ON SACRED GROUND: SOCIAL IDENTITY AND CHURCHYARD BURIAL IN LINCOLNSHIRE AND YORKSHIRE, *C.* 700-1100 AD

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It has been frequently assumed that, following the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms to Christianity and the establishment of monasteries and minster churches during the seventh and eighth centuries, cemeteries were commonly located next to churches.[2] However, following the excavation and publication of several late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries that were not located adjacent to a church, or were adjacent to a church that went out of use during the Anglo-Saxon or medieval period, this interpretation has been recently challenged.[3] In addition, an increasing number of late Anglo-Saxon execution cemeteries, Scandinavian cemeteries and isolated Scandinavian burials have been identified away from church sites.[4] It has also been frequently assumed that late Anglo-Saxon burial practice was relatively uniform and 'egalitarian' in which all social classes were united in death within a common religious belief system provided by Christianity.[5] However, recent research has suggested that late Anglo-Saxon period funerary practices remained an important arena for social display as they had been in the fifth, sixth and early seventh centuries,[6] although little systematic work has been undertaken investigating and quantifying the forms and variety of late Anglo-Saxon burial rites.[7] Even less work has been undertaken comparing these different funerary rites with the increasing quantity and quality of osteological evidence for the late Anglo-Saxon period, a methodology that has proved successful in the interpretation of early and mid Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.[8] This paper will attempt to draw these themes together by

discussing the range and variation of burial rites within late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and investigating the relationship between osteological and funerary evidence within a sample of cemeteries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. It will be argued that burial practices were not egalitarian in the late Anglo-Saxon period. Instead, this study reveals that aspects of social identity influenced the choice of burial rites accorded to the deceased. Many of the results presented in this paper arise from a survey of 464 Anglo-Saxon and undated burial sites in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, of which ninety seven, or 20.9%, dated to the seventh century or later.[9] The paper will go on to investigate the relationship between the age and sex of the deceased and the different funerary rites present in six cemeteries: York Minster, Swinegate and St Andrew's Fishergate in York, St Mark's Lincoln, St Peter's Barton-upon-Humber and the tenth-to twelfth-century cemetery at Barrow-upon-Humber (formerly mistakenly interpreted as the cemetery of the seventh-century monastery founded by St Chad). These cemeteries were chosen for analysis because they were excavated using modern techniques, skeletal material was reasonably well preserved, large numbers of graves were excavated, and the stratigraphy of the cemetery allowed later medieval burials to be excluded from analysis.

LATE ANGLO-SAXON BURIAL PRACTICE

Before exploring the cemeteries in question, let us set the scene by providing an overview of later Anglo-Saxon mortuary practices. A wide variety of burial rites were used during the late Anglo-Saxon period. The archaeological evidence for these practices can be divided into two groups. The first group can be described as *grave types* and relates to the overall structure of the grave and container for the body; for example plain earth graves, coffins, stone-lined graves and sarcophagi. The second

group consists of what can be described as *grave variations*, which are found in conjunction with the different *grave types*; for example layers of charcoal, grave markers, grave covers and stones placed around the head (commonly referred to as pillow stones by excavators). For the purposes of this discussion 'pillow stones' will be referred to as 'head support stones' as not all such arrangements included a stone 'pillow' underneath the skull. Here, grave variations are treated separately from grave types as they occur with different grave types (for example head support stones have been found in both plain earth graves, coffins and stone-lined graves) and may be found in the same grave as a different *grave variation*: for example a grave may contain both head support stones and a layer of charcoal.

A wide range of burial rites were used in late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. The most frequently found grave types are plain earth graves, which are found in high numbers at most cemeteries, although many of these may have once contained organic structures such as coffins that have not survived the burial environment. Evidence from waterlogged sites shows that many coffins were constructed using small wooden dowels, a technique that meant the entire coffin could decay leaving no trace such as iron nails or fittings. Wooden coffins are evident at many cemeteries, including dowel-built coffins,[10] dug-out coffins,[11] nail-built coffins[12] and clinker-built coffins which may have re-used boat parts.[13] Variations on the plain wooden coffin include wooden planks placed either above or below the body and iron-bound coffins, sometimes interpreted as re-used domestic chests.[14] Some of these chests survive with elaborate iron locks.[18]

Stone-lined graves have been found at many cemeteries,[19] and partial stone-lined graves have too.[20] Rare grave types include mortar-lined graves identified at York Minster and St Helen-on-the-Walls,[21] and a tile-lined grave was excavated at

York Minster.[22] Finally, stone sarcophagi have been excavated at York Minster and St Gregory's Kirkdale (North Yorkshire).[23]

Grave variations identified in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire include the use of head support stones, in the form of a pair of stones placed either side of the skull ('ear-muff stones'), a single stone either by the side or behind the skull (often referred to as 'pillow stones'), or a series of three of more stones surrounding the skull (occasionally described as 'head cists'). Arrangements of stones around the head have been identified at many cemeteries including Fillingham, Kellington (North Yorkshire) and St Martin's Wharram Percy (North Yorkshire).[24] White quartz pebbles have been found in graves at Kellington[25] and small stones were placed in the mouths, and, in one case, on the eyes of the deceased at Fillingham.[26] The inclusion of charcoal[27] and hazel rods or 'wands' in the grave are practices evident because of the waterlogged conditions at St Peter's Barton-upon-Humber.[28] At Addingham (West Yorkshire) graves were marked by small mounds of earth and in contrast at Thwing by wooden posts.[29] Plain stone markers and[30] or carved or incised stones were utilised at St. Andrew's Fishergate and St Mark's Lincoln respectively.[31]. Grave covers could also be plain stone[32] or carved into both simple and complicated designs.[33] The grave cover arrangements at Wharram Percy and York Minster also included head and foot stones.[34] The use of grave markers and grave covers was probably much more widespread than the scant archaeological evidence would suggest since evidence for grave markers rarely survives in cemeteries due to subsequent disturbance.[35]

Insert tables 1 & 2 here

Most late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, both urban and rural, contain two or three different grave types (see Table 1) and between one

and three grave variations, which were usually only found in a small number of graves at each cemetery (see Table 2).[44] In contrast, the range of grave types and the high number of individuals accorded a more elaborate burial in the cemetery at York Minster is striking. Here, plain earth graves, coffins, iron-bound chests with locks, stone-lined graves, a tile-lined grave, a mortar-lined grave, a stone sarcophagus and two burials on planks, one of which was probably on part of a boat, were excavated. In addition, the cemetery contained a wide range of grave variations: carved stone grave covers, head and foot stones, grave markers, head support stones, charcoal burials and several graves contained artefacts including earrings, finger rings, coins, a dress pin and a key.[45]

The diversity in burial practice observed at York Minster may have been partially due to the lack of later burials disturbing the late Anglo-Saxon graveyard, as much of the excavated areas were sealed by the eleventh-century south transept, protecting these burials from later grave digging and possibly enhancing the chances of survival of different types of burial.[46] However, this diversity in burial type is equally likely to reflect the known high status of the York Minster cemetery at this time. St Peter's (York Minster) was a royal foundation and a bishopric, founded by King Edwin in AD 627.[47] Historical records indicate that at least fourteen people of note (royalty, bishops, and noblemen) were buried in York, many of whom were probably buried at St Peter's (see Table 3). It is likely that the variation in mortuary practice at York Minster indicates that individuals of a high social status were using both grave form and burial location as a medium for social display. Interestingly many of the more elaborate burials at York Minster were located in groups with chest burials clustered together to the north east of the excavations (areas SA and SD), and all of the lined graves, carved grave covers and the sarcophagus were located to the

north west (excavation area ST).

The range of different grave types seen at cemeteries across the rest of Britain is similar to that seen in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire although some additional grave types have been excavated. Plain earth graves, coffins and stone-lined graves predominate, but other variations include reused domestic chests[62] some of which had locks;[63] clinker-built coffins[64] and plank burials were present in several cemeteries across the country[65]. In addition, two graves at Raunds (Northamptonshire) were described as having a clay lining[66], sand-lined graves were identified at Winchester Old Minster[67], a mortar- and stone-lined grave was excavated at St Nicholas Shambles London[68] and mortar-lined graves were excavated at Wells.[69] Sarcophagi have been excavated at Raunds and Winchester Old Minster[70] and a lead coffin has been excavated at Staple Gardens Winchester.[71] Some stone-lined graves narrowed around the head, mimicking head support stones and occasionally plain grave cuts were shaped to create a recess for the head.[72] Crypts and mausolea may also have been used for burial during the late Anglo-Saxon period as at Repton (Derbyshire).[73] At most of these sites, both urban and rural, between two and four grave types and grave variations were present, as shown above for Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (see Table 4). However, a higher proportion of individuals were buried in a wider range of more elaborate graves at the historically attested high-status cemeteries of Winchester Old Minster, Exeter Cathedral (Devon), St Oswald's Minster Gloucester and Wells Cathedral (Somerset) (Table 5). It is unlikely that everyone buried at these cemeteries were of high social status, however these cemeteries probably attracted a higher proportion of high-status burials than cemeteries attached to a parish church, contributing to the variation in

burial forms and the high number of elaborate burials within these cemeteries. Charcoal spreads were particularly common at high-status cemeteries, and were present in 57% of graves at Exeter Cathedral, 10% of graves at Winchester Old Minster, 39.3% of graves at Winchester New Minster and 21.4% of graves at St Oswald's Gloucester.[83] Indeed, higher proportions of charcoal burials may be identified during smaller excavations, particularly if the trenches are located close to a church. The charcoal burials at Winchester Old and New Minsters were frequently located close to or inside the minster buildings[84] and all but one of the charcoal burials at St Oswald's Gloucester were located close to the church.[85] Burials with deposits of charcoal were frequently coffined, and many charcoal burials at Exeter Cathedral, Winchester Old Minster, Castle Green Hereford and St Oswald's Gloucester were in iron-bound coffins.[86]

Insert tables 4 & 5 here

Clusters of elaborate graves, including charcoal burials are also present in several cemeteries. For example, at Raunds burial 5283 had a grave cover and may once have been marked by a stone cross. The burial was located just 2 m from the church, close to the west doorway and was described by Boddington as a founder's grave. Boddington suggested that the area of the cemetery immediately adjacent to this grave was a particularly prestigious burial location, as burials were particularly dense and a further grave with a carved cover was located in this area.[87] At Winchester Old Minster, sarcophagi and iron-bound coffins, in addition to the charcoal burials mentioned above, were more common both inside and close to the outside of the church and in the vicinity of the grave interpreted as that of St. Swithun. By contrast, in trench XXIX, located to the west of the apse, no stone-lined graves, elaborate coffins or charcoal burials were identified.[88] The area close to the church

also contained approximately 20% more males than females.[89] In sum, the evidence from Raunds and Winchester Old Minster shows that elaborate burials were more commonly located close to church buildings or doorways.

Overall the evidence presented thus far indicates that late Anglo-Saxon burial practice was not egalitarian, but rather that the choice of burial ground, burial location and form were influenced by the identity of the deceased including the importance of the deceased and their family.

OSTEOLOGY AND FUNERARY PRACTICE

Osteological evidence of age and sex were compared with the different funerary rites present at York Minster,[90] Swinegate[91] and St Andrew's Fishergate in York,[92] St Peter's Barton-upon-Humber,[93] St Mark's Lincoln[94] and Barrow-upon-Humber.[95] The age and sex of the deceased, ascertained using standard osteological methods,[96] were compared with the grave type, grave variations and grave location.

This study revealed that there was no relationship between the sex of the deceased and grave type at each of the six cemeteries. Most grave types were used for the burial of males and females, in roughly equal proportions. At York Minster males and females were accorded all of the different grave types apart from the use of clinker-built planks; this grave type was only present in one excavated grave at the cemetery, that of an adult male. At Swinegate, similar proportions of males and females were buried in plain earth graves and in coffins. However, only two sexed adults were buried with planks in the entire cemetery, both of whom were female (Fig, 1). Very little evidence of different grave types was present at St Andrew's Fishergate, however a small number of graves of both males and females contained

tentative evidence of coffins, occasional iron nails or red-brown staining on the bones, indicative of iron, probably nails, in the grave. At Barrow-upon-Humber most of the burials were in plain earth graves, and equal proportions of males and females were buried in more elaborate graves. Only one sexed adult was buried in a stone-lined grave, and this was a male. Many individuals, both male and female were buried with either coffins or planks at St Peter's Barton-upon-Humber. One grave at the cemetery was partially lined with stones; however this was the grave of a child who could not be sexed.[97] At St Mark's Lincoln the majority of burials were in plain earth graves, however small numbers of both males and females were buried with possible coffins (identified by the presence of iron nails in the grave). One grave was lined with stone, and this contained an adult female. Non-significant chi-squared tests support the finding that grave types were not related to the sex of the deceased (see Table 6).

A similar pattern was revealed when grave variations were compared with the sex of the deceased. Due to the low frequencies of grave variations in most cemeteries, only head support stones at St Peter's Barton-upon-Humber, and charcoal burials at York Minster will be discussed. At St Peter's Barton-upon-Humber, approximately the same proportion of males and females were buried with head support stones. At York Minster, of the fourteen charcoal burials identified, just five adults could be sexed with any certainty: three males and two females. Overall this study showed that most grave types were used for equal proportions of males and females at each of the cemeteries, although some of the more unusual grave types were only used for one sex. In these cases no importance should be attached to the fact that, for example, the only sexed adult in a stone-lined grave at Barrow-upon-Humber was male, as any other adults buried in stone-lined graves that either were not

excavated, or that could not be sexed accurately, could conceivably be female, redressing this imbalance.

The spatial analysis of burials of males and females revealed that the sex of the deceased did not influence the location of burial within most of these cemeteries. The exception to this was St Mark's Lincoln, where a higher number of males were buried to the north of the probable church dating to Phase VIII (located in the south-east corner of the excavated area), and a higher number of females were buried to the south of the stone church, during Phase IX (Figs. 2 and 3 respectively). The sex-related patterning in grave location was not statistically significant when the two phases were treated separately, but was statistically significant when the two phases were combined.[97a] As has been previously noted, spatial imbalances between male and female burials have been identified at Raunds and Winchester Old Minster.[98] This evidence indicates that at some cemeteries, male burials were preferentially placed in prestigious areas close to an important grave, structure or the church itself. In most cemeteries, however, the sex of the deceased does not appear to have influenced the choice of grave type, grave variation or the location of the grave within the cemetery.

Insert table 7 here

Most of the different grave types in each cemetery were used for the burial of individuals of most age groups (see Table 7), including the very young and very old, although the more unusual grave types were only used for the burial of individuals within some age groups. At York Minster individuals in all age categories apart from infants were accorded different grave types. In some cases a burial type may have been used for individuals in just one or two age categories, however these were usually the more unusual grave types including the sarcophagus, plank burials, stone-

lined graves and chests, all found in only a small number of graves. Only one infant burial was recorded for York Minster, and this was in a plain earth grave. At Swinegate, individuals in each of the different age groups *including infants* were buried in plain earth graves, coffins or with wooden planks. The only exception to this was for mid-adults, none of whom was buried with a plank. Individuals of all age groups apart from infants were accorded coffined burial at St Andrew's Fishergate and St Mark's Lincoln, even though few coffins were identified at either of these cemeteries. The individuals buried in stone-lined graves at St Mark's include a child and a mid-adult. Most of the burials at Barrow-upon-Humber were in plain earth graves, but once again individuals in all age categories apart from infants could be buried in either a stone-lined grave (child, young adult and older adult) or a coffin (mid-adult and old adult). This evidence shows that individuals in certain age groups were not prohibited certain forms of burial, and no strong relationship between age and grave type was identified (see Table 8). At St Peter's Barton-upon-Humber, where over 600 burials dating to the late Anglo-Saxon period have been excavated, the age-related trend in grave type is, however, clear (Fig. 4). Here, while individuals of all age groups could be buried in plain earth graves, coffins or with planks, individuals were *more likely* to be buried in a more elaborate burial with increasing age.[98a] This pattern was duplicated when the data from all of the cemeteries were combined, even if the material from St Peter's (which made up approximately half of the total data set) was excluded (see Table 8). This would suggest that the mourners were more likely to bury older individuals in a more elaborate grave, and/or that those who were buried in more elaborate graves were from social groups more likely to survive to a greater age.

Insert Table 8 here

A range of grave variations were also accorded individuals of all age groups. For example, at York Minster grave covers were found above a young child aged between three and five years, an older child aged between ten and twelve years, an adolescent and several adults. In addition, at St Peter's Barton-upon-Humber, head support stones were found in the graves of individuals of all ages, including two infants, four young children and in one grave containing both a female mid-adult and foetus. Clusters of infant burials in late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, often located close to the walls of a church, have been frequently discussed in recent research.[100] The location of these burials close to church walls has led to the suggestion that the mourners believed that these infants would be blessed every time rainwater dripped off the church roof onto the graves, and clusters of infant burials have even been used to suggest the location of a lost church, for example at Hartlepool (Cleveland).[101] The tradition of burying infants under the eaves of buildings can be traced back to the Roman period[102] and infant burials were occasionally associated with buildings in early Anglo-Saxon settlements,[103] although obviously burial close to buildings has not been interpreted as a form of symbolic baptism during the Roman or early Anglo-Saxon period. Whatever the intended symbolism of infant burials located close to churches, it appears that at some cemeteries certain types of burial (in this case close to the church walls) may have been seen to be more appropriate for the very young.

The spatial analysis undertaken for the cemeteries investigated in detail identified clusters of infant and, sometimes, child burials at all of the five cemeteries analysed.[104] An increased density of the burials of infants and young children were observed close to the walls of the church at St Peter's Barton-upon-Humber[104a] and close to the possible timber church at St Andrew's Fishergate.[104b] Many of the infants and young children excavated at St Mark's Lincoln were from graves under

the floor of the first stone church, which is believed to be in a slightly different location from the earlier timber church, however this pattern was not statistically significant.[104c] It is possible that these burials were protected from disturbance by later grave digging by the floor of the first stone church. At Swinegate, all of the infants and most of the young children were buried in trenches in the southern part of the cemetery.[104d] These trenches were noted for the density of burial present and are close to the probable location of St Benet's church, which was not found during the excavations.[105] No strong clusters of infant and child burials were identified at York Minster.[105a] The only infant burial excavated was buried in excavation area XK (in the westernmost trench of the excavations), and most of the children (under the age of twelve) were buried in excavation areas ST, SA and SD (located towards the east of the excavations). It was, however, impossible to determine the relationship of the cluster of sub-adult burials to the church, as this has not yet been located archaeologically. No clusters of individuals of older age groups were present at any of the five cemeteries analysed.

DISCUSSION

The present research into late Anglo-Saxon burial rites in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire and comparison with contemporary cemeteries from across Britain has shown that there was a great deal of variation in burial rites during the seventh to eleventh centuries. It is becoming increasingly clear that later Anglo-Saxon burial was not egalitarian and that the Anglo-Saxon Church did not dictate the form that burial should take. Rather, burial continued to be used as a medium for social display, albeit

within a more restricted range of burial rites that were appropriate for burials within a Christian cemetery.[106]

Most of the different grave types and grave variations described above are found in cemeteries over a large geographical area. There do not appear to be any strong differences in the numbers and variety of different grave types and grave variations employed in rural and urban cemeteries, however high-status cemeteries such as York Minster, St Oswald's Gloucester and Winchester Old Minster contain both a wider range of different burial rites and a higher number of individuals buried in more elaborate graves, especially close to or inside the church. This is important, as it suggests that the many of the social elite were choosing to bury their dead in the cemeteries attached to high-status churches, and that the funerary practices employed in these burials could be used to emphasise further the status of the deceased and their family. This may have led to the introduction of more innovative burial rites within high-status cemeteries, as the social elite sought to mark the graves of their kin in more elaborate and unusual ways. In less prestigious cemeteries the local elites were also using funerary practice to display the importance and/or wealth of their families. Thus at many cemeteries a small proportion of graves were distinguished by the presence of a burial rite that was more unusual for that cemetery. These types of burial are frequently found in close proximity with each other and often date to quite a short period of cemetery use, for example the cluster of charcoal burials identified at St Mark's Lincoln.[107] Stone sculpture was also probably used for social display. Freestanding monuments, many of which had a funerary function, are much more common in high-status cemeteries including York Minster and Winchester Old Minster, and most examples of architectural sculpture are also found at high-status ecclesiastical sites.[108] However many churches in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire

contained one or two pieces of post-Scandinavian stone sculpture that probably had a funerary function.[109] Graves marked with stone sculpture may have been those of church founders and their families.[110] Other cemeteries contain a larger number of sculpted monuments (although not as many as is found at high-status ecclesiastical sites) including St Mark's Lincoln, St Mary-le-Wigford Lincoln, Creeton, Manton and Stow, all in Lincolnshire[111] and Lythe, St Mary Bishophill Senior in York, Brompton-in-Allertonshire and Stanwick in Yorkshire.[112] These sites have been interpreted as Anglo-Saxon trading centres, leading David Stocker to suggest that the abundance of sculpture at these sites reflects the aspirations of a competitive mercantile elite.[113] The analysis of funerary practices at York Minster, Swinegate, St Andrew's Fishergate, Barrow-upon-Humber, St Peter's Barton-upon-Humber and St Mark's Lincoln has shown that individuals in all age groups could be accorded most of the different grave types and grave variations, but that they were more likely to be buried in a more elaborate manner with increasing age. This indicates that either elaborate burials were more appropriate but not exclusively for older individuals, or that individuals who were buried in more elaborate graves were living longer on average than those buried in plain graves. Spatial analysis has shown that infants and young children were frequently buried in particular locations within the cemetery, and in some cemeteries the graves of infants and young children cluster around the walls of the church.

The present research has also shown that both grave form and grave location were not governed by the sex of the deceased. The only exception to this was for the spatial organisation of graves at St Mark's Lincoln. This lack of sex-related variation in funerary practice is also seen in contemporary cemeteries across Britain, where there is little evidence of burial rite or grave location being influenced by the sex of

the deceased. Examples where sex-related patterning in funerary rite have been identified include high numbers of males buried in iron-bound coffins with layers of charcoal at St Oswald's Gloucester and Winchester Old Minster;[114] increased numbers of male burials close to the church at Winchester Old Minster;[115] and the increased proportion of males buried south of the church within the primary zone at Raunds.[116] This indicates that adult males were more likely to be accorded elaborate burial in a prestigious location during the late Anglo-Saxon period, but this was a privilege from which adult females and children were excluded.

The evidence from late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries contrasts with that from early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, where sex strongly influenced the choice of grave goods placed in the grave. This would suggest that different aspects of social identity were influencing funerary practice in the eighth to eleventh centuries. Gender does not appear to have been important in determining the form and location of the grave in the later Anglo-Saxon period, although the gender of the deceased may have influenced any rites performed during the funeral that do not leave any archaeological trace.[117] This is, perhaps, not surprising given the decrease in the number of graves in which gender was signalled in the seventh century.[118] This was a period when there was a concomitant emphasis of the masculine gender in more elaborate graves, especially those close to or under barrows.[119] This change was interpreted by Nick Stoodley as a shift in emphasis to the elaboration of the burials of the (usually male) elite, with inheritance and authority passing through the male line.[120] This point was expanded on by Dawn Hadley, who suggested that later Anglo-Saxon burials were not symbolising solely gender (or age), but that family or household status, frequently symbolised through adult male burials, was more important.[121] Hadley has also drawn attention to the masculine symbolism on some tenth-century sculptures and has

suggested that these monuments, which are few in number, may have served to commemorate the family as much as individuals,[122] and David Stocker has commented on the symbolism of so-called hogback monuments, many of which have house-like features (including a roof) and which may also have served to commemorate the family or household.[123] This emphasis on family/household or individual status is also evident in the high number of elaborate burials in high-status cemeteries or prestigious locations within cemeteries. The change in social organisation seen through the seventh century towards the increasing importance of household status[124] over and above that of gender eventually led to the lack of gender-specific burial practices in the late Anglo-Saxon period, the occasional association between adult males and particular grave types, the occurrence of clusters of male burials in prominent positions in certain cemeteries and the importance of elaborate burial rites in social display.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ENDNOTES

[2] Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 51; Biddle 1976, 69, but see critiques by Morris 1983; Boddington 1990

[3] Hadley 2000; Lucy and Reynolds 2002

[4] Reynolds 1997; Richards 2002

[5] Hodder 1980, 168; Geake 1997, 127; Tarlow 1997, 139; Carver 1999, 8

[6] Hadley 2000; Hadley 2001; Hadley 2004; Hadley and Buckberry 2005

[7] But see Daniell 1997; Hadley 2001

[8] Lucy 1998; Stoodley 1999b

[9] Of these 29 dated to the mid Anglo-Saxon period, 52 to the late Anglo-Saxon period and 17 dated to the mid to late Anglo-Saxon period, Buckberry 2004, Chapter 3.

[10] Rodwell and Rodwell 1982, 301; Bagwell and Tyers 2001

[11] Rodwell and Rodwell 1982, 301; Bagwell and Tyers 2001

[12] Dawes and Magilton 1980, 14; Gilmour and Stocker 1986, 16; Wilmott 1987, 342

[13] Rodwell and Rodwell 1982, 291-2

[14] Kjølbye-Biddle 1995, 517; Phillips and Heywood 1995, 83. One of the individuals buried in a chest at York Minster was too tall to fit in the chest, and thus was buried in a flexed position (Phillips and Heywood 1995, 83). This would suggest that the chest had been re-used and was not constructed solely for the purpose of the burial. See also Phillips and Heywood 1995, 86-7; Hall and Whyman 1996, 62, 99; Adamson and Abramson 1997, 3-4, 22-3; Hadley 2003, 99

[18] Kjølbye-Biddle 1995, 489; Hall and Whyman 1996, 99

[19] Gilmour and Stocker 1986, 20; Buckberry and Hadley 2001, 11

[20] Reynolds 1979; Dawes and Magilton 1980, 15; Caroline Atkins pers. comm.; Jen Mann pers. comm.

[21] Dawes and Magilton 1980, 15; Phillips and Heywood 1995, 85, 88

[22] Phillips and Heywood 1995, 88

[23] Phillips and Heywood 1995, 82; Rahtz and Watts 1997, 422

[24] Mytum 1994, 21; Buckberry and Hadley 2001, 13

[25] Mytum 1994, 21

[26] Buckberry and Hadley 2001, 15-16

[27] Gilmour and Stocker 1986, 16, 20; Phillips and Heywood 1995, 87-8; Grainger unpublished

[28] Caroline Atkins, pers. comm.

[29] Adams 1996, 181-2; Geake 1997, 159

[30] Stroud and Kemp 1993, 153

[31] Peers and Radford 1943, 35-46; Gilmour and Stocker 1986, 21; Phillips and Heywood 1995, 84

[32] Buckberry and Hadley 2001, 11; Grainger unpublished

[33] Bell and Beresford 1987, 58; Beresford and Hurst 1990, 64; Phillips and Heywood 1995, 84

[34] Bell and Beresford 1987, 58; Beresford and Hurst 1990, 64

[35] Stocker 2000, 180; see also Cherryson this volume

[36] Boden and Whitwell 1979; Buckberry 2004, 31-3, 343-4; Grainger unpublished.

[37] Gilmour and Stocker 1986, 15-21; Steane, Darling, Mann, Vince and Young 2001, 284; Buckberry 2004, 30, 186.

[38] Bell and Beresford 1987, 56.

[39] Wilmott 1986; Wilmott 1987, 342; Geake 1997, 191; Tony Wilmott *pers. comm.*

[40] Mytum 1994, 21.

[41] Boden and Whitwell 1979; Buckberry 2004, 31-3, 343-4; Grainger unpublished.

[42] Stroud and Kemp 1993, 153.

[43] Gilmour and Stocker 1986, 15-21.

[44] Buckberry 2004, 287-8.

[45] Phillips and Heywood 1995, 75-92

[46] Phillips and Heywood 1995, 75

[47] Bede **HE** ii, 14; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 187-9

[48] Bede **HE** ii: 14. Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 187-9; Rollason 1998, 146.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Bede **HE** ii: 20. Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 205; Rollason 1998, 135-6.

[51] Vita Wilfridi 24. Colgrave 1927, 51; Rollason 1998, 146.

[52] **ASC** 738; Chronicle of Æthelweard 2:15. Whitelock 1955, 161; Campbell 1962, 22; Rollason 1998, 147.

[53] ASC 738; Chronicle of Æthelweard 2:15. Whitelock 1955, 161; Campbell 1962, 22; Rollason 1998, 147.

[54] History of the Kings. Whitelock 1955, 249; Rollason 1998, 147.

[55] History of the Kings. Whitelock 1955, 250; Rollason 1998, 148.

[56] Chronicle of Æthelweard 4:3. Campbell 1962, 51; Rollason 1998, 173.

[57] Geffrei Gaimar History of the English. Rollason 1998, 174.

[58] **ASC** D 1055. Rollason 1998, 175.

[59] William of Malmesbury Deeds of the Kings of England. Rollason 1998, 210.

[60] **ASC** D 1069. Rollason 1998, 198.

[61] Chronicle of the Archbishops of York. Rollason 1998, 199.

[62] Shoesmith 1980, 36-8; Heighway and Bryant 1999, 208-15

[63] Kjølbye-Biddle 1995, 517

[64] Rodwell 1993, 254

[65] Cramp 1969, 33

[66] Boddington 1996, 41

[67] Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, 227

[68] Schofield, Thompson, Hill and Riviére 1988, 18-19

[69] Rodwell 2001, 65, 67

[70] Kjølbye-Biddle 1975, 106-7; Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, 227-8; Boddington 1996, 34

[71] Kipling and Scobie 1990, 9; Scobie 1994, 6

[72] Shoesmith 1980, 29-30; Rodwell 2001, 65-8

[73] Biddle 1986, 16, 22

[74] Wade-Martins 1980, 188.

[75] Boddington 1996, 37-48.

[76] Schofield, Thompson, Hill and Riviére 1988, 18-26.

[77] Kipling and Scobie 1990; Scobie 1994.

[78] Kjølbye-Biddle 1975, 98-107; Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, 222-33; Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1995; Tweddle, Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1995 , 273-323.

[79] Hare 1999, 33-4; Heighway and Bryant 1999, 202-7.

[80] Henderson and Bidwell 1982, 152-6.

[81] Rodwell 2001, 65-70, 105-10.

[82] Rodwell 2001, 2; Annia Cherryson, *pers. comm.*

[83] Henderson and Bidwell 1982, 154-5; Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, 229; Heighway and Bryant 1999, 202. It should be noted that far fewer graves were excavated at Exeter than at Winchester Old Minster and Winchester New Minster.

[84] Kjølbye-Biddle 1975, 106; Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, 229

[85] Heighway and Bryant 1999, 202

[86] Henderson and Bidwell 1982, 154-5; Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, 229; Heighway and Bryant 1999, 202

[87] Boddington 1996, 11, 36-7

[88] Kjølbye-Biddle 1975, 98, 105-6; Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, 223, 228

[89] Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, 227

[90] Phillips and Heywood 1995; Buckberry 2004, 25-6, 486-7. All data used for this analysis was obtained from the published excavation report.

[91] Pearson 1989; Pearson 1990; Buckberry 2004, 23-5, 485. Excavation data including evidence of funerary practice was obtained from the archive held by York Archaeological Trust. All osteological analysis was undertaken by the present author.

[92] Stroud and Kemp 1993; Buckberry 2004, 185. Data for analysis was obtained from the published excavation report, Stroud and Kemp 1993, and from the site archive held at York Archaeological Trust.

[93] Rodwell and Rodwell 1982; Buckberry 2004, 30-1, 345-6. Over 600 burials dating to Phase E (up to the twelfth century) were used in this study. Site data for St Peter's Barton-upon-Humber was obtained from Caroline Atkins Consultants with the permission of Warwick Rodwell. Osteological data was taken from the recording forms produced by the late Juliet Rogers, now held by English Heritage at York.

[94] Gilmour and Stocker 1986; Steane *et al.* 2001; Buckberry 2004, 28-30, 377. Data used for this analysis was obtained from the published excavation report, Gilmour and Stocker 1986, and from the site archive held at Lincoln City and County Museum.

[95] Boden and Whitwell 1979; Buckberry 2004, 31-3, 343-4; Grainger unpublished. Site data was obtained from the excavation archive and draft excavation report, Grainger unpublished, held by Humber Archaeology Partnership and all osteological analysis was undertaken by the present author.

[96] As described in Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994.

[97] It is generally agreed that it is not possible to sex sub-adult skeletons using the morphology of the bones (Saunders 1992, 4).

[97a] Phase VIII χ^2=5.128, p=0.105; Phase IX χ^2=3.338, p=0.196; Phases VIII and IX combined χ^2=9.648, p=0.013

[98a] χ^2=32.373, p<0.001

[99] The following age categories were used throughout this research: foetus (less than forty weeks *in utero*); infant (birth to one year, however babies under one month old were occasionally referred to as neonates); young child (one to six years); older child (six to twelve years); adolescent (thirteen to seventeen years); young adult (eighteen to twenty five years); mid-adult (twenty six to forty five years); and older adult (forty six years and older). These age categories were combined as follows for statistical and illustrative purposes: infant (up to one year); child (one to twelve years); young adult (thirteen to twenty five years – this age category included adolescents following research on the Anglo-Saxon age of majority (see Crawford 1991, 19; Keufler 1991, 826)); mid-adult (twenty six to forty five years); and older adult (forty six years and older).

[100] Crawford 1993, 88; Lucy and Reynolds 2002, 17-20

[101] Crawford 1993, 88

[102] Watts 1989, 372

[103] Powlesland 1997, 164

[104] Spatial analysis could not be undertaken for the cemetery at Barrow-upon-Humber.

[104a] $H=8.014$, $p=0.046$

[104b] Although this cluster was only approaching statistical significance; $H=5.936$, $p=0.051$

[104c] $H=6.064$, $p=0.109$

[104d] $H=14.794$, $p=0.002$

[105] Pearson 1989; Pearson 1990

[105a] $H=1.096$, $p=0.778$

[106] Hadley and Buckberry 2005

[107] Gilmour and Stocker 1986, 16; Hadley 2001, 99

[108] Cramp 1986, 101-2; Sidebottom 2000, 213-4

[109] Richards 2000, 160; Stocker 2000, 180; Stocker and Everson 2001, 224-5

[110] Richards 2000, 160; Stocker 2000, 180

[111] Stocker 2000, 183

[112] Stocker 2000, 204-5

[113] Stocker 2000, 189; Stocker and Everson 2001, 225

[114] Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, 228; Heighway and Bryant 1999, 208-10. It should be noted that the males in elaborate graves and/or buried close to the church at Winchester Old Minster may have been monks.

[115] Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, 227

[116] Boddington 1996, 13, 55

[117] Howard Williams, pers. comm.

[118] Stoodley 1999a, 101-3

[119] Ibid., 101-3

[120] Ibid., 104-5

[121] Hadley *forthcoming*

[122] Ibid.

[123] Stocker 2000, 198

[124] Stoodley 1999a, 104-5

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CAPTIONS

Fig. 1   Proportion of males and females accorded different grave types at Swinegate.

Fig. 2   Distribution of the graves of males (dark grey) and females (light grey) at St Mark's Lincoln during Phase VIII. After Gilmour and Stocker 1986, 15.

Fig. 3   Distribution of the graves of males (dark grey) and females (light grey) at St Mark's Lincoln during Phase IX. After Gilmour and Stocker 1986, 18.

Fig. 4   Proportion of individuals of different age groups accorded different grave types at St Peter's Barton-on-Humber.

Appendix

Tables 1-7

Site	Urban/rural	Grave Types	Grave Variations
Barrow-upon-Humber[31]	Rural	Plain earth graves; stone-lined graves; coffins	Head support stones; charcoal burials; plain stone grave cover
Kellington[32]	Rural	Plain earth graves	Head support stones; white quartz pebbles; probably marked (no inter-cutting)
St Andrew's Fishergate, York[33]	Urban	Plain earth graves, coffins	One grave with head support stone; grave marker
St Mark's Lincoln[34]	Urban	Plain earth graves; stone-lined graves; possible coffins (identified by the presence of iron nails)	Grave markers including one carved stone upright marker); charcoal burials
St Martin's Wharram Percy[35]	Rural	Plain earth graves; coffins; stone-lined graves	Head support stones; grave covers, grave markers
Tanner's Row Pontefract[36]	Urban	Plain earth graves; coffins; iron-bound	Stones around the shoulders of one

		coffins (five with locks)	individual

Table 1: Range of grave types and grave variations present in urban and rural cemeteries in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire

Name	Date of Burial	Location of Burial
Æthelhun Son of King Edwin	627 x 633	'in the church of York', Rollason suggests St Peter's[40]
Æthelthryth Daughter of King Edwin	627 x 633	'in the church of York', Rollason suggests St Peter's[41]
Edwin (head) King of Northumbria	633	His head was buried at St Peter's[42]
Ælfwini Sub-King of Bernicia	679	Body brought to York, presumably for burial. Rollason suggests at St Peter's[43]
Eadberht King of Northumbria	After 738	'in the city of York, in the same chapel' [as his brother Egbert]. Rollason suggests at St Peter's[44]
Egbert Archbishop, brother of King Eadberht	After 738	'in the city of York, in the same chapel' [as his brother Eadberht]. Rollason suggests at St Peter's[45]
Eanbald Archbishop of York	796	'in the church of the blessed Apostle Peter'[46]
Osbald King of Northumbria	799	'in the church of the city of York'. Rollason suggests at St Peter's[47]

Guthfrith King of Northumbria	895	'in the high church', Rollason suggests St Peter's[48]
Swein King of the Danes	1014	In St Peter's (although other accounts just say at York)[49]
Siward Earl, founder of St Olave's church	1055	In St Olave's church[50]
Tostig Earl of Northumbria	1066	Buried at York. Possibly at St Peter's or St Olave's[51]
Ealdred Archbishop of York	1069	In St Peter's at his bishop's seat[52]
Thomas Archbishop of York	1100	In St Peter's next to Archbishop Ealdred[53]

Table 2: Documentary evidence of burials at York

Site	Urban/rural	Grave types	Grave variations
North Elmham (Norfolk)[67]	Rural	Plain earth grave; possible coffins	None reported
Raunds, (Northamptonshire)[68]	Rural	Plain earth graves; stone-lined graves, probable coffins; one sarcophagus	Stones placed around the head and elsewhere in the grave; three possible organic pillows; grave covers; grave markers including at least one stone cross
St Nicholas Shambles, London [69]	Urban	Plain earth graves, coffins, stone-lined, stone- and mortar-lined and tile-lined graves; graves with mortar and chalk floor	Head support stones; stones placed in the mouths of the deceased; charcoal burials; Roman tiles placed on the body
Staple Gardens Winchester [70]	Urban	Plain earth graves; coffins; lead coffin	Head support stones; charcoal burials; post holes probably indicative of grave markers; Roman coins placed in the hands or abdominal areas of

			skeletons

Table 3: Grave types and grave variations present at North Elmham, Raunds, St

Nicholas Shambles in London and Staple Gardens in Winchester

Site	Evidence for status	Grave types	Grave variations
Exeter Cathedral[71]	Seventh-century minster; bishopric of western Wessex in seventh to ninth centuries; re-founded by King Athelstan in tenth century	Plain earth graves; coffins; iron-bound coffins	Head support stones; many charcoal burials
St Oswald's Gloucester[72]	New minster founded in Gloucester in the ninth century; housed relics of St Oswald and became more successful than old minster of St Peter's	Plain earth graves; coffins; chests; stone-lined graves	Head support stones; foot support stones; charcoal burials; grave markers; one grave contained a boar's tusk that was probably deposited deliberately
Wells Cathedral[73]	One of three bishoprics in Wessex from AD 909, however many high-status burials may have taken place at neighbouring	Plain earth graves; coffins; charred boards interpreted as planks; mortar-lined graves; one grave with a mortar floor; shaped plain earth	Plain stone, shaped and sculpted grave covers; foot stones; one grave has possible head support stones

		graves with head recesses; stone-lined graves and monolithic stone coffins in the Saxo-Norman period.	
Winchester Old Minster[75]	Royal foundation; bishopric from seventh century; burial place of the kings of Wessex	Plain earth graves; coffins; chests (some with locks); stone-lined graves; many sarcophagi	Head support stones; charcoal burials; incised grave markers; foot stones; one burial containing a layer of yellow or orange sand

Table 4: Grave types and grave variations present at Winchester Old Minster, St Oswald's Gloucester, Exeter Cathedral and Wells Cathedral

Cemetery	? coffins treated as coffins		? coffins treated as plain earth graves	
	χ^2	p	χ^2	p
York Minster	1.324	1.000	1.312	1.000
Swinegate	2.732	0.311	2.732	0.311
St Andrew's Fishergate	0.008	1.000	0.711	1.000
St Peter's Barton-upon-Humber	0.060	0.977	0.271	0.899
Barrow-upon-Humber	0.769	1.000	2.977	0.269
St Mark's Lincoln	5.530	0.055	1.268	0.444
All six cemeteries combined	0.782	0.938	0.656	0.951

Table 5: Chi-squared tests between sex and grave type

Age Category	Age range
Infant	Up to one year
Child	One to twelve years
Young Adult	Thirteen to twenty five years
Mid Adult	Twenty six to forty five years
Old Adult	Forty six years and older

Table 6: Broad age categories used for the present research[88]

Cemetery	? coffins treated as coffins		? coffins treated as plain earth graves	
	H	p	H	p
York Minster	5.536	0.237	8.041	0.090
Swinegate	4.905	0.086	4.905	0.086
St Andrew's Fishergate	1.900	0.168	0.210	0.647
St Peter's Barton-upon-Humber	32.373	<0.001*	15.630	0.001*
Barrow-upon-Humber	1.907	0.385	2.225	0.329
St Mark's Lincoln	1.941	0.379	0.021	0.885
All six cemeteries combined	41.421	<0.001*	28.672	<0.001*
All except St Peter's Barton-upon-Humber	12.384	0.015*	13.838	0.008*

Table 7: Kruskal-Wallis tests between age and grave type. * denotes statistically

significant results