this likely to have been the result of plough damage and the excavators suspect that this interference was deliberate and occurred in the Anglo-Saxon period.[9] Further examples of possible Anglo-Saxon disturbance of graves can be seen in the features identified as graves 23, 25, 26 and 80 (see fig. 9). These may be charnel pits, and therefore secondary burials, although it is also possible that they are instances of the nineteenth-century disturbance that has partially damaged other graves (Malim and Hines 1998, 42).

[9] In addition, the mandible of Sk149 (grave 49), a female aged 25-35 was moved after decomposition and placed between the legs; however, this burial may be Iron Age rather than Anglo-Saxon in date.

Multiple burials

My analysis of the grave catalogue found thirty instances of graves containing more than one skeleton at Edix Hill. In five cases, as already mentioned, the second individual represented an earlier grave that had been incorporated into the new grave when it was backfilled. Therefore, there were twenty-five examples of deliberate interments of two or more people in one grave (21.7% of 115 known graves). This is a relatively high proportion of burials. Stoodley (2002, 105) notes that the frequency of multiple burials can vary from site to site, from under 1% at Holywell Row, Suffolk, to just over 20% at Ports Down I, Hampshire. Of those that can be said to be intentionally multiple burials, some graves contained contemporary double burials, some were single burials subsequently reopened for another interment, while a few graves represented the results of both these practices. There are twelve instances (48%) of double contemporary burials and five (20%) where an existing grave was selected for at least one subsequent interment. In eight cases (32%), it cannot be determined whether the burials were contemporary or subsequent interments. Compared to Stoodley's (2002) study of multiple burials, the percentage of contemporary multiple burials is much lower than the average of 70.6%, while that of re-used graves is about the same, despite these being much rarer overall.

As discussed above, Stoodley identified a number of social conventions in multiple burials, some of which are borne out at Edix Hill. In instances of contemporary burial, he found that it was more common for an adult to be interred with a sub-adult than with another adult. At Edix Hill, there were five instances of two adults interred together, compared with six of an adult and a sub-adult. Stoodley also found a tendency to pair an

adult male with an older sub-adult, and female adults with younger children. At Edix Hill, four adult females were interred with a child or infant in contrast to one adult male. There was only one instance of an adult buried contemporarily with a juvenile and that was an adult male. At Edix Hill, the types of individuals buried separately in the same grave showed more variety than the contemporary burials did. In grave 2, for instance, two adult males were buried together. Subsequent to this, two more adults were added to the grave, one possibly male and the other possibly female, either together or separately. Two children aged six and four were buried one after the other in grave 6, while in grave 18 an adult female and a child were interred together in a grave already occupied by another adult female. At Edix Hill, any social conventions governing the burial of people in an already existing grave are less apparent than they may be elsewhere. Crawford (1993) also indicated that the number of children occurring in multiple burials was relatively high compared with the overall incidence of child burials in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. At Edix Hill, there were nine children in multiple burials, or around 21% of all the children in the cemetery.

Children at Edix Hill

At Edix Hill, there seems to be a concentration of sub-adult burials on the brow of the hill, along with a disproportionately high number of feminine burials (including un-sexed juveniles buried with female grave goods; see fig. 7); nearly half of all sub-adults at Edix Hill are to be found in this area. The rest are scattered across the whole site.

Buildings and ancient monuments

A Bronze Age ring-ditch was found on the brow of Edix Hill during excavation (Malim and Hines 1998, 19; see fig. 5). Unusually for an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery, there is no sign that burial was focused in or around it, although it was not completely excavated so burials may have been missed. The excavation report describes the ring-ditch as shallow so it is possible that it was not visible in the Anglo-Saxon period. The occurrence of burials in and aligned upon Iron Age ditches has already been discussed above.

Grave markers

Evidence was found, in the form of an amorphous layer, of a ploughed-out mound covering three graves on the crest of Edix Hill (graves 60, 61 and 62; see fig. 10). Grave 60 was a bed burial but the grave pit was not deep enough to accommodate it and a mound would have compensated. No ring-ditch was found so the mound itself was not overly large but as it was on the crest of the hill its height would have been exaggerated from a distance. These graves are thought to have been of high status as, along with the mound and the bed burial, graves 61 and 62 are thought to have contained coffins. Grave 60 is tentatively dated as the latest of the three, as it was inserted between the other two. Graves 61 and 62 were dated to the early phase of the cemetery, c.500-575, while Grave 60 is dated to the later phase, *c.*575-650 and presumably the barrow was added at this time, as the late sixth and early seventh centuries was a period when large barrows were erected in some cemeteries (Geake 1992). In addition to this known mound, it is likely that the rest of the graves at Edix Hill were covered with small mounds as the graves are

so shallow and respect for existing graves seems to have been the norm (Malim and Hines 1998, 42).

My analysis of the grave catalogue found thirteen graves (9.2% of known graves) that may have had marker posts, mainly concentrated on the crest of the hill, with the high status burials (graves 5, 8, 10, 12, 33, 59, 60, 71, 73, 76, 84, 88 and either 17 or 18; see fig. 10). Four of the graves with marker posts also contained a coffin or planking around the interior of the grave and one was the bed burial under the large mound discussed above (grave 60). Grave 18 was also a bed burial but it is unclear whether the post is associated with it or with grave 17. The wooden markers do not seem to be related to any particular age or gender group, occurring with men, women and children of all ages. The grave markers do not seem to have been intended to mark a grave so that it could be opened later for another burial. Only two were multiple burials; grave 84 was a contemporary double burial, while the marker post next to the consecutive double burial in grave 10 seems to have been associated with the second of the two interments rather than the first. It is possible that they were intended to act as a marker for other graves to be dug adjacent to the marked burial but the lack of stratigraphic evidence for most of the site means that it is impossible to say. It is also possible, as Stoodley (2002) has suggested that evidence for the marking of graves intended for subsequent interments would have been lost when the grave was reopened. In most cases, the post was at either the head or foot of the grave, although in one case a burial was marked by two post-holes on one side of the grave cut. About half the markers were placed inside the grave cut, presumably before it was backfilled, and the remaining half were placed in a separate hole outside the grave itself.

Cemetery boundaries

No boundaries were found surrounding the cemetery at Edix Hill (Malim and Hines 1998, 20), although the site was only partially excavated.

Apple Down, Sussex

Orientation and alignment

In the seventh-century cemetery 2 at Apple Down, all thirteen inhumations were interred on a west-to-east alignment, with their heads to the west (Down and Welch 1990, 13; see fig. 11). In contrast, the orientation of burials in the earlier cemetery 1 was more varied. In cemetery 1, I found that of 121 inhumations, the majority (81%) are oriented either west-to-east (46 inhumations, 38%) or south-to-north (52 inhumations, 43%; see fig. 12). A further seven (6%) are oriented halfway between these positions, with their heads to the south-west. This is similar to the dominant orientational directions already discussed at Edix Hill and Spong Hill. At Apple Down, however, it is clear from the cemetery plan that some inhumations are closer to the absolute alignment than are others.

As at Edix Hill and Spong Hill, I found a few examples of burials with reversed orientation (see fig. 12). At Apple Down, six graves (5%) were described by the excavators as oriented east-to-west, although one of these (grave 29) was empty of bone and grave goods. Another grave (grave 51, 1% of inhumations) was oriented south-east to north-west and five more (4%) were oriented north-to-south. The remaining four graves

were so badly disturbed that it was impossible to discern their original orientation. The graves displaying reversed orientation may belong to people of special status. Ten of the twelve burials in this group could be aged and sexed osteologically. Most of the surviving skeletons were of older individuals or young children, except one that was a male aged 25-30 years (grave 144). He was found lying north-south within a ring-ditch on the northern outskirts of the cemetery, at some distance from the main burial area (fig, 12). The child in grave 69 was lying east-to-west in a grave with stone packing originally retained by wooden planks and surrounded by a rectangular ditch feature, which may have contained a wooden kerb. An adult female (grave 88) with the same orientation not far away had similar stone packing on one side of the grave interior and was buried adjacent to a four-post structure containing a cremation. Grave 93 was also on an east to west orientation and was placed at the foot of inhumation 99, which was covered by a similar four-post structure.

There may be a link between the orientation of a grave and its date at Apple Down (fig. 13). Most of the datable graves dug on a west-east or east-west orientation were found to be of the late fifth or sixth century (nos. 10, 12A, 14, 15, 22, 31, 54, 63, 67, 68, 107, 130, 134, 145 and 163), along with two of the south-west to north-east orientated graves (nos. 38 and 128). Two more were dated to the late sixth or early seventh century (inhumations 12B and 164). Only five graves on this alignment could be definitely dated later than the sixth century (inhumations 48, 161, 165, 169 and 175A). Of these, grave 48 may be associated with a cremation in a ring-ditch, while 161, 165 and 169 were on the south-east edge of the cemetery, away from the main area of west-east burials. Inhumation 175A was likewise away from this main area of west-east burials, on the north-east edge of the cemetery. By contrast, most of the datable graves on a south-north, or north-south,

alignment can be dated to the seventh century (inhumations 44, 46, 47, 70, 71, 99B,123, 148B and 151) and two more were dated to the late sixth/early seventh century (nos. 121 and 122) and one to the late fifth or early sixth century (inhumation 18). Six more were dated to the sixth century (nos. 38, 97, 117, 126, 149 and 152). Of these, inhumations 97, 117 121, 122 and 126 were on the northern outskirts of the cemetery. Inhumation 38 was just inside the boundary fence west of the ditch and inhumation 152 was part of the same line of burials as this. Finally, inhumation 149 was in the southern area of the cemetery associated with four-post structures and their cremations. Inhumation 18, one of the earliest in the cemetery, was positioned within the core of west-east aligned sixth century burials.

Layout

Cemetery 2 may have been focused around prehistoric barrows, which are known to have stood on the site (Down and Welch 1990, 13-14; fig. 11). These were destroyed when a reservoir was built and it is possible that Anglo-Saxon burials have been lost also, including any possible secondary burials within the mounds themselves. The remaining burials in cemetery 2 were organized in short rows. All ages and sexes are represented in this cemetery and there was no indication of organization by either of these factors.

Cemetery 1 is a mixed cemetery and, unlike at Spong Hill, there seems to have been no attempt to separate the inhumations and cremations into different areas. Here I found some indication of attempts to organize the inhumations in short rows or to place burials in alignment with each other (fig. 12). For instance, inhumations 62, 63 and 72 were laid out in a row side by side and aligned west to east. Numerous graves close by are on the

same or similar alignment (inhumations 10, 28, 31, 32, 67, 68, 69 and 90). Another nearby row on the same alignment consists of inhumations 12, 13 and 14, to which can be added inhumations 55 and 60, in the same row but with a reversed orientation. Close by, and on the same or similar alignment, are inhumations 19 and 22 and possibly also 163. These burials form a distinct group on the north side of the cemetery. Where these inhumations can be dated, they can be placed in the sixth century, or perhaps the late fifth century in the case of inhumation 31.

To the south of these, another series of inhumations forms a rough row, side-by-side, ranging east to west across the cemetery. These inhumations (nos. 25, 38, 39, 46, 52, 65, 66, 80, 82, 79, 152 and possibly also 79) are all orientated south-to-north, or the reverse. Unfortunately, only three of these can be dated. Inhumations 38 and 152 can be dated to the sixth century, while inhumation 46 is from the seventh century. Another well-spaced row is to be found in the south-east corner of the cemetery, ranging from north to south, and this has been identified as a seventh-century group by the excavators (inhumations 161, 162, 164, 165 and 169; Down and Welch 1990, 17). A final row can be seen to the north-east of the cemetery, organized very neatly, consisting of four west-east orientated inhumations (nos. 143, 170, 171 and 175). Only inhumation 175A can be dated and this is of the seventh century. This pattern relating burial location to date of burial is also borne out to a certain extent by the cremations. Few of the cremation burials could be dated but for those that could it was found that those of the late fifth/sixth century were spread across the cemetery west of the ditch, except for cremation 178 which was in a four-post structure in the south of the cemetery and east of the ditch. For the seventh century, cremation 159 was also found in a four-post structure to the east of the ditch, while 43A

was in a ring-ditch within the enclosure west of the ditch. There are no other datable cremations.

From this, it is possible to tentatively suggest a pattern for the development of the cemetery. It started to the west of the ditch that cuts through the site with a series of west-east burials arranged in rows. Although west-east burials did continue in this area of the cemetery into the early seventh century, people began burying their dead on a south-north alignment around the periphery of this area from the late sixth century. At the same time, people began to establish new burial plots away from this core area, especially to the east of the ditch that had originally formed the cemetery's boundary, where alignment could be either west-east or south-north, depending on personal choice. The excavators have also suggested that the area to the east of the ditch was an extension of the cemetery, as the burials there are relatively sparse and they have a high proportion of wooden structures, indicating they are of later date (Down and Welch 1990, 17).

I found no apparent organization of the cemetery on the basis of skeletal age or sex and it is likely that, as with many cemeteries of this date, organization was on the basis of family plots. For instance, three inhumation graves, 62, 63 and 72, are all on the same alignment and, although there is no ring-ditch surviving, the excavators have suggested they were covered by a single mound, similar to the example at Edix Hill (fig. 12). They may therefore represent members of a single family. There is also one example of three cremations under one four-post structure in the south of the cemetery (cremations 178, 179 and 180; see discussion on grave markers below). The existence of a few closely positioned burials also suggests family members being buried together (see discussion of multiple burials, below). Unlike Spong Hill, the cremation urns at Apple Down give little

information about clustering of family groups. There were eighteen urned cremations, only four of which were decorated and only two bore a matching stamp (cremations 64 and 75, Briscoe 1981, stamp A5aii; Down and Welch 1990, 134). These were found in different areas of the cemetery. Pottery sherds were also found deposited with inhumations or in the plough soil, three of which shared one stamp (Briscoe 1981, stamp A4Aii; Down and Welch 1990, 135), but it is impossible to say with certainty whether they were originally buried close together or not.

At Edix Hill, it was possible to suggest family relationships based on certain epigenetic traits, such as the possession of Wormian bones. In the two cemeteries at Apple Down, more than half of the inhumation population (67 individuals) had at least one Wormian bone. This is a much higher frequency than at Edix Hill, which means that any proximity of burial location between individuals possessing this trait cannot be argued to be significant. It is therefore not possible to speculate on familial relationships based on this trait alone. Individuals possessing other epigenetic traits were also examined to see whether it was possible to extrapolate any family relationship. Of 112 individuals where the trait could be observed, sixteen people had a retained open metopic suture beyond the normal age (Harman 1990, 184, 188-193). All but two of these also had Wormian bones. However, there is no apparent pattern in the location of their burials, being spread across cemetery 1 and also found in cemetery 2. Harman (ibid.) has suggested that it is likely that those individuals who share two or more of the rarer epigenetic traits were related. She identifies graves 19, 44, 120, 128 and 138A as one such group, all of which have six vertebrae in the lumbo-sacral region and Wormian bones in the sagittal suture. In addition, all except inhumation 19 also have several Wormian bones in the lambdoid suture and two have spina bifida occulta (although the catalogue does not note which

two). However, again there is no obvious pattern in the burial location of this group, which is scattered across the area to the north and west of the ditch. Harman also identifies one individual with a cleft neural arch, six with a separate arch on the fifth lumbar vertebra and eighteen with an extra vertebra in the lumbo-sacral region but, aside from those five discussed above, does not identify them, so their position within the cemetery cannot be discussed. Two individuals (inhumations 7B and 63) had fused cervical vertebrae but each was buried in the two separate cemeteries. Three individuals (inhumations 31, 115B and 128) had thirteen thoracic vertebrae instead of the usual twelve but although they were all found in the north-west part of the cemetery they were not close together.

Disturbance and relocation

My analysis found several examples of graves that had been disturbed by a subsequent interment. Some of these may be a deliberate re-use of the grave, either for the purpose of burying two people together or because the plot was seen as highly desirable, which caused variable amounts of damage to the original interment (see discussion below on multiple burials). In other cases, the original burial was completely destroyed or removed by the digging of the second inhumation grave (inhumations 17, 80, 89, 90, 104, 107, 122; Down and Welch 1990, 211). It is impossible to know whether this was accidental disturbance or deliberate claiming of a desirable burial location by family members or others. An examination of the location of these seven burial plots reveals no obvious reason why they should have been considered particularly special, although some (inhumations 80, 89, 90 and 107) were close to four-post structures, as were two of the re-used graves discussed below.

My analysis also found a few cremations that were disturbed by subsequent inhumation burials. In the case of cremation 25A, the remains were redeposited alongside inhumation 25B, so this may have been a deliberate multiple burial (see below). In contrast, cremation 137A was found in the backfill of inhumation 137B, while inhumation 148B destroyed earlier cremation 148A, suggesting no attempt was made here to preserve the earlier deposit. Infant bones (burial 99A) were scattered through the fill of inhumation 99B, obviously a disturbed earlier burial (see also discussion on grave markers, below). In addition, two inhumations (nos. 123 and 149) were found in a disturbed state, probably caused by rodents.

The excavators note at least four examples of disturbance of the skeleton in an inhumation grave that cannot be attributed to animal disturbance, tree roots or subsequent burials (Down and Welch 1990, 18). The bones of the skeletons in each of these graves (19, 55, 97 and 23; see fig. 14) had evidently been disturbed by human interference, which the excavators argue is evidence for exposure before burial (although this is questioned by Boyle et al 1995, 121). Not only are limbs contorted in unusual positions, as though they had been dumped in the grave, some body parts were missing, such as the hands and feet of inhumation 97, while others were placed the wrong way round, including the left femur of inhumation 55 and three vertebrae of inhumation 23. This suggests that these individuals must have been exposed for some time to reach this stage of decomposition, certainly more than a few days, or that the grave was reopened to allow movement of the bones as part of some secondary rite. Whatever the explanation for this practice, this indicates that some of the individuals at Apple Down, at least, underwent burial rites different to those discussed at other cemeteries.

Multiple burials

My analysis found that in cemetery 2 there are two instances of the re-use of graves. This must have been deliberate as there was plenty of room in this cemetery for other burials and there does not seem to have been much damage to the actual grave cut. However, in both cases the original skeleton in the grave was almost completely destroyed. This suggest that the grave location itself may have been more important than the original interment, perhaps with some relation to the prehistoric barrows that once stood somewhere in the vicinity, or to other interments in the cemetery. It might be thought to be unusual that a remembered person would be treated in this way and cemetery 2 was a relatively short-lived cemetery.

Examples of the re-use of a grave with the almost complete destruction of the original burial can also be seen in cemetery 1, where the first burial was present only in fragments (graves 12 and 170). Grave 12A was sixth-century in date, while 12B was of the late sixth or early seventh century. There could therefore have been as much as a century between these two burials, making it likely that either one could have been forgotten. Inhumation 109 was also severely disturbed when the smaller grave 111 was placed on top of it, on the same alignment, while the remains of burial 99a were found scattered through the fill of subsequent burial 99b[10]. Similarly, grave 66 contained a small amount of decayed bone and a dark organic layer that suggested there had been an earlier burial here. However, with these it is again not possible to tell whether this was deliberate re-use and, if it was, whether it was the location of the grave or the individual inside it that was of interest. Two of them (inhumations 12 and 66) were close to four-post structures (see discussion

[10] There is some uncertainty in the catalogue as to whether burial 99a was an inhumation or a cremation.

above), so it may be that it was the location that was important. Graves 109 and 111 were in the ditch that cuts across the cemetery and had no other interments very close so this may be an example of deliberate re-use.

There are a few examples of what may be deliberate double burials at Apple Down. In grave 41, an 11-12 year old was buried in a separate grave cut above a younger adult female and the excavators have tentatively suggested these burials occurred at the same time (Down and Welch 1990, 211). The lower grave did not suffer any damage and both burials were crouched. Double cremation 74A and B found buried together in the same ring-ditch may be another example but plough damage to this grave means it is unknown whether they were contemporary burials or not. There were two examples of cremations that may have been deliberately inserted into inhumation graves. Cremation 40 was inserted into the south-west corner of grave 41A, the higher of the two inhumations in grave 41, without causing any damage. The skull of inhumation 63 was partly destroyed by the insertion of cremation pot 64. Although burials 63 and 64 were sixth-century in date, it is uncertain whether the presence of the earlier interment was remembered when the second grave was dug. Cremation 138B was inserted into the upper grave fill of inhumation 138A with no damage to the original burial, although it is unclear whether they were aware of its existence. In addition, cremation 43B was deliberately placed alongside existing cremation 43A in the ring-ditch surrounding cremation 42. Conversely, inhumation 25B disturbed existing cremation 25A, and the cremated remains were redeposited alongside the skeleton, with room left within the grave for it, suggesting a deliberate deposition.

Finally, several inhumation burials cut existing burials, sometimes damaging or truncating them. These may represent attempts to place two individuals close together. In cemetery 2, grave 9 was cut by grave 8, which was placed alongside it (fig. 11). Here, the skeleton itself was not damaged as it was in a coffin and this may have been deliberately done. Four instances were found of burials placed at right angles to other interments. Grave 93 was placed horizontally at the foot of grave 99. The positioning of the post-holes of the four-post structure over this area suggests that it was designed to cover both graves rather than just the original grave 99. The same arrangement may have been intended for grave 70, which overlays the legs of inhumation 67; inhumation 47, which cut through the legs of inhumation 48; and also inhumation 78, which cuts through the legs of inhumation 98. All of these subsequent burials are on a different orientation to the primary interment. In some cases, this may be accidental disturbance. For instance, sixth-century grave 67 is on the edge of a group of west-east oriented graves (albeit with a reversed orientation) while seventh-century grave 70 is on the edge of a group of south-north inhumations (see fig. 13). This makes it likely that the presence of grave 67 had been forgotten when grave 70 was placed there and that it is just coincidence. On the other hand, others may have been deliberately placed. Graves 47 and 48 were both seventh century in date and focus on the ring-ditch of cremation 42. Grave 47 also cuts another grave, inhumation 44, in the ring-ditch, as well as 48, and it is likely that the location of both these graves was known, at least approximately. Here, the location of the burial was more important than any possible damage to other graves. With graves 78 and 98, it is unknown whether they intersect accidentally or deliberately.

The damage caused to many of the primary interments, means that it is impossible to draw conclusions about whether there was a connection between multiple burials and age

or sex at Apple Down. Where a subsequent burial destroyed an earlier interment it was not always possible to determine the age and sex of the damaged skeleton. Graves 66 (a child), 170 (an older adult female), 12B (an older adult male) and 25B (younger adult male) all damaged earlier interments to such an extent that they could not be aged or sexed. In the case of 74A and B, it was not possible to assign an age or sex to either skeleton. There may have been a tendency to place a cremation burial with an earlier inhumation of an adult male (burials 63 and 64, 138A and B) but otherwise the numbers are too small, and the connection between two burials too uncertain, to make any definite link.

Children at Apple Down

My analysis found little indication that sub-adults were marked out by their burial location at Apple Down. In cemetery 1, most were to be found north and west of the ditch that cuts across the site; only two inhumations and four cremations were found to the east of it, and all four of these cremations (nos. 45, 147, 159 and 166) were classed as adolescents/adults in the catalogue, so may not have been sub-adults. Two more were in the ditch itself, although one of these may also have been an adult. However, there are fewer burials on the east side of the ditch altogether so there may be little significance in the lower number of sub-adults here. On the western and northern side of the ditch, inhumations of sub-adults are spread all over the area, with no apparent grouping in any particular place. Nor is there anything remarkable about the location of the three sub-adult inhumations in cemetery 2. It can be concluded therefore that there was no particular relationship between burial location and children at Apple Down.

Buildings and ancient monuments

The only ancient monuments present at Apple Down were the prehistoric barrows on the crest of the hill somewhere in the vicinity of cemetery 2. Cemetery 2 may have been focused on these barrows, although their destruction in the twentieth century means details of this are unknown. It is also unclear whether they were visible from cemetery 1 at all. No evidence was found for there being any buildings at Apple Down.

Grave markers

There are three types of extant features in the cemetery that served as grave markers: ring-ditches surrounding burials, post-holes indicating four- or six-post wooden structures over graves, and post-holes indicating possible wooden marker posts (see fig. 12). All ring-ditches and wooden structures were found in cemetery 1. My analysis found that there were eighteen ring-ditches at Apple Down, of which eleven surrounded an apparently empty pit with no sign of a burial within it (contra discussion by Down and Welch 1990, 25). Most of these were circular or rectangular, although one was penannular. Two contained four-post structures and one had two posts inside. Of those that did surround extant burials, two contained inhumations. One was a younger adult male (inhumation 144), the other a child (inhumation 69). In the case of the latter, the rectilinear nature of the ditch suggests it contained a kerb of some kind. The remaining five all surrounded a cremation burial, in one case with two individuals (cremations 74A and B). Three were un-urned and one was in an urn but with the other, plough damage meant that it was impossible to tell. Children, adolescents and adults were all represented in these graves. Most of the graves within ring-ditches could not be securely dated so it is unknown if this

was a feature of the whole of the cemetery's use. However, cremation 42 in ring-ditch S and its surrounding burials can be dated to the seventh century and most ring-ditches are to be found away from the sixth-century core of the cemetery, so it is likely that they were a later feature of burial at Apple Down (fig. 13). The circular ring-ditches may be the remains of large mounds. In addition, it has been suggested that three inhumation graves, 62, 63 and 72, found close together and on the same alignment, may also have been covered by one large mound, similar to the example at Edix Hill, even though there is no surviving ring-ditch. The excavators have also suggested that all the inhumations and perhaps also the cremations at Apple Down may have been covered by small mounds, due to the extremely shallow nature of some of the graves (Down and Welch 1990).

My examination of the site plan found that the wooden structures at Apple Down are scattered across the whole site, although as a percentage of burials they are particularly frequent in the part of the cemetery east of the ditch (fig. 12). As with the ring-ditches, several are apparently unassociated with any burial deposit. There are twenty examples spread across the whole site, all of which are four-post structures. Of these, six also have a central post and these are all to be found on the eastern side of the cemetery. The excavators have argued that it is at least possible that all these apparently empty wooden structures originally contained cremated remains under one of the post-holes but that the variable soil conditions and the effect of plough damage mean that it is not demonstrable in all cases (ibid.). Most of the twelve that do contain a burial are associated with cremations. All of these are four-post structures, with only one (cremation 146) having a central post, which contained the cremated remains. Eight have only one cremation deposit (nos. 146, 147, 154, 156, 159, 176, 181 and 182), which, with the exception of cremation 146, are found in one of the corner post-holes. One wooden structure contained

three cremation deposits (178, 179 and 180), one in each of three corner post-holes. Of the eleven cremated individuals buried in a post-hole of such a structure, six were un-urned. The remainder all had pottery sherds in the post-hole to suggest they were buried in urns, or had a smashed urn put in with them. All age groups are represented although most of the Apple Down cremations could not be sexed. There is evidence that the posts of these structures were replaced at times, as would be necessary if they were to survive more than a generation (ibid., 29; although Boyle et al 1995, 123, point out that the idea the structures were used for several generations is hard to reconcile with the small amount of cremated bone deposited). These timber structures have been interpreted as being miniature houses for the commemoration of the dead (Welch 1992, 66). The lack of any signs of burning rules out their interpretation as supports for cremation pyres. As noted above, comparable structures have been found at Alton, Hampshire; Berinsfield, Oxfordshire; Lechlade, Gloucestershire; Morning Thorpe, Norfolk; and Bradstow School, Broadstairs, Kent, as well as on the continent (Hogarth 1973; Miles and Palmer 1986; Green et al 1987; Evison 1988; Down and Welch 1990, 32; Boyle et al 1995; Boyle et al 1998).

Two four-post structures and one with six posts were built over inhumation burials; one over inhumations 93 and 99, which were discussed above (see Multiple burials), one over grave 157 and one over inhumation 11, cutting the grave itself so that the inhumation was under a corner of the structure. These structures appear to be canopies rather than the shrines associated with the cremations, although the structure over inhumation 11 may once have also contained cremated remains under other corner posts. These inhumations contained three older adults, of which one was male and two female, and one younger adult female. As the younger adult female (inhumation 11) was not covered by the

structure but was cut by it, it is possible that this was not intended to be associated with her and so that would mean that they were exclusively associated with older adults when covering inhumations. Only two of the graves with four-post structures could be dated (cremation 159 and inhumation 99, and by association inhumation 93) and they were found to be of the seventh century. As with the ring-ditches, most were found away from the sixth-century core of the cemetery so it is likely that they are also a later feature of burial at this site (see fig. 13). This would have been a major transformation of the arrangement of the cemetery.

As well as fence posts and shrines, a number of post-holes were found at Apple Down that seem to be the result of stand-alone wooden posts. These post-holes are difficult to date, as most cannot be linked stratigraphically to any of the features of the cemetery, and they are not discussed by the report authors. However, their positioning within the cemetery seems to suggest that some if not all are related to Anglo-Saxon burial activity. Three inhumations definitely had marker posts associated with them. Two of these, inhumations 19 and 22, had posts inserted into the head end of the grave during backfilling; the third, inhumation 17, seems to have had a post inserted into the side of the grave at some point after it had been filled (Down and Welch 1990, 15). Grave 54 had a post-hole at the head end of the grave and another on the north edge, close to the skeleton's knees. According to the Apple Down site plan (ibid., fig. 2.4), grave 12 also has a post-hole cutting the foot of the grave, although this is not present on the grave plan or described in the catalogue (ibid., 35, fig. 2.51). Grave 66 may be a further example, although here it would appear that the post-hole was cut by the grave.

Other post-holes seem to also have held grave markers, even though they do not directly cut the grave itself. In cemetery 2, graves 173 and 174 have post-holes at the east end of the grave cut. These were not identified as marker posts by the excavators as they do not cut the grave, but their proximity to it makes this the most likely explanation. In cemetery 1, inhumation 125 may have had a marker post alongside it, as may inhumations 84, 88, 107 and 164, and cremations 83, 94 and 116. In other places within the cemetery, groups of post-holes may also have been used to mark certain graves, although without a fence. For instance, a group of six post-holes surround cremation 146 and are aligned on the corners of the wooden structure that covers it. Three more post-holes form a curved line around cremation 127 in the north-east of the cemetery. Altogether, 9% of known inhumations and 4.7% of cremations in cemetery 1 had a wooden marker post, amounting to 7.6% of all known burials in that cemetery. At Apple Down, in contrast to Edix Hill, wooden markers of inhumation graves in cemetery 1 were almost all associated with older individuals, with 81% associated with people over the age of 35 and 63.6% with those over 40. These included roughly equal numbers of males and females. Only one child and one younger adult male had wooden markers. In cemetery 2, there seems to have been a shift to younger males associated with wooden markers, with both individuals in marked graves aged under 35.

Cemetery boundaries

The ditch that runs north-east to south-west across the site may have been intended to serve as the eastern boundary of the cemetery during the early phase of its use (fig. 12). Although it does not cut any grave, it is cut by two inhumations and two cremations, indicating that it predates or is contemporary with the cemetery, although its exact date is

unknown. It may be an earlier feature or it may have been dug to serve as a cemetery boundary, before being backfilled or becoming silted up (Down and Welch 1990, 17).

There is evidence for lines of post-holes, presumably fences, which may have separated off certain areas of the cemetery (fig. 12). In two cases, two lines of post-holes met at right angles, to form two sides of a rectangular enclosure. In both cases, the longer line of 'fence' ran parallel to the ditch that cuts across the site. The excavators found no evidence that either of these areas were fully enclosed, although in the case of the northerly-most example it is possible that the ditch was intended to serve as an eastern boundary. Unfortunately, there is no dating evidence for either of these fence lines. In the case of the enclosure west of the ditch, none of the graves within it is aligned upon it. It may be that the fences preceded all graves in that part of the cemetery and had decayed or been removed before the burial area spread into it. Alternatively, it may be associated with the seventh-century burials found in the corner where the two fences meet. This burial group consisted of cremation 42 surrounded by a ring-ditch, with cremations 43A and B and inhumations 44 and 47 in the ditch itself. Nearby inhumations 48 and possibly 50 may also be associated with it. This group, with the exception of inhumation 50, can all be dated to the seventh century. Other burials in the area may have been earlier and been forgotten. In addition, three other rows of post-holes were found on the east of the site, although they do not seem to relate to any other features, and a curvilinear feature in the north of the cemetery separates inhumations 126 and 128 from the rest. Finally, three 'slots' were found on the north-east edge of the cemetery, whose function is unknown but which may have been intended as boundary markers of some kind (Down and Welch 1990, 17).

Rivenhall, Essex

Orientation and alignment

In cemetery 1 at Rivenhall, orientation was roughly west-to-east, with the head of the skeleton to the west (see fig. 15). The excavators identified several graves that exhibit a slight north-west to south-east deviation in their alignment (graves 281, 297, 312, 316, 317 and 326; Rodwell and Rodwell 1985, 82). However, in all but one of these cases, no grave cut could be discerned in the soil so the precise orientation of the grave itself cannot be determined; it may simply be that the skeleton was laid slightly out of alignment within the grave itself. The remaining example, grave 326, appears from the site plan to be on a precise west-east alignment. As no grave catalogue is included in the published report, it was not possible to closely compare the differing alignments of the graves; analysis had to centre on the site plan alone. The graves seem to be aligned on the Roman villa on the site, which was still at least partly standing at the time (see discussion below). A few graves with a discernible grave-cut did clearly deviate from the general alignment: the head of graves 334 and 335 was more to the north-west, while grave 336 was aligned south-west to north-east. These graves were all on the edges of the burial area, at some distance from the villa building, which would explain the discrepancy. Unlike at other cemeteries discussed above, there were no examples of reversed orientation at Rivenhall cemetery 1.

Layout

The burials in cemetery 1 at Rivenhall cluster in the south-west of the burial area, adjacent to Roman villa Building 2 and the Middle Anglo-Saxon structure built alongside it (see discussion below; fig. 16). The excavators identify six rows of graves, which diminish in length the further away they are from the villa (Rodwell and Rodwell 1985, 80). The two rows closest to the villa were re-used for later burials, creating a compact group in this area (ibid., 82). The excavators have suggested, on the basis of stratigraphy, that burial started at the side of the villa and spread out away from it, with some later burials re-using earlier graves (ibid., 83; figs. 15 and 16). The re-use of two of the rows may be related to the evident wish to be buried as close to the villa building as possible; most of the graves are tightly clustered around it. On the other hand, it is possible in some cases that such re-use was caused by a wish to bury certain individuals close together (see discussion below). Interestingly, some people were buried on the edges of the cemetery, at some distance from the villa building, even though there was room much closer to it. This suggests that some people did not want, or were not allowed, to be buried close to the cemetery's focal point.

Of the sixty skeletons recovered from cemetery 1, forty-six were submitted for osteological analysis. Of these, twenty were identified as male, twelve as female and fourteen were indeterminate, including ten infants and children (O'Connor 1993). The graves of women and children were found to be evenly distributed across the cemetery, including under or near Structure 1, while the graves of men were mostly found clustered around this structure (see fig. 17). The earliest graves in the cemetery are believed to be those six found underneath the structure's foundations (fig. 16). These graves contain two

men, two women, one child and one indeterminate individual and may represent a founder family. Eight burials were found above these, on top of the structure's foundation mortar. These consisted of five men, one woman and two sub-adults (one aged 15-18, the other 0-1 years). Those burials clustered around the outside of the structure also tended to be those of men but it is unclear whether this is simply the result of a greater number of males being identifiable. Several burials in this area were damaged or destroyed by later medieval activity, which may have included women, while most of the outlying burials were not osteologically assessed so cannot be used for comparison. It may be that many women were buried elsewhere, perhaps in the area to the south of the excavated area, which is currently being used for modern burials.

As at Apple Down, Wormian bones and metopism were common skeletal anomalies at Rivenhall and no discussion of family relationships can be attempted on the basis of these. Other epigenetic traits, such as additional vertebrae, were infrequent or completely absent, so no attempt could be made to discuss burial location in conjunction with these elements. The six 'founder graves' under Structure 1 may well represent one family, but otherwise there is no evidence that burials were organized in family plots at Rivenhall cemetery 1.

Disturbance and relocation

The burials in cemetery 1 at Rivenhall were laid out in an orderly fashion. However, the evident desire to be buried close to Structure 1 and the Roman villa in the south-west of the excavated cemetery area meant that there was some contemporary disturbance of the rows, especially those closest to the building (fig. 15). In rows 1 and 2, several burials

were disturbed by subsequent interments. In row 2 for instance, grave 322 cut 295 and 312, while 296 was placed on top of 316 (Rodwell and Rodwell 1985, 82). However, there seems no evidence that any skeletons were moved after burial to make way for another burial or to move them closer to the building in the west of the site as at, for instance, Addingham, West Yorkshire (see general discussion above).

Multiple burials

There were two examples of contemporary multiple burials, both in the third row of the cemetery from the west (fig. 15). Both (graves 288 and 289, and 282 and 293) were of pairs of younger adult males, one in their mid-late twenties and the other in their late teens. In each case, they had been laid in the grave side by side. Graves 304 and 307 in the second row appear to be a consecutive multiple burial, with grave 307 (a male aged 30+) being reopened for 304 (a female aged 25-30) to be laid on top, prone. Another example of a double burial is 316, a female aged *c*.35 buried with a newborn infant, which was also in the second row. This grave may also have contained skeleton 321, a child of 4-7 years but the lack of any discernible grave cut means it is difficult to determine. The skeleton of 321 was in a fragmentary condition so may have been damaged by the insertion of 316, although without a detailed grave catalogue it is impossible to say. This grave later had grave 296 placed above it, again perhaps deliberately as burial 321 was not damaged. The second row was re-used and was the least regular, with other graves being damaged and cut by subsequent interments (Rodwell and Rodwell 1985, 82).

Children at Rivenhall

As discussed above, ten infants and children were found in Rivenhall cemetery 1. They were found scattered across the whole of the recovered burial area and do not appear to have been afforded any special burial treatment as a group, although two were found under, or in, Structure 1 (see fig. 17).

Buildings and ancient monuments

The Roman villa, Building 2, seems to have provided a focus for the Middle Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Rivenhall. This building seems to have partly decayed by this time, as four burials were found within villa room 2.11a or its eastern wall, suggesting it must have collapsed or been robbed out by this time (fig. 18). However, the excavators considered that there was not much robbing of the masonry of the villa until the building of the first stone church and that therefore some parts of the villa were still in situ. It certainly seems that the east wall of the main part of the building provided the western boundary of the burial area (Rodwell and Rodwell 1985, 82-3). The six 'founder graves' discussed above are placed close to, but respecting, this wall and the whole cemetery is aligned on the villa.

During the time of the cemetery's use, a second structure was built against the villa's east wall (figs. 16 and 18). The exact relationship between these two structures is unclear, as this area could not be excavated due to the presence of modern burials there. However, it has been suggested that Structure 1 may have served as a church or mausoleum, perhaps in conjunction with an extant room in the villa (ibid. 82). The four flint-lined post-holes

immediately to the east of structure 1 may well be associated with it, perhaps as a canopy (fig. 16). It would certainly seem that Structure 1 provided some sort of focus for the cemetery, as burials are densest around it and its position above the earliest graves and as a place for several subsequent interments supports this. In addition, grave 336 on the far side of the cemetery, which is the only one in the cemetery on a south-west to north-east alignment, points directly towards structure 1.

Grave markers

Although many of the graves at Rivenhall cemetery 1 were lined with Roman tiles and flint, no evidence has been found for any above-ground markers of any form. However, as the excavators note, the organization of the cemetery into rows suggests some form of marker was used, despite the disturbance of some graves (Rodwell and Rodwell 1985, 82). This could have taken the form of a small mound. The opening of grave 307 for the interment of grave 304, and the placing of 296 above 316, perhaps deliberately, also goes some way to support this argument as it suggests the location of these graves was remembered. Four post-holes were found, lined with tiles, flint and mortar directly outside Structure 1 (fig. 16). These post-holes are likely to be associated with the structure, although their function is not clear. There is no evidence of their association with any graves and therefore it is unlikely they served as marker posts.

Cemetery boundaries

The partly ruined Roman villa formed the limit of the cemetery to the west. The constraints of digging in a modern churchyard, in particular the position of the church and recent burials, meant that the southern extent of the Middle Anglo-Saxon cemetery could not be determined, and from the density of burials in the south-west part of the burial area it is likely that cemetery 1 extended further in this direction. The limits of burial to the north and east were established but no boundary features were discovered. As discussed above, churchyard boundaries were established at Rivenhall with the first wooden or stone church. This boundary ditch cuts through the Middle Anglo-Saxon cemetery, truncating some burials and destroying others, which suggest burials in this area had been forgotten or were deliberately abandoned by the late tenth/early eleventh century (Rodwell and Rodwell 1985, 80).

Discussion: cemetery organization as a technology of memory

In the above discussion, we have seen that place is not merely a background to people's lives but is actively involved in them, shaping their experiences and identity. As such, certain places can work to structure memories of particular people and events and can come to act as mnemonics for the past. The reciprocal relationship between memory and place reveals that the meaning of place is never fixed but is constantly being modified by memory; its significance is in the cumulative effect of the events that 'take place' there. The importance of place for the workings of memory, especially in providing a structure for remembering, indicates that cemeteries might be considered mnemonic places.

Cemeteries are special places, subject to different time cycles, intimately connected with names and stories and frequently visited and modified by continued activity. Burial and commemorative practices at cemeteries are key moments in the creation and manipulation of memories. They are intimately involved in establishing links between past and present, renegotiating identity and exercising power through claims to social, ideological and historical authority.

Chapter 2 has argued that the objects found in graves were tools that allowed the mourners to revisit and reconstruct memories of the deceased's life in order to create a lasting identity for the dead that could have meaning for the community. This process was a way of dealing with grief and severing social ties between the living and the dead as a first step in allowing the mourners to move on in their own lives. However, it is recognized that the display of grave goods was only of temporary duration, limiting their potential influence in society (Halsall 2003). This means that the period in which grave goods could influence memories of the dead was restricted to the funeral and the preparations for it. Although the funeral itself would have been a memorable occasion, memories of which would also have been reinterpreted in relation to subsequent funerals, the memories related to the objects in the grave would no longer be manipulable. Indeed, it was the contention of Chapter 2 that the burial of the deceased's inalienable possessions was a way of 'finishing' their memory so that it could no longer affect social relations among the living.

However, this does not mean that remembrance of the dead ended with the funeral ceremony. Instead, the topography of the cemetery itself can be seen as a place in which memories of the dead continued to be manipulated in the service of the living. The

creation and maintenance of the cemetery environment over time can be understood as a technology that preserved memories of the community's dead and projects them into the future. The placing of the dead in certain areas of the cemetery, on a particular orientation and with the use, or not, of special markers, was a further way of creating lasting memories of the dead using signs that were easily comprehensible to the rest of the community. At the same time, failure to maintain certain areas of the cemetery, or to carry out commemorative rituals there, and their eventual abandonment, with the exception of Late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries that continued in use as churchyards, can be seen as forgetting the dead members of the community who were no longer important in maintaining identity among the living. As in Chapter 2, grief was an important part of this process, providing the motivation for continued remembrance of the deceased individual and their social ties, which manifests in physical changes to the cemetery environment and the practice of archaeologically invisible memorial ceremonies.

Grave placement, memory and identity

Both the general overview of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and the detailed assessment of the four cemeteries in this study have indicated that decisions about the organization and orientation of a cemetery were largely the result of local issues rather than cultural factors such as religion or ethnicity. The orientation and alignment of graves seems to be the result of a community-wide decision and most often seems to be related to the cemetery's environment, although there is also some evidence that orientation can be specific to a particular region, as in East Anglia, where cemeteries are almost universally on a west-east alignment. By the end of the period, orientation becomes consistently west-east and it is possible that by this time it had acquired a religious connotation. However, any

Christian significance developed long after the disappearance of the pagan religion. All the four cemeteries under study here demonstrated local variability. At Spong Hill, the inhumations follow the same alignment as the Roman ditches, while at Edix Hill, it is the contours of the hill itself that control the alignment of graves. In contrast at Apple Down, there is no indication of any topographical feature affecting grave orientation; instead, this seems to be related to the location of the grave within the cemetery itself and the date at which the burial took place, with the predominant orientation changing over time. Finally, at Rivenhall cemetery 1, orientation was focused on the building in the south-west corner of the excavated area and with the initial burials associated with it.

Grave orientation seems to have been a way of marking out people as belonging, or not, to the community. Those with an orientation the opposite of the norm have been interpreted as 'outsiders' or people who were not full members of the community. These people were also sometimes marked out in other ways, such as their position within the grave, a particular burial location or the use of a special marker. For instance, at Apple Down some of those with reversed orientation were interred at the foot of other burials or within a ring-ditch. In this way, people whose biographies were seen as partially separated from those of the rest of the community could be memorialized as such in death. However, not everyone on a reversed orientation was also marked out in other ways. This means that, once the grave was filled in, there would be no apparent difference between it and the others in the cemetery. The importance of reversed orientation for remembrance of the dead may therefore be restricted in time to the funeral in the same way as that of grave goods. This implies that the long-term commemoration of these 'outsiders' could be treated differently in different contexts.

Orientation of graves can also be used to mark out different groups within a community, as well as outsiders. This is most clearly demonstrated at Apple Down, where we see a change in orientation over time, accompanying the outward expansion of the cemetery. However, one orientation did not replace the other, and both south-north and west-east aligned burials continued contemporarily in the later part of the cemetery's use. It is possible that this represents the burial practices of two different groups in the community, who used grave orientation as a way of differentiating their dead for the purposes of long-term commemoration. This may imply social and ideological explanations for orientation at this site, linking the commemoration of the dead to the identities and beliefs of the living. It is possible, for instance, that each set of graves is orientated towards the location of the deceased's household (although no settlement evidence has been found in the vicinity) or to some other feature outside the cemetery that had significance for the group. The orientation of each group of graves would have clearly differentiated these two social groups for as long as the mounds above each grave were maintained. This would have affected the practice of commemorative rituals after the funeral, with each group possibly only remembering their own dead, rather than the dead of the whole community.

Differences in orientation of graves within a cemetery may therefore have been a source of contention and may have been an issue for rival groups or for those seeking to control the burial rite and commemorative activities. If orientation was a matter of disagreement within a community this may have affected the way commemorative rituals were conducted and who took part in them. At Shudy Camps for instance, the clear spatial distinction between the two groups of burials on different orientations (see 174, above), may indicate different commemorative practices. Lethbridge (1936) has tentatively suggested that the group of south-west oriented burials were adjacent to a path that

formed the cemetery boundary. If so, they would have been highly visible from this path, in contrast to the separate group of west-oriented graves, which were some distance away. This may suggest different priorities or expectations in the commemoration of the dead, even within one community. In addition, Boddington's (1990) argument that the two groups were of different dates raises the question of whether commemoration of the earlier group continued after the new burial area had been established.

The existence of a small mound above each grave means that orientation also has implications for the landscape of the cemetery above the ground. The orientation of the existing graves within a cemetery would have an effect on the accessibility of certain areas, channelling people along certain routes. Grave orientation can therefore potentially affect the way people move through the cemetery during commemorative rituals, giving greater prominence to those close to such route-ways during remembrance activities. This argument may be especially persuasive in the case of Spong Hill, where all the inhumation graves were apparently aligned along a path that led from the settlement into the inhumation area of the cemetery. This also has implications for the way the building in cemetery 1 at Rivenhall was accessed, as graves cluster tightly around it. As we have seen, at Apple Down, where graves of a particular orientation are generally grouped together, orientation may have implications for group identity and for remembering the locations of particular graves, as there would be a sharp distinction in the landscape of the cemetery between the different groups. Processes of remembering and forgetting would be carried out through the building and maintaining (or not) of these mounds. Mounds that were not maintained would gradually be eroded and the person buried there forgotten, simultaneously changing the environment and accessibility of the cemetery and the movements of people carrying out acts of remembrance.

While overall decisions regarding orientation of graves seem to have been made at the level of the community, or of a large social group within that community, such as the kin-group, it is likely that decisions about the placing of a particular grave were down to the close family of the deceased, who were also responsible for planning the funeral. The family or household unit seems to have provided the basis for cemetery organization in the early Anglo-Saxon period. Even where cemeteries of this date are organized into rows, implying some overall attempt to control the cemetery's layout, there is still often evidence for clustering in small groups. Although the general survey of cemeteries indicates that family plots became less popular in the Middle and Late Anglo-Saxon period, they are at least partly demonstrable in all four of the cemeteries under study here. The inhumations at Spong Hill are thought to have been organized into family plots, while in the cremation cemetery, the clustering of stamp-linked groups, the multiple burials in one pit or urn and the deliberate burial of some urns in some of the inhumation graves also suggests the same arrangement. At Edix Hill, the family groups are more clearly demonstrable through the clustering of graves and the distribution of epigenetic traits. Apple Down also seems to have been at least organized on the basis of family groups, while at Rivenhall, it is possible to speculate that the burials under Structure 1 represent a 'founder family'. However, there is less evidence for this kind of organization at these two cemeteries.

The frequency of burial in family groups in the early Anglo-Saxon period suggests that remembrance was closely tied in with family identity. Individual identity in this period was not absolute but relational (see Chapter 1, 20) and the dead were not remembered simply as individuals with particular personalities and characteristics but as family members with roles to play in family life and social relationships. The creation of a

special area of the cemetery specifically for one family, and the placing of the dead there alongside other family members, was a way of working and re-working memories specific to that family. The creation of a 'family plot' helped to maintain the solidity of family identity among survivors despite the loss of the deceased. Not only does it give the surviving family members greater power based upon links to the past and the powerful dead, but it also provides a centre for that family, a place that is theirs, which may have been as powerful for the construction and maintenance of identity as the homesteads in which they lived or the land they worked or owned. In placing the dead together family memories are collected together in a small space, increasing their potency and heightening their political importance.

The existence of a family plot also has the effect of situating that family within its relationship to others within the community. This is especially the case at Edix Hill where there is evidence that at least in the seventh century certain wealthy families monopolized the area at the top of the hill. In this way, the position of a family plot may have been related to their position within society, especially from the seventh century when society seems to have become more stratified. The family space within a cemetery and the memories it contained may well have been evoked by surviving members in disputes with other families. It is also likely that regular contact was made with the family burial area through commemorative rituals, serving to strengthen the ties between the living and the dead. These rituals used memories and the ongoing commemoration to create and maintain an identity that transcended death and that allowed the living, as the guardians of memory, to become the inheritors of the rights and privileges that the dead had held in life.

However, family identity was not the only level of identity that was commemorated through the placing of the dead. Just as orientation might indicate the creation of memories of the dead related to whether they were seen as belonging to the wider community, so the placing of the dead might also relate to the memories of the status of an individual within the community. Many cemeteries throughout the period reveal evidence of organization based on age, sex, gender or social status. At these cemeteries, it would seem that commemoration of family identity is less important than that of the person's position within wider society. The organization of the cemetery on the basis of these factors implies a wish to preserve those aspects of the funerary rites represented in the grave goods. The memorialization of aspects of the deceased's identity in ways the whole community could interpret, described in Chapter 2, is therefore given a more permanent focus in these cemeteries. Cemeteries where the graves are organized in rows may also have placed less emphasis upon family memory in preference for that of the community, although it is notable that many of these may also have incorporated family groupings. It is possible that at Apple Down, for instance, we see evidence of an original attempt at organization of inhumations into rows that breaks down as individual families asserted their wish to be buried together.

It has been argued throughout this thesis that it was the family of the deceased who was responsible for the funeral preparations and the ongoing commemoration. However, as Chapter 2 argued, commemoration of the dead also took place within the context of the wider community, and was subject to their approval or disapproval. This can be argued for all the sites under discussion here, as funerary practices were designed to be played out in front of an audience for the purposes of consolidating the social position and relationships of the living. At Spong Hill, however, the memories revisited and presented

as part of the funerary display would have been subject to examination by a much wider audience. This cemetery was used by several communities resident in a particular region, which had a common cultural background and which might be loosely termed a 'tribe'. While people might have been cremated at funerary rites attended by their own community, the interment of their urn in the cemetery may have taken place at special times when the whole tribe came together. This cemetery, like the others discussed in this chapter, seem to have been organized on the basis of family groups. However, in the case of Spong Hill, the importance of tribal affiliation in cemetery organization and remembrance of the dead implies that this arrangement may have incorporated the wider kin-group rather than the family or household groupings seen at the much smaller inhumation cemeteries discussed here. These kin-groups may have transcended the communities in which individuals lived and so the remembrance of the dead here seems to have valued kin-group and tribal identities over those of the household or immediate family and community.

There is much evidence to suggest that children were often the recipients of differential burial practices in the Anglo-Saxon period. They are significantly under-represented at cemeteries throughout the period, especially in the early phase. Even allowing for problems of survival and recovery of such small fragile bones, many were probably never interred there at all. This suggests that many were disposed of outside the community cemetery, although it is unknown in what circumstances and whether this was a result of positive or negative attitudes towards their deaths. Of those that were buried with the rest of the community, some were buried in a special area while others were placed with their family. For instance, at Edix Hill there was an apparent concentration of sub-adults on the brow of the hill while others were scattered across the whole of the cemetery, apparently

as part of the clusters of family groups. On the other hand, at Spong Hill and Apple Down there was no apparent attempt to differentiate the burial of children spatially among any of the inhumations or the cremations. Similarly, at Rivenhall cemetery 1 children were found across the whole of the burial area with no apparent clustering, although the later cemetery associated with the stone church is among those discussed above as having 'eaves-drip' burials. This supports the conclusions of Lucy (1994; see also above, 189) that some communities differentiated children from adults through burial practices while others did not.

The absence of many children and infants from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries has been explained as them not being considered a full member of society (Evison 1988). There is no absolute link between age and burial in the community cemetery, as infants and children of all ages are often found, including neonates and foetuses, while the 'missing' children included those of all ages. It is therefore not simply that the youngest are excluded. Crawford (1993) has found both textual and archaeological evidence that infant burials may have been viewed superstitiously, which suggests that the treatment of children and infants may be the result of notions of a 'bad death'. However, it is unclear whether the burial of infants and children adjacent to the church walls was the result of them being seen as without sin or of superstitious beliefs. It seems likely (see above, 190), that Christianity brought new ideas about children but apart from choosing whether to bury them in the cemetery, this does not seem to have made much of an impact on burial location until well after the conversion. The treatment of children in terms of burial and commemorative practices therefore varies between communities and over time. Children were not forgotten in the Anglo-Saxon period but it was not always considered important to differentiate them from adults in a cemetery. This may be because children would have

had fewer social relationships, being linked only to their immediate family until they reached social maturity.

Remembering (and forgetting) the dead

Remembering the location of particular graves was essential for Anglo-Saxon communities, not only to avoid damaging existing graves when digging new ones, but also to allow continuing commemorative activities to take place. It was also essential if individuals who had close social ties in life were to be buried and commemorated together in death. Multiple burials were found at all four sites and are a reasonably common occurrence at Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in general, and there is also evidence of individuals being deliberately placed near each other but in separate graves. These practices imply that some people were so closely identified with each other in the minds of their mourners that their memories could not be separated. Through placing these individuals together in death, their mourners created new identities for them as inseparable from each other. Their proximity within the cemetery meant that commemorative activity involving one person would always call to mind the other(s) in that grave. This continued association of these people within the memories of their surviving family members would have implications for the identities of their survivors, whose position and status may partly rely upon the social connection between those people interred in multiple burials, perhaps in terms of inheritance of land. Not all kinds of multiple burials may have carried the same meaning or been preserved in the memory for as long. Multiple inhumations placed side by side would have been instantly visible in the cemetery, whether covered by two separate mounds or one large one, as would the multiple cremation burials under the four-post structures at Apple Down. In contrast,

inhumations placed one above the other, along with multiple cremations in a single urn and the insertion of an urn into an inhumation grave would have been less visible once the grave was filled in. They would therefore have had differing levels of impact upon the cemetery topography and upon people's memories.

As well as multiple burials, there is also evidence for deliberate post-burial interference at some Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. At Edix Hill, for instance, one woman was moved after burial to be reinterred in-between two other graves, despite having to be contorted to fit the small space. As the family was central to the organization of that cemetery, and to the remembrance of the dead there, it is arguable that it is the people she was reinterred next to that were significant. There was also evidence of interference with other skeletons at Edix Hill and at Apple Down, with parts being removed. Evidence for this kind of interference or disinterment is rare in early period cemeteries, although this may be partly due to problems in identifying it (see above, 186). In the later part of the period, there is more evidence for the disinterment and reburial of individuals. In these cemeteries, it would seem that it was the location of the grave that was desirable, rather than proximity to certain individuals and that prompted the movement of the dead. The disinterment of parts of or complete individuals was important in the commemoration of the dead as each visit to the grave would have added to and reshaped memories of the deceased. The transfer of the woman at Edix Hill was evidently important and was even carried out at some cost, given that the task of forcing her into the new grave would have been an unpleasant one. The transfer of bodies to a new burial place like here would have been a deeply significant one to the community. Such relocation would have been a means of reinventing and perhaps reclaiming memory, allowing the forging of new social relations between different groups. The relocation of the woman at Edix Hill would have altered

the way both she and her family were remembered and would have served to strengthen social ties between survivors and perhaps severed other relationships that were no longer of significance. It also indicates that the process of remembering deceased family members was not always straightforward and harmonious but could be the cause of dissension and disagreement between people. For instance, there may have been disagreement over the appropriate burial place for the woman at Edix Hill, which resulted in her removal from her original burial site. Similarly, it might be suggested that the displacement of certain skeletons to allow the interment of other people in the 'desirable' area of the cemetery at Addingham, West Yorkshire, might have been a sore point for some members of the community.

Knowledge of the location of graves can therefore be seen as important in Anglo-Saxon commemorative practices. The general lack of intercutting among graves at Edix Hill, Spong Hill and Apple Down, and the organization into rows at Rivenhall, suggest that all graves had some form of small mound covering them. This may have been eroded over time, or perhaps been deliberately flattened as part of a post-burial ritual. However, a minority of graves at the earliest three sites, as at most Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, showed evidence of a special marker. The types of marker varied between and within cemeteries, including large mounds, wooden posts and structures, and piles of stones. Rivenhall, on the other hand, provided no evidence of special markers. At some sites, special markers might be associated with particular groups in the community, for example at Apple Down wooden posts were closely associated with older individuals. However, this was not always the case. Different types of marker may have fulfilled different functions, with the four-post structures at Apple Down perhaps also being used as shrines, with a role in commemorative rites after burial. Only a minority of people in any cemetery were given a

special marker. For the later part of the Anglo-Saxon period, stone markers have been definitely linked with people of high status (e.g. Sidebottom 2000). However, in the early period, it would not have required great resources to provide a wooden marker post. In the early period, there does not seem to have been a direct relationship between high status and special grave markers, as some graves with markers are not particularly wealthy or otherwise special, while many wealthy graves have no apparent marker. As marked graves do not seem to be necessarily related to family status and commemorative practices, especially as relatives might be expected to remember where particular graves were without the aid of a special marker, it can be argued that these people must have had commemorative significance for the wider community and so their graves were marked out for the purpose of locating them during particular commemorative activities. These commemorative activities may have involved the whole community assembling at particular times of year within the cemetery and carrying out memorial rites that might have involved processing around the cemetery. Such activities aided the construction of community identity through linking them with their past and strengthening ties between the living and the dead. The people in marked graves may have been seen as particularly important in maintaining these ties. Grave markers therefore served as an active reminder of these links all year round.

Commemorative practices and cemetery topography

It has been shown above that the orientation and position of graves would have influenced the way people moved through the cemetery. For example at Spong Hill, graves were aligned along a path that led from the settlement to the cemetery. It has also been noted that some graves may have been marked out to allow particular commemorative rites to

occur while processing around the cemetery. Other aspects of the cemetery's topography may also have had an influence on the commemorative practices that took place there. Two of the cemeteries under study here, Spong Hill and Rivenhall, each had buildings associated with the cemetery that were most likely used for commemorative ritual practices. Although the buildings at Spong Hill did not attract burials, there was an enclosure in the inhumation area that did and which is likely to have some sort of commemorative significance. At Rivenhall the Roman villa ruins and the adjacent Anglo-Saxon structure were undoubtedly a focus for burials, affecting both the placing and orientation of graves within the cemetery.

The existence of ancient monuments at some sites, as identified in the general discussion of cemetery topography may also have influenced commemorative practices at the site. On the one hand, they act as mnemonics for the locations of graves, as do buildings, and influence the accessibility of the cemetery when people enter and move about within it. On the other hand, prehistoric features may have had a mythological or religious interpretation attached to them, which may have made them suitable places for burial due to their associations with the past and, in the case of Bronze Age barrows, with the dead. However, these issues were less of a concern at the four cemeteries under study. At Edix Hill, it is unclear whether the earlier ditches were a target for burial because of associations with the past or because they provided an easier place to bury the dead, while at Apple Down, any relationship between Anglo-Saxon burial and the prehistoric barrows near cemetery 2 cannot be ascertained due to the loss of the barrows. Only at Spong Hill can a relationship be discerned with features of the past through the use of surviving Roman ditches as boundaries, however short-lived this might have been.

Changing attitudes to memory and place

The influence of Christianity on burial practices has been the subject of much debate. Chapter 2 argued that the disappearance of grave goods was part of an ongoing process of changes in the relationship between objects and memory, especially in remembrance of the dead, that was partly influenced by the changing mentalities that followed Christianization. Although simple equations between burial practices in the seventh and eighth centuries and conversion have been rightly criticized, the review of the cemetery evidence and documentary sources in this chapter have indicated that Christianity did influence the treatment of the dead in the later part of the period. This was partly the result of the influence of Christian thought on notions of space and partly of the growing control the church exercised over burial rites and the soul-scot that went with them (see especially Hadley 2001a; Gittos 2002; Thompson 2004). Christianity had also come to exert a major influence over the remembrance of the dead, with the development of a liturgy that brought commemoration into the church calendar and building (Crick 2000b). We can therefore expect to see changes in the way the dead were remembered through the placing of graves at this time.

This thesis has presented evidence for major changes in attitudes towards grave placement over the course of the Anglo-Saxon period. In the early part of the period, family groups were the main basis for cemetery organization and remembrance of the dead. The topography of the cemetery also played its part, with certain families monopolising prominent locations, as at Edix Hill. However, there is little other evidence at these early cemeteries that the placing of the dead within the cemetery carried a deeper ideological significance. There is no indication of the physical segregation of the

cemetery space from the rest of the landscape (although there may have been a mental distinction) and there is little, if any, evidence for competition for space, as indicated by the disinterment and reburial of the dead into a 'better' place or to make way for others. Any post-burial interference seems to have been related to remembrance within the context of the family, rather than a wish to have the 'best' burial place. It is likely that, in the early phase, the existence of family burial plots meant that in most cemeteries burial spaces for individual people were largely predetermined. This would also hold true for those cemeteries partly or wholly organized by age, sex or social status, as appropriate spaces would be available for particular individuals depending on their social roles at time of death. It was therefore rare for a body to be moved after burial and this would only be done in extreme circumstances. In these cemeteries, burial in family plots may have been an important way in which people ensured the maintenance of family identity and asserted their rights and obligations over lands and status.

From at least the ninth century, however, we can see a change in attitudes towards grave placement and remembrance of the dead. Burial in churchyards became increasingly popular, and these are clearly differentiated from the secular world, both mentally, as concepts of sacred space develop and spread, and physically, with the appearance of cemetery boundaries. Burial within family plots seems to become less popular, although some prominent families seem to maintain this practice, such as the 'founder family' at Rivenhall cemetery 1. At this time, we see the development of the notion that some areas of the cemetery, i.e. those closest to the church or other religious feature, such as a free-standing cross, are more preferable for burial than are others. This was not entirely a new development as kings and bishops had been the recipients of burial within the church or churchyard from at least the late seventh or early eighth century (Blair 1988; Effros 1997;

Hadley 2001a). Popular belief was that the fate of the body determined that of the soul, as they would be reunited on the day of judgement (Effros 1997). In addition, burial in desirable areas of the cemetery became a new way of expressing social status. It can be argued therefore that the changes in the placing of the dead at this time were related to the emphasis the church placed upon the responsibility of the individual for their own salvation (Crick 2000b). Remembrance of the dead came to focus on the individual and the fate of their soul, rather than on family identity and social relationships. The placing of the dead became an increasingly contentious issue, with the relocation of existing burials and the exclusion from the cemetery of those who were considered unworthy. This created a distinction in society between those who were 'worth remembering' and those who were forgotten. As burial placement and commemoration were now closely associated with salvation, the forgotten were also the damned. Cemeteries as places of memory were now linked to the leading of a good life and those who were seen as unworthy of a Christian burial were believed to be in receipt of God's judgement.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the way cemeteries were organized, maintained and used can be seen as a technology of memory that allowed a continuing relationship between the living and the dead, one that was qualitatively different from that in life. The visibility of the dead through the location and marking of their graves was crucial for the maintenance of their memory over time. Failure to maintain certain graves and to incorporate them into commemorative rituals quickly led to the dead being forgotten. The environment of the cemetery was therefore a tool that allowed the preservation and manipulation of memories of the past in the present. All aspects of the cemetery's topography were

influential in how the dead were remembered through emphasising or disguising certain people and by controlling access to and around the cemetery. Decisions about the placing of graves affected not only the visibility of the person within the cemetery, their status and that of their family, but also the way people moved through the cemetery and experienced it. The cemetery never remained the same but changed with every visit and burial, in terms of both the environment and its perception in the minds of the living. In the same way, the memories of the community's dead were always changing to reflect the present, incorporating new deaths and commemorative practices.

Control of the cemetery can be equated with control of memory and the uses to which it can be put. Burial of the dead was under the control of the family for most of the period but was always subject to the wider influence of the community, who might approve or question the uses to which memories of the dead were put. The community would also have been important in determining the abandonment of old cemeteries and the foundation of new ones. This would have been a major upheaval in remembrance of the dead, and the past more generally, and might be equated with the 'forgetting' of the dead in the old cemetery, who were no longer seen as an important, or relevant, link to the past. Later in the period, burial practices seem to have come increasingly under the control of the clergy, who would have been in a position to potentially restrict access to the burial site, the kinds of practices carried out there and the times at which they could occur. This may have been the first time that a single social group had such power over access to the dead and their memories. However, it should not be assumed that the rest of the community would have lost control of memory practices or that these changes were necessarily a source of contention.

Chapter 4: Conclusion – remembering the dead in Anglo-Saxon England

This thesis has carried out a qualitative study into memories of the dead in Anglo-Saxon England. Technologies of memory have been central to this study, as they provide both a medium and a structure for retaining, shaping and sharing memories within the social context of the funeral and of the continued commemoration of the dead afterwards. I have argued that the objects and places that acted as technologies of memory here were central to the ways people dealt with their grief at the loss of a loved one, as well as tools that allowed them to create a lasting memory of the deceased, one that would shape remembrance of them in the future. In this way, society provides the framework for personal remembrance, acting as a coping strategy that allows the grief of individuals to be shared with the community. This process leads to the idealization of the dead, and their incorporation into the long-term remembrance framework of the community. Chapter 3 has shown how the personal belongings of the deceased are central to this, creating a personalized memory image of the deceased's new identity within the framework provided by society. Chapter 4 has indicated the importance of placing the dead within a community cemetery for remembrance, showing how remembering the dead was a group activity. The actions of bringing the dead into the cemetery and laying them out with their appropriate belongings, whether in the grave or on the cremation pyre, had a transformative effect on memory, creating a lasting identity for the dead and allowing the living to emotionally separate themselves from them. The topography of the cemetery also acted as a framework for the long-term commemoration of the dead, maintaining those memories that were central to current social identities and relationships and

forgetting those that were not. While this thesis has indicated the ways in which object and place worked together in this way, it has also shown that each had a different impact upon memory. The role of objects at the funeral can only have a transitory impact; once buried they cannot be revisited or manipulated further except through the use of similar objects at other funerals. In contrast, place can continue to be involved in constructing and reconstructing memories, through continued ceremonies at the graveside.

Spong Hill, Norfolk

The most important issue for memory and remembrance of the dead at Spong Hill is the distinction between inhumations and cremations. Aside from the obvious differences between the rites themselves and the condition of the body when placed in the ground, inhumations and cremations are also distinguished spatially and by the types of objects selected for the ritual. This represents a change during the sixth century among a relative minority of people who used the Spong Hill cemetery in terms of how they remembered their dead. It has been suggested (Kirk 1956; see Chapter 3) that cremation was practised in order to preserve the remains for ceremonies at particular times of year which were attended by several different communities. This would fit well with the nature of the Spong Hill site, with its exceptionally large number of cremations, and the types of grave goods buried there, consisting largely of items such as tweezers that had less personal significance than items worn on the body. Here, remembrance of the dead was constructed within a 'tribal' context, with the audience for the funeral being much wider than the community and unlikely to have all known the deceased personally. Although the cremation itself took place beforehand, and would have been a time when the family and friends of the deceased revisited their memories of them, this was done within the context

of the deceased taking their place among the wider community of the dead during the later ritual and so the grave goods selected took account of this.

At some point in the sixth century, a change took place in the burial practices employed by one community. They decided to bury the deceased soon after death, rather than cremating them and awaiting the meeting of several different communities at the burial ground. With this came a change in the types of grave goods used at the funeral, with a greater emphasis on the personal in terms of the items selected. This community marked themselves out both spatially and temporally, burying their dead outside the normal cemetery area and entering the cemetery for funerals outside the established times. Some individuals within the inhumation community were cremated but were still interred in the new section of the cemetery outside the normal cremation area. The reasons for this change in the practice of this one community cannot be recovered now and the reaction of other communities burying at Spong Hill, who maintained the traditional funerary rites, can only be imagined. These changes in burial practices imply an important change in memory. Not only were more personal memories of the individuals who lived with the deceased brought to the fore but there is also an implied separation from the other communities burying at Spong Hill, both living and dead, in effect separating themselves from their own ancestors who had been cremated and interred in the main cemetery. This suggests that for this community, memories of the dead came to focus more on the immediate social relationships of the individual within the community in which they lived and less on their wider tribal or ethnic affiliation. This may have been the beginnings of the changes that led to the Spong Hill community being abandoned and each community, presumably, establishing its own cemetery.

Edix Hill, Cambridgeshire

At Edix Hill, we have seen how memories of the dead were strongly linked to people's position within the community. The placing of the dead reflected, and helped maintain, social divisions within the living community. Each family literally had their 'place', their own burial plot, with those of higher status monopolising the top of the hill, while outsiders were marked out from the main community. Pre-existing geographical features, prehistoric ditches and the topography of the hill itself, shaped the cemetery layout. Here, community memories were mapped out on to the cemetery, inscribed on the landscape to be revisited at each funeral and memorial ceremony. Bringing the dead into the cemetery and burying them in an appropriate place led to the fixing of memories of them as a member of the community. The layout of the cemetery and the act of placing the dead within it acts as a technology of memory, creating a lasting identity for the dead that is appropriate within the particular cultural context. The objects buried with the dead at Edix Hill may also be seen as memorialising them according to their position within the community. In particular, the different styles of women's costume identified by Malim and Hines would have marked them out as belonging to a specific social group. We can see therefore that at Edix Hill memories of the dead were clearly linked to ideas about community and people's social identities and relationships. Again, 'personal' and 'social' memories cannot be separated, as each informs the other. The personal memories of the deceased's families and friends would have been structured by the cultural framework that stressed community relationships in the construction of identity.

The family has also been shown to be an important structuring factor in memories of the dead at Edix Hill. As well as the organization of the cemetery into family plots, Edix Hill

had an unusually high proportion of multiple burials and there were several instances where care had been taken to bury certain individuals close together. Memories of the individual as part of a particular family were clearly important and no doubt were related to the practice of commemorative ceremonies, where families revisited the cemetery to remember their dead. Having deceased family members grouped together in plots rather than dispersed over the cemetery would have had practical implications for these ceremonies but also helped create memories of the dead as constituting members of the family group and therefore having an ongoing relationship with the living. It has been argued in this thesis that working through memories of the deceased via their belongings was a way of dealing with grief. It can also be suggested that the placing of the dead created a site for memories, that enabled the living to distance themselves from those memories both physically and emotionally. Revisiting those memories at a particular place and time during commemorative rituals would have also been a way of dealing with grief and memories that may threaten to overwhelm the mourners.

Apple Down, Sussex

The Apple Down cemetery shows significantly more variation in burial practices, and thus in what was considered 'worth remembering', than either Spong Hill or Edix Hill. At Apple Down, memories of the dead were formed around two main aspects of social identity. The first of these was the family, which as this thesis has demonstrated was central to funerary practices and the commemoration of the dead throughout most of the period. The organization and layout of the cemetery implies that the placing of the dead, the arrangement of the funeral and the continued commemoration was left largely to the decisions of the family, rather than that there was some overall plan. The use of fences

was particularly important here, with some families segregating their burial space off from those of others, thus creating a place that was exclusively theirs and emphasising their identity in death as well as in life. At Apple Down, the landscape above-ground served to structure memory, with differences in orientation emphasized by grave mounds and the burial plots of different families visible to all.

The second aspect of identity commemorated at Apple Down related to a wider ethnic or cultural affiliation. This was demonstrated through the differences in dress styles of the women buried here, which would have clearly distinguished them in both life and death as members of different social groups. This affiliation to a wider cultural identity may also have been demonstrated by some families by the types of above-ground markers used, with the four- and six-post structures found at this site being a typically Kentish style of marker (Hogarth 1973). These two types of identity cannot be entirely separated as each would have influenced the other. The remembrance of the dead at Apple Down therefore indicates the way that memories can be simultaneously structured by different issues and concerns.

However, the most important aspect of remembrance of the dead at Apple Down relates to the evidence it provides for the contestation of memories. Memory is not always a basis for cohesion and accord. Instead, it can be the site of disputes between different groups as they compete for control of the past. The uses of different types of material culture and dress styles, the change in the orientation and alignment of graves over time, the segregation of some family plots and the large number and variety of grave markers at this site all indicate that different families had their own priorities in remembering the dead, which may have been in conflict with those of other families. One family may even

have gone so far as to begin their own cemetery nearby, separate from the rest of the community. Visibility was therefore a key component of the establishment of rights over certain places within the cemetery and the deployment of memories in the service of the living. It would have been very easy for members of the Apple Down community to distinguish between the places of different families within the cemetery. Here, memories of the dead were mapped out on to the landscape of the cemetery. We can see therefore that continuing remembrance of the dead might be as much a focus for division as for cohesion and that memory was a powerful tool in the competition for status in the community.

Rivenhall, Essex

The evidence from cemetery 1 at Rivenhall represents a great difference in terms of how memories were constructed and operated in comparison to the other three cemeteries in this study. The role of objects in constructing memories of the deceased at the funeral had ended (see discussion below). Similarly, there were fewer opportunities for families to create their own significant memories in the placing of the dead, as all graves were on the same alignment, in rows and with no special markers. It might be suggested that at Rivenhall the graveside was no longer the main focus for remembering the dead, with commemorative activities taking place primarily within the building at the side of the cemetery. It seems likely that this structure acted as a mausoleum or chapel and that Rivenhall might be taken as an example of the increasing influence of Christianity on burial practices and remembrance of the dead in the later Anglo-Saxon period. It has been argued in this thesis that with the influence of Christianity, memories of the dead may have become more focused on the individual and their personal salvation than on their

position within their family and community, which had taken precedence in remembrance of the dead before this time.

Changing attitudes to memory in Anglo-Saxon England

As has been demonstrated in this study, different communities had different priorities in remembering the dead, which is reflected in the variety of funerary practices carried out at these sites. Attitudes to remembering the dead did not remain static but underwent major changes during this period. Although objects remained central to the construction and preservation of memories of individual people and social relationships throughout this period, their role in remembrance of the dead altered. In the early part of the period, they were part of a temporary display at the funeral that allowed memories of the deceased and the obligations of the living to them to be 'finished' and a lasting identity constructed for their remembrance. In the later part of the period, the role of objects at the funeral had ended. Instead, objects took on a more long term role in remembrance, being passed to friends and family to act as reminders of the deceased and of their need for prayers. Whereas in the early period, it was members of the family who used the deceased's belongings to construct memories of them, by the end of the period the individual themself was actively selecting objects for donation that would present a particular image of them.

The commemorative aspects of grave placement also underwent changes over the course of the period, with burial in family plots declining in importance and the development of the idea that certain areas of the cemetery were 'better' than others. With greater emphasis on location within the cemetery as an indicator of status, there was also an

increase in competition for space and greater use of above-ground markers. All of these issues were also linked to changes in commemoration. The identity of the deceased as a member of a particular family became less important in commemoration than their identity as a member of the Christian community. The visibility of graves through their proximity to the church and use of markers was related to the need for prayers that would affect the fate of the soul. Commemoration of the dead through cemetery organization and the placing of graves therefore came to place greater emphasis on the individual rather than the family (although the family did not entirely lose its importance here). Each individual grave came to have its own claim on people's commemorative activity, rather than being remembered as part of a family unit, as was the case in the early period. In this way, it can be seen that remembrance of the dead in the Anglo-Saxon period became increasingly personalized and more concerned with long-term commemoration as time went on.

These changes in attitudes to remembrance of the dead were just one part of wider changes in mentalities during this period upon which Christianity had an influence. Although Christianity was not a fixed cultural 'package' that people acquired when they converted, it did exert an influence on attitudes and beliefs in the long term. This influence was not the same in the seventh century as in the tenth, as Christianity itself was always changing and evolving, so we should not imagine the Anglo-Saxon people gradually acquiring a Christian outlook piece by piece. However, by the tenth century at least there had been a major change in mentalities, compared with the early period, in which Christianity played a large part. The most important aspect of these changes for the remembrance of the dead was the stress placed upon the actions of the individual for achieving salvation (cf. Sawyer 2000). Whereas in the early period, memories of the dead

centred upon their status within a network of family connections, by the end of the period, there was a greater concern with the individual and their own personal achievements in life.

Christianity also had a further impact upon memories of the dead in the later period through the growing control exerted by the clergy and the institution of the church over burial practices and commemoration. The placing of graves seems to become more controlled and subject to an overall plan while at the same time there is the development of church liturgy to commemorate the dead. This does not necessarily mean that the family had less involvement in funerary arrangements or remembrance but it does suggest that they were increasingly working within frameworks that were established by another social group. Remembrance of the dead within the family would have centred around commemorative rituals within the church, and the focus in the actions of the mourners to aid the soul of the deceased would have provided a new means of overcoming grief through direct action on behalf of the dead.

Finally, Christianity had a long-term influence on attitudes to the past more generally through its association with literacy, which added a new dimension to memory (see Chapter 1) by extending the length of time for which memory was available and the numbers of people who could potentially access it. These changes in attitudes to memory came not with the introduction of literacy itself but a few generations later. From the late seventh century, there seems to have been a development in ideas about the potential of literacy for preserving the past, with the start of long-term preservation of documents. The earliest authentic charters derive from this period, as do the earliest English saints' lives. The practice of Christianity at this time was heavily dependent upon the memory of saints

to act as a focus for devotion and as an inspiration for people to live good Christian lives. Even if such things were committed to parchment before this, the decision to preserve them long-term marked a significant change in attitudes to memory and the past. The purpose of memory remained much the same, to act as an authenticating device (charters) and to preserve stories of individuals which may also serve a didactic function (saints' lives). Literacy represented a new means of constructing and preserving memories, a new technology of memory, that existed alongside the old ones. Literacy did not create new attitudes to the past, rather its use as a tool of preservation is a part of the wider changes in memory and attitudes to the past taking place across the Anglo-Saxon period.

Memory studies in history and archaeology

This thesis has demonstrated the potential for the use of memory in the study of past societies. However, it has also raised a number of concerns about the ways in which memory has been utilized by historians and archaeologists to date. Chapter 1 has demonstrated that the concept of memory can only be of use in studying the past when it is clearly defined and distinguished from other concepts such as tradition, myth and history itself. I have argued that memory should be seen as a construct that is dependent upon the present context. Memories are constructed within the framework of society, which defines both what is considered worth remembering and the form those memories take. Remembrance is therefore a culturally-appropriate response to the interaction of the needs of the present with the events of the past. However, while social context plays an important role in remembering and forgetting, I have also argued that the notion of 'social memory' is a misnomer, as true memory can only ever occur at the level of the individual. It has been my contention that 'social' and 'personal' memory cannot be separated, as

each interacts with and informs the other. This means that when investigating memory, historians and archaeologists should limit their study to the realm of personal experience rather than using it as a means of understanding all attitudes to the past. It is only through closely defining what we mean by 'memory' in this way that the concept can retain any meaning for the study of the past.

The concept of 'technologies of memory', utilized and developed here, provides a means of understanding the relationship between personal memories and the social framework that structures them. Technologies of memory are objects and places that have meaning within a given society or social group but which can also have special significance for individuals through their link to events of the past. As we have seen, these objects and places can be understood as storage devices for personal memories, as in medieval concepts of 'memory palaces', acting as a trigger for memories and forming the centre of narratives of a person's life story. As has been argued throughout this thesis, technologies of memory can also be understood as the means by which these personal memories are given social significance and shared with the community. Objects and places that act as technologies of memory are particularly powerful when those memories are related to deceased loved ones, as through emphasising loss they can strengthen ties to the past. These technologies of memory are therefore ideal tools for archaeologists to use when investigating memory.

Appendix 1

Tables referred to in Chapter 2

Key to Tables

Throughout, sex refers to biological sex. In the tables covering the Spong Hill cremations, residual finds of potsherds in the grave fill have been ignored. In the tables covering Edix Hill, 'Sk no' refers to those found during the modern excavations, while 'Grave no' refers to the nineteenth-century excavations.

Abbreviations

F = female

F? = possibly female

M = male

M? = possibly male

U = unsexable

Cu alloy = copper alloy

Distbd = disturbed, original location uncertain

Fe = iron

Frags = fragments

min. = miniature

misc = miscellaneous

o/s = outside

Table 1 – Women's furnished inhumations at Spong Hill

Sk no	Age/ sex	Brooches	Beads	Buckles	Wrist-clasps	Knife	Containers	Misc
3	Under 17 U	Annular brooch shoulder area		Buckle shoulder area			Pot cut vertically in half, organic residue; part of base of 2nd. Bronze sheet frags: poss box fittings/ bowl repair	
14	17-25 F	2 annular brooches, 1 back-to-back with a small-long (trefoil) brooch, all on chest					Pot, very small	
37	17-25 F	2 annular brooches	Beads and spangle chest area		Wrist-clasps, on wrists?			Fe pin chest. Sherds of *c.* ½ pot, chest area
38	17-25 F	2 annular & 1 square-headed brooch.		2 buckles in leg area	Wrist-clasps chest area (on wrists?).	With belt set	1 incomplete & 1 nr-complete pot, around abdomen.	Girdle hangers & rings w/ buckles. Coffin?
47	17-25 F						Pot sherd with organic residue	
2	20-25 F	Pair florid cruciforms at waist, small long (trefoil) in between, small long (rectangular) in middle of chest, annular at neck	Bead string across shoulder			Iron ring & knife together, not apparently on body.	Pot sherds from base & lower body.	Coffin?

Sk no	Age/ sex	Brooches	Beads	Buckles	Wrist-clasps	Knives	Containers	Misc
22	25-35 F	3 cruciform brooches, 2 on L shoulder, 1 on right.	Large crystal bead L of chest area	Buckled belt at waist.		Knife at waist.	Pot, complete, by feet.	Spindle whorl by feet. Coffin, all finds inside.
42	25-35 F	2 small long (trapezoidal) brooches	Beads at neck		Wrist-clasps on abdomen area		½ pot with organic residue & complete pot outside coffin	Coffin
19	35 F?	2 annular brooches, 1 very worn.						
57	35-45 F	2 annular & 1 florid cruciform brooch.			Wrist-clasps on wrists?	Knife & ring, loose.	1 nr-complete pot & *c.*¼ of another.	Coffin.
5	Adult F	2 small long (trapezoidal) brooches	Beads in-between brooches	Silver ring at waist	Wrist-clasps at wrists? + 1 at waist.		Pot, complete, with organic residue	
9	Adult F						Pot, small cup, 1 piece missing, organic residue	
17	Adult F					Knife, at waist?	Incomplete pottery bowl – cut vertically, hole in base	
26	Adult F	Cruciform brooch with tiny beads attached & disc brooch. Bronze sheet frag at neck –from applied brooch?	Scattered across upper body. Chalk bead at waist.			Knife at waist.	Pot, complete, higher up in grave nr feet	
29	Adult F	2 annular brooches.			Wrist-clasps at wrists.			Fe ring & strip & jet bead – location unknown

Sk no	Age/ sex	Brooches	Beads	Buckles	Wrist-clasps	Knives	Containers	Misc
39	Adult F	2 annular & 1 cruciform brooch.	Beads upper part of body.	Buckled belt at waist. Strap end.			Pot sherds from about ½ a pot.	
44	Adult F	2 annular brooches.	Beads on chest.	Iron ring (? small buckle/ring-headed pin) & loop – location unknown		Knife behind crouched body	Complete pot behind crouched body	Two rings behind crouched body
56	Adult F	2 annular brooches	Pierced object & beads nr brooches				Pot, rim missing, organic residue	Coffin
11	? – no bones	Annular brooch middle of chest?	Necklace with pendants (no beads)				Potsherds from base of a pot – on face?	
12	? – no bones	3 annular brooches upper body, bronze ring with brooches.	Beads at waist area?					Coffin?
18	?	Square-headed & small long (rectangular-headed) brooches	Beads on chest				Wooden bowl? – possible repair strip	Coffin

Table 1

Sk no	Age/ sex	Brooches	Beads	Buckles	Wrist-clasps	Knives	Containers	Misc
24	?	2 annular & 1 square-headed brooch chest area	Beads scattered over upper body. More on top of coffin.			Knife by right shoulder; 2nd on top of coffin.	Bowl resting on leather inside coffin.	Weaving batten, girdle hanger w/ ring & poss latch-lifters, strap-ends on top of coffin.
33	? – no bones		Couple at end of grave				Pot with hole in base	Unidentified bronze object
45	?	2 annular & 1 cruciform brooch.				Ring & knife at hip?	Wooden bowl (repair strips survive). Pot sherds.	Bronze rings in chest area. Figure of 8 loop & latch-lifter, location unknown. Coffin.
46	?	2 equal-armed brooches & 1 cruciform	Beads & silver ring across chest.	Buckle at waist	Wrist-clasps in abdomen & L forearm area – on wrists?	Ring & knife hip area.		
48	? – no bones				Wrist-clasps, relationship to body unclear	Knife, relationship to body unclear	Pot, incomplete, organic residue	
58	?	Cruciform and annular brooches.				Knife & ring by feet	Wooden bowl on/by skull	

Table 2 – Male furnished inhumations at Spong Hill

Sk no	Age/ sex	Knife	Buckle/Belt	Weapons	Containers	Misc
16	Under 18 M	Knife – location unclear	Iron objects, studs & strap end at waist area		Pot sherd	
23	22+ M	Knife at waist	Buckled belt at waist		Pot by side & potsherd with legs	
30	25-35 M	Knife waist area	(None)		Nearly complete pot	Purse mount waist area
50	35 M	Knife at waist	(None)	Spear on body		
13	35-45 M	Knife on chest	(None)	Spearhead to right of shoulder, inside coffin.	Pot.	Coffin
31	*c.*40 M	Knife, original location unknown	2 buckles, original locations unknown	Spearhead outside chamber, ferrule inside (broken for burial?). Shield boss leaning against outside of chamber		Other iron objects, original locations unknown. Wooden chamber.
36	Adult U	Knife, location unknown		Shield on abdomen? Spearhead right of skull area.	Pot outside coffin?	Pin, location unknown. Coffin.
27	? – no bones	Knife at waist	2 buckled belts at waist, 1 in centre, 1 to the left.	Spearhead right of shoulder, shield on abdomen.	Pot, nr complete, outside coffin	Purse-mount, pin, & tweezers at waist. Coffin.
28	?	Knife at waist	Buckled belt at waist	Spearhead left of head area	Pot broken vertically in half	
32	? – no bones	Knife at waist	Buckled belt with strap-end at waist	Spearhead left of head		Coffin.
40	? – no bones		Buckled belt, location unknown	Spearhead west end chamber, sword & shield in middle.	Bucket, repair clips from wooden bowl	Wooden chamber

Sk no	Age/ sex	Knife	Buckle/Belt	Weapons	Containers	Misc
41	? no bones	Knife at waist	Buckled belt at waist	Shield on chest, spear diagonally on top of coffin		Coffin
49	? no bones	Knife on chest	Buckled belt at waist	Shield on chest area? Spear right of chest		
51	?	Knife at waist	Buckled belt at waist	Shield on chest, spearhead right of skull.	Pot vertically cut in half, organic residue	Coffin
54	?		Buckled belt at waist?	Spear		

Table 3 – Spong Hill Cremations sample

Infant	0-4 years	(young 0-2 years, older 3-4 years)
Juvenile	5-12 years	(young 5-8 years, older 9-12 years)
Sub-adult	13-18 years	(young 13-15 years, older 16-18 years)
Adult: young	19-25	
Adult: mature	26-40	(younger 26-30 years, older 31-40 years)
Adult: older	40+ yrs	

Cremation no.	Age	Sex	Survival
28	Adult: young/mature	?Female	Complete
29	Adult: young/mature	?Female	Complete; hole in base
34	Infant	-	Complete
1020	Infant	-	Complete
1021	Infant/juvenile	-	Complete
1084	infant	-	Complete
1094	Adult: young/younger mature	??Female	Complete
1107	Adult: mature	??M	Complete
1109	adult: mature	Female	Complete; base disintegrated
1116	Adult: older mature	??F	Complete
1127	adult	??M	Complete
1152	adult: younger mature	Female	Complete
1155	infant	-	Complete
1170	adult: young/younger mature	?F	Complete
1178	adult: older mature/older	??M	Complete; hole in base
1247	adult: younger mature	??F	Complete
1248	adult: older mature	??F	Complete
1250	adult: younger mature	??F	Complete
1251	infant: young/neonate	-	Complete
1277	Infant	-	Complete
1295	adult: mature	??F	Complete
1347	young Juvenile	-	Complete
1348	infant	-	Complete
1362	adult: mature	Female	Complete
1376	adult: young	??F	Complete
1378	Infant	-	Complete
1394	infant: neonate	-	Complete
1403	infant: young	-	Complete
1429	sub-adult: young	-	Complete
1433	infant: older	-	Complete
1439	adult: younger mature	??F	Complete
1449	sub-adult: young	-	Complete
1454	infant: young	-	Complete
1475	sub-adult: older	-	Complete; lead plug in hole in base

Table 3

Cremation no.	Age	Sex	Survival
1488	adult: mature	??F	Complete
1490	adult: young	?F	Complete
1492	sub-adult: older	?M	Complete
1496	adult: mature	Female	Complete
1500	Juvenile: young	-	Complete
1514	infant/Juvenile: young	-	Complete
1516	adult: younger mature	Female	Complete
1518	infant: older	-	Complete
1519	adult: younger mature	?M	Complete
1524	Juvenile: young	-	Complete
1550	adult: older mature/older	??F	Complete
1556	Juvenile: young	-	Complete
1561	adult: older mature	Female	Complete
1567	infant	-	Complete
1568	infant: young	-	Complete
1578	adult: older mature/older	??F	Complete
1619	Juvenile	-	Complete, hole in side near base
1622	adult: younger mature	?F	Complete, 2 holes in base
1634	infant: older	-	Complete
1647	adult: younger mature	??M	Complete
1653	older infant/young Juvenile	-	Complete but for part of base, deliberate hole?
1667	adult: mature	Female	Complete
1676	Juvenile	-	Complete
1679	adult: mature	??F	Complete
1697	adult: older mature/older	??M	Complete
1716	Juvenile: young	-	Complete
1719	adult: older	?M	Complete
1721	infant/Juvenile	-	Complete
1722	infant	-	Complete
1724	adult: mature	??F	Complete
1728	infant	-	Complete except for part of base
1730	Juvenile: young	-	Complete
1739	adult: older mature/older	??F	Complete except piece of rim
1741	infant: older	-	Complete
1751	adult; young/mature	?F	Complete
1755	adult: younger mature	?F	Complete
1758	infant: young	-	Complete
1762	adult: older mature	??F	Complete
1763	infant/young juvenile	-	Complete
1764	adult: older mature/older	??M	Complete
1766	adult: mature	Male	Complete, hole near base
1784	adult: young	Male	Complete

Table 3

Cremation no.	Age	Sex	Survival
1791	older infant	-	Complete
1792	Juvenile	-	Complete
1794	adult: older	?F	Complete
1802	adult: older mature	??F	Complete except for piece of rim
1804	adult: older mature/older	Female	Complete
1805	adult: older	?M	Complete
1807	adult: mature/older	Female	Complete, possible deliberate hole in base
1814	adult: older mature	Female	Complete
1816	Infant	-	Complete
1817	adult: mature	Female	Complete
1819	older Juvenile	-	Complete
1821	older Juvenile	-	Complete
1824	Juvenile: young	-	Complete
1832	adult: mature	Male	Complete
1838	Adult: young/younger mature	??F	Complete except piece of base, ?deliberate hole
1850	adult: older	?F	Complete
1878	adult: mature/older	M	Complete
1880	adult: mature	Female	Complete except rim sliced off, hole in base probably deliberate
1885	older Juvenile	-	Complete
1906	adult: mature	?F	Complete, hole in side
1910	adult: young	??F	Complete except for rim
1912	adult: mature/older	?F	Complete
1918	Juvenile: young	-	Complete
1920	Juvenile: young	-	Complete
1921	adult: mature	Female	Complete
1922	adult: mature	Female	Complete
1936	adult: mature	Female	Complete
1943	adult: young/younger mature	?F	Complete
1946	adult: older mature/older	?F	Complete
1949	adult: young	Male	Complete
1973	Juvenile	-	Complete
1978	sub-adult: older	Female	Complete
1988	infant	-	Complete, neat hole in middle base
1990	adult: older mature/older	Male	Complete
2002	sub-adult	-	Complete
2008	infant: older	-	Complete
2019	adult: older mature/older	?F	Complete, hole in side
2021	Older infant/young Juvenile	-	Complete
2034	Juvenile: older	-	Complete
2039	adult: older mature/older	?M	Complete, hole in base
2063	infant	-	Complete

Table 3

Cremation no.	Age	Sex	Survival
2067	adult: young/mature	?F	Complete
2080	Juvenile: older	-	Complete
2083	sub-adult: young	-	Complete
2086	adult: older mature	Female	Complete
2093	adult: older	??F	Complete
2100	adult: mature/older	??F	Complete
2101	adult: older mature	?M	Complete
2105	infant: older	-	Complete
2106	adult: mature	?F	Complete
2107	adult: older mature/older	??F	Complete
2110	Juvenile: young	-	Complete
2111	sub-adult: older	??F	2 small holes on neck & 1 in base
2113	adult	?M	Complete
2117	infant: older	-	Complete
2118	adult	??F	Complete
2123B	infant	-	Complete
2124	adult	??F	Complete
2134	Juvenile	-	Complete
2135	Juvenile	-	Complete
2154	adult: older	M	Complete
2176	adult: mature/older	?M	Complete
2178	infant: young	-	Complete
2188	adult: older mature/older	??F	Complete
2192	adult: older	F	Complete
2199	adult: mature/older	??F	Complete
2219	adult: older	?F	Complete
2234	adult: mature	Male	Complete
2235	adult: young	Female	Complete
2237	infant: young	-	Complete
2317	adult: younger mature	?F	Complete
2320	adult: older mature/older	?M	Complete
2322	adult: young/mature	Female	Complete
2323	Older sub-adult/young adult	?F	Complete
2331	adult: mature	?M	Complete but crushed
2334	infant: older	-	Complete, pot cracked
2335	adult: mature	??F	Complete
2342	adult: younger mature	Female	Complete
2344	Juvenile	-	Complete, pot cracked
2347	older infant/young Juvenile	-	Complete
2349	infant: young	-	Complete but crushed
2350	adult	??F	Complete, slightly crushed
2351	adult: older mature	Male	Complete, pot cracked
2354	infant	-	Complete, pot cracked
2355	adult: mature	?F	Complete, pot cracked
2372	adult: younger mature	??M	Complete

Table 3

Cremation no.	Age	Sex	Survival
2376	adult: older mature/older	??F	Complete, pot cracked
2377	older infant/young Juvenile	-	Complete, pot cracked
2401	adult: older mature/older	??M	Complete, pot cracked
2402	adult: older mature/older	Male	Complete
2406	older infant/young Juvenile	-	Complete
2414	infant: older	-	Complete, pot cracked
2427	young sub-adult	-	Complete, pot cracked
2429	adult: young/mature	??F	Complete but crushed
2431	adult	??F	Complete but crushed
2432	adult: young/younger mature	??F	Complete
2470	infant: older	-	Complete
2473	infant	-	Complete but crushed
2482	sub-adult: young	-	Complete, pot cracked
2483	adult: young	??M	Complete, pot cracked
2511	adult: mature	?M	Complete
2513	adult: young mature	?F	Complete
2523	adult	?M	Complete but crushed
2531	adult: mature	Female	Complete, lid in position
2534	Juvenile: young	-	Complete
2555	Juvenile	-	Complete
2558	infant: older	-	Complete but crushed
2561	Juvenile: young	-	Complete
2569	Juvenile	-	Complete but crushed
2593	adult: younger mature	?F	Complete
2594	older Juvenile	-	Complete
2599	Juvenile	-	Complete
2616	adult: younger mature	??M	Complete
2629	adult: young/mature	?M	Complete but crushed by flints
2633	young Juvenile	-	Complete, pot cracked
2657	adult: mature	??M	Complete
2667	young Juvenile	-	Complete
2694	older infant/young Juvenile	-	Complete
2703	adult: mature	??F	Complete
2741	older infant	-	Complete
2745	older infant	-	Complete
2755	young infant	-	Complete
2773	adult	??M	Complete, pot cracked
2775	infant: older	-	Complete
2777	adult: older mature	Male	Complete
2788	adult: mature	Male	Complete but crushed
2814	adult: younger mature	Female	Complete
2816	adult: younger mature	??F	Complete
2833	young infant	-	Complete
2876	adult: young	?F	Complete, but crushed
2890	adult: young/mature	??F	Complete

Table 3

Cremation no.	Age	Sex	Survival
2902	adult: young/mature	??F	Complete
2916	adult: older	Female	Complete
2951	adult: younger mature	?F	Complete, pot cracked
2956	young Juvenile	-	Complete
2959	adult: older mature/older	??F	Complete, but pot cracked
3123	adult: mature	??M	Complete
3125	adult: young/mature	??M	Complete
3135	Juvenile	-	Complete, pot cracked
3150	infant: young	-	Complete
3154	infant: older	-	Complete
3166	adult: older mature/older	?M	Complete, pot cracked
3177	infant: older	-	Complete, pot cracked
3197	infant	-	Complete
3242	adult: mature	??M	Complete, rim of pot smashed
3276	infant: young	-	Complete
3278	adult: mature	??F	Complete but crushed in situ

Table 4 – Spong Hill cremations with no identifiable grave goods

Crem no	Age	Sex	Contents?
1394	Infant: neonate (0 years)	-	-
1403	Infant: young (0-2 years)	-	-
1568	Infant: young (0-2 years)	-	-
1758	Infant: young (0-2 years)	-	-
2178	Infant: young (0-2 years)	-	-
2833	Infant: young (0-2 years)	-	-
3150	Infant: young (0-2 years)	-	-
1020	Infant (0-4 years)	-	-
1084	Infant (0-4 years)	-	-
1348	Infant (0-4 years)	-	Flint flake
1722	Infant (0-4 years)	-	-
1728	Infant (0-4 years)	-	-
1816	Infant (0-4 years)	-	-
1988	Infant (0-4 years)	-	-
2123B	Infant (0-4 years)	-	-
2354	Infant (0-4 years)	-	-
2473	Infant (0-4 years)	-	-
1741	Infant: older (3-4 years)	-	-
1791	Infant: older (3-4 years)	-	-
2008	Infant: older (3-4 years)	-	-
2105	Infant: older (3-4 years)	-	-
2334	Infant: older (3-4 years)	-	-
2470	Infant: older (3-4 years)	-	-
2558	Infant: older (3-4 years)	-	Bronze globule
2775	Infant: older (3-4 years)	-	-
3154	Infant: older (3-4 years)	-	Glass lump
2021	Infant: older/young juv (3-8 yrs)	-	-
1721	Infant/juvenile (0-12 years)	-	-
1918	Juvenile: young (5-8 years)	-	-
1920	Juvenile: young (5-8 years)	-	-
1619	Juvenile (5-12 years)	-	-
2134	Juvenile (5-12 years)	-	-
2135	Juvenile (5-12 years)	-	Bronze
2344	Juvenile (5-12 years)	-	Bronze lump & iron bar
2555	Juvenile (5-12 years)	-	-
2569	Juvenile (5-12 years)	-	-
3135	Juvenile (5-12 years)	-	-
1819	Juvenile: older (9-12 years)	-	-
1885	Juvenile: older (9-12 years)	-	-
2083	Sub-adult: young (13-16 years)	-	-
2482	Sub-adult: young (13-16 years)	-	-

Table 4

Crem no	Age	Sex	Contents?
1949	adult: young (19-25 years)	Male	-
1519	adult: younger mature (26-30 years)	?M	glass fragments
1107	adult: mature (26-40 years)	??M	-
2331	adult: mature (26-40 years)	?M	Glass lump
2657	adult: mature (26-40 years)	??M	-
3123	adult: mature (26-40 years)	??M	-
3242	adult: mature (26-40 years)	??M	Bronze fragments
2101	adult: older mature (31-40 years)	?M	-
2351	adult: older mature (31-40 years)	Male	-
2176	adult: mature/older (26-40+ years)	?M	iron point
1178	adult: older mature/older (31-40+ years)	??M	bronze sheet
2039	adult: older mature/older (31-40+ years)	?M	-
3166	adult: older mature/older (31-40+ years)	?M	-
1805	adult: older (40+ years)	?M	-
1127	adult	??M	-
2113	adult	?M	-
1978	sub-adult: older (16-18 years)	F	
1094	Adult: young/ younger mature (19-30 years)	??F	
1943	adult: young/ younger mature (19-30 years)	?F	
1152	adult: younger mature (26-30 years)	F	
1439	adult: younger mature (26-30 years)	??F	
2593	adult: younger mature (26-30 years)	?F	
2951	adult: younger mature (26-30 years)	?F	
2429	adult: young/mature (19-40 years)	??F	
2902	adult: young/mature (19-40 years)	??F	
1295	adult: mature (26-40 years)	??F	
1679	adult: mature (26-40 years)	??F	
1906	adult: mature (26-40 years)	?F	
1936	adult: mature (26-40 years)	F	
1116	Adult: older mature (31-40 years)	??F	
1248	adult: older mature (31-40 years)	??F	
1561	adult: older mature (31-40 years)	F	
1946	adult: older mature/older (31-40+ years)	?F	
2019	adult: older mature/older (31-40+ years)	?F	
1807	adult: mature/older (31-40+ years)	F	
1850	adult: older (40+ years)	?F	
2124	adult (19-40+ years)	??F	

Table 5 – Women's furnished cremations from the Spong Hill sample

Crem no	Age/sex	Costume items	Grooming items & tools	Containers	Misc
1475	sub-adult: older (16-18 years) U	Part cruciform brooch	Part of comb & case		Bronze ?fitting, bronze fragment
2111	sub-adult: older (16-18 years) ??F	7-10 beads very burnt	Part of comb		
2323	Older sub-adult/ young adult (16-25 years) ?F	5 beads			
1376	adult: young (19-25 years) ??F			Glass fragments of claw-beaker	
1490	adult: young (19-25 years) ?F	Part of applied brooch, bead		Potsherds	Unburnt Roman coin
1910	adult: young (19-25 years) ??F			Ivory purse ring frags, glass vessel	
2235	adult: young (19-25 years) F	1 bead	Part of comb, spindle whorl	Ivory purse ring fragments	
2335	adult: young (19-25 years) F	7 beads			Bronze globules, bronze fitting
2876	adult: young (19-25 years) ?F		Part of comb		Bronze frags, glass lumps
1170	adult: young/younger mature (19-30 years) ?F		Shears (broken), 2 blades/single bent blade (tweezers/ knife), comb & case (unburnt)		

Crem no	Age/sex	Costume items	Grooming items and tools	Containers	Misc
1838	adult: young/ younger mature (19-30 years) ??F			Bronze sheet from bowl?	
2432	adult: young/ younger mature (19-30 years) ??F	Buckled belt (D shaped loop), bone/antler bead (broken)			
28	adult: young/mature (19-40 years) ?F	Parts of brooch, bead, broken antler ring, ivory fragments			Unburnt rivet, bronze fragments
29	adult: young/mature (19-40 years) ?F	3 beads			
1751	adult: young/mature (19-40 years) ?F	Tweezers, min. shears, blade (folded and broken), parts of comb		Glass vessel?	Bone playing pieces, bronze sheet & lump
2067	adult: young/mature (19-40 years) ?F	4 beads, part antler ring		Ivory ring frags (more than 1 ring?), lump of glass from vessel	
2322	adult: young/mature (19-40 years) F	1 bead			Lump of glass
2890	adult: young/mature (19-40 years) ??F	1 bead	Comb fragments	Ivory purse ring frags	
1247	adult: younger mature (26-30 years) ??F	5 beads, 2 broken			
1250	adult: younger mature (26-30 years) ??F	6 beads			
1516	adult: younger mature (26-30 years) F	3 or 4 beads			
1622	adult: younger mature (26-30 years) ?F	2 beads		Ivory purse ring fragments, potsherds	Bronze fragments

Crem no	Age/sex	Costume items	Grooming items and tools	Containers	Misc
1755	adult: younger mature (26-30 years) ?F	Bone/antler ring fragments, 1 bead		Ivory purse ring frag, glass vessel fragments	1 nail
2317	adult: younger mature (26-30 years) ?F	5 beads	Spindle whorl		Bronze globules
2342	adult: younger mature (26-30 years) F	Antler ring – belt fastener?	Part bone comb	Ivory purse ring frags	Bronze fragments
2513	adult: younger mature (26-30 years) ?F	3 beads		Ivory purse ring frags	Bronze globule
2814	adult: younger mature (26-30 years) F			Repair clip from wooden vessel	
2816	adult: younger mature (26-30 years) ??F	4-6 beads		Ivory purse ring fragments	Bronze lump
1109	adult: mature (26-40 years) F	2 bone beads (broken)	Min. shears, tweezers, bronze sheet cut to shape of blade w/ loops (all unburnt)		
1362	adult: mature (26-40 years) F	1 bead			½ bronze cylinder
1488	adult: mature (26-40 years) ??F	2 beads	Comb frags, Fe spike/min. blade	Ivory purse ring frags	Flint blade frag, bronze fragments.
1496	adult: mature (26-40 years) F	Part cruciform brooch, 3 beads	Comb		2 iron bars
1667	adult: mature (26-40 years) F		Comb fragments		
1724	adult: mature (26-40 years) ??F	?part brooch	Tweezers, min. shears		
1817	adult: mature (26-40 years) F		Shears, knife with broken blade		

Crem no	Age/sex	Costume items	Grooming items and tools	Containers	Misc
1880	adult: mature (26-40 years) F	?part brooch		Ivory purse ring frags	
1921	adult: mature (26-40 years) F	Wrist-clasp (one side)			
1922	adult: mature (26-40 years) F	Antler ring – belt fastener?			Iron rivet attached to bronze sheet
2100	adult: mature/older (26-40 years) ??F	Part cruciform brooch, 2-6 beads			3 cylindrical bone pegs
2106	adult: mature (26-40 years) ?F	9 beads	Spindle whorl		
2355	adult: mature (26-40 years) ?F	3 beads	Comb fragments	Ivory purse ring frags, bowl? remains	
2531	adult: mature (26-40 years) F	6-8 beads	Part of comb	Ivory purse ring frags	Bronze sheet
2703	adult: mature (26-40 years) ??F	1 bead	Comb fragments	Ivory purse ring frags	
3278	adult: mature (26-40 years) ??F	12 beads		Ivory purse ring frags	
1912	adult: mature/older (26-40+ years) ?F		Part of comb		
2199	adult: mature/older (26-40+ years) ??F		Part of shears, razor blade		Fe lump, glass lump
1762	adult: older mature (31-40 years) ??F	5 beads		Ivory purse ring frags	
1550	adult: older mature/older (31-40+ years) ??F	15 beads, bone bead		Potsherds	
1802	adult: older mature (31-40 years) ??F		Iron blade, min. shears, razor		Flint flakes
1804	adult: older mature/older (31-40+ years) F	1 bead			Bronze fragments

Crem no	Age/sex	Costume items	Grooming items and tools	Containers	Misc
1814	adult: older mature (31-40 years) F		Min. shears, razor		Bronze sheet frag
2086	adult: older mature (31-40 years) F			Bronze sheet frags from bowl?	Glass fragments
1578	adult: older mature/older (31-40+ years) ??F		Spindle whorl		
2188	adult: older mature/older (31-40+ years) ??F	11 beads,			Bronze sheet fragment, folded
2959	adult: older mature/older (31-40+ years) ??F	Part antler ring, 2 beads			
1794	adult: older (40+ years) ?F	1 bead			
2219	adult: older (40+ years) ?F	6 beads			Bronze fragment
2118	adult (19-40+ years) ??F	5 beads			
2350	adult (19-40+ years) ??F	9-10 beads	Comb fragments, spindle whorl		
2431	adult (19-40+ years) ??F	Beads? – glass			
1739	Adult: older mature/older (31-40+ years) ??F	?part brooch, 12 beads, fragments of ivory ring	Part of comb, spindle whorl		Bronze silvered fitting, with decoration matching brooch
2107	adult: older mature/older (31-40+ years) ??F	2 beads	Comb fragments		
2376	Adult: older mature/older (31-40+ years) ??F	Equal-armed brooch (pieces), pair saucer brooches, silver finger ring, Fe necklace rings, beads, ivory fragments			

Crem no	Age/sex	Costume items	Grooming items and tools	Containers	Misc
2093	Adult: older (40+ years)??F	Part cruciform brooch, 2 beads	Comb fragments		
2192	adult: older (40+ years) F		Part of comb		
2916	adult: older (40+ years) F			Repair bits from wooden bowl	

Table 6 – Men's furnished cremations from the Spong Hill sample

Crem no	Age/sex	Costume items	Grooming items	Containers	Tools	Misc
1492	Sub-adult: older (16-18 years) ?M	6 glass beads		Sherd	Spindle whorl	
1784	adult: young (19-25 years) M	1 large bead				
2483	adult: young (19-25 years) ??M			Bowl (bronze fragments)		
2629	adult: young/mature (19-40 years) ?M		Tweezers		Knife	
3125	adult: young/mature (19-40 years) ??M			Ivory purse ring fragments		
1647	adult: younger mature (26-30 years) ??M		Tweezers on ring (unburnt)		Knife o/s pot	7 astragali (unburnt)
2372	adult: younger mature (26-30 years) ??M		Min. shears (broken), comb frag	Sherds	Miniature knife	
2616	adult: younger mature (26-30 years) ??M		Tweezers, comb fragments			
1766	adult: mature (26-40 years) M	?Brooch fragment	Tweezers, shears			Bronze globules
1832	adult: mature (26-40 years) M		Shears, tweezers & knife (all miniature)	Pot packed with small stones		
2234	adult: mature (26-40 years) M		Shears & tweezers in leather pouch			

Crem no	Age/sex	Costume items	Grooming items	Containers	Tools	Misc
2511	adult: mature (26-40 years) ?M	Approx 5 beads		Ivory purse ring fragments	Spindle whorl fragments	
2788	adult: mature (26-40 years) M	2 beads, pierced cattle tooth				Bronze globule
1878	adult: mature/older (26-40+ years) M	Antler ring – belt fastener?		Ivory purse ring fragments, bowl (bronze fragments)		
2777	adult: older mature (31-40 years) M			Binding/fitting from box or bucket		
1697	adult: older mature/older (31-40+ years) ??M	?brooch, 2 beads	Parts of comb			Bronze wire ring (twisted & broken)
1764	adult: older mature/older (31-40+ years) ??M		Comb fragment			
1990	adult: older mature/older (31-40+ years) M	1 large bead				
2320	adult: older mature/ older (31-40+ years) ?M		Tweezers & shears (both miniature)			
2401	adult: older mature/older (31-40+ years) ??M		Tweezers & ear-scoop on suspension loop, Fe pin through base of loop			
2402	adult: older mature/older (31-40+ years) M		Comb fragments			Glass lump
1719	adult: older (40+ years) ?M	Part cruciform brooch, antler ring	Parts of comb	Ivory purse ring fragments		

Crem no	Age/sex	Costume items	Grooming items	Containers	Tools	Misc
2154	adult: older (40+ years) M		Comb fragments			
2523	Adult ?M				Knife, broken	
2773	Adult ??M	?Brooch repair plate, bead	Min. comb on Fe ring			

Table 7 – Furnished child cremations from the Spong Hill sample

Crem no	Age	Costume items	Grooming items & tools	Containers	Misc
1251	Infant: young/neonate (0-2 years)	3 beads			
1454	Infant: young (0-2 years)		Razor, ?shears, min. tweezers & min. comb		
1763	Infant: young (0-2 years)	Pierced Roman coin			
2349	Infant: young (0-2 years)		Comb fragments	Ivory purse ring fragments	
2755	Infant: young (0-2 years)		Comb fragments		
3276	Infant: young (0-2 years)	½ a bead			
2237	Infant: young (0-2 years)	1 or 2 beads			
34	Infant (0-4 years)	Applied brooch, 2 beads			Iron frag
1155	Infant (0-4 years)		Comb fragments		
1277	Infant (0-4 years)	1 bead			
1378	Infant (0-4 years)	Comb fragments			
1567	Infant (0-4 years)	3 beads			
2063	Infant (0-4 years)	Cruciform/small long brooch	Comb fragments		
3197	Infant (0-4 years)	Bronze lumps & Fe pin w/ spring (brooch remains), 2 beads			
1433	Infant: older (3-4 years)		Shears, razor, tweezers & comb (all miniature)		
1518	Infant: older (3-4 years)		Rivets from comb		

Crem no	Age	Costume items	Grooming items and tools	Containers	Misc
1634	Infant: older (3-4 years)		Comb		
2117	Infant: older (3-4 years)	Bronze mass – probably a brooch			
2414	Infant: older (3-4 years)		2 miniature combs		
2741	Infant: older (3-4 years)	Antler? bead	Comb rivet		
2745	Older infant (3-4 years)	6 beads	Comb fragments		Bronze globule
3177	Infant: older (3-4 years)		Comb rivets		
1514	Infant/juvenile: young (0-8 years)		Tweezers (broken)		
1021	Infant/juvenile (0-12 years)		Razor with looped handle & min. shears		
1653	Older infant/young juvenile (3-8 years)	1 bead, unburnt			
2347	Older infant/young juvenile (3-8 years)		Knife		
2377	Infant: older/young juvenile (3-8 years)		Comb fragments		?nail
2406	Older infant/young juvenile (3-8 years)	1 or 2 beads	Knife blade		Bronze sheet fragment
2694	Older infant/young juvenile (3-8 years)	Annular brooch?, pin & spring from a brooch, 2 or 3 beads			Bronze mass
1347	Young juvenile (5-8 years)	1 bead			
1500	Juvenile: young (5-8 years)		Miniature comb		Bronze frag
1524	Juvenile: young (5-8 years)			Potsherds	
1556	Juvenile: young (5-8 years)		Frags comb & case	potsherds	
1716	Juvenile: young (5-8 years)	1 bead			

Crem no	Age	Costume items	Grooming items and tools	Containers	Misc
1730	Juvenile: young (5-8 years)	Cruciform brooch			Bronze bar, bronze lump
1824	Juvenile: young (5-8 years)		Shears, blade, broken tweezers on ring, ear-scoop		
2110	Juvenile: young (5-8 years)		Tweezers, shears, loop of razor (all miniature)		Bronze lump
2534	Juvenile: young (5-8 years)		Comb fragments		
2561	Young Juvenile (5-8 years)	2 beads & melted lump			
2633	Juvenile: young (5-8 years)		Comb fragments		
2667	Juvenile: young (5-8 years)		Tweezers on ring, comb & ?case		Bronze sheet fragment
2956	Juvenile: young (5-8 years)		Comb fragments and rivet		
1676	Juvenile (5-12 years)	About 10 beads			
1792	Juvenile (5-12 years)	1 bead			
1973	Juvenile (5-12 years)		Shears, razor, tweezers, comb rivet, hone-stone		
2599	Juvenile (5-12 years)	2 or 3 beads			
1821	Juvenile: older (9-12 years)			Bronze sheet – vessel rim binding?	
2034	Juvenile: older (9-12 years)	Trefoil-headed small long brooch, melted remains of second brooch?			Bronze lumps
2080	Juvenile: older (9-12 years)	6 or 7 beads			
2594	Juvenile: older (9-12 years)		Comb fragments		
1449	Sub-adult: young (13-15 years)	3 beads	Rivets from comb	Potsherds	Flint flake

Crem no	Age	Costume items	Grooming items and tools	Containers	Misc
2427	Sub-adult: young (13-15 years)	2 beads	Needle?		Bone object, bronze and glass globules
1429	Sub-adult: young (13-16 years)		Razor, comb frags, min. shears		
2002	Sub-adult (13-18 years)	7 beads			Bronze strip

Table 8 – Unfurnished graves at Edix Hill

Sk no	Age/ Sex	Comments	Survival (%age)
119	19-35 years / F		80%
171	21-25 years / F		75%
725A	25-35 years / F		2%
147B	26-70 years / F		5%
16A	30-34 years / F		80%
3A1	adult / F?		5%
372	18-25 M		50%
430A	18-25 M		10%
33	25-35 M		30%
367A	25-35 M	(Fe object found here but may be associated w/367B unsexed skeleton)	40%
447A	25-35 M		35%
719A	25-35 M	(Fe frags here, context uncertain)	30%
300A	35 M		95%
453B	35-45 M		3%
51B	45+ M		10%
451A	50-59 M		60%
49	adult M?		2%
466A	adult M		5%
725B	adult M		1%
175	perinatal		75%
440B	perinatal		50%
184B	10 mths		<1%
127B	2-3 years		1%
42A1	3 years		2%
352	3-4 years		90%
432B	3-4 years		2%
10B	4 years		60%
136B	5 years		15%
133	6-7 years		85%
447B	6-7 years		50%
591	7 years		15%
172	8 years		60%
587	8 years		90%
719B	7-12 years		2%
586	10-11 years		90%
430C	under 12 years		<5%
51A	15 years	(Fe fragments, association uncertain)	60%
451B	15 years		3%

Table 8

Sk no	Age/ Sex	Comments	Survival (%age)
369C	16 years	(Beads & frags, association uncertain)	1%
455	17-18 years		85%
719C	child/ adolescent		<1%
136A	adolescent/ adult		1%
466B	child/ adolescent		<1%

Table 9 – Women and grave goods at Edix Hill (Phase I)

All wrist-clasps and belts worn unless otherwise stated.

Sk no	Age/ Sex	Brooches	Beads	Buckles	Chatelaine/ Girdle group/ suspended objects	Knives	Wrist-clasps	Misc.
424	14 U	Annular brooch on skull – fallen off shoulder?	Bead string on chest	Buckle by L shoulder - as 2nd brooch?	Suspension ring at hip, latch-lifters & rods in bag on L leg.			
16B	15-16 U	2 annular brooches at shoulders	Round back of neck & on chest		Girdle grp on chest, (in bag?): suspension rod, mount, latch-lifters & 2 rings		2 pairs wrist-clasps Form B 7	
128	16-17 U	Disc brooch & small long (square-head deriv. type).	(Chest area poorly preserved)	Buckled belt with studs, buckle at R elbow	Possible annular brooch frag by L leg with suspended object.			
44A	18 F	Small long brooch (cross-head type) L shoulder (R side missing)	Beads over body	Buckled belt.	(lower half missing)		Form B 7 + single catch-piece of Form B 13c	Finger ring on R hand
359	18 F			(Buckle in bag)	Ivory purse ring under leg: knife, ?latch-lifter, ring, buckled belt, strap-mounts	(in purse)	One pair Form B 7, other: half B 7 & half B 14b	

Sk no	Age/ Sex	Brooches	Beads	Buckles	Chatelaine/ Girdle group/ suspended objects	Knives	Wrist-clasps	Misc.
45	19 F	(in bag)	(in bag)		Purse?: brooch and beads. Chatelaine, with tweezers attached.			
626A	18-20 F	Pair cast saucer brooches (5-spiral type).	Bead string over chest.	Buckled belt with studs.	Girdle group: ring, girdle hanger, knife	With girdle group	2 pairs of Form B 13c.	
726	17-25 F		Scattered					
20B	25 F	Shoulders: small long (cross-headed deriv. type) & disc brooches, cruciform brooch (type D) on throat.	Bead string incl slip-knot rings & spangles.	Buckled belt and strap end.	Ivory purse ring, purse contains: latch-lifters on ring and knife.	(in purse)	2 pairs of Form B 13a.	
322B	25 F	Pair small long brooches (cross-head type).	Bead string incl slip-knot rings		Suspension ring, originally at waist?	Knife (disturbed)		Pin
436	25 F	Annular brooch at R shoulder	Beads behind neck & skull	Buckled belt with studs	Latch-lifters, girdle hanger, suspension rings and antler ring on pelvis in bag	Knife at waist		
687A	25 F		Scattered					Nail/stud
9	25-29 F		Beads across chest			Knife at R waist.		Pottery rim sherd

Sk no	Age/ Sex	Brooches	Beads	Buckles	Chatelaine/ Girdle group/ suspended objects	Knives	Wrist-clasps	Misc.
156	25-29 F	Pair small long brooches (trefoil type)	Beads on chest	Buckled belt		Knife on body		?Brooch pin, pierced potsherd.
687B	25-29 F		Scattered					Nail
4	25-35 F	Pair small long brooches (cross-headed type)	Bead string includes slip-knot rings.	Buckled belt at waist, another on legs	Bead & ring at waist – girdle fastening? In purse: 2 Roman coins, wrist-clasps. On legs: tweezers.	On legs	3 pairs, 2 on arms, 1 in bag, Form B 7	Mount, on legs
184A	25-35 F		Beads across R shoulder			Knife at L side – not worn?		
440A	25-35 F		Bead necklace.	Buckle in centre of chest				Nail
547A	25-35 F	Shoulders: disc & small long (trefoil type) brooches	Bead string incl bead tube(s) & poss pendant[1]		Ring at pelvis.	Knife at pelvis.		
428	30-34 F	Pair cast saucer brooches.	Bead string	Buckled belt. Second buckle beside chest.	Ivory purse ring & fe rivets (decorated strap over R shoulder). In bag: latch-lifters, belt-ring & brush tube	Knife beside chest		

[1] Pendant may possibly belong to Child Sk547B

Sk no	Age/ Sex	Brooches	Beads	Buckles	Chatelaine/ Girdle group/ suspended objects	Knives	Wrist-clasps	Misc.
44B	35 F	Pair openwork disc brooches.	Bead string incl bead tubes & bucket pendant.	Two buckles on chest, function unknown	Two strap ends at waist: girdle? Strap-end on chest & another by waist. Chatelaine at waist		2 pairs of form B 13a. At waist: Form B 7, frags Form B 13c.	
29	35-45 F		Beads across chest.			Knife at R side		Pot. Comb
127A	35-45 F	Rings at shoulders; cu alloy stains on clavicles - brooches removed by metal detectorists?	Beads on chest		None	Knife at waist		Pin on chest & one on legs.
526	35-45 F	Shoulders: cruciform (Type C) & small long (cross head deriv. type).	Beads in front of chest of crouched skeleton			Knife (loose)	2 pairs of Form B 13c	Tweezers found in mouth
354	45+ F	Pair cast saucer brooches (marigold type)	Beads on chest	Possible buckle at waist	Suspension ring - original location uncertain.		Silver, Class A, a pair, distbd	

Sk no	Age/ Sex	Brooches	Beads	Buckles	Chatelaine/ Girdle group/ suspended objects	Knives	Wrist-clasps	Misc.
530	52-59 F	2 applied saucer (zoomorphic type) brooches	Bead string incl spangles.	Buckle at top of left thigh	None		None	Bracelet under beads
58B	Adult U	2 applied saucer (zoomorphic type) brooches	Beads scattered around hips.	Buckled belt. Strap-end on chest.	None		None	
432A	Adult F?		Beads on upper part of body	Buckle originally at waist?				Nail
Grave 0	Adult U	2 small long (square & cross-head derivative types) brooches	Beads around neck & spreading down to waist		None		None	Iron frags on hips. Pieces of pottery on body.
Grave 2	Adult U	Small long brooches (trefoil type).	Bead string		None		None	
Grave 5	Adult U	Annular brooch - location not recorded.	Bead string		Suspended toilet set (2 pins & ear-scoop on slip-knot ring) - location unrecorded.		1 pair Form B 7 location unrecorded.	Silver bracelet?
Grave 6	Adult U		String incl slip-knot ring					Bucket by head

Sk no	Age/ Sex	Brooches	Beads	Buckles	Chatelaine/ Girdle group/ suspended objects	Knives	Wrist-clasps	Misc.
Grave 8	Adult U	Swastika brooch.	Bead string		None			Pin and potsherd, locations unrecorded
Grave 11	Adult U	Pair cast saucer brooches (6-spiral type) and great square-headed brooch.	Bead string		None		None	Clasp on body. Frag w/ rivet on L of head, part of earring/ headgear? Silver bracelet L wrist.
Grave 15	Adult U	Small long brooch (square-headed type).	2 beads		None	Knife		Comb

Table 10 – Women and grave goods at Edix Hill (undatable graves)

Sk no	Age/ sex	Brooches	Beads	Buckles	Chatelaine/ girdle grp/	Knife	Misc.
459	18 U		String incl slip-knot rings & pendants		Chatelaine with legs (distbd).	Knife with legs (distbd).	Comb with legs (distbd).
149	25-35 F (Iron Age burial?)	Iron Age/ Roman brooch at knees (Colchester type)	Couple of beads				Iron Age potsherds (same pot w/Sk147A & B). Nails.
135	50 F			Buckled belt	Suspension rod by head.	Knife at waist	
592	52-91 F						Pin on shoulder, comb on chest
458	60+					Knife between arms of crouched skeleton.	
Grave 4	Adult U				Latch-lifter on arms.	Knife on arms.	
Grave 23	Adult U				Latch-lifters at waist.		

Table 11 – Women and grave goods at Edix Hill (Phase II)

Sk no	Age/ sex	Clothes fasteners	Buckle	Knife	Chatelaine/ girdle grp	Containers	Tools	Misc.
42B	17-25 F	Rings on shoulders, possibly from a necklace. 1 bead (lost)		One loose in grave, 2nd in box	Key, loose in grave	Bucket. In box: comb, mount/ pendant, fossil, sheep astragalus, nail?, iron frags.	Weaving batten. In box: spindle whorl	Bed burial
183	25-32 F	Silver ring & pin on shoulders	Buckles at thighs.	Knife at hip.	Chatelaine.			Bed burial
161	23-35 F		Buckled belt	Knife at waist	Latch-lifter & suspension ring.			Nail
2	35-39 F			Knife at L waist				Worked bone
683B	35-45 F	Bead at R hip – fastener?	Buckled belt	Knife at waist.	Chatelaine w/ coin at the end.	Pot with box on top	Spindle whorl	
126	45+	Garnet disc brooch – fallen off shoulder		Knife – loose in grave.				

Table 12 – Men and grave goods at Edix Hill

Sk no	Age/ Sex	Knives	Buckles	Weapons	Misc.
405	15	-	Buckled belt	Spearhead to left of skull	
188	16	At waist	Buckled belt	Spearhead to right of skull	Pin in grave fill
147A	16-17			Spearhead. Very disturbed context	Rod, plate & potsherd
13B	17	At waist,	Buckled belt & buckle on left forearm	Shield on right forearm	
3C	18	At waist	Buckled belt	Shield on left forearm	Comb, vessel? Also a ?steel at waist
626B	18	Knife? (may belong to 626A)		Spearhead to right of skull	
125	18-23	At waist	Buckled belt, 2nd buckle under shield	Shield boss above head, spearhead right of skull	
112	18-25	At waist	Buckled belt	Shield boss on abdomen, spear left of skull & shoulder	
117	18-25	At waist	Buckled belt	Shield on left arm? or over pelvis	
423	18-25	-	Buckled belt	Shield on legs	
453A	18-25	At waist	Buckle on chest	Shield boss on abdomen, spearhead right of skull	Bucket
151	19-25	At waist	-	Shield boss on chin and right shoulder, spearhead beneath shield	Ring on L shoulder, 2nd ring to R of spear
578	19-25	At waist			

Sk no	Age/ Sex	Knives	Buckles	Weapons	Misc.
19	20-24	At waist	Buckle location unknown	Shield on legs, spearhead x2, to right of skull, pointing into the grave	
727	20-24	-	Buckled belt	Spearhead to right of skull	
198	22-25	At waist	Buckled belt		Nails
551	20-30	At waist	Buckled belt		Comb
148	23-35	At waist	Buckled belt	Shield boss on abdomen/ R arm, spearhead R of skull	
3B	23-59				Comb and vessel mount – context uncertain, maybe from Sk3C
146	23-59	At waist	Buckled belt, originally at waist?	Shield on right arm, spear left of skull	
11	25-35	At waist	Buckled belt	Shield on left arm, spear left of skull	
48	25-35		Buckled belt, original location unknown		Bead, spindle whorl, disturbed context
137	35	At waist			
57	35-45	Underneath spearhead	Buckled belt, location unknown	Shield on legs, spearhead by left side	
362	40-45			Shield only, very disturbed context	
13A	45+	At waist	Buckled belt? – disturbed, may not be his	Spearhead to left of skull	Vessel mount
17	45+	At waist			Vessel? mount between legs, nails
52	45+	Location unknown	Buckled belt – disturbed	Possibly had a shield, although uncertain	

Sk no	Age/ Sex	Knives	Buckles	Weapons	Misc.
103	45+	At waist? Fe frags			Shell fragments
110	45+	At waist			
150	45+	At waist	Buckled belt	(Spear near to but not in the grave)	Ring by head
553	45+	At waist	Buckled belt	Spearhead to left of shoulder	
576	45+	Under left shoulder			
688	45+		Buckled belt	Spearhead to left of ribs	
431	45-49				Bead, nail, disturbed context
3A2	Adult	At waist	Buckled belt		Comb
8	Adult	At waist?			Rivet, plate fragment & glass vessel fragment
58A	Adult	At waist		Shield on legs	
322A	Adult	-	Buckled belt	Shield on pelvis, spearhead right of skull	Vessel mounts
Grave 3	Adult			Spearhead on right arm	Shears on left arm
Grave 7	Adult			Spearhead to left of skull	
Grave 12	Adult			Spearhead, location unknown	
Grave 14	Adult	At waist?	Buckled belt	Spearhead on left arm	
Grave 16	Adult	Older adult		Shield, spearhead, locations unknown	
Grave 18	Adult	Knife, location unknown		Spearhead, location unknown	
Grave 20	Adult	Knife, location unknown		Spearhead, location unknown	
Grave 22	Adult	2 knives, locations ?		Two spearheads, locations unknown	Tweezers, location unknown

Table 13 – Children and grave goods at Edix Hill

Sk no	Age	Survival	Knife	Costume items	Misc
20A	infant	60%	On chest	Buckled belt at waist	Pot
679	18 mths	80%		Bead string on chest	Pot, Iron Age pottery, 2 beads by right hand
300B	2	2%		Slip-knot bracelet on wrist	
584	3	98%		1 bead under chin	(Anglo-Saxon pot found adjacent to, perhaps originating from, this grave)
178	3-4	85%		Buckled belt? – stud and iron fragments at waist	
12	4	75%	Knife under chest of crouched individual	Ring on chest	
632	5	35%		Buckle in front of ribs of crouched individual – at waist?	Spear to right of skull
10A	6	70%	Knife at waist	Bead at waist?	
401	under 7	40%		Wrist-clasp Form B 7 by ribs, distbd	Ceramic disc, from grave fill?
529	9	75%	Knife at waist	Buckle at waist, pin on lower ribs	
547B	10-11	90%		Bead string, incl. bead tube & scutiform pendant, under jaw (maybe spread from 547A)	
31	12	75%		Bead string over L arm & under jaw	
130	15-16	80%			Potsherds, deliberately deposited?
100	17	65%	At waist		
139	Child/ adolescent	1%	Knife by head, disturbed context		

Table 14 - Women and grave goods at Apple Down

Sk no	Age/ Sex	Jewellery	Buckles	Purses/ suspended objects	Tools	Misc.
13	11-13 F	1 cast saucer brooch on pelvis, bead string with spangles between thighs. Finger ring on L hand.	At waist		Knife at waist. Piece of worked antler (tool?) at head of grave.	Nail. Roman coin under skull
108	18-20 F		At waist			
14	20-25 F	1 great square-headed brooch (from Kentish workshop?) on chest, pair cast saucer brooches at bottom & top of pelvis. Beads between knees.	At waist.	Purse bar at hip	Knife at waist.	
11	20-25 F		At waist			
18	20-25 F	1 bead between knees	Poss buckle at waist	Ivory ring at hip, w/ cu alloy tube.	Tool (weaving comb/ leather pricker) at hip.	2 Roman coins & glass frag at hip.
50	20-25 F		At waist			Lead sheet frag above left shoulder
97	20-25 F		At waist.		Knife behind L shoulder.	
130	25-30 F	4 amber beads top of thigh. Finger ring L hand.	At waist		Knife at waist	Glass frag top of skull.
134	25-30 ?F	Bead string with pierced Roman coin round neck & under chin	At waist			
44	30+ F				Knife at waist	

Sk no	Age/ Sex	Jewellery	Buckles	Purses/ suspended objects	Tools	Misc.
3	30-35 F				Knife at waist	
128	30-35 F	1 button brooch & bead string at waist. Finger ring L hand	At waist.			
165	30-35 F				Knife at waist	Pinhead – location?
48	35-40 F	Penannular brooch at waist			Knife at waist	
87	35-40 F				Knife at waist	
175A	35-40 F				Knife at waist	
86	40+ ?F		At waist		Knife at waist	Pin & toilet set on chest
88	40+ F	2 finger rings on hand			Bone needle at waist – on belt/ in pouch?	Fe object on chest
10	45+ ?F	2 cast saucer brooches at shoulders, bead string in-between			Knife at waist	
23	45+ F		By right knee		Knife at waist.	Hook at back of skull. Fe object left shoulder.
33	45+ F				Knife at waist	Possible needle
72	45+ F			Tweezers at waist	Knife at waist	Comb on chest, clip/staple from a wooden object
78	45+ ?F		At waist		Knife at waist	

Sk no	Age/ Sex	Jewellery	Buckles	Purses/ suspended objects	Tools	Misc.
93	45+ F		At waist.			Handled potsherd by L arm, maybe residual
107	45+ F	Bead string in front of chest of crouched individual				
117	45+ F	Bead string round neck & under chin w/ silver foil-covered cast cu alloy mount				
137B	45+ F		At waist.		Knife at waist.	Roman coin, clip bindings, Fe object & glass frag at waist w/ knife
151	45+ F	Orange bead on left shoulder			Knife at waist	Pin on left shoulder
157	45+ F		At waist.			
169	45+ F				Knife at waist	
170B	45+ F					Pin at neck

Table 15 – unfurnished inhumations at Apple Down

Sk no	Age	Sex	Contents?
101	20-25	F	
41B	25-30	F	
52	25-30	F	
49	30-35	F	
120	30-35	F	
7B	35-40	F	
153	35-40	F	
32	40-45	F	
84	40-45	F	
4B	45+	F	
17	45+	F	
105	45+	F	(pottery rim)
111	45+	F?	(pottery rim)
143	45+	F	
4A	20-25	M	
39	20-25	M	
56	20-25	M	
144	25-30	M	
25B	30-35	M	
115B	30-35	M	
118	30-35	M	
150	30-35	M	
162	30-35	M	
174	30-35	M	
1	35-40	M	
19	35-40	M	
7A	40-45	M	
8	45+	M	
28	45+	M	
175B	foetal	-	
184	0	-	Found in plough soil, association with cemetery uncertain
99A	0+	-	Scattered through grave fill of 99B
37	6-9 mths	-	
98	c.18 mths	-	
114	c.18 mths	-	
149	2.5 years	-	
5	3-4	-	
73	3-4	-	
65	2-8	-	
80	5-6	-	
96	7-8	-	
66	8-9	-	

Table 15

Sk no	Age	Sex	Contents?
57	9-10	-	
9	c.12 years	-	
82	12-14	-	
60	15-17	-	

Table 16 – Men and grave goods at Apple Down

Sk no	Age/ Sex	Knives	Buckles	Weapons	Misc.
113	12-13 M	Knife at waist	Buckled belt at waist	Spearhead left of skull	
121	13-16 M	Knife at waist		Spearhead left of skull	
91	16-18 M	Knife behind neck of crouched individual			Lead disc, perforated, on skull
54	17-20 M	Knife at waist	Buckled belt at waist	Spearhead L of skull	Clips from wooden bowl or box
102	18-20 M	Knife at waist			
148B	20-25 M	Knife at waist	Buckled belt at waist	Spearhead R of skull	Pin & buckle loop maybe redeposited from cremation 148A
152	20-25 M	Knife at waist	Buckled belt at waist	Spearhead L of skull, shield boss on pelvis	
163	20-25 M	Knife at waist		Spearhead on right chest	Ring on abdomen - belt fastener?
109	25-30 M	Knife, distbd context		Shield, very disturbed context	
173	25-30 M	Knife at waist			Two mounts
123	30-35 M	Knife at waist		Spearhead right of skull	
138A	30-35 M	Knife at waist	Buckled belt at waist		Pin at waist
145	30-35 M	Knife at waist		Spearhead R of skull, shield boss on L chest	
12A	35-40 M	Iron fragments – knife? Disturbed.		Sword scabbard mouth mount, bone (sword?) bead. Disturbed.	Bucket – disturbed.
12B	35-40 M			Spearhead right of skull	
46	35-40 M	Knife by left arm	Buckle by left arm		
2	40-45 M	Knife at waist	Buckled belt at waist		

Sk no	Age/ Sex	Knives	Buckles	Weapons	Misc.
68	40-45 M	Knife at waist	Buckled belt at waist	Spearhead right of skull	Purse mount/firesteel at waist with frame for purse
125	40-45 M	Knife at waist	Buckled belt at waist		Tweezers at waist & bead by L thigh
22	45+ M	Knife at waist	Buckled (silver inlaid) belt at waist		
31	45+ M	Knife at waist	Buckled belt at waist	Spearhead right of skull	
55	45+ ?M	Knife at waist	Buckled belt at waist		Fossil bead (perforated) loose in grave, iron object & frags on hips
62	45+ M	Knife by right arm – dragged by plough?	Buckled belt at waist		
63	45+ M	Knife at waist	Buckled belt at waist	Spearhead right of skull, spear across body –ferrule by left knee. Seax by right arm.	Purse bar at hip, tweezers at waist. Bucket. Shroud?
67	45+ M	Knife at waist	Buckled belt at waist	Spearhead left of skull	
71	45+ M	Knife at waist			
99B	45+ M	Knife by left chest		Spearhead right of skull, shield boss on abdomen	
122	45+ M	Knife at waist	Buckled belt at waist	Spearhead left of skull	
126	45+ M			Spearhead left of shoulder	

Table 17 – Children and grave goods at Apple Down

Sk no	Age	Jewellery items	Buckles	Knives	Misc
90	3-6 mths	7 beads at neck			
51	c.1 year	Bangle and finger ring – both apparently on or by left arm			
141	c.2 years	9 beads on chest			
15	3-4	1 cast annular brooch & bead & bucket mounts at shoulder			
38	3-4	4 beads at neck			
89	3-4				Pot
100	3-4			Knife on chest	
161	5-10			Knife at waist	
139	c.7 years		Buckled belt at waist.		
69	7-8		Buckled belt at waist, with strap-end.		
70	7-8			Knife at waist	
76	8-9			Knife by feet	Pot by head
41A	11-12			Knife at waist	
104	12-14		2 buckled belts at waist.		
79	15-17		Buckled belt at waist	Knife at waist	Nail on hip
85	15-17	1 bead at neck & Roman coin at waist, copper alloy frag L arm			

Table 18 – Cremations and grave goods at Apple Down

Furnished cremations				
Sk no	**Age**	**Costume items**	**Non-costume items**	**Urned/un-urned**
40	Child	-	Pottery bowl	Urned
75	Child	-	Stamped pot	Urned
133	Child (9-11 years) & Adult	Bead	-	Un-urned
154	Child?	-	Pot	Urned
64	Child/adult	-	Stamped pot & bronze strip	Urned
124	Child? & Adult	-	Base of pot	Urned
129	Child/adult?	-	Pottery rim sherd	Urned
131	Child/adult?	-	Base of pot	Urned
140	Child/adult	Perforated Roman coin	-	Un-urned
159	Adolescent/ adult	Buckle	Potsherds	Urned
43A	Young adult/adult	Small buckle, garnet in cu alloy setting	-	Un-urned
92	Young adult/adult	-	Pot	Urned
168	Adult	-	Unidentified cu alloy globules	Urned
155	Adult	-	Pot	Urned
158	Adult	-	Potsherd	Urned
135	?	-	Potsherds	Urned
142	?	Roman brooch, incomplete	Pottery sherds	Urned
178	?	-	Potsherds	Urned
Total = 18 furnished cremations				
Unfurnished cremations				
Sk no	**Age**	**Costume**	**Non-costume items**	**Urned/un-urned**
16	Infant	-	-	Urned
94	Infant/child	-	-	Urned
106	Infant/child	-	-	Urned
146	Infant/child	-	-	Un-urned
20	7-10 years	-	-	Urned
81	Child/adult	-	-	Urned
95	Child/adult	-	-	Urned
112	Child/adult?	-	-	Un-urned
42	Adolescent/ adult?	-	-	Un-urned
45	Adolescent/ adult	-	-	Urned
58	Adolescent/ adult?	-	-	Un-urned
77	Adolescent/ adult	-	-	Urned

Table 18

Sk no	Age	Costume items	Non-costume items	Urned/un-urned
110	Adolescent/ adult?	-	-	Urned
116	Adolescent/ adult	-	-	?
119	Adolescent/ adult	-	-	?
138B	Adolescent/ adult	-	-	Un-urned
147	Adolescent/ adult	-	-	Un-urned
166	Adolescent/ adult	-	-	Urned
21	Young adult/adult?	-	-	Un-urned
35	Young adult/adult?	-	-	Urned
36	Young adult/adult?	-	-	Urned
61	Young adult/adult	-	-	Un-urned
34	20-40 years, male	-	-	Urned
53	Adult	-	-	Urned
59	Adult	-	-	Un-urned
83	Adult, M?	-	-	Urned
103	Adult	-	-	Urned
132	Adult	-	-	Un-urned
136	Adult	-	-	Un-urned
156	Adult	-	-	Un-urned
160	Adult	-	-	Un-urned
167	Adult	-	-	Urned
43B	?	-	-	Un-urned
127	?	-	-	Urned
176	?	-	-	Un-urned
179	?	-	-	Urned? – pottery sherds present
180	?	-	-	?
181	?	-	-	Un-urned
182	?	-	-	Urned? – pottery sherds present
Total = 39				
Uncertain, disturbed contexts				
Sk no	**Age**	**Costume**	**Non-costume items**	**Urned/un-urned**
25A	?	-	-	?
74A	?	-	-	?
74B	?	-	-	?
115A	?	-	-	?
137A	?	-	-	?
148A	?	-	-	?
177	?	-	-	Urned?
Total = 7				
Total cremations at Apple Down = 66 individuals in 64 burials				

Appendix 2

Figures referred to in Chapter 3

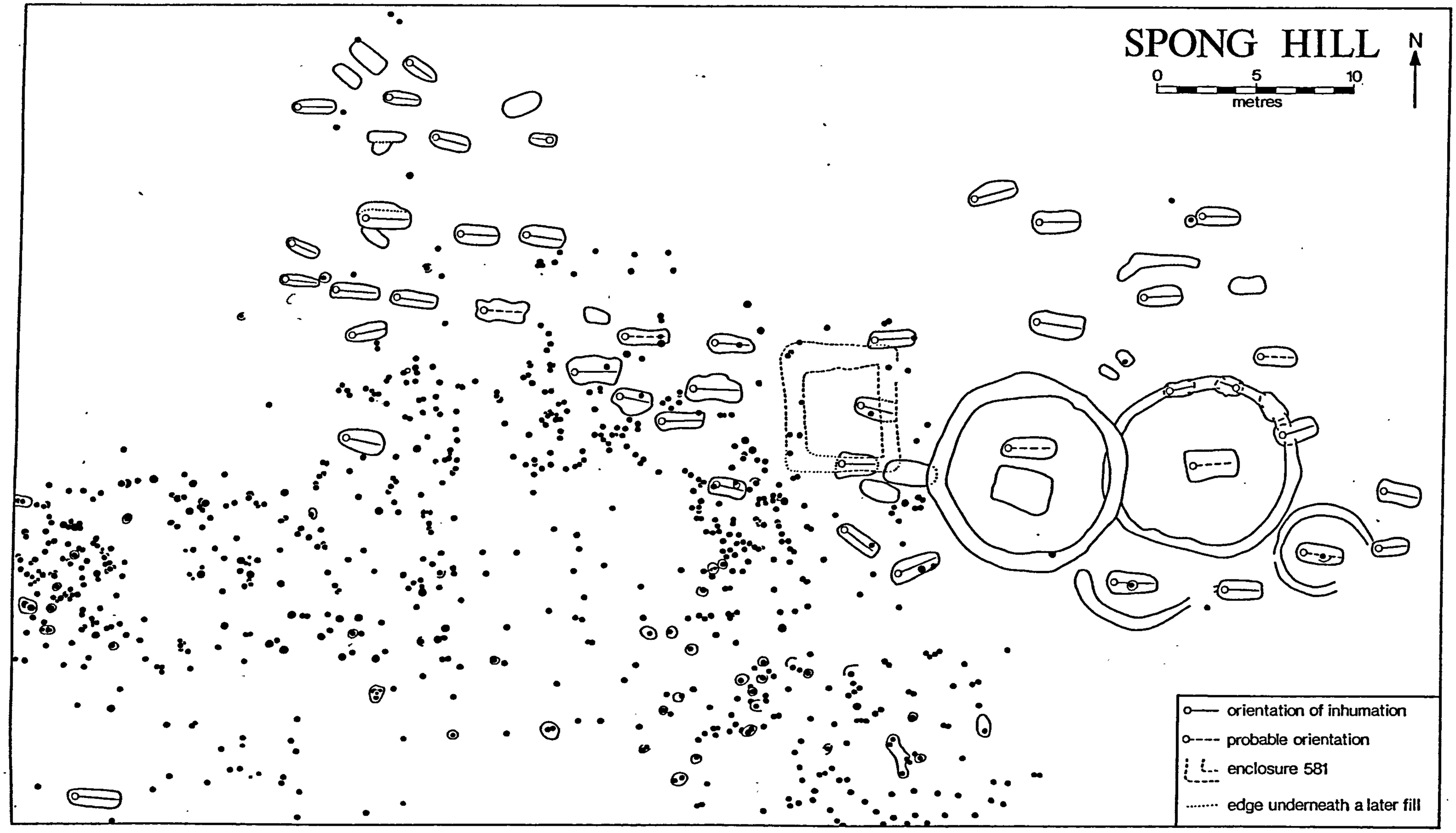


Fig. 1 Site plan of Spong Hill inhumations showing orientation of graves (where known), after Hills, Penn and Rickett (1984, 5).

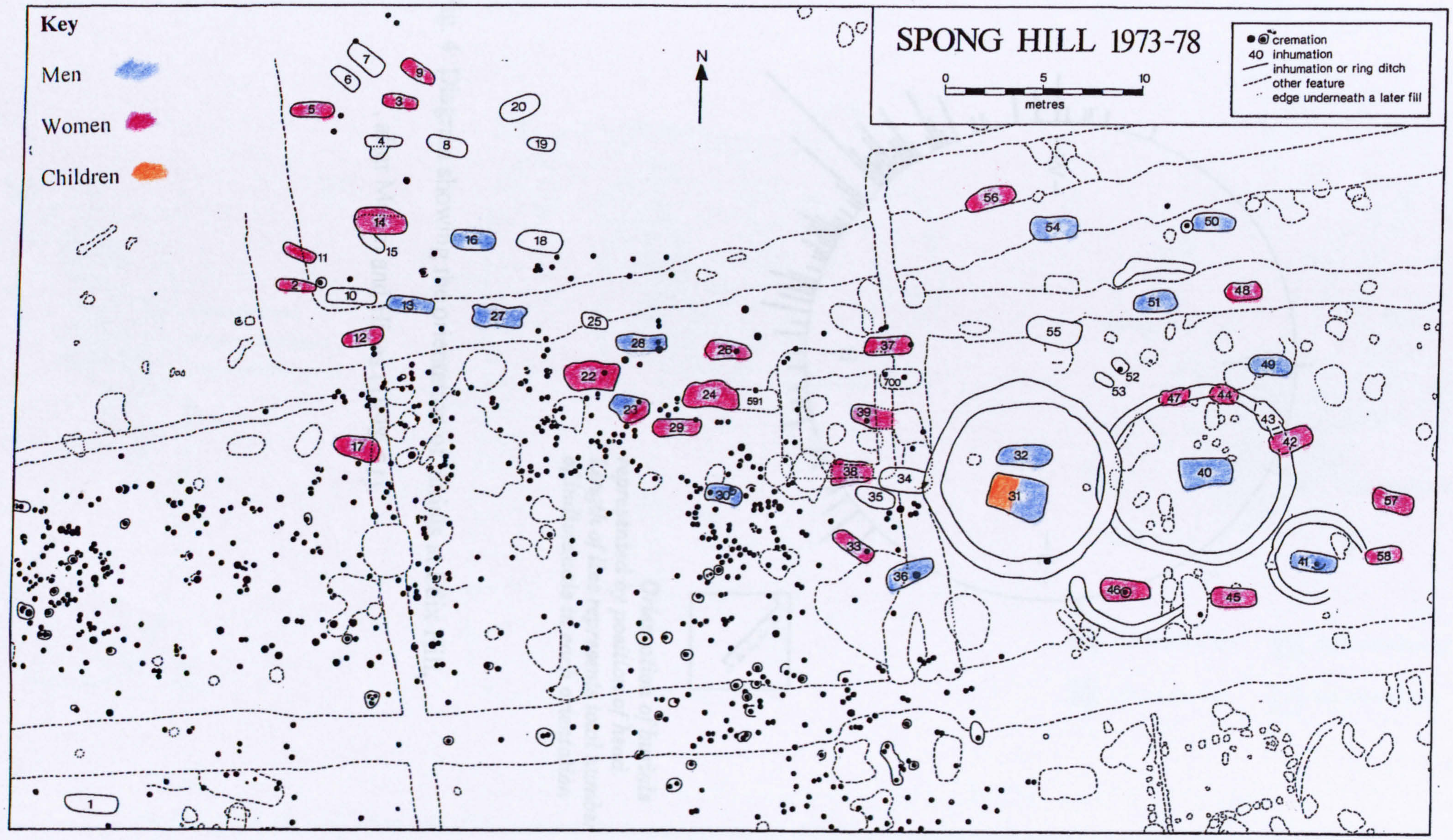
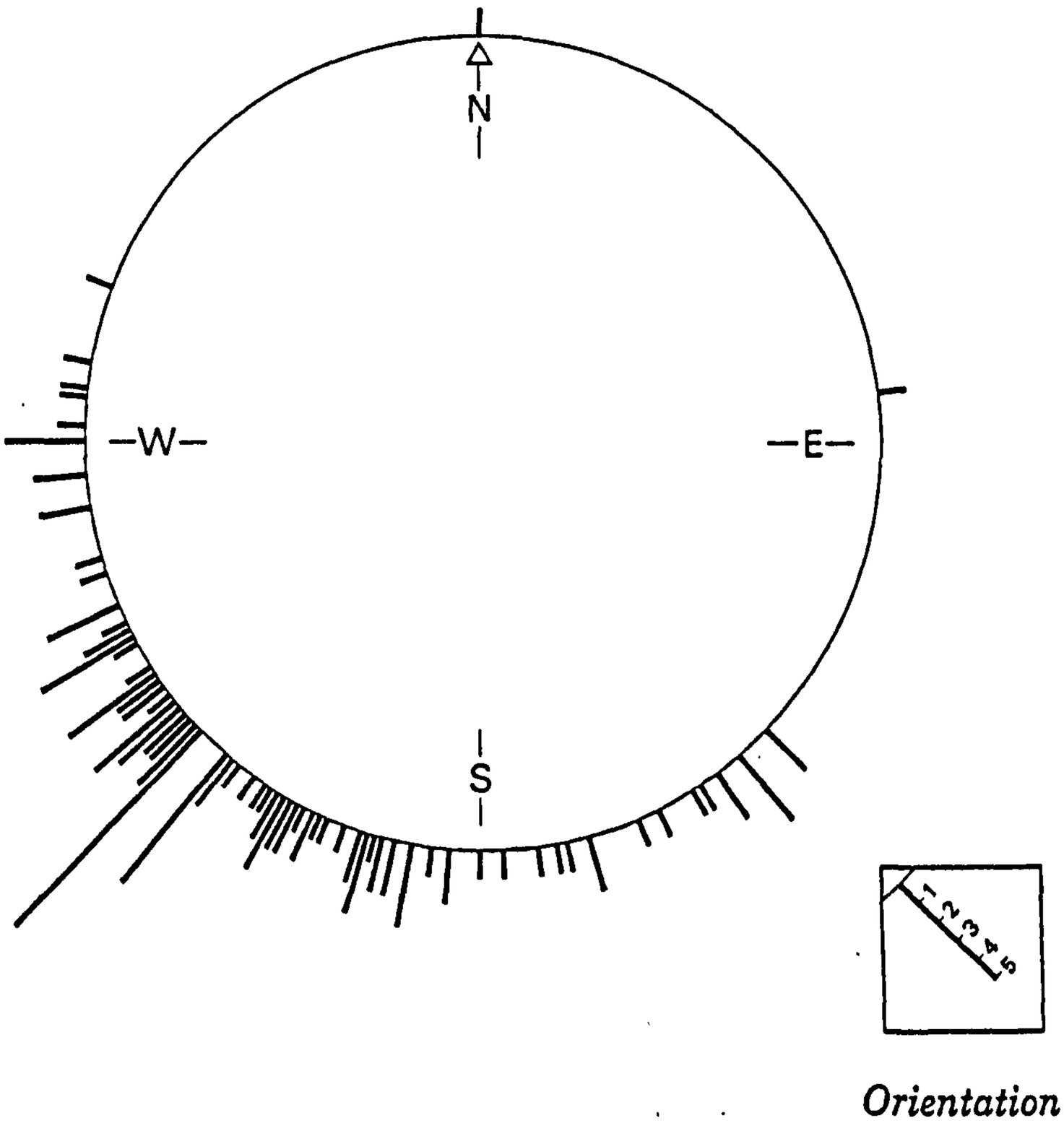


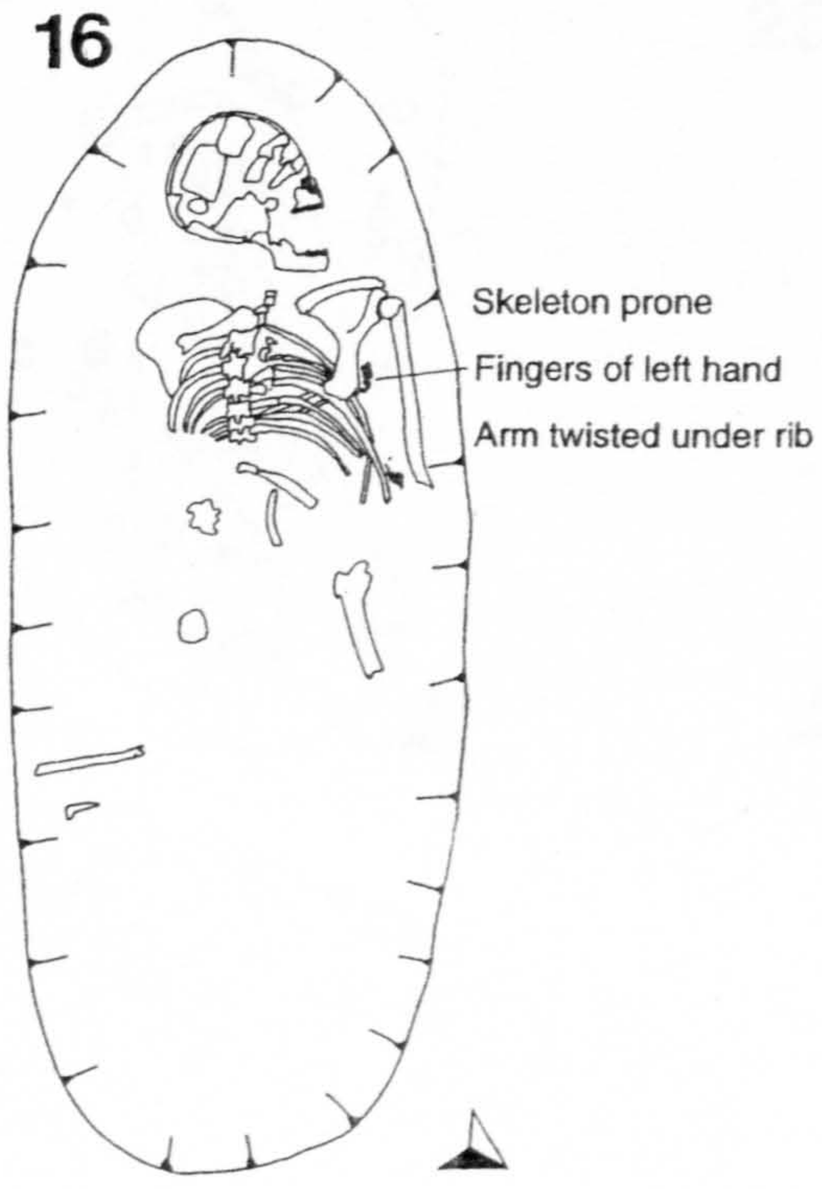
Fig. 3 Distribution of men, women and children among the Spong Hill inhumations, after Hills, Penn and Rickett (1984, 3).

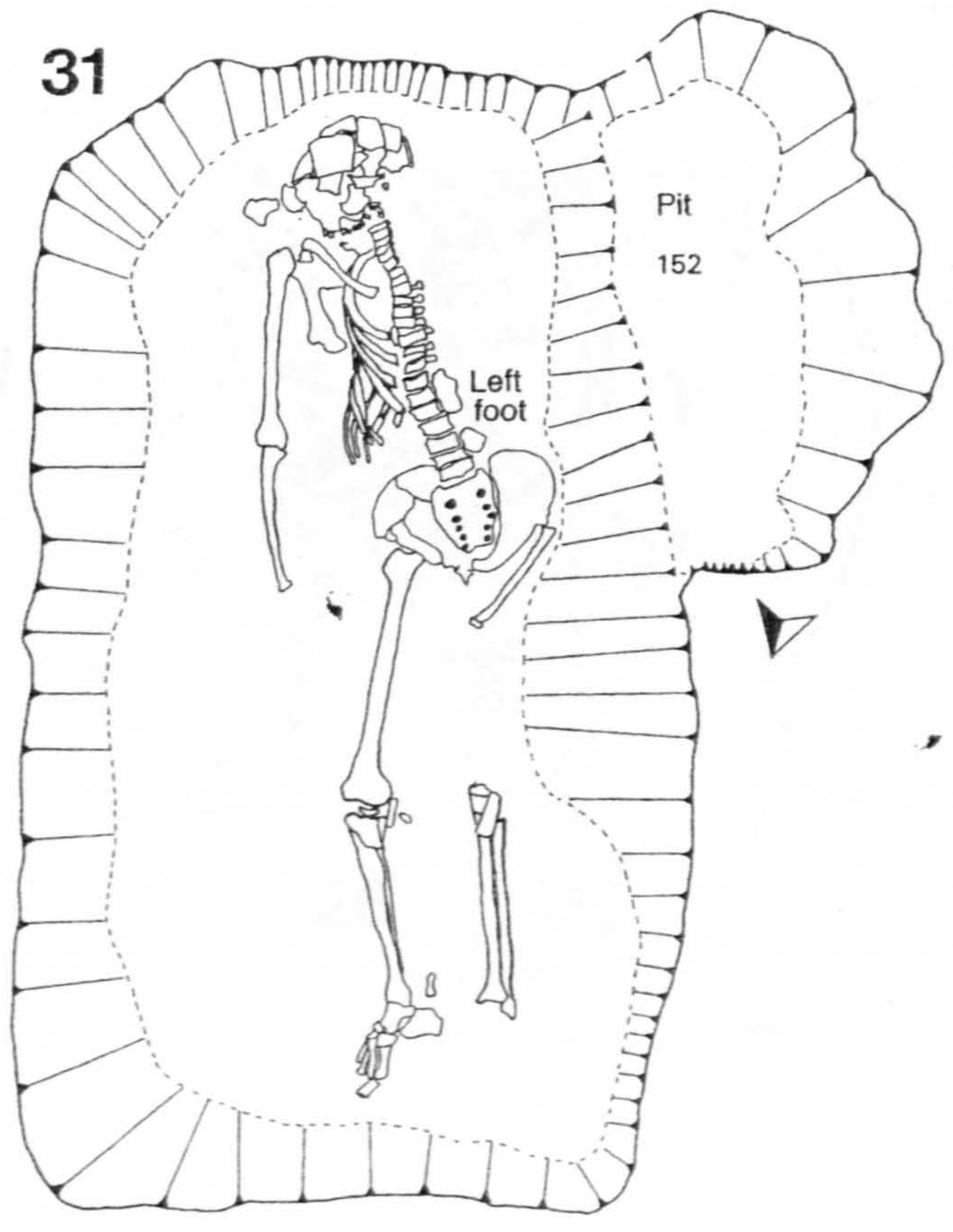


Orientation of burials represented by position of head. Length of line represents total number of individuals in each orientation

Fig. 4 Diagram showing the orientation of burials at Edix Hill,

, after Malim and Hines (1998, 31).





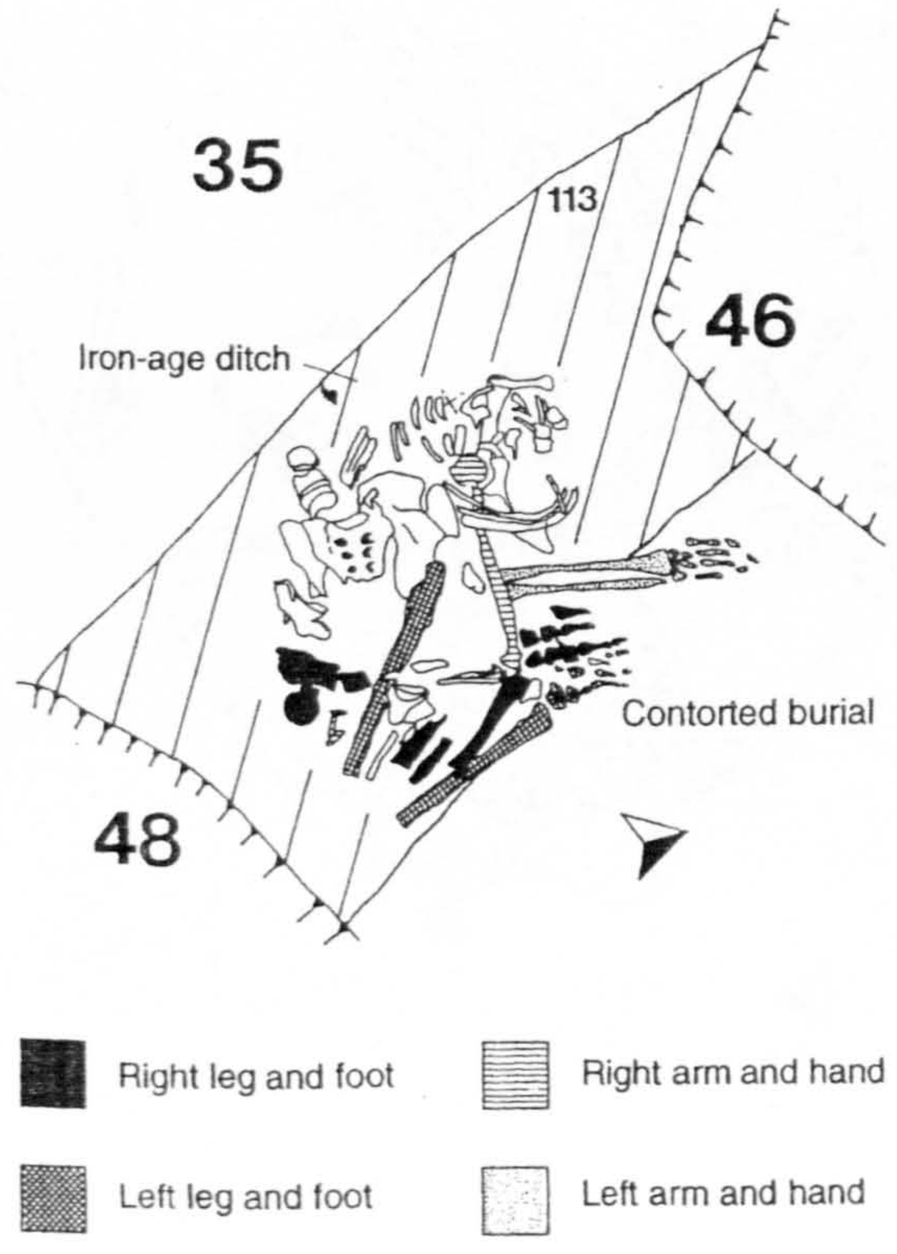
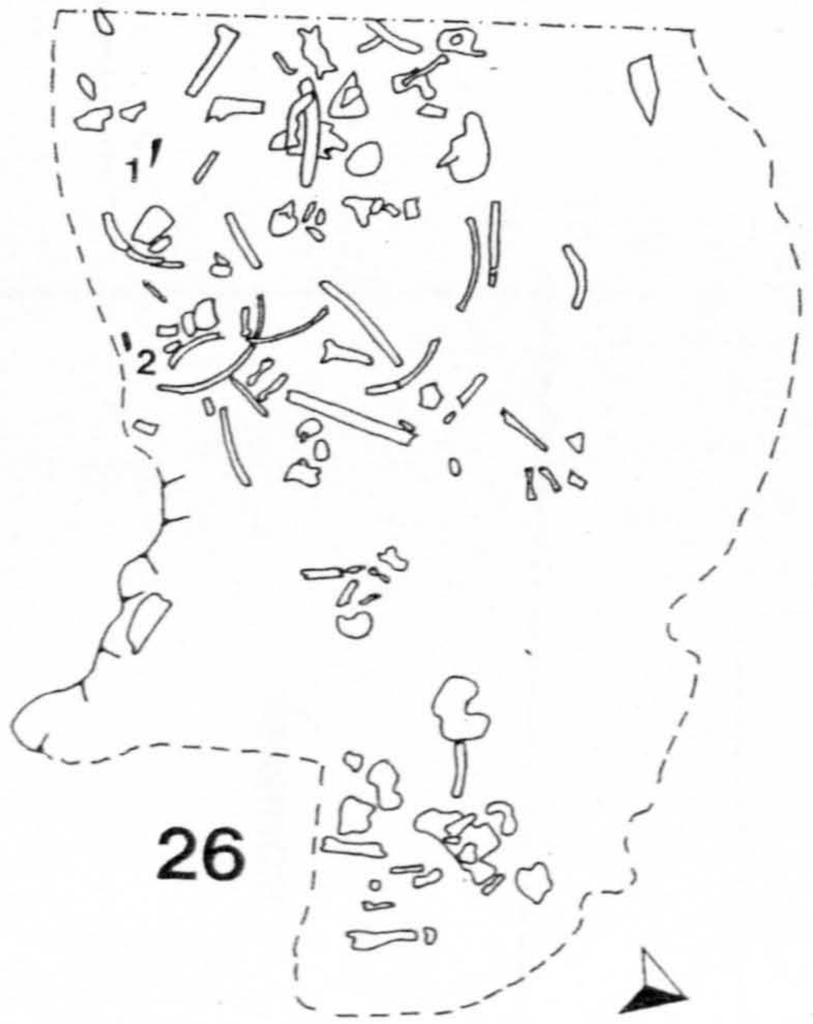


Fig. 8 Graves 16, 31 & 35 at Edix Hill, showing deliberate post-burial disturbance, after Malim and Hines (1998, 138, 140, 141).



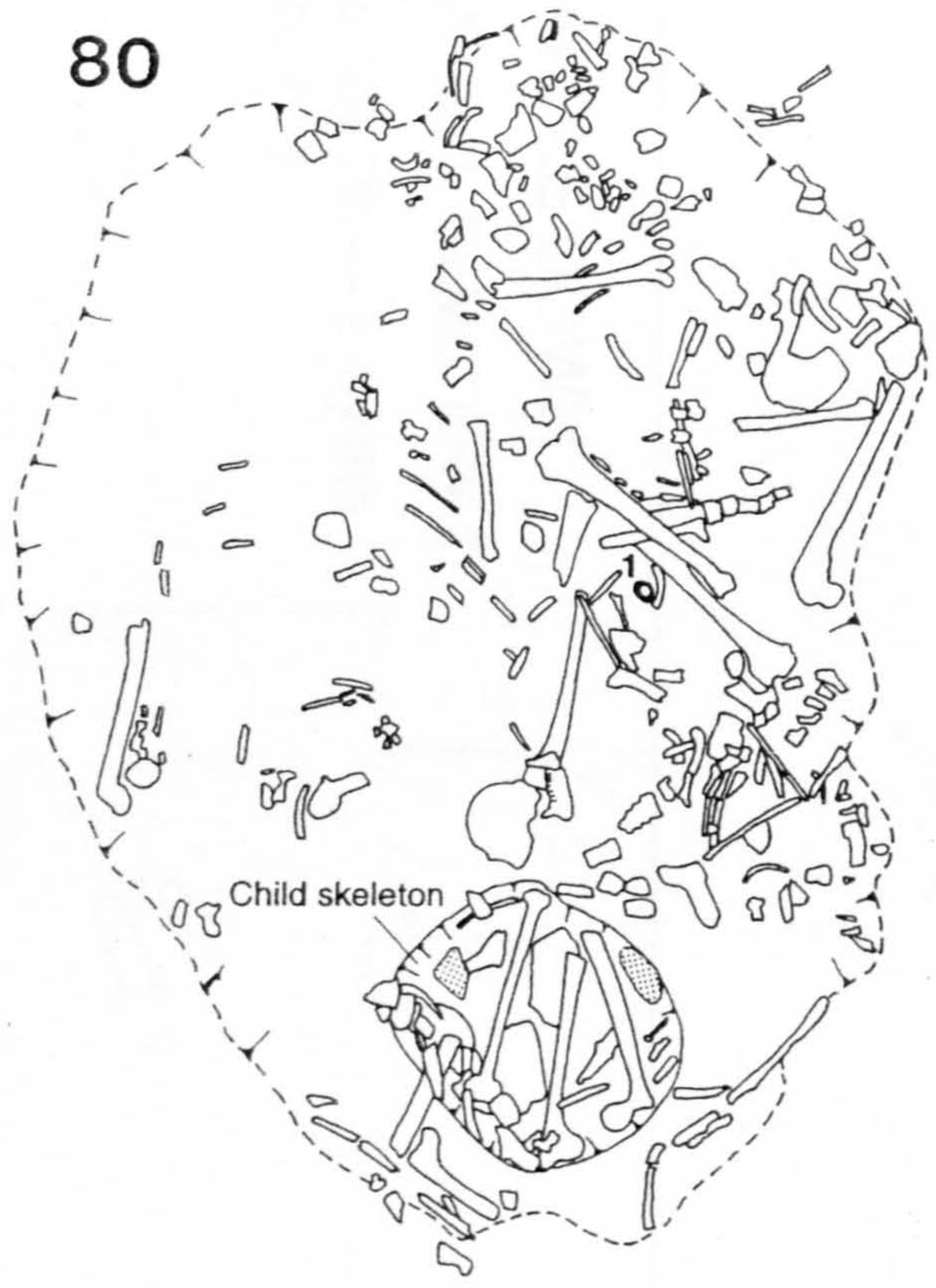


Fig. 9 Graves 23, 25, 26 & 80 at Edix Hill, possible charnel pits, after Malim and Hines (1998, 139, 140, 148).

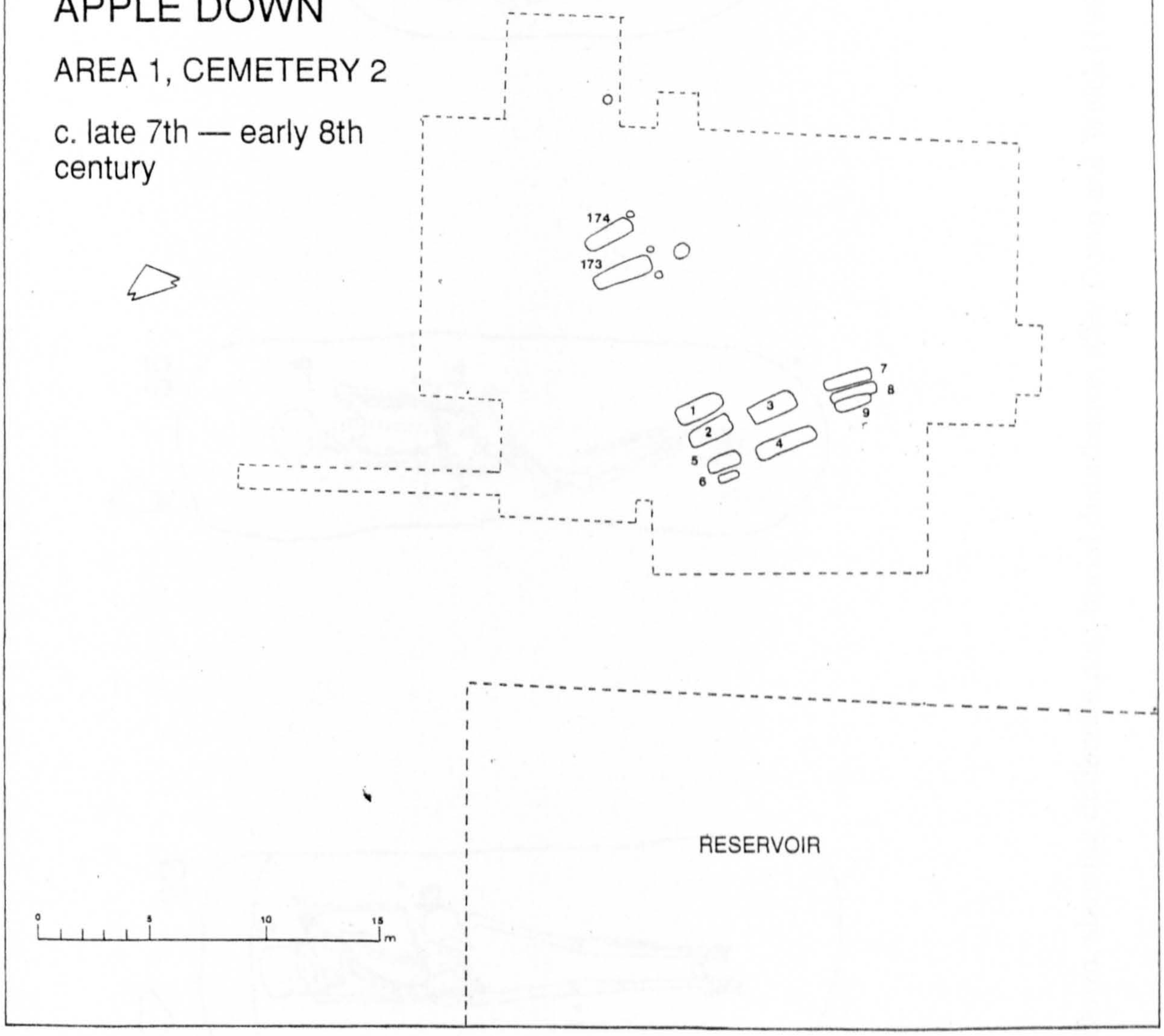


Fig. 11 Plan of cemetery 2 at Apple Down, after Down and Welch (1990, 13).

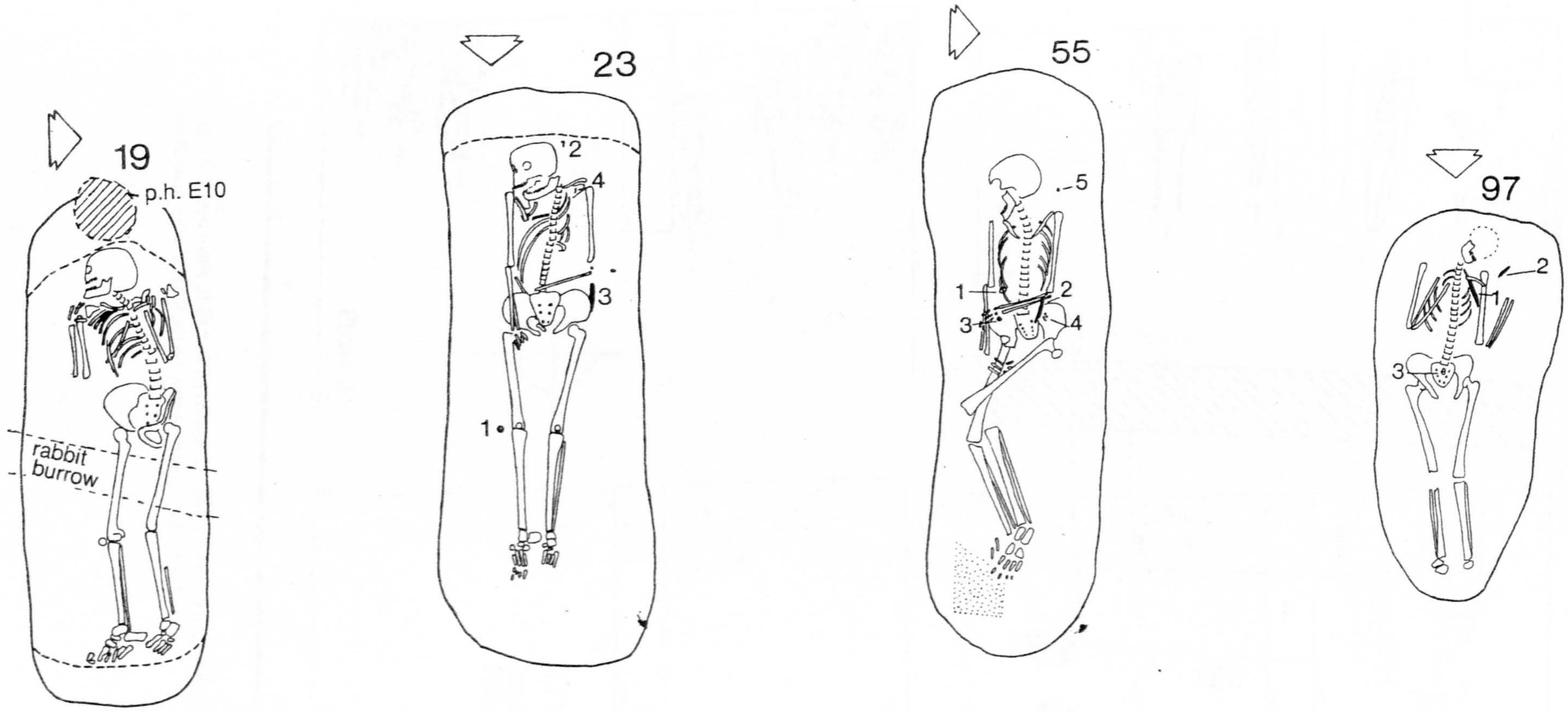


Fig. 14 Graves 19, 23, 55 & 97 at Apple Down, showing deliberate post-burial disturbance, after Down and Welch (1990, 124, 126, 128).

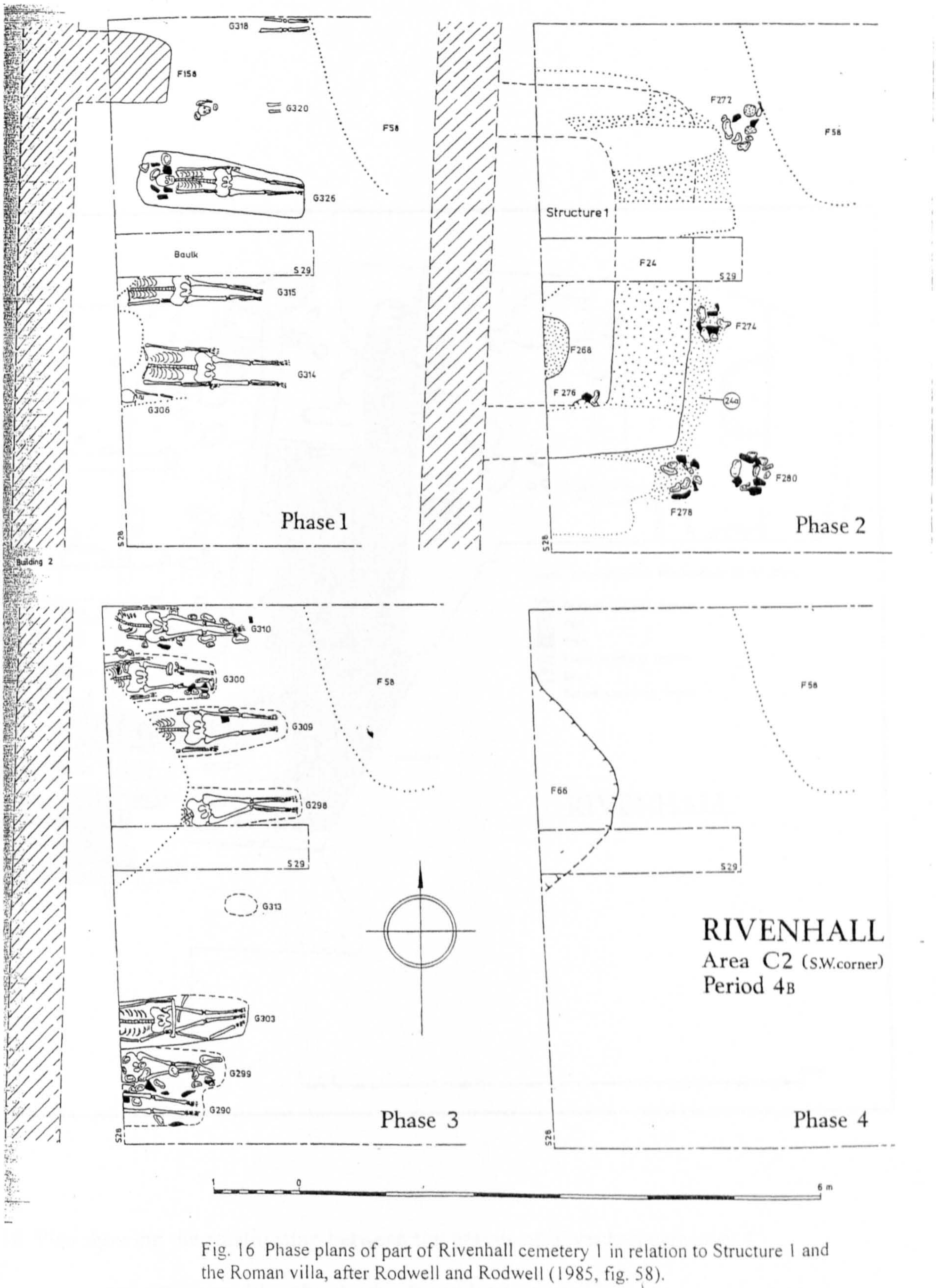


Fig. 16 Phase plans of part of Rivenhall cemetery 1 in relation to Structure 1 and the Roman villa, after Rodwell and Rodwell (1985, fig. 58).

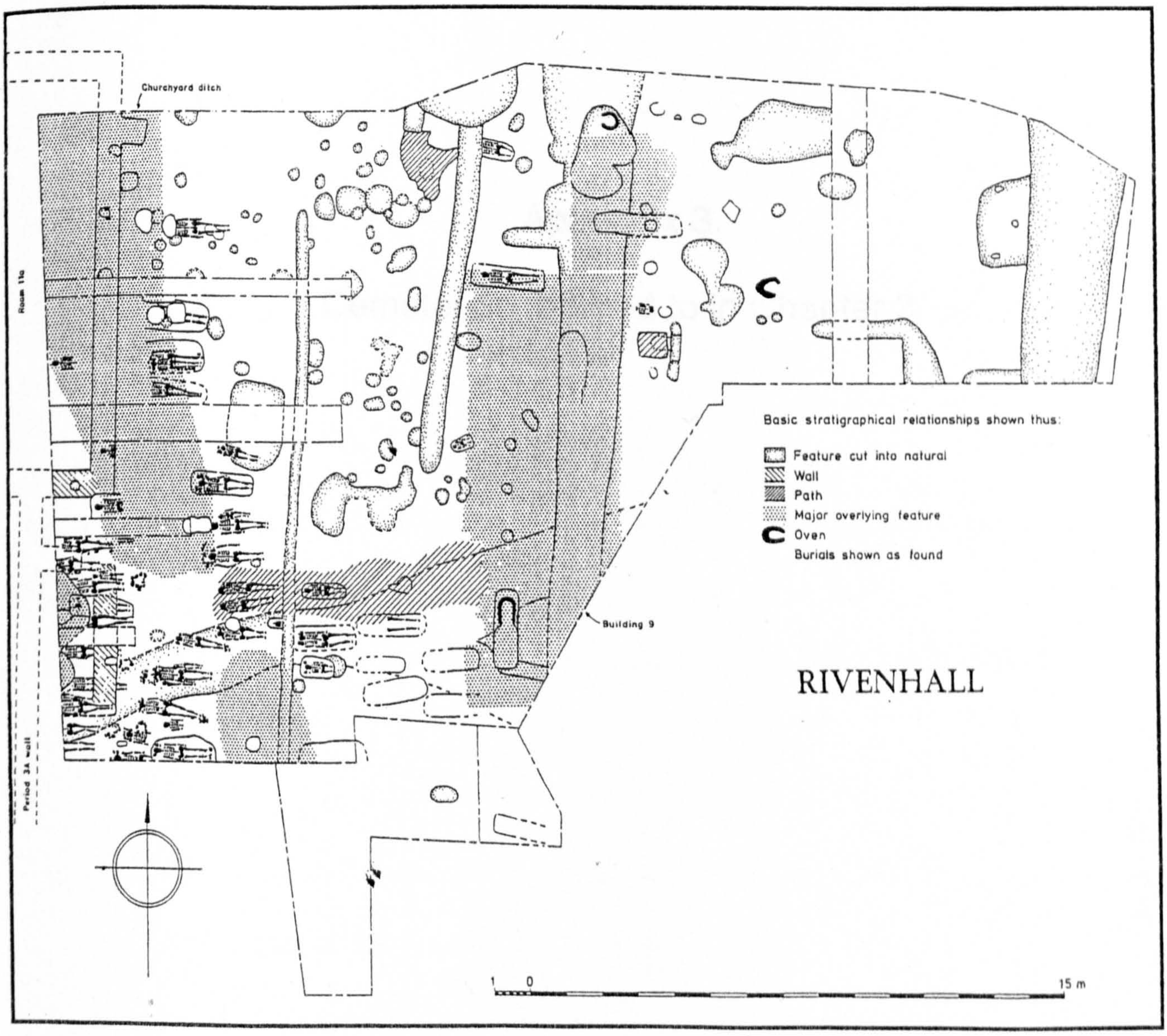


Fig. 18 Plan showing the relationship between the graves of Rivenhall cemetery 1 and the Roman villa, after Rodwell and Rodwell (1985).

Appendix 3

Cemeteries referred to in Chapter 3

Cemeteries referred to in Chapter 3

Addingham, West Yorkshire. 8th – 10th centuries. Adams 1996.

Ailcy Hill, Ripon, North Yorkshire. Early 7th – late 9th centuries. Hall and Whyman 1996.

Alton, Hampshire. First third of 5th – first half of 7th centuries. Evison 1988, Med Arch 37 (1993).

Apple Down, Sussex. Late 5th – late 7th/early 8th centuries. Down and Welch 1990.

Barham Downs, Kent. 7th – late 8th centuries. Med Arch 11 (1967), 13 (1969), 18 (1974).

Barton-upon-Humber (St Peter's), Lincolnshire. From late 9th century onwards. Rodwell and Rodwell 1982.

Baston, Lincolnshire. Mid-5th – late 6th centuries. Mayes and Dean 1976, Arnold and Russell 1983.

Beckford A and B, Worcestershire. Late 5th – mid-6th centuries. Evison and Hill 1996.

Bedhampton, Hampshire. 7th – 8th centuries. Med Arch 19 (1975), 20 (1976), 21 (1977).

Bergh Apton, Norfolk. Late 5th – early 7th centuries. Green and Rogerson 1978.

Berinsfield, Oxfordshire. Mid-5th – late 6th/early 7th centuries. Boyle et al 1995.

Bishopstone, East Sussex. 5th – 6th centuries. Hirst 1985.

Bradstow School, Broadstairs, Kent. End of the 5th – early 8th centuries. Med Arch 16 (1972), 18 (1974), 19 (1975), Hogarth 1973.

Broughton Lodge, Nottinghamshire. Late 5th – early 7th centuries. Kinsley 1993.

Buckland, Dover. Late 5th – mid-8th centuries. Evison 1987, Parfitt 1994, 1995.

Burgh Castle, Norfolk. 7th – 10th centuries. Johnson 1983.

Burwell, Cambridgeshire. 7th century. Lethbridge 1931.

Caister-on-Sea, Norfolk. 8th – mid-11th centuries. Darling and Gurney 1993.

Caistor-by-Norwich, Norfolk. Mid-4th – end 7th centuries. Myres and Green 1973.

Camerton, Avon. 7th century. Wedlake 1958, see also Geake 1997.

Chamberlain's Barn II, Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire. Later 7th century. Hyslop 1963.

Crayke, North Yorkshire. Late 8th – early 11th centuries. Adams 1990.

Dinton, Buckinghamshire. Later 5th – 6th century. Hunn, Lawson and Farley 1994.

Edix Hill (Barrington A), Cambridgeshire. Start of the 6th – early 7th centuries. Malim and Hines 1998.

Empingham II, Rutland, Leicestershire. Late 5th/early 6th – early 7th century. Timby 1996.

Fingelsham, Kent. 6th – 8th centuries. Chadwick 1958, Hawkes, Ellis Davidson and Hawkes 1965, Hawkes 1976, Med Arch 4 (1960), 9 (1965), 10 (1966), 12 (1968)

Fonaby, Lincolnshire. Mostly 6th century. Cook 1981.

Garton Station, East Yorkshire. 7th century. Stead 1987.

Great Chesterford, Essex. 5th – 6th centuries. Evison 1984.

Hamwic (Southampton), SOU 13, SOU 32, Hampshire. First decades 8th century. Morton 1992a, 1992b, Andrews 1997.

Harford Farm, Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk. Later 7th century. Med Arch 35 (1991), Ashwin and Bates 2000, Penn 2000.

Hartlepool Church Walk, Cleveland. 7th – 9th centuries. Daniels 1987, 1999.

Hereford Castle Green, Herefordshire. 8th – 12th centuries. Shoesmith 1980.

Holborough, Kent. Mid – end 7th century. Evison 1956.

Holywell Row, Suffolk. Mid-5th – mid-7th centuries. Lethbridge 1931.

Illington, Norfolk. 6th – 7th centuries. Davison, Green and Milligan 1993.

Jarrow, Tyne and Wear. 7th – 9th centuries, then 11th century onwards. Med Arch 13 (1969), 16 (1972), 35 (1991), Cramp 2005.

King Harry Lane, St Albans. Stead 1989.

Kingston Down, Kent. Late 6th – 8th century. Med Arch 4 (1960), 10 (1966), 11 (1967), 13 (1969), 18 (1974).

Kirkby la Thorpe, Lincolnshire. 7th century. Bonnor and Allen 2000.

Lechlade, Gloucestershire. Mid/late 5th – late 7th century. Miles and Palmer 1986, Boyle et al 1998.

Linton Heath, Cambridgeshire. 'Migration' period. Neville 1854.

Loveden Hill, Lincolnshire. 5th – 7th century. Med Arch 17 (1973).

Lyminge, Kent. Mid-5th – end 6th century. Warhurst 1955.

Marina Drive, Dunstable, Bedfordshire. Mid-late 7th century. Matthews 1962.

Markshall, Norfolk. Late 4th – end 6th century or later. Myres and Green 1973.

Millgate, Newark-on-Trent, Nottinghamshire. Early 5th – early 7th centuries. Kinsley 1989.

Monkwearmouth, Tyne and Wear. Late 7th – 9th century. Med Arch 9 (1965), 13 (1969), 16 (1972), Cramp 2005.

Morning Thorpe, Norfolk. 'Migration' period. Green, Rogerson and White 1987.

Mucking II, Essex. – Med Arch 12 (1968), 14 (1970), 15 (1971), 16 (1972),17 (1973), Clark 1993.

North Elmham Park, Norfolk. From early 11th century onwards. Wade-Martins 1980.

Norwich Castle Bailey, Norfolk. From *c.*1000-*c.*1066. Ayers 1985.

Nunnaminster, Winchester, Hampshire. From end 9th/start 10th century onwards. Qualmann 1986.

Old Dairy Cottage, Littleton, Hampshire. 7th century? Med Arch 35 (1991).

Ozengell, Ramsgate, Kent. 5th – early 8th century. Med Arch 19 (1975), 25 (1981), 26 (1982).

Polhill, Kent. Late 7th – early 8th centuries. Med Arch 9 (1965), 12 (1968), 29 (1985), Hawkes 1973.

Raunds Furnells, Northamptonshire. 10th – late 11th/12th centuries. Boddington 1996.

Repton, Derbyshire. 7th – 9th centuries. Biddle and Biddle 1992.

Rivenhall, Essex. Late 8th – late 9th/early 10th centuries. Rodwell and Rodwell 1985, 1993.

Sancton, East Yorkshire. Faull 1976, Arnold and Russell 1983.

Sewerby, East Yorkshire. Late 5th/early 6th – 7th centuries. Hirst 1985.

Shudy Camps, Cambridgeshire. 7th century. Lethbridge 1936.

Snape, Suffolk. Late 5th – 7th century. Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001.

Snell's Corner, Horndean, Hampshire. 7th century. Knocker 1956.

Spong Hill, Norfolk. 5th and 6th centuries. Hills 1977, 1980, Hills and Penn 1981, Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984, 1987, 1994. McKinley 1994. Rickett 1995.

Springfield Lyons, Essex. Mid-5th – start 8th centuries. Tyler and Major 2005.

St Andrew's, Fishergate, York. Mid-11th – 12th centuries. Stroud and Kemp 1993.

St Mark's, Lincoln. From mid-10th century onwards. Gilmour and Stocker 1986.

Stonehenge, Wiltshire. 7th century. Pitts et al 2002.

St Peter's, Broadstairs, Kent. Mid-6th – mid-8th centuries. Med Arch 14 (1970), 15 (1971), 16 (1972)

St Stephen's Lane/Buttermarket, Ipswich. First half of the 7th – 8th century. Med Arch 33 (1989).

Sutton Hoo, Norfolk. 7th – 10th/11th century. Carver 1992, 1998.

Swinegate, York, North Yorkshire. Hadley 2001a.

The Booths/Tanner's Row, Pontefract. From the seventh century. Med Arch 30 (1986), 31 (1987), Wilmott 1987.

Thornham, Norfolk. Med Arch 1 (1957), 5 (1961).

Thurmaston, Leicestershire. 5th – second half of sixth century. Williams 1983.

Uncleby, East Yorkshire. Late 6th/7th century. Lucy 1998.

Westgarth Gardens, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk. Early 5th – mid/late 7th centuries. Med Arch 17 (1973), West 1988.

West Hendred, Oxfordshire. First half of the 5th – mid/late 7th centuries. Hamerow 1993.

West Heslerton, East Yorkshire. Late 5th – early 7th centuries. Haughton and Powlesland 1999.

Whitby Abbey, North Yorkshire. Peers and Ralegh Radford 1943. See also Hadley 2001a.

Whitton, Lincolnshire. Late 7th/early 8th – 9th centuries. Hadley 2001b, 2003.

Winchester (cathedral), Hampshire. From 10th century onwards. Hadley 2001a.

Winnall II, Hampshire. 7th century. Meaney and Hawkes 1970.

York Minster, North Yorkshire. 7th/8th – 11th century. Phillips and Heywood 1995a, 1995b.

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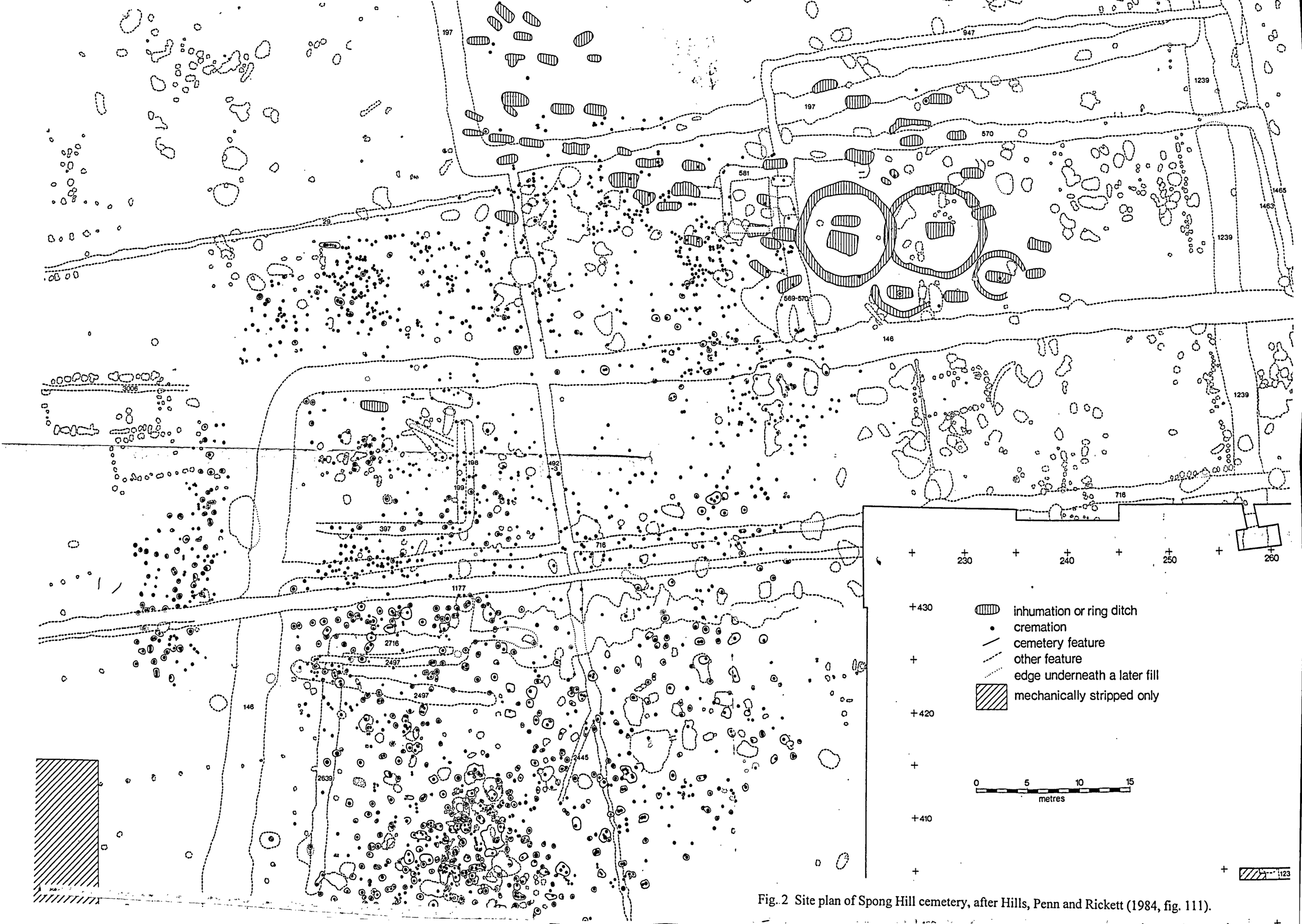


Fig. 2 Site plan of Spong Hill cemetery, after Hills, Penn and Rickett (1984, fig. 111).

Fig. 17 Distribution of men, women and children at Rivenhall cemetery 1.

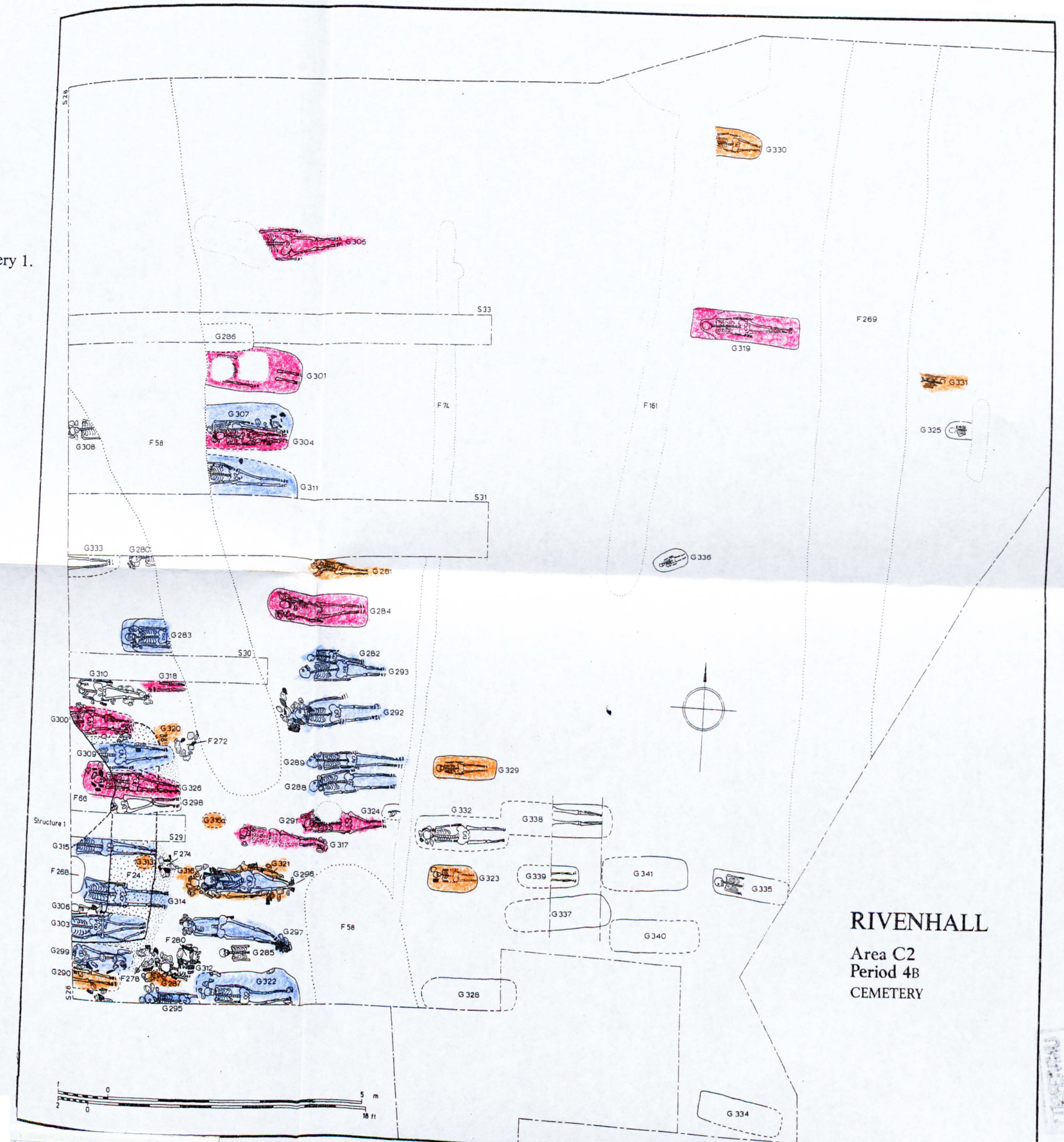
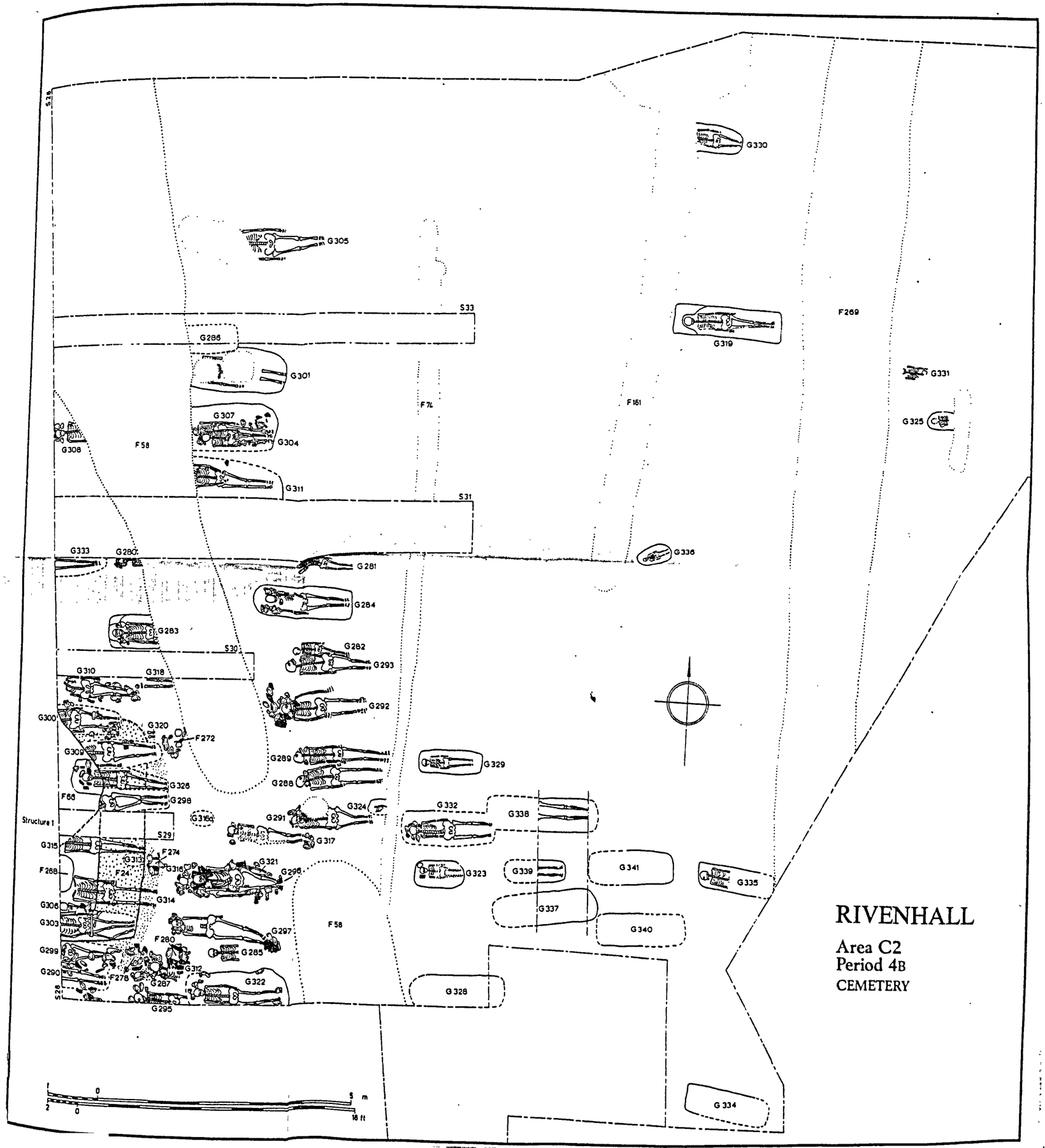


Fig. 15 Site plan of cemetery 1 at Rivenhall, after Rodwell and Rodwell (1985, fig. 58).



APPLE DOWN

AREA 2, 1982 – 7

SAXON CEMETERY 1

c. EARLY 6th — LATE 7th CENTURY

KEY

- grave marker posts
- unassigned postholes
- cremations
- ? fence posts
- four-post structures
- inhumations
- ring-ditches
- other ditch features

footpath

Key

- 5th/6th century
- 6th century
- 6th/7th century
- 7th century

0 10 40 m

fence

Fig. 13 Site plan of cemetery 1 at Apple Down, showing dates of graves (where known).

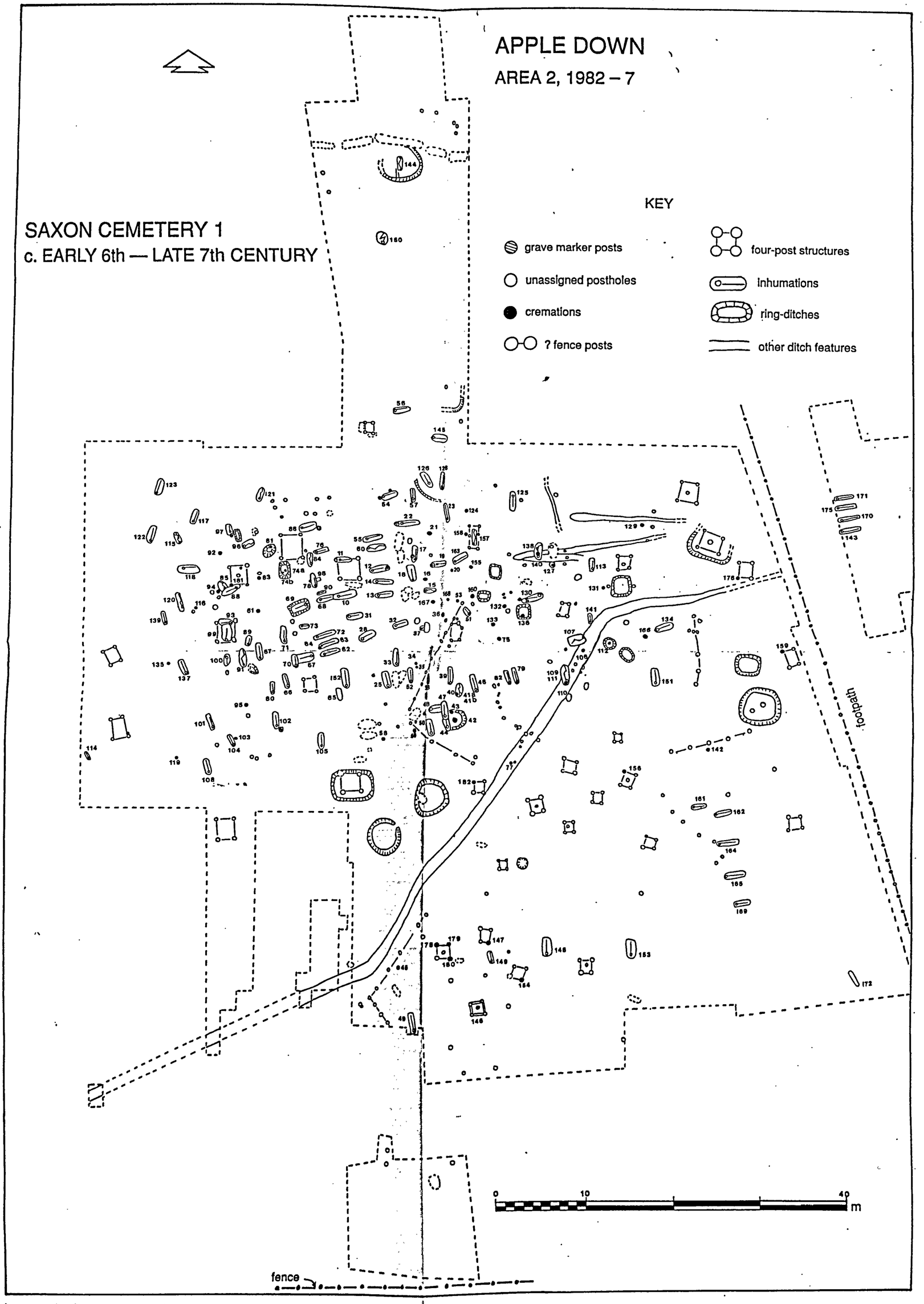


Fig. 12 Site plan of cemetery 1 at Apple Down, after Down and Welch (1990, fig. 2.4).

Fig. 10 Distribution of graves with above-ground markers at Edix Hill.

Fig. 7 Distribution of masculine, feminine and immature inhumations at Edix Hill.

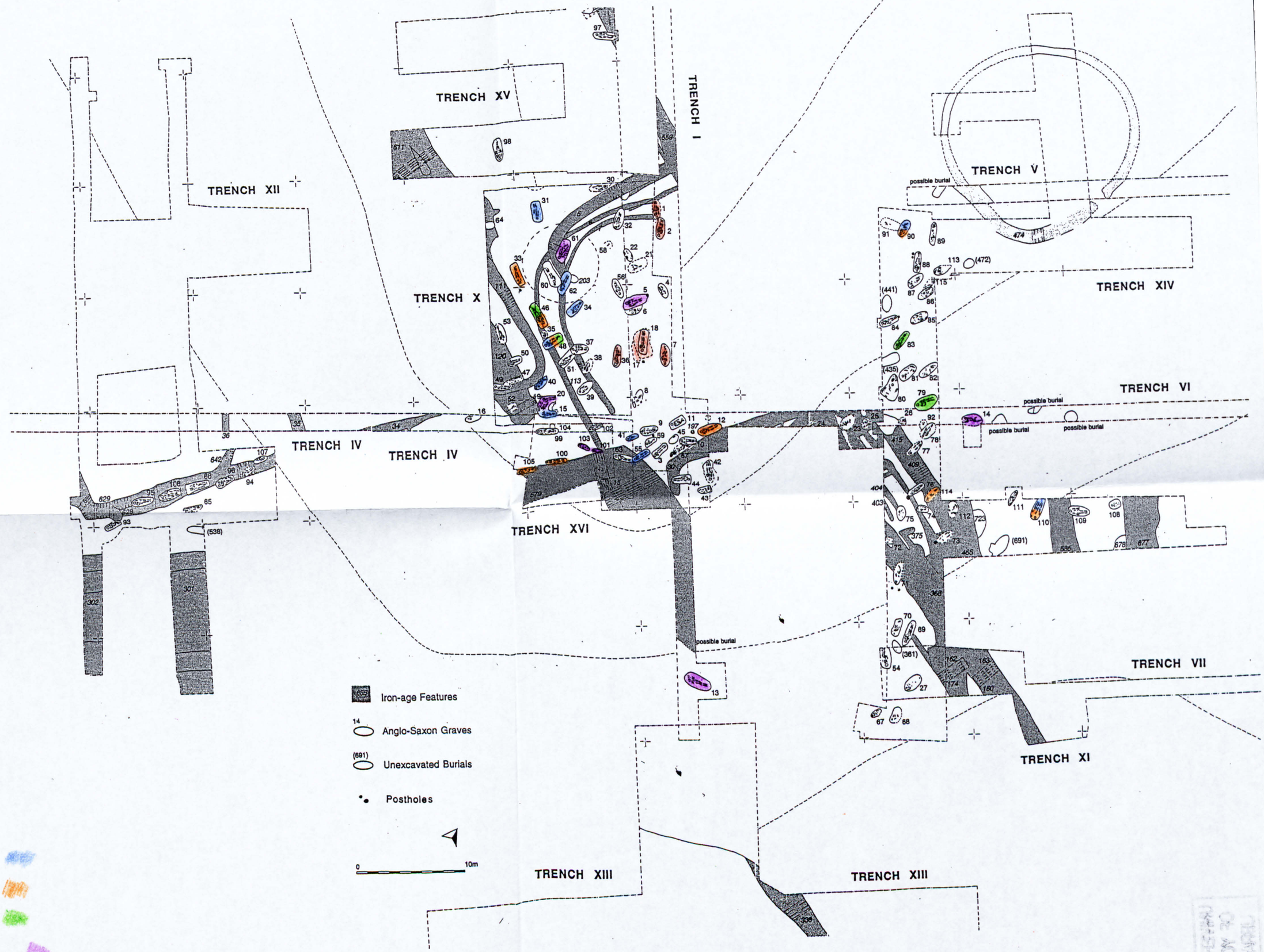


Fig. 6 Distribution of inhumations at Edix Hill displaying selected epigenetic traits and other associated burials.

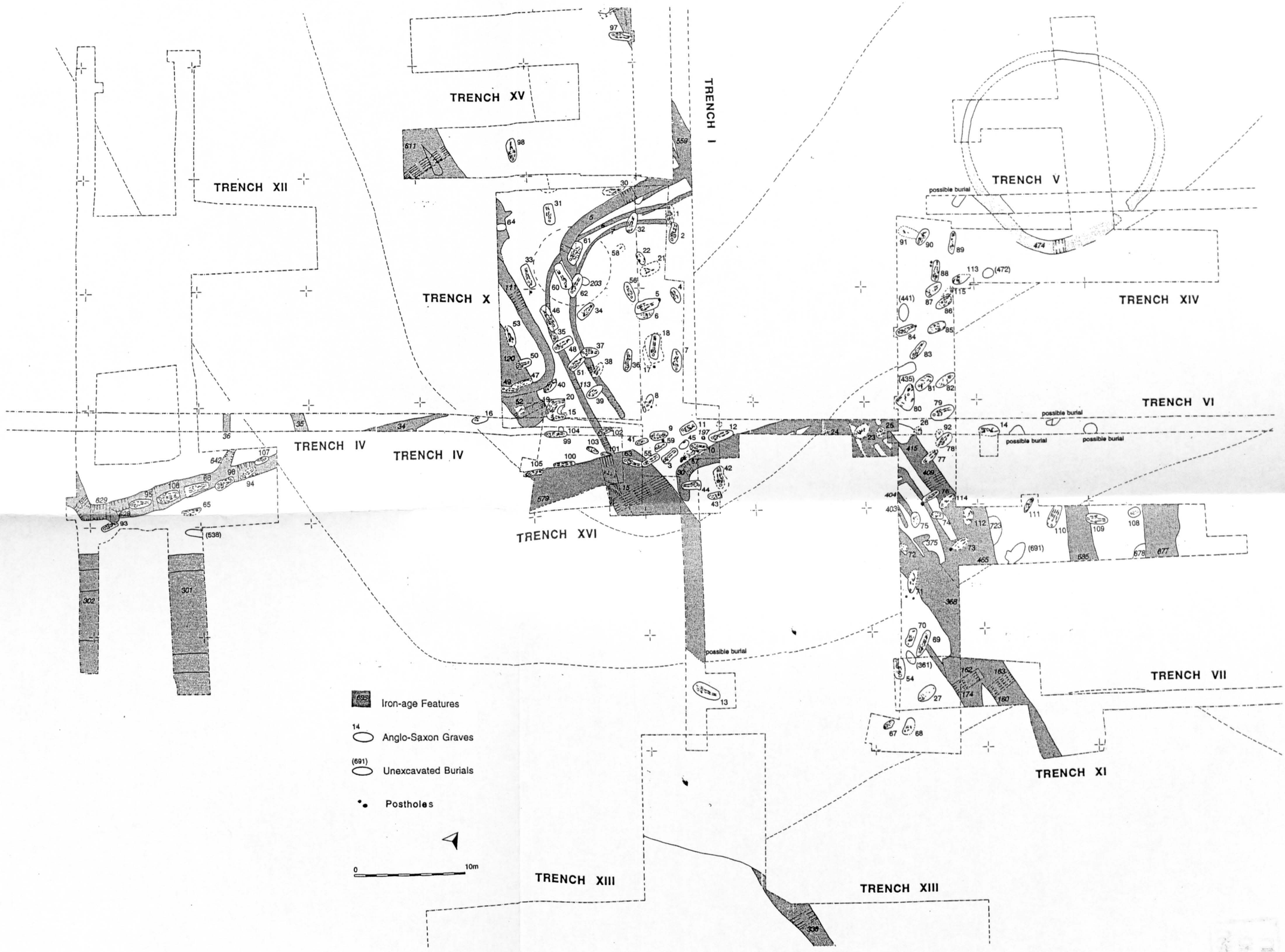


Fig. 5 Site plan of Edix Hill inhumations in relation to Iron Age features, after Malim and Hines (1998, 23-25).