

Ancient Landscapes and the Dead: The Reuse of Prehistoric and Roman Monuments as Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites

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THE MANY HUNDREDS of known early medieval cemeteries dated between the late 5th and early 8th centuries A.D. from southern and eastern England have largely been studied in terms of artefacts and human remains. The reuse of prehistoric and Roman structures by these burial sites has received much less attention and discussion. It is suggested that the landscape context of early Anglo-Saxon burial sites provides considerable evidence for the social and ideological significance of the dead in early Anglo-Saxon society.

In recent years, studies of monuments and their landscape contexts have been the realm of the prehistorian. Yet long before serious antiquarian and archaeological investigations took place at prehistoric monuments, Anglo-Saxon barrow cemeteries were being excavated in Kent by Faussett and Douglas.¹ Unfortunately, studies of monuments and their landscape context have received much less attention than artefacts in early Anglo-Saxon studies. In this period numerous forms of funerary monument were constructed over graves including barrows and timber structures, but also a variety of old monuments dating from the Neolithic through to the Romano-British period were adopted as the focus of burial sites.² This practice of 'monument reuse' has been often observed but rarely discussed by archaeologists. This paper represents the first attempt to review all the available evidence for monument reuse as burial sites in early Anglo-Saxon England. The quality and quantity of the evidence suggests that this reuse was not fortuitous, accidental or practical, but the deliberate appropriation of visible and ancient structures and monuments within the ritual context of mortuary practices.³

Why were the dead placed at ancient places in the early Anglo-Saxon landscape? What importance did the landscape context of mortuary practices and the association with ancient monuments hold in early Anglo-Saxon society? In order to approach these questions, evidence will be presented for monument reuse by early Anglo-Saxon burial sites between the 5th and early 8th centuries A.D. The regional and chronological patterns of the practice will be discussed and a preliminary interpretation of the evidence will be attempted. First, the ways in

which landscape and cemetery studies in the Anglo-Saxon period have avoided the significance of the relationship between burial sites and ancient monuments will be examined, before explaining the potential significance of this relationship in the context of historical and ethnographic data.

THE EARLY ANGLO-SAXON LANDSCAPE

The study of the landscape context of burial sites was a secondary concern for culture historical approaches in early Anglo-Saxon archaeology. When the placing of burial sites is discussed, it is in terms of Germanic immigration, military conquest and settlement.⁴ J. N. L. Myres (one of the greatest single contributors to our understanding of the early Anglo-Saxon period), went to the lengths of travelling by boat up the main watercourses of eastern England to understand the landscape experienced by Germanic settlers in the 5th century.⁵ The placing of cemeteries was regarded in terms of military campaigns, at 'strategic' points in the landscape, almost as if the cemeteries are the direct material correlate of mercenaries and invading armies.⁶ For example, the close proximity of a large cremation cemetery with 5th-century graves close to the Romano-British *civitas* capital at Caistor-by-Norwich was explained in terms of Germanic mercenaries settling near the town to defend the British élite in residence.⁷ Despite numerous changes of perspective and more detailed and careful consideration of the evidence, this way of looking at early Anglo-Saxon burial sites is still with us today. It is hardly surprising that place names and later documentary sources still hold such a central place in attempts to understand the organization and structure of the early Anglo-Saxon landscape. Burial sites are utilized as second-rate evidence for the positioning of settlements in the landscape, rather than as first-rate evidence for the placing of the dead. Other studies focus repeatedly upon the economic and environmental aspects of the Anglo-Saxon landscape and again the burial sites are of limited significance.⁸ Even when the internal spatial organization of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries is discussed, rarely are the landscape contexts of these sites regarded as evidence of social or symbolic activity in the same way as the deployment of material culture or the provision of grave structures.⁹

These approaches are clearly incomplete since they do not begin to interpret the burial evidence within its appropriate context of ritual practice, nor do they accept that social, political and religious motivations could be behind the location of burial sites. The only exceptions are those studies that have identified clear relationships (even though they are difficult to interpret) between many Anglo-Saxon graves and later parish boundaries.¹⁰ This reluctance to study the significance of the topographical and landscape context of cemeteries appears to stem from misplaced theoretical and methodological traditions concerning the appropriate way of studying funerary data. We can instead suggest a different approach that places as much emphasis upon the placing of burial sites as the study of grave structure and grave goods.

MORTUARY PRACTICES AND THE LANDSCAPE

There have been numerous ethnographic studies that indicate the ideological, mythological and social significance of the topographical and landscape context of cemeteries.¹¹ Burial places can be invested with particular qualities and symbolism, associated with concepts of liminality, timelessness and antiquity outside of normal daily routines and social interactions.¹² The dead may be believed to dwell in or around monuments and cemeteries long after the funerary rituals are complete, and can be contacted by the survivors.¹³ In turn, funerary rituals and the ancestral presence at particular places in the landscape can act as important symbolic resources, perhaps serving to sustain the moral and social order and ideologies of certain groups in society.¹⁴ Clearly, the study of the landscape context of mortuary practices and the burial of the dead has important implications for our understanding of the role of the dead and sacred geography in past societies. It is in this context that we can begin to appreciate the importance of reusing monuments that had been abandoned for centuries, or even millennia, as the focus for gatherings, rituals and ceremonies.¹⁵ The antiquity and monumentality of ancient structures could lead to their investment with ancestral and supernatural qualities that could not be achieved by building new mortuary structures.¹⁶ There are occasional ethnographic examples of this practice. The spirits of the dead and supernatural powers can be associated with old, ruinous or abandoned places, leading to their use as sacred places and burial sites.¹⁷

Early medieval archaeologists and historians have only recently begun to appreciate the social and symbolic significance of the landscape contexts of burial sites and the reuse of ancient monuments in particular.¹⁸ The practice can be found in many regions across early medieval Europe, although it does seem to be particularly prevalent in early Anglo-Saxon England. Later historical sources give additional support to the importance of attitudes towards ancient monuments in Anglo-Saxon society. For example, two of the most famous written sources from Anglo-Saxon England, the poem *Beowulf* and the *Life of St Guthlac*, describe the death and burial of heroic and powerful individuals in the proximity of monuments built by ancient peoples and inhabited by supernatural forces.¹⁹ A number of the place names associated with pagan gods such as Woden and Thunor refer to features made by people, many of prehistoric date.²⁰ The placing of Woden at the end of many Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies suggests the importance of the past as a source of power and identity in Anglo-Saxon society.²¹ From this broad theoretical, anthropological and historical background, there is every justification for a systematic evaluation of the early Anglo-Saxon practice of monument reuse.

THE EVIDENCE FOR MONUMENT REUSE BY
EARLY ANGLO-SAXON BURIAL SITES

This survey provides the first extensive compilation of the evidence for monument reuse from published and many unpublished early Anglo-Saxon burial sites.²² There are, however, few burial sites where reuse of old monuments can be discerned without any ambiguities. Many cemeteries are inadequately excavated

and published, especially those conducted by 19th-century antiquarians. Often secondary burials were overlooked in antiquarian excavations, or not enough of the monument was excavated to reveal the extent of reuse for burial. Furthermore, conventions of archaeological publication often make it difficult to identify potential relationships between separate chronological phases at a particular site. If the importance of such relationships was not identified during excavation, then the evidence for reuse might be easily overlooked, especially when cemeteries remain partially excavated.²³

Numerous post-depositional factors ranging from soil conditions, ploughing, and wind erosion to tree planting and systematic levelling, mean that secondary graves are rarely well preserved. Often, only burials around the edge of the monument are preserved while centrally placed graves have been destroyed. In other cases it is difficult to ascertain whether early Anglo-Saxon burials in barrows are primary or secondary, for example at Bledlow Cop in Buckinghamshire;²⁴ often the primary prehistoric interment could have been destroyed by the later intrusive grave. In other cases, prehistoric material might be residual in a primary Anglo-Saxon monument. As well as ambiguities in the dating of monuments, there are other cases where the dating of the secondary burials is ambiguous, especially those lacking datable grave goods.

While early Anglo-Saxon burials are often intrusive, others may be close by or adjacent to earlier monuments. Such practices are even more difficult to recognize categorically as monument reuse. Another problem in securely identifying monument reuse is demonstrating that the monument was still visible when early Anglo-Saxon burials took place. This is a particular problem when monuments are no longer standing structures or earthworks when excavated. In such cases, the organization, orientation and depth of the graves can support an association with the monument. This is less problematic in sites which were excavated as visible earthworks in the last two centuries or in cases where textual sources or place names hint at a visible feature into the Middle Ages.

THE FREQUENCY OF MONUMENT REUSE

Early Anglo-Saxon burial sites frequently appear to reuse ancient monuments and structures; the 334 examples of the practice identified in this study constitute between one fifth and one quarter of all known early Anglo-Saxon burial sites.²⁵ A sample of 71 early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of at least ten burials excavated under 'modern' techniques and published after 1945 has been examined in order to assess the frequency of monument reuse from well-excavated cemeteries. Of these, 38 (54%) of the burial sites provided some evidence of monument reuse, with 25 (35%) regarded as certain examples of monument reuse, a further six (8%) were probable, and seven (10%) were possible cases. This clearly demonstrates that where cemeteries are excavated by modern archaeological excavation techniques, evidence for monument reuse is commonplace. The evidence can be further considered by monument type.

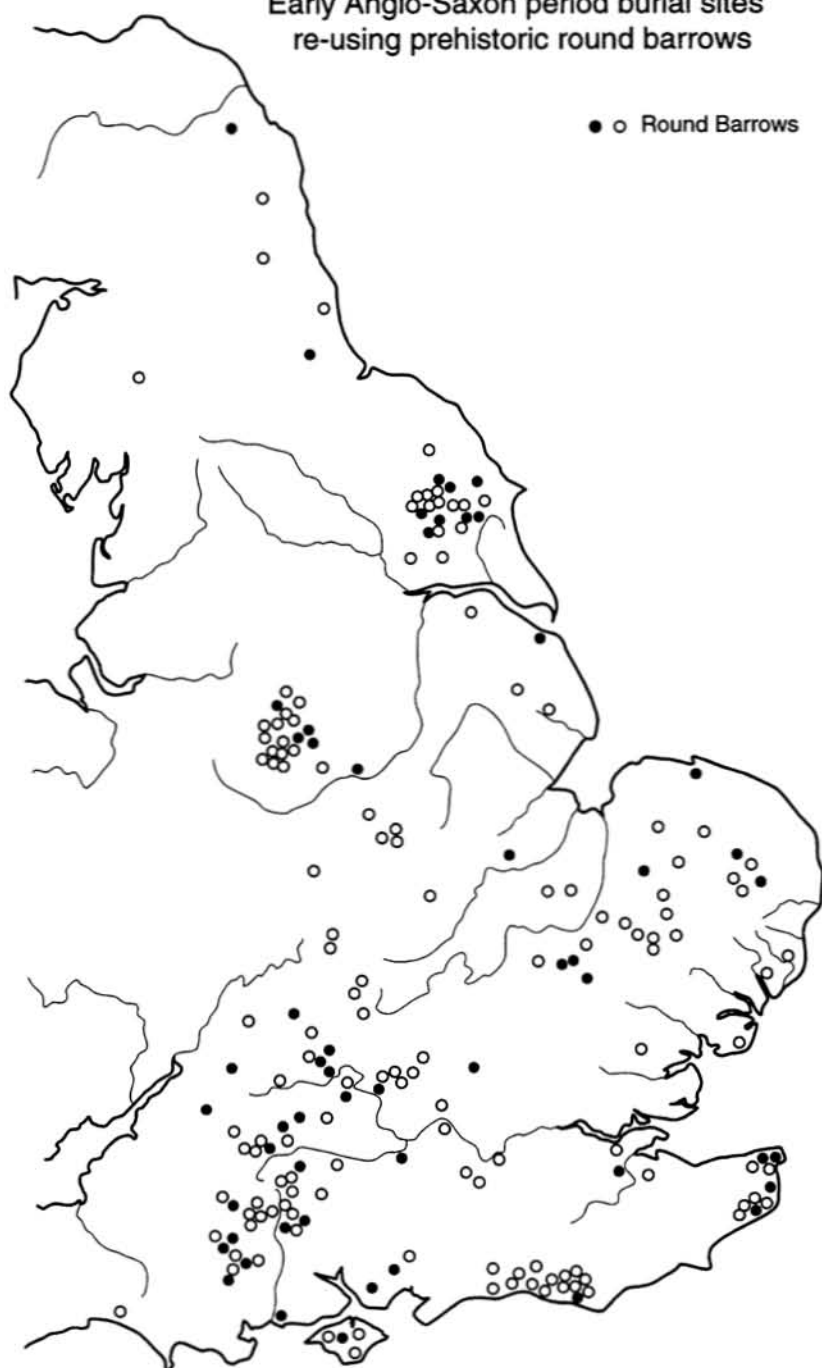
Early Anglo-Saxon period burial sites
re-using prehistoric round barrows

FIG. 1

Distribution of prehistoric round barrows reused by early Anglo-Saxon burial sites
Filled symbols = certain cases; open symbols = probable and possible cases

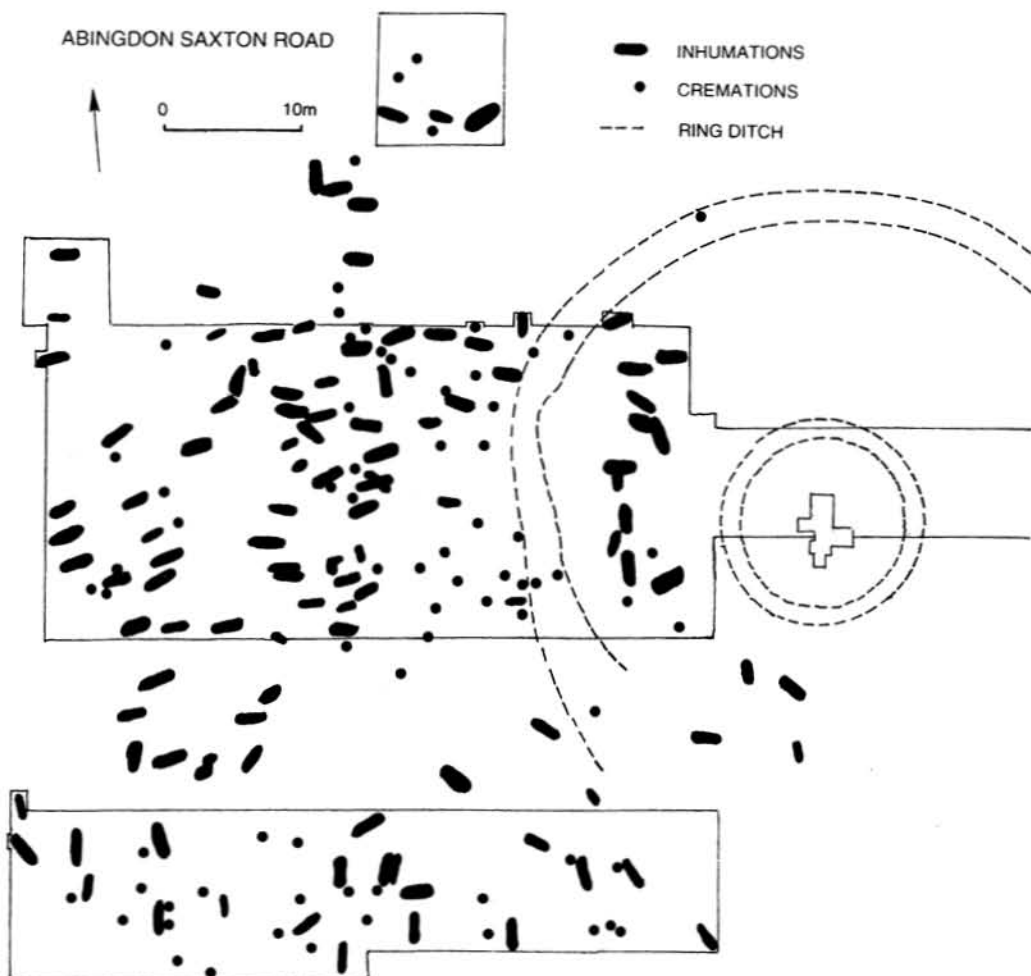


FIG. 2

Abingdon Saxton Road: The late 5th-/6th-century cemetery was placed next to a Bronze Age barrow (after Leeds and Harden)

ROUND BARROWS

Prehistoric round barrows represent the most frequently reused form of monument in the early Anglo-Saxon period, accounting for 61% of examples of monument reuse (Figs. 1, 11). In total there are at least 202 cases, of which 57 (29%) can be regarded as certain. There are examples from every region of early Anglo-Saxon England. In terms of chronology, they date from the late 5th century through to the late 7th century and early 8th centuries A.D. There are wide variations within the reuse of round barrows, from communal cemeteries, sometimes constituting over 50 burials, including Marina Drive, Dunstable in Bedfordshire, Abingdon Saxton Road in Oxfordshire (Fig. 2) and Bishopstone in

Sussex to smaller burial groups.²⁶ At the other end of the scale, wealthy (high status) male and female individual burials of the late 6th and 7th century, including Ford, Swallowcliffe and Roundway Down, reused round barrows.²⁷

LONG BARROWS

There are at least 27 Neolithic megalithic and earthen long barrows with evidence of funerary reuse in the early Anglo-Saxon period (Fig. 3). Most cases are found in Wessex with others in the upper Thames region, the S. Midlands, the Peak District and Yorkshire. Well-known examples include Hampnett Burn Ground, Upper Swell IV and V in Gloucestershire and Lyneham in Oxfordshire (Fig. 4).²⁸

SQUARE BARROWS

There are a few known cases of early Anglo-Saxon burials reusing Iron Age square barrow cemeteries of E. Yorkshire, principally at Kirkburn and Garton Station (Fig. 6).²⁹ However, the evidence that the Anglo-Saxons were building new square barrows to emulate the old monuments at Garton Station is extremely doubtful.³⁰

HILLFORTS

The ramparts and interiors of Iron Age hillforts could attract early Anglo-Saxon burials (Fig. 5). Of 22 cases of reuse, seven (32%) appear certain. The best evidence comes from Blewburton hillfort in Berkshire and Highdown Hill in Sussex, but there are many other cases of early Anglo-Saxon burials close to hillforts or inserted into their ramparts.³¹ They are unsurprisingly concentrated on areas where hillforts are most frequently found — in Wessex and the upper Thames (Fig. 5); the chronology of reuse runs from the later 5th through to the early 8th century.

HENGES, ENCLOSURES, MEGALITHS AND LINEAR EARTHWORKS

The early Anglo-Saxon reuse of prehistoric enclosures is by no means restricted to hillforts, but includes a wide range of other earthwork monuments of varying date, size and original context (Fig. 6). There are 13 such monuments, seven (58%) certain. Henges are reused as enclosures at Millfield South, Millfield North and perhaps Sprouston and Castledyke.³² In other cases, henges are utilized as the foci for burials rather than as enclosures, such as at Long Hanborough and West Heselton.³³ There are also a few stone circles, a monolith,³⁴ prehistoric linear earthworks, and other Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age enclosures subject to use as burial sites (Fig. 6).³⁵

ROMAN BUILDINGS AND OTHER STRUCTURES

In a landscape thick with Roman and early Anglo-Saxon settlement and cemeteries, we would expect some relationships between ruinous Roman structures

Early Anglo-Saxon period burial sites
re-using Neolithic long barrows and
chambered tombs



FIG. 3

Distribution of prehistoric long barrows re-used by early Anglo-Saxon burial sites
Filled symbols = certain cases; open symbols = probable and possible cases

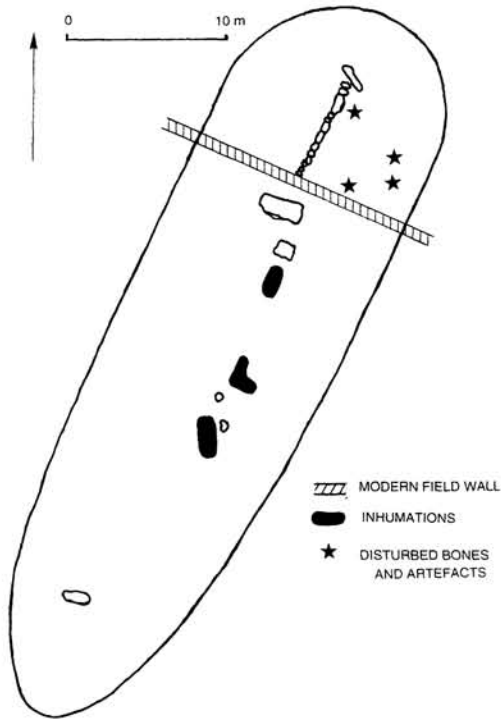


FIG. 4

The Lyncham long barrow produced evidence for secondary Anglo-Saxon burials and artefacts suggesting more disturbed graves (after Conder)

and early Anglo-Saxon burials. However, a number of examples suggest more than a casual relationship was involved in the placing of burials close to Roman remains (Fig. 7). These structures include Roman forts, fortresses and signal stations,³⁶ town walls and villas, including Eccles in Kent (Figs. 8, 10).³⁷ Even the amphitheatre at Catterick was adjoined by a large early Anglo-Saxon cemetery.³⁸ In addition, there is some evidence that Roman roads may have been treated as monuments and became the focus of early Anglo-Saxon burial sites, for example Churchover in Warwickshire and Hackthorn in Lincolnshire.³⁹ This may be regarded as a continuation of Roman practices of roadside burial or a reuse of a visible linear feature in the landscape. The character of reuse varied considerably. At some sites visible earthworks and ramparts were employed as burial enclosures, while at other sites burials were aligned upon, or positioned adjacent to, the Roman remains.

ROMAN RITUAL MONUMENTS AND BURIAL SITES

Early Anglo-Saxon period burials have been found next to or inside the ruins of Roman temples and shrines at Maiden Castle, Lowbury, Frilford, Benwell, Swaffham Prior and possibly Woodeaton and Stanmer. Rather than a special affinity with Roman sacred places, this evidence can be seen in the wider context of many kinds of Roman stone structure acting as the focus of early medieval

Early Anglo-Saxon period burial sites
re-using Iron Age forts.



FIG. 5

Distribution of hillforts reused by early Anglo-Saxon burial sites
Filled symbols = certain cases; open symbols = probable and possible cases

Early Anglo-Saxon period burial sites
re-using linear earthworks, henges &
enclosures, stone circles, square barrows
and natural mounds

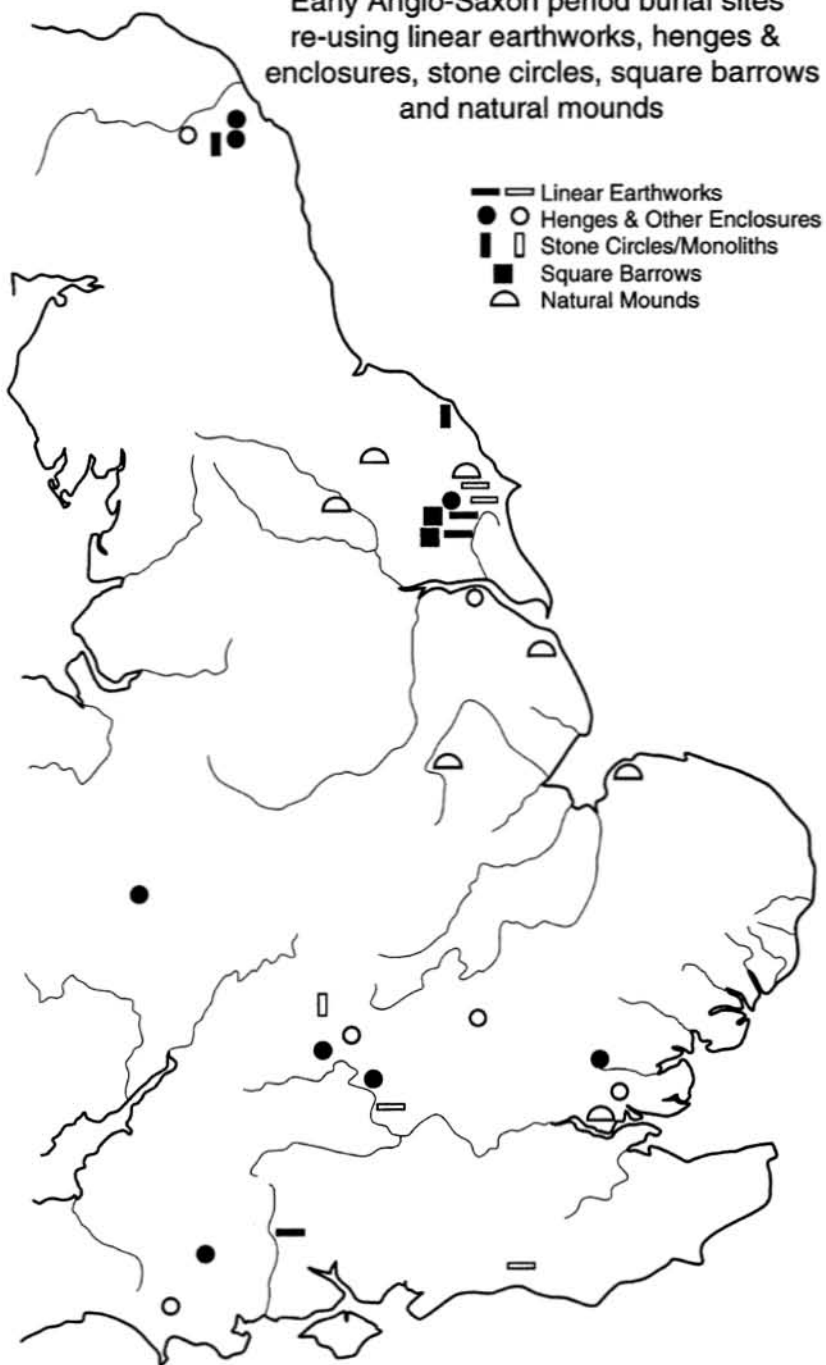


FIG. 6

Distribution of prehistoric linear earthworks, henges, enclosures, stone circles, square barrows and natural features reused by early Anglo-Saxon burial sites
Filled symbols = certain cases; open symbols = probable and possible cases

Early Anglo-Saxon period burial sites
re-using Romano-British villas and
rural settlements, forts and towns.

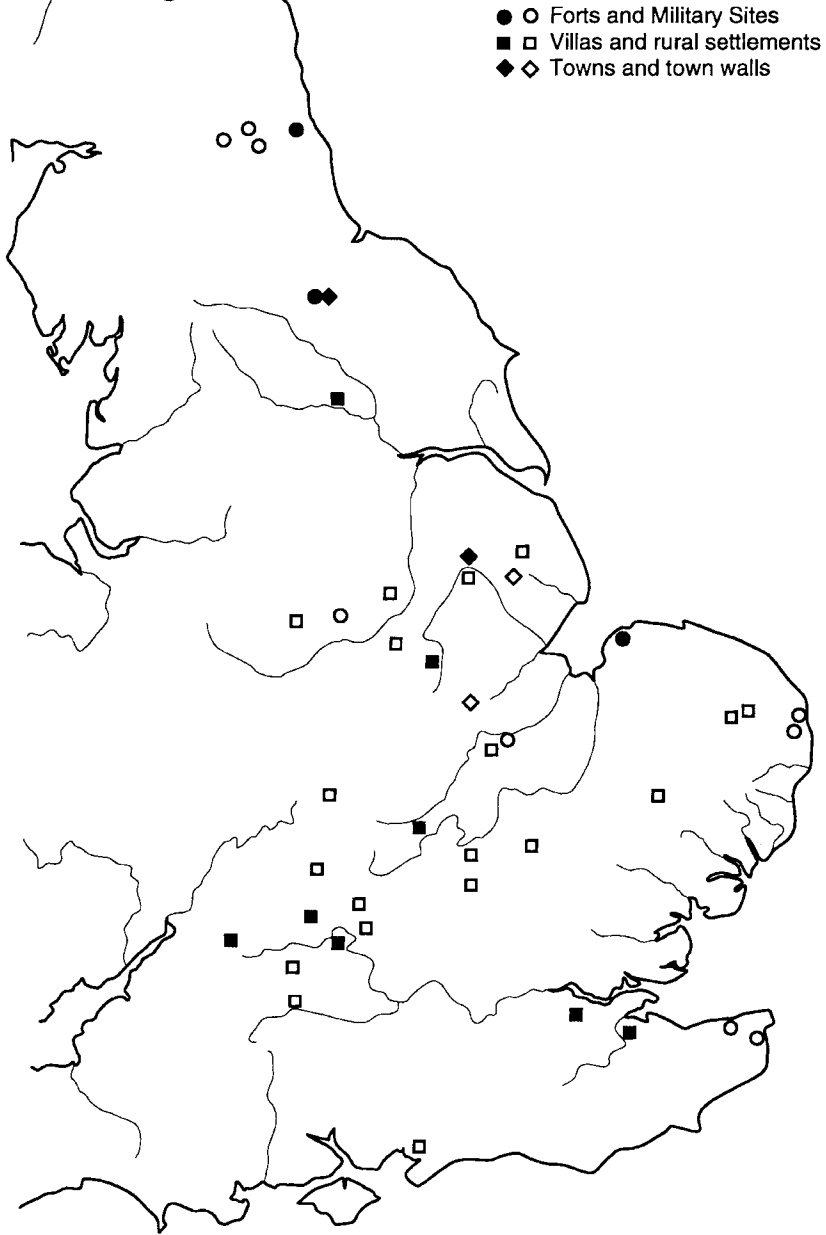


FIG. 7

Distribution of Roman period structures reused by early Anglo-Saxon burial sites
Filled symbols = certain cases; open symbols = probable and possible cases

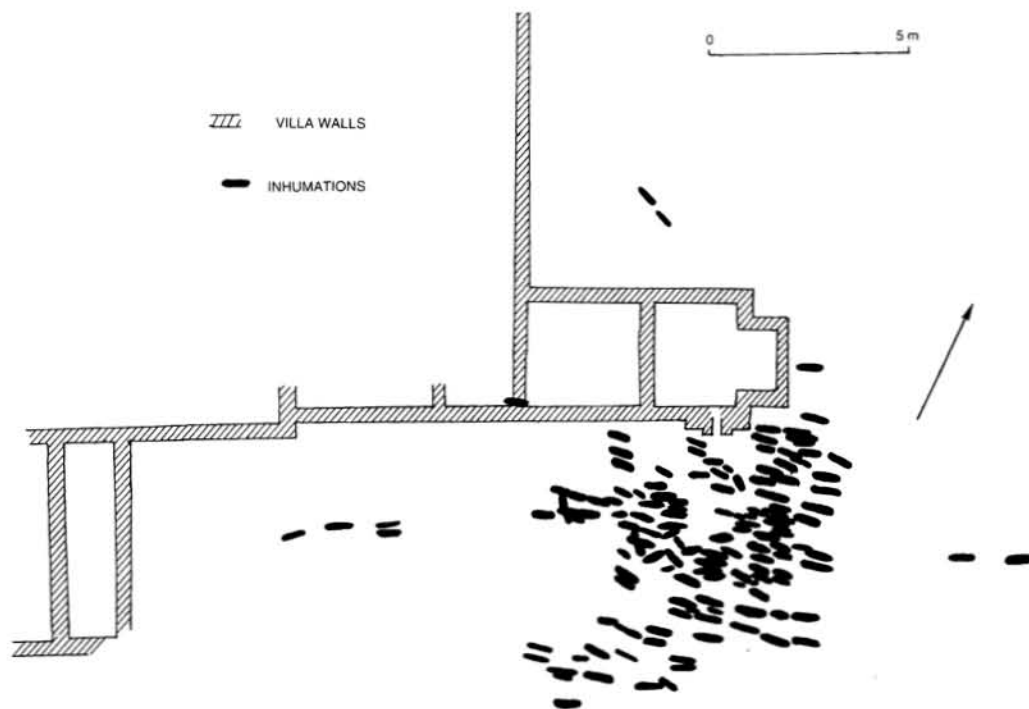


FIG. 8

The 7th-/early 8th-century cemetery alongside the Roman villa at Eccles in Kent (after Shaw)

graves (Fig. 9).⁴⁰ In addition, early Romano-British barrows, mausolea, and enclosed burial grounds could all be subject to reuse (Figs. 9, 10).⁴¹ There are many other examples of close relationships between Roman and early Anglo-Saxon burial sites, but in most cases the evidence is inadequate to discern between coincidental relationships, the continuity of cemetery use, and the deliberate reuse of earlier monuments. Since Romano-British funerary monumentality may have been more widespread than has often been assumed, the possibility that Anglo-Saxon burials were reusing abandoned structures rather than continuing the use of an old burial ground must be seriously entertained.

NATURAL LANDSCAPE FEATURES

In addition to structures made by people, there are cases where cemeteries focused upon, or reused, natural features that resembled old monuments (Fig. 6). These landmarks may have been interpreted as ancient structures and monuments by early medieval communities. For example, Anglo-Saxon burials were found by Lukis and Greenwell inserted into Howe Hill, a natural feature '150 yards long, 50 yards wide and 8 yards high, and is somewhat in the form of a huge, long barrow, its long axis pointing nearly north to south'.⁴² The place name adds support to the possibility that the hill had been extensively used for burial under the assumption

that it was an ancient tomb. At Lovedon Hill in Lincolnshire is another example of a cemetery focusing upon a natural feature, and Myres followed the assumption of previous excavators and believed the burial site focused on a prehistoric barrow. In fact, the cemetery surrounded a natural knoll.⁴³ There is every possibility that the early Anglo-Saxons had made the same interpretation and believed the knoll was an ancient monument.⁴⁴

DISCUSSION

It seems clear that monuments throughout prehistory and the Roman period were reused as burial sites in the early Anglo-Saxon period (Fig. 11). This can be illustrated both in the general picture presented above, and on a regional scale. For example, around Dorchester and Abingdon in the upper Thames valley, round barrows, long barrows, henges, hillforts, valley forts and Roman villas were reused as burial sites (Fig. 12).⁴⁵ Despite this variety, prehistoric round barrows were clearly the preferred forms of monument for reuse. This does not necessarily reflect a desire to associate the dead with the monuments of any particular period such as the Bronze Age, since barrows of Iron Age and Roman date were also reused. Indeed, it seems unlikely that Anglo-Saxon peoples would have been able to discern between monuments of Neolithic, Iron Age or Roman date, all would have been interpreted within the same conceptual framework as 'ancient' places built before living memory. Instead this preference for round barrows reflects the frequency of these monuments in the landscapes of lowland Britain and perhaps their similarity in form (if not size) to Anglo-Saxon funerary monuments. The relatively low frequency of Roman ruins reused may be explained in these terms rather than an ideological and cultural aversion to the material vestiges of *Romanitas*.⁴⁶ Many Roman structures may have continued to hold associations with their original use and the groups that had dwelt in them, perhaps making them inappropriate places for the burial of the dead. However, it appears that on occasion, abandoned Roman period structures could be treated in similar ways to Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age structures and may have been invested with similar associations.⁴⁷ The siting of monasteries and minster churches in the 7th and 8th centuries suggests that, even in a Christian context, comparable ideological associations were frequently imposed upon both prehistoric and Roman structures.⁴⁸

There may have been a further aspect associated with the diversity of monuments subject to reuse. Constructing links to monuments with very different appearances and landscape settings may occasionally have been important in order to symbolize distinctions between the burial places of different social groups and communities. For example, burying one's dead next to a Roman villa, a distinctive long barrow or along a linear dyke may have contrasted with other communities using a Bronze Age barrow or an Iron Age hillfort as their burial site. Rather than the specific architectural details, it may have been the individuality of each structure, its position in the landscape, and relationship to the settlements of the living, which made each monument a symbol of the community and its identity.

Early Anglo-Saxon period burial sites
re-using Romano-British ritual
structures and burial sites.



FIG. 9

Distribution of Roman period ritual structures and burial sites reused by early Anglo-Saxon burial sites

Filled symbols = certain cases; open symbols = probable and possible cases

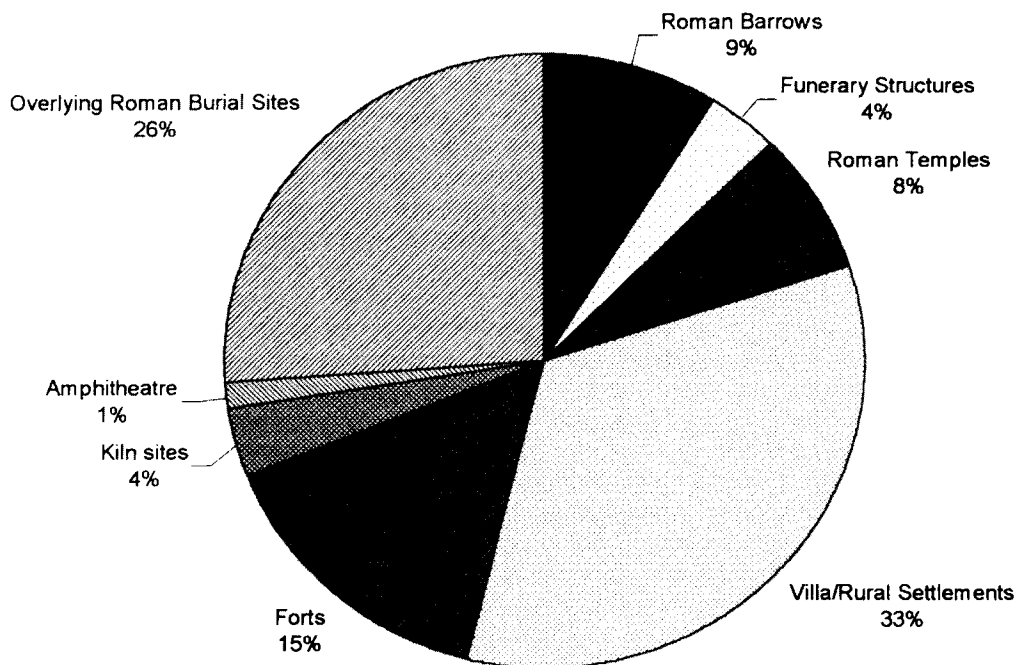


FIG. 10

Reuse of Roman sites by monument category

The practice of monument reuse could have served to bind together distinct social groups through common ritual practices, yet might equally have been used to symbolize social distinctions between groups.

GRAVES, BURIAL GROUPS AND CEMETERIES

Early Anglo-Saxon burial sites of all sizes are known to focus around prehistoric and Roman monuments, including large cemeteries, smaller burial groups and isolated graves (Fig. 13). These sites include cremation, inhumation and mixed-rite cemeteries. Burial sites of all sizes reuse each category of ancient monument. However, the greatest number of cases of monument reuse are represented by only a single burial or groups of under five individuals. Taken at face value this appears to uphold the traditional assumption that ancient monuments were not regularly reused as communal cemeteries in the early Anglo-Saxon period, with the exception of East Yorkshire.⁴⁹ However, the number of burials discovered often reflects the limited extent and poor quality of many excavations together with the varying effects of post-depositional factors, from plough erosion to soil conditions. Therefore, many sites revealing small numbers of graves could easily represent partially excavated cemeteries of considerable size. The exceptionally high frequency of large burial sites reusing ancient monuments in East Yorkshire can be explained by the extensive excavations of the antiquarians

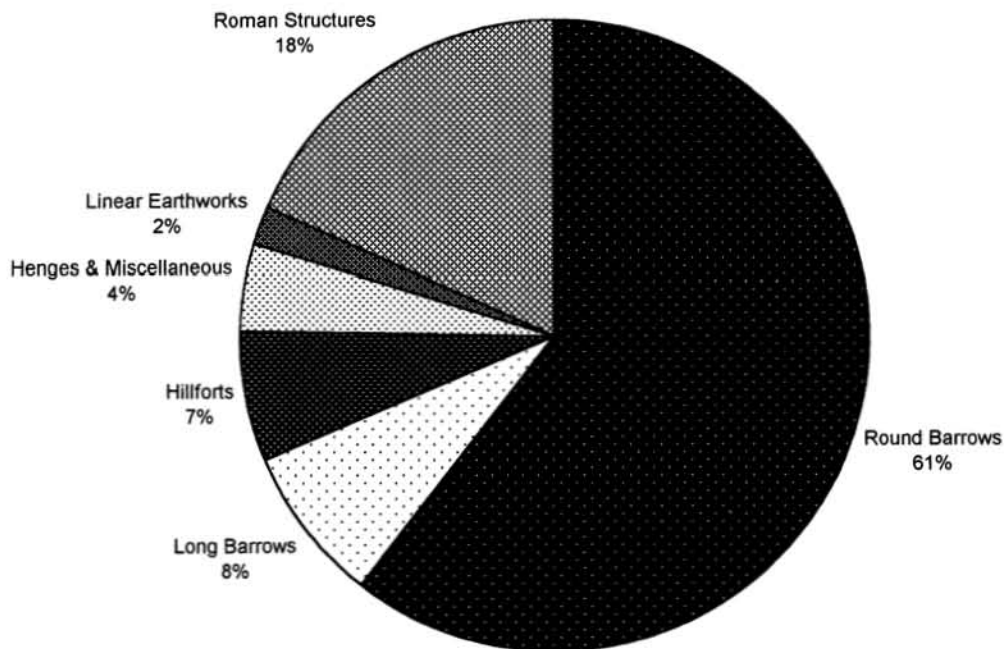


FIG. 11

Relative proportions of prehistoric and Roman structures reused by early Anglo-Saxon burial sites (excluding natural features, Roman burial sites and roads)

Canon Greenwell and John Mortimer in this region rather than a distinct regional pattern in the practice of monument reuse. Conversely, the suggestion that monument reuse is restricted to single burials in Wiltshire or the Peak District results from the poor quality of antiquarian excavations in these regions;⁵⁰ examples of single burials, small burial groups and large cemeteries reusing ancient monuments are known from almost every region of early Anglo-Saxon England (Fig. 13).

Ancient monuments therefore regularly attracted communal cemeteries in the Anglo-Saxon period, either the burial places of single families, households or larger communities and social groups. In some of the larger cemeteries such as Abingdon Saxton Road or Spong Hill, it appears that the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were the focus of burials from more than one settlement.⁵¹ In this context it is important to stress the role of prehistoric and Roman monuments as important landmarks for the congregation of different social groups for mortuary ceremonies, the burial of the dead as well as other social practices. In many cases burial sites appear to have been inclusive rather than exclusive.

There remain a number of sites where single graves are found associated with ancient monuments that do not appear to represent a small part of larger cemeteries. These burials appear to be isolated graves, sometimes with large amounts of grave goods and mostly dating to the late 6th and 7th centuries A.D.

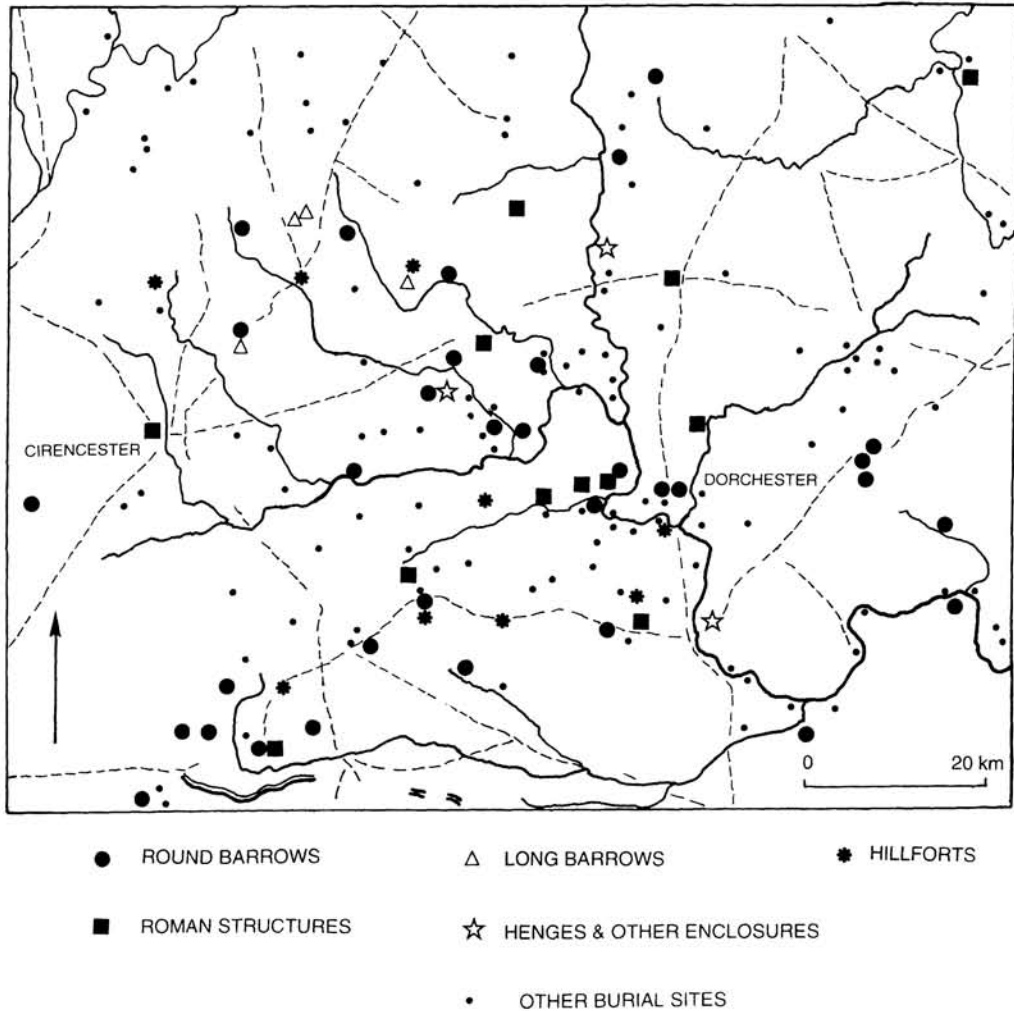


FIG. 12

Monuments reused by burial sites in the Upper Thames region between the late 5th and early 8th century

Examples include Cow Lowe and Galley Low in Derbyshire, Swallowcliffe Down, Roundway Down and Ford in Wiltshire and Lowbury Hill in Berkshire.⁵² These represent the adoption of the practice of monument reuse by a new élite and royal groups in the 7th century as part of their barrow burying tradition. The restricted and exclusive use of these monuments seems to contrast with the contemporary reuse of monuments as communal burial sites for other, lower status communities. For elite groups in the 7th century this exclusive reuse may have been a deliberate symbol of status and power with reference to the past.

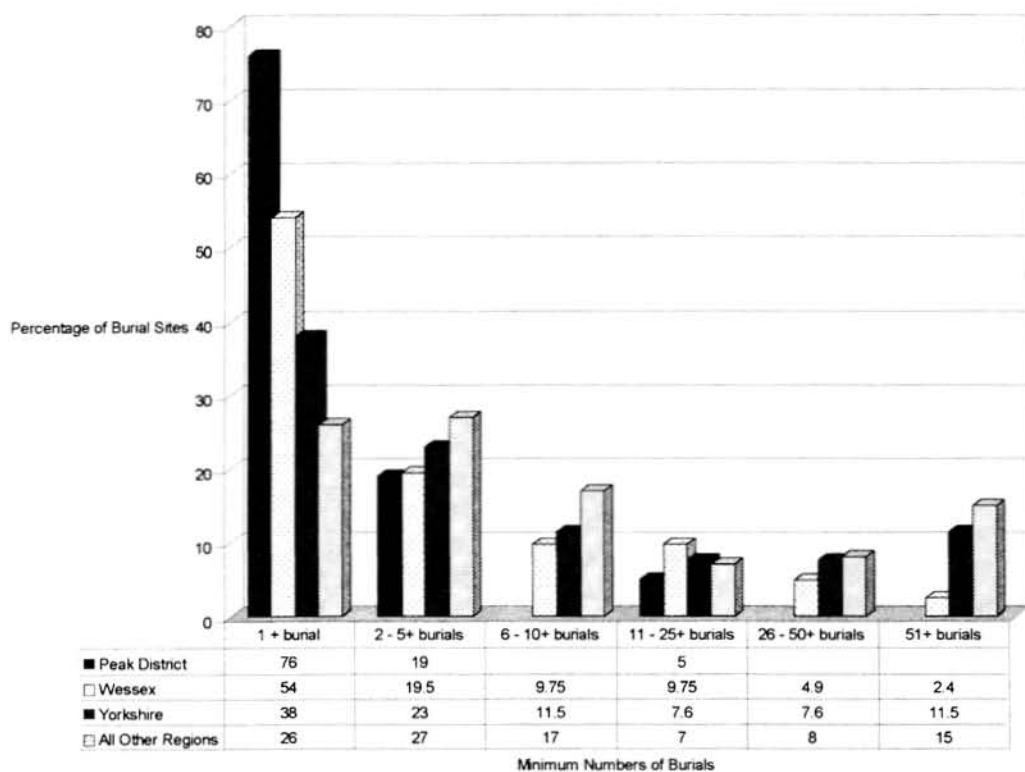


FIG. 13

Size of burial sites focusing upon old monuments

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN MONUMENT REUSE

Regional variation in the size of burial sites and the overall frequency of monument reuse in different regions of Anglo-Saxon England is dependent upon the preservation of prehistoric and Roman monuments as earthworks, and the quantity and quality of antiquarian and archaeological research. To a large extent the distribution is biased by the work of antiquarians such as Colt Hoare, Batemen, Greenwell and Mortimer giving a largely upland distribution in Wiltshire, the Peak District and East Yorkshire. More recent work has shown that monument reuse was equally found in lowland regions such as Kent, Cambridgeshire or Oxfordshire. It is probable that monument reuse was roughly equally popular in almost every region. The only area without any 'certain' examples of monument reuse appears to be the West Midlands, although there are some 'possible' cases. It is interesting that this is the region with the strongest evidence for continuity from Roman to Anglo-Saxon cemetery sites at Wasperton, and perhaps also at Stretton-on-Fosse. Could the lack of monument reuse in this region be a reflection of the high level of continuity in indigenous traditions, population and choice of funerary practices?²⁵³ Further detailed studies taking the various data biases into account

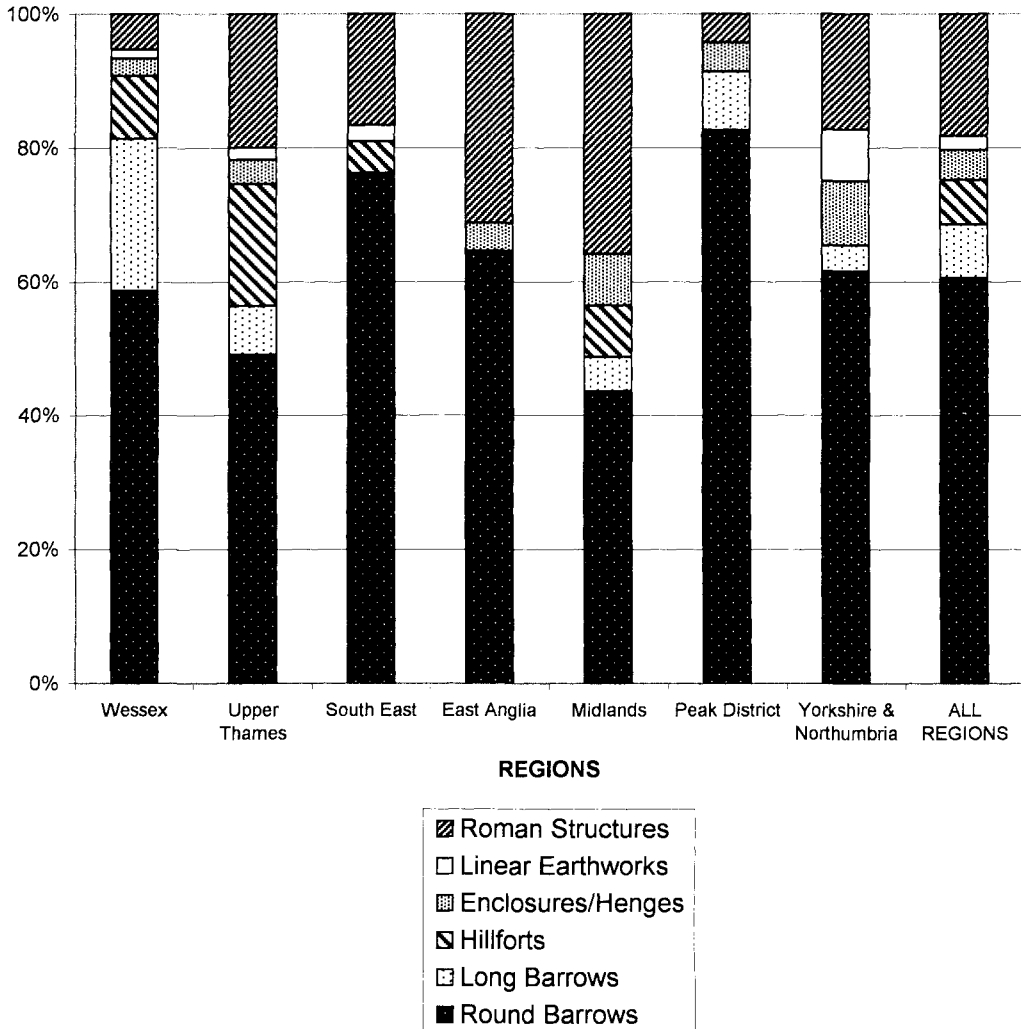


FIG. 14

Regional variations in monument reuse by category (excluding natural features)

may produce evidence of subtle variations between regions in the overall frequency of monument reuse.

It is difficult to interpret regional differences in the types of ancient monument subject to reuse. There are problems in directly comparing the frequencies with which each monument type is reused (Table 1, Fig. 14), given the variety in the distributions of monument categories, together with the individual research histories that each monument category has enjoyed. At present it is problematic to identify any active selection of particular monument types by the Anglo-Saxons in particular regions. For example, few stone circles and henges have been excavated

TABLE I

	<i>Round Barrows</i>	<i>Long Barrows</i>	<i>Hillforts</i>	<i>Henges, etc.</i>	<i>Linear earthworks</i>	<i>Roman Structures</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>
Wessex	44	17	7	2	1	4	75
Upper Thames	27	4	10	2	1	11	55
South East	32	0	2	0	1	7	42
East Anglia	31	0	0	2	0	15	48
Midlands	17	2	3	3	0	14	39
Peak District	19	2	0	1	0	1	23
Yorkshire & Northumbria	32	2	0	5	4	9	52
<i>TOTAL</i>	202	27	22	15	7	61	334

in the regions of Anglo-Saxon England (see above). Therefore it is hardly surprising that so few reveal evidence of reuse by early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Also, the size of long barrows and Roman villas make it much less likely that secondary burials will be identified by excavation than in round barrows. In spite of these difficulties, the types of monuments reused in each region appear to conform to overall patterns in the frequency of monument types in the landscape. Hence hillforts are most frequently reused in Wessex and the Upper Thames, Neolithic long barrows in Wessex and the Cotswolds, and Roman barrows and burial sites in the Cambridge region and the South-East. Most other absences might be explained by the vagaries and biases in the extent and quality of published excavations of prehistoric and Roman sites. Any deliberate selection of a particular monument type will be difficult to identify and the impression is that Anglo-Saxon period peoples selected all types of available and visible monuments, with a clear preference for round barrows.

There are, however, some enigmatic absences in monument reuse from some categories of monument in certain areas. Perhaps most significant is the lack of reused Roman structures for burial in Wessex and Sussex,⁵⁴ in contrast to the neighbouring Upper Thames region and Kent. There may have been deliberate avoidance of certain monumental forms in some areas, either because they were still being used for other purposes, were deemed dangerous, or simply inappropriate contexts for burial. Whatever the explanation for this evidence, it seems that in general the monuments subject to reuse were those visible and close to Anglo-Saxon settlement areas, whatever their date and form.

CHANGING ATTITUDES TO ANCIENT MONUMENTS

In recent studies it has been claimed that monument reuse is a late phenomenon, found chiefly among 7th-century 'final phase' burial sites.⁵⁵ The practice has been treated accordingly, as a reaction to the re-introduction of Christian beliefs and kingdom formation.⁵⁶ Other scholars, however, have commented upon the presence of cemeteries reusing ancient monuments in both

the late 5th and 6th centuries as well as the 7th and early 8th centuries.⁵⁷ This matter deserves fuller consideration.

Overall, there are similar numbers of burial sites reusing monuments in the 5th and 6th centuries as there are for the 7th and early 8th centuries.⁵⁸ However, 7th- and 8th-century burial sites are much more difficult to identify, and many examples of monument reuse likely to be late in date simply cannot be securely provenanced. Tania Dickinson has dated many of the Anglo-Saxon burial sites of the Upper Thames region. Often the cases of monument reuse can be securely dated to the crude chronological distinction of 'early' (the mid 5th or 6th century) or 'late' (the 7th or early 8th century).⁵⁹ We can see an increase in the overall frequency of monument reuse over time even though the numbers of sites displaying the relationship are very similar for both broad chronological periods. Reuse of Roman or prehistoric monuments and structures occurs in 32% (16/49) of dated 5th-/6th-century sites and 50% (14/28) of dated 7th-/8th-century sites in the Upper Thames region. The Upper Thames has a large number of 5th- and 6th-century sites but in other regions the 7th-century increase in monument reuse is more marked. In the Peak District monument reuse is almost exclusively a late phenomenon although this might not be significant given that so few 5th- and 6th-century burial sites have been identified in this region.⁶⁰ The only exception to this trend is the Midlands and East Anglia where examples of monument reuse are more frequent in the 5th and 6th centuries than in the 7th and 8th centuries. This may reflect the overall low frequency of the practice in these areas of central England, and the paucity of evidence for 'final phase' cemeteries from much of this area.

This general picture is supported by a sample of 72 early Anglo-Saxon burial sites of at least ten burials from all regions and published after 1945. During the late 5th and 6th centuries 47% (24/51) reused ancient structures but this increased to 76% (16/21) in the 7th and early 8th centuries. In addition to these newly founded 7th-century burial sites it must be remembered that a number of 5th- and 6th-century cemeteries continued to be used and focus upon prehistoric and Roman structures into the 7th century.

In summary, monument reuse was a widespread practice in early Anglo-Saxon England during the late 5th and 6th centuries; indeed, earlier precedents for the practice can be identified in both Roman Britain and Germanic cemeteries on the Continent.⁶¹ However, monument reuse seems to have become a more frequent practice in the 7th century. This clear increase in the 7th century was not restricted to élite groups but took place at lower status burial sites as well.⁶² Therefore, activity at ancient places was not a tradition invented by élite groups, and the élite burial practice focusing upon ancient monuments seems to have derived from existing funerary traditions of the 5th and 6th centuries.⁶³

Monument reuse after the 7th century is also important to consider. By the 8th century, burial with grave goods (including weapons and jewellery) no longer took place in southern and eastern England, making the identification of burial sites difficult.⁶⁴ Yet it seems likely that the majority of the populations of lowland Britain were not being buried in churchyards before the 9th and 10th centuries, if

not later.⁶⁵ Ancient monuments could have retained their importance as burial sites until being superseded by minsters and the parish churches. This suggestion is supported by the discovery of 40 or more burials, dated between the 7th and 9th centuries, inserted into the eastern end of Bevis' Grave Neolithic long barrow in Hampshire.⁶⁶ There are a few other examples of late graves, possibly of 8th- and 9th-century date inserted into prehistoric monuments suggesting that many more undated cases of monument reuse could belong to this period.⁶⁷ Unfortunately on current evidence we cannot assess when communal cemeteries stopped reusing ancient monuments, although we can identify novel attitudes to ancient monuments during and after the 7th century.

Changing attitudes towards ancient structures are most clearly seen in the later Anglo-Saxon 'execution' sites frequently identified at prehistoric monuments.⁶⁸ Abandoned structures could be used as the burial place of other categories of 'bad deaths'. This may explain the predominantly male graves, many with evidence of violent deaths, reusing the ruins of Shakenoak villa sometime around the 8th century.⁶⁹ Also, ancient monuments may have occasionally been used for depositing artefacts in the later Anglo-Saxon period, suggested by the possible hoard or grave at Lilla Howe in North Yorkshire, although there remain no unambiguous cases of Viking burials in England reusing old monuments.⁷⁰

There is tentative evidence to suggest that pagan shrines were closely associated with burial sites focusing upon prehistoric structures. These liminal and sacred qualities continued within a Christian context as ancient monuments became used as places for early monastic foundations. For example, the graves within the Breedon Hill hillfort are likely to be of the 7th/8th century and perhaps associated with an early monastery on the site, and numerous Roman structures became reused for the siting of churches and monasteries.⁷¹ At this time, ancient monuments also became the focus of secular elite settlements such as Yeavinger and Millfield in Northumbria and Thwing in Yorkshire.⁷² We must also recall the important mid and late Anglo-Saxon use of prehistoric structures as hundred meeting places, forming an important aspect of the organization of late Anglo-Saxon society.⁷³ There are examples of late Anglo-Saxon meeting places at ancient monuments that had previously been the focus of early Anglo-Saxon burial sites such as Lovedon Hill in Lincolnshire.⁷⁴ Ancient monuments and burial sites seem to have been important in the construction of charter boundaries from the 7th century onwards, perhaps due to ancestral and mythical associations derived from their antiquity and association with the dead.⁷⁵

All of these aspects of monument reuse may have originally derived from early Anglo-Saxon funerary practices. If so, then the 7th century sees the diversification of attitudes to ancient monuments away from their traditional role as communal burial sites. By the late Anglo-Saxon period they had taken on a number of functions in different social, political and religious contexts. Attitudes towards ancient monuments were clearly shifting and evolving over time. Contrary to previous assumptions, the practice was already present in the later 5th century in England, possibly inherited from a mixture of indigenous practices and Germanic funerary traditions from northern Germany and southern Scandinavia.⁷⁶

INTERPRETATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This overview of the evidence for monument reuse in the early Anglo-Saxon period reveals a number of significant aspects to the practice. Ancient monuments were one of the most important factors determining the placing of the dead in the early Anglo-Saxon landscape and this study may provide a basis for further, detailed studies of the landscape context of burial sites and their relationships with old structures. The ubiquity of the practice has not been fully appreciated in studies of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries; moreover, no prior attempt has been made before to analyse and assess the significance of the practice. Discussions have usually been restricted to a few exceptional sites such as the royal palaces of Bernicia, or those burial sites with evidence of possible pagan temples.⁷⁷ Anglo-Saxon secondary activity on prehistoric and Roman sites has been explained in practical terms.⁷⁸ For example, in reference to the reuse of Roman villas for burial at Barton Court Farm and Barton Mill, Cirencester, the Anglo-Saxons were: '... interring their dead where they would make least waste of useful space'.⁷⁹ A desire to limit energy expenditure in funerary practices has also been suggested as an explanation of the practice, perhaps by poor social groups unable to afford burial under a new barrow: 'Corroborating the energy expenditure hypothesis, secondary burials of early medieval date in prehistoric barrows generally do not include high-prestige goods, but notable exceptions exist'.⁸⁰ Using monuments of previous ages is sometimes seen as a complete disregard, or disinterest, in the landscape placing of the dead in the early Anglo-Saxon period: 'To the Saxons it was immaterial whether they buried their dead in Neolithic long barrows, Bronze Age round barrows, or in flat graves or cemeteries, their sole concern being to rid themselves of the corpses'.⁸¹ By far the most common reaction of scholars is to ignore the significance of whether a monument is new or old when used for burial.⁸²

None of these explanations previously offered accounts for the frequency and longevity of the practice of reuse. If ancient monuments were utilized for practical reasons such as labour or space saving, we would expect only round barrows to be reused; in other words, only those structures that were similar in form to Anglo-Saxon barrows. Also, we would not expect monuments to be reused by more than a few burials and certainly not be the focus of large communal cemeteries. If practical considerations were paramount, we might also expect monuments reused only by poorer burials, but some of the richest known Anglo-Saxon female graves were also inserted into prehistoric barrows. If the practice was a space-saving device, we would expect to find monument reuse only in regions of early medieval population concentrations and intensive agriculture, but the practice is found in both upland and lowland regions. Even if practical considerations influenced the reuse of earlier structures, this does not account for the ritual context in which reuse took place, nor the symbolic associations that ancient structures may have evoked.

Although many writers would accept the view that monument reuse was motivated by 'ritual' concerns, there is a tendency to explain monument reuse in simplistic terms: as a pagan reaction to Christianity, a symbol of status, a territorial

marker, and an indicator of increasing social complexity.⁸³ These explanations are partial at best; we have seen that the practice was not restricted to elite groups and cannot be seen solely in terms of status. Monument reuse took place before, during and after the rise of Christianity in Anglo-Saxon England and cannot be explained as either 'pagan' or 'Christian'. For the same reasons, it is difficult to accept that Anglo-Saxon society had to reach a certain level of complexity before the practice became significant. The relationship between monument reuse and the control of land and territory is exceedingly likely given the association of old monuments with later boundaries, but this may be only part of a much wider ideological significance of the practice.

THE RITUAL APPROPRIATION OF THE PAST

It seems likely that the dead were deliberately placed in the landscape in order to symbolize and maintain relationships with ancient monuments. Ancient places may have also been regarded as liminal and timeless places that existed in both the past and present, the world of the living and the world of the supernatural.⁸⁴ Within this broad framework, we must appreciate that individual monuments could have held very particular associations and meanings for people encountering them during the routines of daily life, and that these associations were not static but altered over time. Yet, place name evidence and analogies from later written sources indicate the kinds of attitudes that may have existed towards old monuments including associations with imagined ancestors, land spirits, heroes or gods. Each new burial would have re-inscribed such meanings upon old monuments. The dead could be used as mediators between the living and these ancestral or supernatural beings, and access to the knowledge and power of the mythical past could have been emphasized through the positioning of graves. Indeed, we may envisage the placing of inhumation and cremation graves in relation to prehistoric and Roman structures as representing attempts to fix the identities of living and dead kin-groups with reference to the past and the supernatural.⁸⁵ In short, early Anglo-Saxon communities were constructing and reproducing their idealized visions of past and present, their mythical origins and their social identities, through the placing of the dead at old monuments.

These practices could have had important social, political and religious functions in early Anglo-Saxon society. Mortuary practices may have involved the assembly of different households and communities, perhaps from considerable distances. Consequently, old monuments could have become important contexts for social interaction through mortuary practices, perhaps helping to construct and maintain social relations and group identities following the death of an individual. Anglo-Saxon period activity at old monuments need not have been restricted to the burial of the dead, but could have included many other archaeologically invisible rituals, ceremonies and gatherings. We might speculate that these included seasonal assemblies, gift exchanges, feasting, political and military gatherings and meetings to settle disputes. Perhaps there were also regular ancestor rites to ensure the benevolence of the supernatural forces believed to reside in old structures, a

dead: Ellis, op.cit. in note 11, 99–120; P. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (London, 1994), 64. A possible case of an Anglo-Saxon pagan priest using a barrow as a source of magical power is found in the *Life of St. Wilfrid*, D. H. Farmer, *The Age of Bede* (Harmondsworth, 1965), 119.

¹⁴ R. J. Bradley, 'Time Regained: The Creation of Continuity', *J. British Archaeol. Assoc.*, 140 (1987), 1–17; J. Barrett, *Fragments from Antiquity* (Oxford, 1994), 52–55.

¹⁵ R. J. Bradley, *Altering the Earth* (Edinburgh, 1993), 113–29; R. Hingley, 'Ancestors and identity in the later prehistory of Atlantic Scotland: the reuse and reinvention of Neolithic monuments and material culture', *World Archaeol.*, 28.2 (1996), 231–43.

¹⁶ Bradley, op. cit. in note 15, 120.

¹⁷ Kuchler, op. cit. in note 11, 85–106; G. Okello Abunga, 'Islam on the Kenyan coast: an overview of Kenyan coastal sacred sites', in D. Carmichael et al. (eds.), *Sacred Sites and Sacred Places* (London, 1994), 153–62; C. Radimilahy, 'Sacred Sites in Madagascar', in D. Carmichael et al. (eds.), *Sacred Sites and Sacred Places* (London, 1994), 82–88; C. Toren, 'Seeing the Ancestral Sites: Transformations in Fijian Notions of the Land', in E. Hirsch and M. O'Hanlon (eds.), *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space* (Oxford, 1995), 63–77; D. Irwin, 'Sentiment and Antiquity: European Tombs 1750–1830', in J. Whaley (ed.), *Mirrors of Mortality* (London, 1981), 131–53; C. Finn, "'Leaving more than footprints": modern votive offerings at Chaco Canyon prehistoric site', *Antiquity*, 71 (1997), 169–78.

¹⁸ N. B. Aitchison, *Armagh and the Royal Centres in Early Medieval Ireland: Monuments, Cosmology and the Past* (Woodbridge, 1994), 296–314; Bradley, op. cit. in note 14, 1–17; id., op. cit. in note 15, 113–29; B. Effros, 'Beyond cemetery walls: early medieval funerary topography and Christian salvation', *Early Medieval Europe*, 6.1 (1997), 1–23; H. Härke, 'A Context for the Saxon Barrow', in M. G. Fulford and S. J. Rippon, 'Lowbury Hill, Oxon: A Re-assessment of the Probable Romano-Celtic Temple and the Anglo-Saxon Barrow', *Archaeol. J.*, 151 (1994), 158–211; S. Lucy, 'The Significance of Mortuary Ritual in the Political Manipulation of the Landscape', *Archaeol. Rev. from Cambridge*, 11.1 (1992), 93–105; J. Moreland and R. van de Noort, 'Integration and social reproduction in the Carolingian Empire', *World Archaeol.*, 23 (1991), 320–34; N. Roymans, 'The cultural biography of urnfields and the long-term history of mythical landscapes', *Archaeological Dialogues*, 2.1 (1995), 2–25; N. Spencer, 'Heroic Time: Monuments and the Past in Messenia, Southwest Greece', *Oxford J. Archaeol.*, 14.3, (1995), 277–92.

¹⁹ *The Ruin, The Wanderer, Beowulf and Felix's Life of St Guthlac* provide the best literary evidence for later Anglo-Saxon attitudes towards Roman and prehistoric structures: M. Alexander (ed.), *Beowulf; a prose translation* (London, 1974), 120; K. Crossley-Holland (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxon World: An Anthology* (Oxford, 1982), 50–53, 59–60; M. Swanton (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Prose* (London, 1993), 89–113. While these sources refer to ancient monuments in a firmly Christian and literary context, they may incorporate earlier attitudes towards ancient monuments that began in the pagan period. For example, Guthlac's hermitage upon an ancient barrow would have been in a prominent position in a settled landscape and may have been intended to be visited by members of the Anglo-Saxon élite. As a member of that élite, Guthlac would have been following a secular precedent of being buried into an ancient monument. Also, in the fenlands around Crowland are known cases of the reuse of prehistoric monuments as early Anglo-Saxon burial sites. Therefore, while Guthlac's practice of siting his home on an old barrow may seem firmly associated with Christian concepts of the wilderness and places plagued by demons, it may have held broader meanings in Anglo-Saxon society. See also D. Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989), 90–104. Bede also records a possible tradition in 8th-century E. Kent associating the burial place of the founding mythical founder of the kingdom of E. Kent, Horsa, with an ancient monument possibly of Roman or prehistoric date ('Horsa') . . . was buried in east Kent, where a monument bearing his name still stands', L. Sherley-Price (ed.), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (London, 1955), 63. For discussion see P. Sims-Williams, 'The settlement of England in Bede and the Chronicle', *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1983), 22–23.

²⁰ M. Gelling, *Signposts to the Past* (London, 1978), 155–61; D. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Paganism* (London, 1992), 5–21. Audrey Meaney has discussed the associations of pagan place names with a variety of pre-Christian monuments including barrows (Thundersbarrow, Sussex), hillforts (Harrow Hill, Sussex), temples (Woodeaton, Oxon), linear earthworks (Wansdyke, Wiltshire) and stone circles (Rollright, Warwickshire), in A. Meaney, 'Pagan English Sanctuaries, Place-Names and Hundred Meeting Places', in D. Griffith (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeol. and Hist.*, 8 (1995), 29–42. Ancient monuments were also named after individuals. A possible long barrow at Cuttleslowe may have a place name linked to the West Saxon royal dynasty, see Hawkes, op. cit. in note 4, 89.

²¹ M. Hunter, 'German and Roman Antiquity and the sense of the past in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3 (1974), 29–50; Bradley, op. cit. in note 15, 116.

²² The survey makes no claim at being exhaustive, since many cases of relationships between early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and structures of earlier eras will only be revealed through a detailed analyses of landscapes at the local and regional level. Instead, this paper is based upon a broad survey of evidence for the reuse of ancient monuments based on a thorough review of national and county journals. Many of the older sites are to be found in Audrey Meaney's gazetteer, but numerous new cases of the practice have been identified in the last 35 years; see A. Meaney, *A Gazetteer of early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (London, 1964), 18–19.

²³ For many partially excavated Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, the evidence for the deliberate reuse of an older monument can be difficult to determine. Examples of partially excavated cemeteries without evidence for monument reuse include the inhumation cemeteries at the Paddocks, Swaffham: C. Hills and P. Wade-Martins, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at the Paddocks, Swaffham', *East Anglian Archaeol.*, 2 (1976), 1–33; the inhumation cemetery at Droxford, F. Aldsworth, 'Droxford Anglo-Saxon Cemetery, Soberton, Hampshire', *Proc. Hampshire*

Field Club Archaeol. Soc., 35 (1979), 93–182; the cremation cemetery at Illington, A. Davison, B. Green and B. Milligan, 'Illington; a study of a Breckland Parish and its Anglo-Saxon cemetery', *East Anglian Archaeol.*, 63 (1993).

²⁴ M. Farley, 'The Cop Round Barrow at Bledlow, Buckinghamshire: Prehistoric or Saxon?', *Records of Bucks.*, 34 (1992), 11–13. The identification of an Anglo-Saxon burial as 'primary' or 'secondary' from antiquarian excavations is often based upon very questionable criteria that cannot be tested unless prehistoric burials are found.

²⁵ There are at least 1,200 known early Anglo-Saxon burial sites, A. Meaney, op. cit. in note 22; Hills, op. cit. in note 10, 318. Since submitting the article, the author has identified a further 70 cases of Anglo-Saxon monument reuse — bringing a total of around 404 examples.

²⁶ M. Bell, 'Excavations at Bishopstone', *Sussex Archaeol. Coll.*, 115 (1977), 192–95; C. L. Matthews, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Marina Drive, Dunstable', *Bedfordshire Archaeol. J.*, 1 (1962), 25–47; E. T. Leeds and D. B. Harden, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Abingdon, Berkshire* (Oxford, 1936), 9. Other references include: M. Welch, *Anglo-Saxon Sussex* (Oxford, 1983), 47; C. A. Butterworth and S. J. Lobb, *Excavations in the Burghfield Area, Berkshire* (Salisbury, 1992), 10, 17–72; C. J. Arnold, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of the Isle of Wight* (London, 1982); V. I. Evison, *Dover: Buckland Anglo-Saxon Cemetery* (London, 1987), 13–15; K. S. Jarvis, *Excavations in Christchurch 1969–1980* (Dorchester, 1983), 102–34; G. Knocker, 'Early Burials and an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Snell's Corner near Horndean, Hampshire', *Hampshire Fld. Club Archaeol. Soc. J.*, 19.2 (1956), 117–71; T. Malim, *Anglo-Saxon Cemetery Edix Hill, Barrington — 1991 Interim Report* (Cambridge, 1993), 7; R. C. Neville, 'An Anglo-Saxon cemetery excavated at Linton Heath', *Archaeol. J.*, 11 (1854), 95–115; R. Smith, 'On the excavation by Canon Greenwell FSA in 1868 of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Uncleby, East Riding of Yorkshire', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. London*, 24, 2nd series (1912), 146–58; T. Taylor, 'Winterbourne, Wiltshire. 6–8 May 1994', in T. Taylor (ed.), *The Time Team Reports* (London, 1996), 17–23; P. Williams, *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Thurmaston, Leicestershire* (Leicester, 1983), 7. Small groups of graves also reuse ancient monuments, e.g. C. Green et al., 'The Excavation of Two Round Barrows on Launceston Down, Dorset (Long Crichel 5, 7)', *Dorset Nat. Hist. Archaeol. Soc. Proc.*, 104 (1982), 39–58.

²⁷ J. Musty, 'The Excavation of Two Barrows, One of Saxon Date, at Ford, Laverstock, Near Salisbury, Wiltshire', *Antiq. J.*, 49, 98–117; G. Speake, *A Saxon Bed Burial on Swallowcliffe Down* (London, 1989), 124–26. See also P. Everson, 'Pre-Viking Settlement in Lindsey', in A. Vince (ed.), *Pre-Viking Lindsey* (Lincoln, 1993), 91–110; W. Filmer-Sankey, 'Snap Anglo-Saxon Cemetery: the Current State of Knowledge', in M. O. H. Carver (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo* (Woodbridge, 1992), 47; Meaney, op. cit. in note 22, 45; A. Ozanne, 'The Peak Dwellers', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 6–7 (1962–66), 15–48. The evidence suggested for monument reuse at Sutton Hoo remains unsubstantiated: A. Ellison, 'The Potential for Prehistoric Research', in M. O. H. Carver (ed.), *Bulletin of the Sutton Hoo Research Committee*, 4 (1986), 40; M. Hummler, 'The Prehistoric Settlement: An Interim Report', in M. O. H. Carver (ed.), *Bulletin of the Sutton Hoo Research Committee*, 8 (1993), 23.

²⁸ Meaney, op. cit. in note 22, 90, 93; W. F. Grimes, *Excavations on Defence Sites, 1939–1941* (London, 1960), 41–100; E. Conder, 'Communicating the following account of the exploration of Lyncham Barrow, Oxon', *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (1895), 404–10.

²⁹ I. M. Stead, 'Garton Station', *Current Archaeol.*, 9.8 (1987), 234–37; I. M. Stead, 'Kirkburn', *Current Archaeol.*, 10.4 (1988), 115–17; I. M. Stead, *Iron Age Cemeteries in East Yorkshire* (London, 1991), 17–27.

³⁰ J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Pagan Shrines and their Prototypes', in D. Griffiths (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeol. and Hist.*, 8 (1995), 9–10. Blair suggests that the square ditches around the Anglo-Saxon burials at Garton Slack represent Anglo-Saxon square barrows. This is doubtful since it is unlikely that the Iron Age square barrows would have retained their square shape into the Anglo-Saxon period and then their form emulated. It is more likely that the Anglo-Saxon burials are intrusive secondary burials into Iron Age square barrows whose original interments have been destroyed or ploughed away. See Stead, 1991, op. cit. in note 29, 17–27.

³¹ While hillforts could have been re-occupied within a military context in the post-Roman period, it seems clear that their use as burial sites from the late 5th century must be understood in the wider ritual context of attitudes to ancient monuments. A. E. P. Collins and F. J. Collins, 'Excavation on Blewburton Hill, 1953', *Berkshire Archaeol. J.*, 57 (1959), 52–73; D. W. Harding, 'Blewburton Hill, Berkshire: Re-Excavation and Reappraisal', in D. W. Harding (ed.), *Hillforts: Later Prehistoric Earthworks in Britain and Ireland* (London, 1976), 133–46; M. Welch, op. cit. in note 26, 461–84; W. J. Andrew, 'Report of the First Excavations at Oliver's Battery in 1930', *Hampshire Fld. Club Archaeol. Soc.*, 12 (1931), 5–19; G. C. Dunning, 'Salmonsbury, Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire', in D. W. Harding (ed.), *Hillforts: Later Prehistoric Earthworks in Britain and Ireland* (London, 1976), 76–118.

³² A. Harding and C. Scull, 'Two Early Medieval Cemeteries at Millfield, Northumberland', *Durham Archaeol. J.*, 6 (1991), 1–29; G. Drinkall and M. Foreman, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Castledyke South, Barton-on-Humber* (forthcoming).

³³ H. Case et al., 'Excavations at City Farm, Hanborough, Oxon.', *Oxoniensia*, 29/30 (1964/65), 1–98; D. Powlesland with C. Haughton and J. Hanson, 'Excavations at Heselton, North Yorkshire 1978–1982', *Archaeol. J.*, 143 (1986), 53–173.

³⁴ Meaney, op. cit. in note 22, 260, 282; G. Lambrick, *The Rollright Stones: Megaliths, Monuments and settlement in the prehistoric landscape* (London, 1988), 130; B. Hope-Taylor, *Yeaving: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London, 1977), 244–50.

³⁵ Linear earthworks reused: B. N. Eagles, *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of Humberston* (Oxford, 1979), 44; J. R. Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds* (London, 1905), 247–57, 264–70. At Bromfield in Shropshire, a 7th- or 8th-century Saxon cemetery is situated within an Iron Age enclosure, S. C. Stanford, 'A

- ⁷² Bradley, op. cit. in note 14, 15; Morris, op. cit. in note 47, 74.
- ⁷³ R. Morris, 'Baptismal Places: 600-800', in I. Wood and N. Lund (eds.), *People and Places in Northern Europe 500-1600* (Woodbridge, 1993), 15-24.
- ⁷⁴ Meaney, op. cit. in note 20, 29-42.
- ⁷⁵ Goodier, op. cit. in note 10, 1-22.
- ⁷⁶ Thäte, op. cit. in note 61, 105-16; Williams, op. cit. note 61.
- ⁷⁷ Blair, op. cit. in note 30, 1-28; Bradley 1987, op. cit. in note 14, 1-17.
- ⁷⁸ D. Miles, 'Abingdon and region: early Anglo-Saxon Settlement Evidence', in T. Rowley (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Landscape* (Oxford, 1974), 36-41; Myres, op. cit. in note 5; 185.
- ⁷⁹ Hawkes 1986, op. cit. in note 4, 81-82.
- ⁸⁰ Van de Noort, op. cit. in note 56, 70.
- ⁸¹ H. O'Neill, H. and L. V. Grinsell, 'Gloucestershire Barrows', *Trans. Bristol Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, 79 (1960), Part 1. O'Neill and Grinsell believe that the reuse of old monuments by Anglo-Saxon burials reflects a lack of concern in the treatment of the dead in this period.
- ⁸² J. Shepherd, op. cit. in note 2. Although this remains the only thorough study of Anglo-Saxon funerary monumentality, little direct attention is paid to the reuse of old barrows or other forms of prehistoric and Roman structures, Van de Noort, op. cit. in note 56, 70-71.
- ⁸³ See Blair 1995, op. cit. in note 30, 1-28.
- ⁸⁴ Bradley 1987, op. cit. in note 14; Bradley 1993, op. cit. in note 15; Parker Pearson, op. cit. in note 12.
- ⁸⁵ Lancaster has argued that the identity of bilateral ego-centred kin groups of Anglo-Saxon society are easily disrupted and may die along with a prominent member of the group. If so, then burial at ancient monuments may represent attempts to immortalize shifting kinship relations and an ideology of unilineal descent with reference to the distant past; L. Lancaster, 'Kinship in Anglo-Saxon Society I', *British J. Sociology*, 9.3 (1958), 230-50.
- ⁸⁶ D. Bullough, 'Burial, Community and Belief in the Early Medieval West', in P. Wormald (ed.), *Ideal and Reality in Anglo-Saxon and Frankish Society* (Oxford, 1983), 195; Morris, op. cit. in note 73, 15-24; Blair 1995, op. cit. in note 31, 1-28.
- ⁸⁷ The control of land and movable wealth seem to have been central aspects of early Anglo-Saxon society, for a recent overview see Higham, op. cit. in note 4, 140.
- ⁸⁸ Barrett, op. cit. in note 14, 123-29; K. Mizoguchi, 'Time in the reproduction of mortuary practices', *World Archaeol.*, 25.2 (1993), 223-35; H. Härke and H. M. R. Williams, 'Angelsächsische Bestattungsplätze und ältere Denkmäler: Bemerkungen zur zeitlichen Entwicklung und Deutung des Phänomens', *Archäologische Informationen*, 20.1 (1997), 25-27.
- ⁸⁹ The argument that monument reuse represents a means of spatially representing Germanic origin myths is discussed further in H. M. R. Williams, 'Ancient Monuments and the Past in early Anglo-Saxon England', *World Archaeol.*, 30.1 (1998), 90-108.
- ⁹⁰ This process could have begun as early as the late 5th and 6th centuries at the local level, being later elaborated and appropriated into elite ideologies during kingdom formation in the 7th century, *contra* Härke, op. cit. in note 18, 205-06, who sees this process beginning in the 7th century. On migration myths, see H. Härke, 'Material Culture as Myth: Weapons in Anglo-Saxon Graves', in C. K. Jensen and K. H. Nielsen (eds.), *Burial and Society: The Chronological and Social Analysis of Archaeological Burial Data* (Aarhus, 1997), 119-127.
- ⁹¹ For Anglo-Saxon royal claims to divine descent and the extension of this ideology to include wider political formations, W. A. Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, 1970), 18-20.