Dynamics of Religious Ritual: Migration and Adaptation in Early Medieval Britain

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For my Mom, I could never have done this without you.

And for my Grandfather, thank you for showing me the world and never letting me doubt I can do anything.

Thank you.

Abstract:
How do migrations impact religious practice? In early Anglo-Saxon England, the practice of post-Roman Christianity adapted after the Anglo-Saxon migration. The contemporary texts all agree that Christianity continued to be practiced into the fifth and sixth centuries but the archaeological record reflects a predominantly Anglo-Saxon culture. My research compiles the evidence for post-Roman Christian practice on the east coast of England from cemeteries and Roman churches to determine the extent of religious change after the migration. Using the case study of post-Roman religion, the themes religion, migration, and the role of the individual are used to determine how a minority religion is practiced during periods of change within a new culturally dominant society.

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Preface

Fifth century Britain was one of the most turbulent times of English history. It was a period when Roman Britain changed into England and when the native religion of the Romano-British adapted in response to the newly introduced Anglo-Saxon practices. In the early fifth century, when the last of the Roman military was recalled from Britain to defend other parts of the Empire, Britain was left to defend itself after not having done so for almost four centuries. In response, the Britons invited the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes to defend them. Subsequently, the Germanic groups decided to stay and conquer most of the island. In the first half of the fifth century, and within two generations, Britain went from being Britannia, a Roman province, to the beginnings of England, a country that was culturally Anglo-Saxon.

The shift from Roman Britian to Anglo-Saxon England brought with it an enormous amount of change. The changes encompassed every aspect of life including religion. Even though the Anglo-Saxon religion appears to have been pervasive, Gildas, Bede, Constantius, and Prosper state that Christianity continued to be practiced after the Anglo-Saxon migration. Christianity represents one of the only practices we have evidence for enduring, however, the archaeological record and the historic texts do not align. The disconnect between the contemporary authors and the archaeological materials is the subject of this study.

By the end of the fourth century, Christianity had spread through Britain and traditional Romano-British religions continued, but by the mid-fifth century, the archaeology

reflects predominantly Anglo-Saxon ritual remains. The Romano-British were a group characterized by a combination of cultural traits taken from the people sent to Britain by the Roman Empire, not all of whom were from the Mediterranean, and the Iron Age Britons. Christianity appears to have begun to spread through Britain sometime in the early fourth century. In stark contrast, the Anglo-Saxons were a conglomeration of Germanic and Scandinavian groups that practiced a form of religion that later developed into Old Norse. The Germanic regions on the Continent would not be Christianized until the eighth century.

Religion is one of the cornerstones of every society and migration is one of the most disruptive forces. How do religions adapt in periods of stress? And how do migrations impact the ritual practices of a native population? These questions are the foundation to the following inquiry into the evidence for continuing Christian practice in fifth and sixth century Britain. To answer these questions, the following study reviews the evidence from 31 cemeteries and identifiable Christian ritual spaces in East Anglia and Kent. These two regions are where the historic texts agree Christian practice continued at a number of locations, including St Albans and the region around Canterbury. Studying how religions change during historic periods of stress, particularly a minority religion like Christianity during this time, allows us to approximate how religions will adapt in modern situations.

I. Religion

Chapter 1: Archaeological Theory of Religion

Introduction

Explaining the unexplainable is the constant quest for mankind. Why does the moon change shape? Why do humans exist? And why do some people prosper while others suffer? Some of these questions, and others like them, have been answered by modern science while some still fester in our minds. Today, many of these questions are still answered by a shrug or a shake of head, but sometimes the response is that only God knows. Religions have provided a comforting response to the fear of the unknown and serve a number of roles within a society beyond the answering of questions. Archaeological inquiry into past religious practices provides us with insight into how they explained their world and interacted with the supernatural. Archaeological findings into these subjects provides insight into how modern religions adapt and change over time.

This chapter serves as a review of religion as studied archaeologically, which provides the foundation for the later discussion of post-Roman religion in Britain. This chapter will review both the theoretical understanding of religion and the materials associated with it with an emphasis on practice. Since religions studied in archaeological contexts are often not historically documented, a variety of examples are employed to illustrate the ranges of religious practice. These, sometimes widespread, examples are essential for understanding how many different ways religions are manifested, and serve as a reminder that sometimes religious practice is materially invisible or unrecognizable. For the purposes of this study, religion is understood to be indistinct from other aspects of life,

not just about belief, is built through material practice, and a unifying force within societies.

Defining Religion

What constitutes a religion within archaeological inquiry? And how is it identified? The anthropological, sociological, and even biological explanations of why humans develop various religions and why they appear to be essential to human development have been explored for over a century and are still being debated (see Tylor 1871, Darwin 1896, Durkheim 1915, Freud 1938, Bulbulia 2004, Tremlin 2006, Culotta 2009). The development of religion is beyond the scope of this study, but a review of how religion is defined and its composition is necessary before we discuss the archaeologist's ability to identify it.

The desire to define religion as a separate practice derives primarily from a western need (Asad 1993, Insoll 2004: 1, Steadman 2009: 21). As western society tried to separate the trappings of religion from all other aspects of life, it led to a need to define what actions and materials are explicitly tied to religion. The separation of religion from other practices became a common form of rhetoric in the Reformation (Saliba 1976). The concept of religion as a distinct practice is a modern one and understanding that distinction is essential in order to assess the past. Past societies did not necessarily view religion as a distinctly separate activity. It was a practice integrated into all other actions and, as such, inseparable from daily activities.

Modern western societies have fragments of rituals still integrated into everyday practices and they are often referred to as superstitions; accidentally spilling salt on the table means that one must toss a pinch over one's shoulder, as well as offering "God bless you" after a sneeze. Often one is not clear on what is supposed to happen if the ritual is not performed, apart from bad luck; these ritualized behaviors are the remnants of when religious practices were integrated into every action. The concept of religion as a practice that needs to be separate and distinct from mundane activities is relatively new. To this end, religion likely held different nuanced roles in societies, just as religion is conceptualized uniquely by every individual.

To study religion in the archaeological record, it needs to be defined as a separate entity from other practices, while at the same time being considered as visible in all realms of activity. Religion is the intensification of activity: it is when an instinctive higher value is placed on choices, activities, and results (Davies 2016). Religion, at its core, is the need to do something when there is nothing physical that can be done, when only a supernatural being can influence the outcome, or a desire exists to explain what we do not understand. Religion is composed of belief, practice, and material all of which are intertwined together to gain meaning. The context of activity lends itself to the meaning of the action, as with the use of candles in ritual performances; they derive meaning from the motive, location and time. Context, as always, matters.

The Archaeological Study of Religion

In 1871, E.B. Tylor asserted that religion originated as a collective agreement in a society, which opens avenues of archaeological inquiry. If religion needs to be agreed upon by a group, then the practices should be uniform, and identifiable in ritual terms. This theory led to E. Durkheim's 1912, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, introducing the concept of a "collective consciousness" determining the sacred and profane, which served as unifying forces in a community. The definition made clear that the practices and beliefs of the community, or society, were based upon a consensus. Religion solidified social norms and regulated formal activities, such as burial.

C. Hawkes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard were some of the first archaeologists to engage in the theoretical inquiry into religion, neither of whom thought that any reconstruction of religion was possible due to the ephemeral nature of doctrine, belief, and mythology. Hawkes' 1954 work with his "Ladder of Inference" is the most influential in the discussion of the archaeology of religion. His assertion that religion belongs on the last tier of his ladder, thus unattainable by archaeologists has been taken as a challenge. Along a similar vein, E.E. Evans-Pritchard (1965) proposed his "If-I-were-a-horse" understanding of religion, in essence espousing that since modern researchers cannot understand a horse's point of view, they cannot understand prehistoric man's motivations, desires, and needs. These two theories against the study of religion have lost their persuasiveness, and portions of religion are becoming recognizable in the archaeological record.

In an inadvertent response to Evans-Pritchard, perhaps providing the most heartening

theory for those interested in attempting to decipher religion, Todd Tremlin (2006) in

Minds and Gods: The Cognitive Foundations of Religion uses psychology and

neurobiology to identify how belief is processed and created. Tremlin uses two features

of the human brain, the agency detection device and the theory of mind mechanism, to

attempt to determine the origin of religion. Throughout history, modern humans have

been working with the same mental tools and, as such, researchers should be able to

impose restraints on the possible interpretations. Religion is a counterintuitive concept

that can only survive when based in standard ontological categories and other normal

expectations (Tremlin 2006: 90). Humans can only accept ideas that stay within the

boundaries of the restraints our minds create (Tremlin 2006: 90).

Lars Fogelin (2008) "Delegitimizing Religion: The Archaeology of Religion

as…Archaeology" provides a convincing rebuttal to Hawkes. The problem Fogelin

identifies with Hawkes' "Ladder of Inference" is that it separates manufacture from

religion, or ideology, when in fact often those two activities are intimately linked

(Fogelin 2008). Ritual can be enacted through such mundane activities as pottery

production or the knapping of stone tools. Mundane (or profane) activities are linked to

sacred or religious intentions and archaeologists cannot separate the two without

compromising their understanding of an activity (Fogelin 2008).

Among others, Steadman (2009), Brück (1999), and Bradley (2005) argued that many

cultures do not recognize religion as a distinct social entity. In contrast, it is integrated

into everyday activities and not to be separated when studied. Religion is by definition practiced: it is an action that people engage in and make materially visible through the scale of activity. The scale of activity and intent are what manifest religion.

Religion is ingrained in other aspects of life. Clifford Geertz (1973) compiled a structuralist definition of the role of religion within a society. Geertz defined religion through five main abstract factors all of which are dependent on one another to form the religion:

> (1) A system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic (1973: 90).

Geertz continues to recognize the connectivity of religious, social, economic and political behaviors found within a culture. His definition allows for religion to influence all the practices of society but ties it to an influence over emotions and to the importance of symbols in this influence. Symbols are one of the main tools in the practice of religion, since they are used to quickly invoke memory and convey meaning. Symbols are also one of the key aspects of ritual practices, where the performance of the ritual accomplishes a symbolic goal or communication.

Pauketat (2013: 8) asserts that archaeologists *can* understand how religion was practiced as related to human history. Lighting a candle on a Menorah and reciting a series of

words in a chant is only given meaning through the context of the action and the history attached to it. The importance of the activity is only understood through the lens of scale. Pauketat (2013) puts forward the concept of "bundling" or the idea that some activities can only be understood through their relation to others. The practice is meaningful and the actions take value from the practice.

The Practice of Religious Ritual

Religion takes meaning from the act of practice and, as such, ritual is a fundamental cornerstone of the practice of religion. Religion requires reinforcement and ritual serves to both remind societies of the importance of religion and to unite groups in the practice. Ritual is the most tangible form of expression of religion visible in the landscape and material culture. Ritual can be described, in the simplest terms, as being of a repetitive nature with required formalized actions (Fulford 2001: 201). This simplistic definition of ritual does not provide sufficient structure for archaeological exploration given, in the right circumstances, any set of materials or structures can have ritualized actions performed. Ritual behavior has complex motivations and intentions: ritual behaviors can be found in many circumstances.

Rituals have very deliberate characteristics and intent. Renfrew (1994: 54) identified the indicators of ritual practices as the focusing of attention, the use of boundary zones between worlds, the presence of a deity, and performances or offerings. This definition allows for a more structured approach to identifying formal rituals, although its abstract

nature favors the identification of structured ritual centers, and not the more casual religious rituals engaged with in less formal locations and in everyday life.

The formalization of ritual at structured times and led by a ritual leader is often what is thought of during discussions of religion. Marcus (2007: 48) composed a comprehensive list of the components of a structured religious ritual. Marcus cites eight components to rituals that can be found (2007: 48). The first is the presence of one or more performers (Marcus 2007: 48). The second is a defined audience, which can be composed of humans, deities or ancestors (Marcus 2007: 48). The third is a specific location, whether that is in a church, on a hilltop, at a shrine, or in a cave (Marcus 2007: 48). The fourth component is an express purpose for the ritual; there needs to be a motivation for the performance of the ritual, otherwise it is not a religious ritual (Marcus 2007: 48). The fifth aspect is meaning in the ritual, similar to the fourth requirement (Marcus 2007: 48). The sixth feature is a time span, which can be an hour, day or longer (Marcus 2007: 48). The seventh characteristic is actions; the singing, dancing or sacrifice that compose the acting out of the ritual itself (Marcus 2007: 48). The eighth and final piece is some sort of ritual paraphernalia, which is most often what archaeologists find; the material culture of ritual (Marcus 2007: 48). These characteristics are, to varying degrees, found at all levels of religious ritual, but are not necessary for a less formal ritual activity.

Often ritual items and spaces are identified based upon the circumstances of their deposition and remains of a ritual performance. Rituals are used to reinforce belief, societal structures, and the individual's place within the society. These results are

achieved through both public and private rituals. The community relies on both the

reinforcement of the community identity and the individual's role within it. The

circumstances of a ritual and the frequencies or variations of the different forms of rituals

can indicate the importance of the individual versus the need to reinforce the community

within the religion.

Rituals, as practice, are as reliant on materials as on belief; materials provide a focus for

the ritual practice. Both ritual performances and materials are the conveyors of the

symbolic influence referenced by Geertz (1973: 90). Symbols are reliant on a shared

knowledge among the audience and participants. Symbols can be inscribed upon

materials or referenced in a performance, in addition to having the power to influence the

effectiveness of a ritual.

The Materiality of Ritual

Religion is physically manifested through the production of material culture for ritual

performance and the identification of practitioners. Religious meaning can be instilled in

objects needed for the performance of a ritual. They are materials that are used in rituals

and are found in ritual deposits. Further, they are the result of a ritual performance, or in

ritual spaces as secondary aids to the execution of prescribed actions.

Any material could have had a purpose within a religion under the right circumstances.

Items associated with rituals are most often identified based upon unusual deposition, or

an association with other unusual items. Hypothetically, a spoon can hold a religious

ritual role if it is found deposited with a dog skull, a horse vertebrae, and a golden pendant. These items all hold mundane roles on their own, but when buried together in the ground, they take on a different identity through bundling (Pauketat 2013). In addition, a spoon found in the ground in an area without any associated material would be described as an ambiguous stray find and attributed as an accidental loss due to its isolation. Material gains meaning from its association with other materials, circumstances of deposition or loss, and the most practical interpretation. Archaeologists favor practical explanations to explain their discoveries, as they should. If every discovery was interpreted through the lens of possible ritual behaviors, it would be excessive. However, materials that appear mundane should not be discounted as they could have parallel religious roles alongside their other applications.

The process of instilling religious meaning onto material culture can be done through the incision of religious symbols onto the item, the use of the item in a ritual, or the mentioning of an item within the stories supporting the religion. Burials, votive deposits, stray finds and ritual spaces all lend themselves to the identification of religious ritual. The pitfall in the identification of ritual items through the association of symbolic representations is that they cannot be used as evidence for the religion being practiced in the vicinity. Religious items can be evidence of familiarity with a religion, but not definitive evidence for practice. Symbols can take on a different meaning in different cultures and circumstances.

The material culture of religion can be studied through the circumstances of deposition, deliberate arrangement, and symbolic representational role. The features of a burial or votive deposit all contribute to the ritual interpretation. The portable artifacts generally are pieces of jewelry including rings, brooches, and pendants. They are most often found in burials, but also appear in votive deposits and stray finds. Portable artifacts are linked to religious ritual either through the identification of a known religious symbol or deposition in proximity to ritual practices, such as burials or votive deposits.

Ritual as Performance

Performance, identity and religion in archaeology are all tied together in the study of burials and their ritual reconstructions. The study of religion is an act of inquiry into individual and communal expressions of belief and practice of ritual behaviors. An individual, or shared, identity is defined by the characteristics of a group that are recognizable within the archaeological record. Generally, when discussing individuals, this assessment is conducted through the analysis of grave goods and any surviving skeletal material. The individual is visible in the reconstruction of identity in death. The deposition of grave goods is done by the survivors and as such is considered a performance of the group's interpretation of the deceased's identity (Brown 2003: 81). The act of burial itself is a performed ritual, which would have been regulated, and replicated to a certain extent, by the community (Inomata 2006, Renfrew 2007, Rapport 2007).

Performance in archaeology is reconstructed based upon the final stage of the ritual. The performance of rituals requires an audience, including deities and members of the community, active or observing participants, purpose, meaning and action over a specified time (Marcus 2007). The performance of the burial ritual can be partially reconstructed based upon the material deposited. The act of burial represents the final phase of an individual's physical interaction with others. Burials require participation within groups to dress the body and arrange the interment. The remains of materials in or around the burials suggest a process of burial that was not only composed of re-depositing earth: many early Anglo-Saxon burials consist of materials found within the refilled dirt and evidence for feasting or other activities within the area (Lucy 2000: 112). The burial performance consisted of the deposition of materials on and around the body along with the interaction of those performing the ritual. The practice and beliefs reinforced by religion are socially stratified within a society (Hulin 1989: 95). The transmission of information is controlled through access to religious knowledge; early Anglo-Saxons were not literate so a ritual specialist regulated the practices, beliefs, and stories of the religion (Geake 2003, Hinde 2009: 104). The performance of burial would have been regulated and directed by the specialist leading to an organized performance.

Burials are expressions of the end of a person's life and the idealized place they held in society and subsequently, the community's interpretation of their identity (Hodder 1982, Pader 1982, Brown 2003: 81). The ritual performance of burial allows for the maintenance of the community and the reinforcement of the imagined identity of the individual (Inomata 2006: 805). The identity is referred to as "imagined", as it is not the

identity conceptualized by the individual themselves, the performance of burial is conducted by the living and represents their interpretation of the individual (Geake 2003: 261). The selection of the aspects of identity to be represented presents a conflict as an individual is never defined by one aspect of their identity.

Private Ritual

Many rituals are performed alone or with a small number of participants, and are not intended for large audiences. These rituals do have a defined structure and necessary components, similar to the process of public rituals, but they serve to reinforce the individual's role in the religion and not the role of the community as a whole. These rituals take place within the household and across the landscape, not in formal ritual centers. McDannell (1995) asserted that religious materials can be found in everyday items and in mundane places; they do not need to be utilized in formal ritualized centers, such as churches, for materials to hold meaning. The ritual meaning of mundane objects is difficult to identify, since a spoon could be used in everyday cooking and ritual performances without any defining visible markers on it.

Private rituals are not necessarily performed by only one individual, but they are the result of less public performances. They are not meant to reinforce the community, and are instead intended to reinforce the personal belief system. They are intended to satisfy the personal needs, while public rituals draw the individuals into a community and address the communal religious practices.

Votive Deposits

The term "hoard" refers to a deliberate deposition of materials and is the over-arching term that refers to a range of possible circumstances. Several different phrases are used to describe the same set of archaeological circumstances of material deposits: dedications, offerings, votives, or hoards (Osborne 2004: 5). A hoard, or cache of materials, is a group of items deposited in the ground or in water that were not retrieved either deliberately or through neglect. Of the four terms, "hoard" is the only that does not have an explicit religious ritual connotation. Dedications, offerings and votives all imply deals or agreements with a higher power, or deity, where the materials are sacrificed to seal the exchange (Osborne 2004: 5).

A hoard can be explained as a form of economic safekeeping, or a ritual deposition as a form of material sacrifice (Osborne 2004). The difference between the two interpretations relies on the circumstances of deposition and the content. For example, items deposited in water are irretrievable, and, as such, lend themselves to an interpretation as a votive deposit since they cannot be retrieved, whereas items in deliberate deposits not in water, can be retrieved allowing for multiple explanations. The difference between the two motivations is the intent to retrieve the materials. If the material was left for economic safekeeping with the intention of the owner to return for them then it is not religious ritual (Osborne 2004: 7). If they were placed there as a sacrificial deposit to a deity then the process was innately religious ritual. An individual or a group ritually deposited the materials into the ground, or in the water with the goal of connecting with a deity (Osborne 2004: 6).

While it is possible that the deposition of the hoard was enacted by a large group engaged in elaborate rituals, it is classified as a private ritual, since it could be a performed by one person. A private ritual does not explicitly require a group as is the case with burial or large public rituals.

The deposition of goods in a ritual act with the purpose of beginning or finishing an agreement with a deity leads to a degree of ambiguity as to whether the actions were complete (Osborne 2004: 2). The nature of depositions results in goods being removed from circulation leaving the participants with no way to confirm the deity has received them apart from the fulfillment of the agreement (Bradley 2000: 37). Petts (2003a) found that ritual deposits, or hoards, were practiced in both monotheistic and polytheistic religions, and not a feature confined to polytheistic practice.

A ritualized deposition begins with the intent to influence the supernatural through the sacrifice of materials either through burial in the ground or deposition in water, such as lakes, rivers, or wells (Osborne 2004: 2). The act of deposition removes the goods from economic circulation permanently. Withdrawing material goods from the economy affects more than just the supplicant(s) and the relationship with their deity; it removes access to the materials and weakens the group economically given that the deposits are usually composed of metals that could be utilized (Bradley 2000: 37). The permanent deposition of goods meant that some items were made specifically for ritual deposits and were less of an emotional loss or sacrifice, in contrast to the deposition of heirlooms or

items with practical roles in survival, such as swords or sickles. The materials deposited dictate the level of personal sacrifice for those engaging in the ritual.

Intent behind ritual deposits can be explicitly demonstrated. The Roman curse tablets deposited in Bath, England are one example. Curse tablets are forged specifically for their role in a well constructed ritual. Curse tablets are made of lead alloy hammered into strips inscribed with text (Gager 1999: 194-195). The curse tablets are used to make a deal with the god or goddess. At the temple of Sulis-Minerva in Bath, England, from the first to third centuries, the lead tablets often offer a monetary or material enticement to the goddess Sulis-Minerva to punish a criminal (Gager 1999: 194-195). Curse tablets are clear in their intent. They ask the deity for a favor in exchange for material goods. Votive deposits are a material exchange with a higher power to obtain a favorable action.

Most votive deposits are less explicit in their purpose and are not accompanied by text. They are collections of materials deposited in deliberate locations, sometimes with modifications such as breaking or bending. The Anglo-Saxon Staffordshire hoard was found by a farmer, perhaps the most common method of discovery, and consists of military items that have been theorized to be the spoils of a battle (Leahy et al. 2011: 215). Many of the items were deliberately twisted or bent with pieces missing suggesting a phase of deliberate destruction before deposition (Leahy et al. 2011: 214). The materials were buried in a field and abandoned, either as a deliberate ritual deposit or as a cache meant for economic safekeeping that was never retrieved.

In Anglo-Saxon England, there are few votive deposits before the seventh century (Crawford 2004). Votive deposits were thought to be a ritual confined to polytheistic, non-Christian practitioners, however more and more votive deposits are being identified within Christian communities (Petts 2003a: 111-116). In Icklingham, England a number of lead tanks were deposited in pits or wells adorned with Christian motifs in locations associated with water in the first, second and late fourth centuries (Petts 2003a: 115). While the deposition practice in the first and second centuries could be attributed to the need to hide or store materials during a period of hostility, the late fourth century was a period of relative peace for Christian practitioners, and, as such, suggests that the depositions with Christian materials were deliberate ritual performances (see Chapter 6). The deposition of lead tanks in watery locations may have simply been the proper manner of disposing of them (Petts 2003a: 116). This depositional practice would have paralleled the Roman method of disposal of military altars (Petts 2003a: 116). The similarities of deposition may not have been deliberate, and likely was not intended to emulate a pagan practice: it can better be explained as a basic religious belief beyond either pagan or Christian (Petts 2003a: 116). The process of either ritually ending or destroying an item for a ritual is found in most regions and religions at one stage in their development suggesting that it is a basic ritual practice to communicate with deities or the supernatural (Petts 2003a).

Stray Finds

Stray finds are a separate concern from hoards and may be accidental. There is nothing accidental about a hoard, apart from forgetting to retrieve it or where it was buried. Stray

finds may be lost items that fall from an individual's hand and were not found again. It is

also possible that the item was deliberately left somewhere of special significance to

engage with a spirit or deity. The identification of religion in stray finds is difficult as

they lack a clear context. Context is the basis for interpretation and stray finds are

inherently found without recognizable activity in the vicinity. The placement of materials

in isolated places is an important aspect of a ritual system, but the intent behind the

deposition is gone. The intent behind isolated finds is harder to determine than votive

deposits (hoards) since accidental loss is more probable than deliberate deposition of

singular items.

Household Shrines

Household shrines are the final form of private ritual. Household shrines are created for

less regulated ritual engagement with the materials associated with the deity or deities. In

American Christianity, spiritual pieces can be found within a home and may not appear to

be explicitly religious (McDannell 1995). Religious connections can be stimulated

through sight, touch, smell and voice (McDannell 1995: 14). These connections can be

important to have as a daily reminder in the home, particularly when religion is not

separated from other activities in daily life. A household shrine allows for a formal

connection with the religion within the private confines of the home. It also allows for a

personal connection with a formalized ritual space, albeit within an informal

environment.

Public Ritual

Public ritual spaces are places in the landscape or structures where formal rituals were enacted. Formal rituals are organized performances meant to unite a community in a joined activity in order to reinforce their shared religion and societal structure. Public rituals generally include formalized activities, such as weekly church services, burials, or religious celebrations where the progression of the ritual is known to all the participants and agreed upon. These structured rituals are performed in a public setting and serve a very important role in the uniting of the community. Marcus' (2007) description of the components of ritual, described earlier, best conforms to the idea of a public ritual.

The identification of formal ritual spaces, where rituals were performed with a group of participants or an audience, is generally done through the identification of structures or places in the landscape that do not have evidence for permanent occupation or practical use, as in craft working or food production. Feasting is a common ritual component making identification more difficult and is one of the main culprits in the confusion surrounding Chaco Canyon in New Mexico (Pauketat 2002, Plog 2012). Feasting is a form of public ritual that reinforces social hierarchies and can be tied to both political, religious or social motivations. Feasts provide a stage where society is able to renegotiate the social stages through a peaceful ceremony (Pauketat 2002: 257). The feasts may have been a ritual during which people either accepted or protested their shared identity or organization (Pauketat 2002: 275).

Public ritual spaces and materials are easier to identify archaeologically than private rituals. Public rituals are accompanied by larger venues and a larger number of

participants depositing more material goods in contrast with the solitary ritual practice

where a ritual can be performed by one individual without necessarily having an

audience. The investment of the community is greater when the ritual is one with public

engagement as it reinvests the individual's commitment to the community.

Burials

Burials are another form of ritual behavior that is performed with an audience. Ian

Hodder (1982) and Evelyn Pader (1982) used ethnographic studies to show that burials

may not reflect the social reality of a group and may instead reflect the spiritual

ideologies, suggesting that religion is visible in burials. If burials represent the social

ideal and not the reality of everyday practice, then burial styles and their associated goods

should be clear markers of changes in belief associated with burial. The practice of

religion in everyday life is a different issue and should be considered separately from the

representations of the religious concerns associated with death. In essence, the social

ideal will encompass the relevant religious beliefs that concern the people enacting the

burial ritual. The religious concerns of the group will be displayed in their idealized

form.

Burials are themselves a form of special deposit. Burials are, in essence, the deposition

of carefully selected materials with the intent of somehow communicating with or

provisioning the deceased. Crawford (2004: 87) has found a correlation between the

decrease in grave deposits and an increasing frequency of votive deposits within a

culture. Grave goods are chosen for a personal reason by either the individual, family or

community, whereas ritual deposits are chosen to communicate with a higher power (Crawford 2004: 88).

Burials are a particular form of performance. Burials are the embodiment of the end results of a performance. Burials are the responsibility of the mourners or families and consistently across a landscape, burial arrangements appear to be deliberate and meaningful (Geake 2003: 260). The homogeneity suggests that someone was in charge of the burials and, likely, someone in the society was given the responsibility to regulate the burial ritual (Geake 2003: 262). In seventh and eighth century England, Geake (2003), Meaney (2003) and Gräslund (2003) identified the possible "Cunning Woman" burials of females responsible for maintaining the ritual practices of the community. The assertion that women took this role is based upon the 10th century account of Ibn Fadlan depicting his journeys through the Rus culture and his witnessing of a Rus burial where a female was in charge of maintaining and enforcing rituals, and whose role was passed down the female line (Geake 2003).

Burials are culturally mediated demonstrations of the idealized identity of the deceased (Brown 2003: 81). The deceased did not bury themselves, their relatives and community did. The ritualized nature of burials performed by the living can lead to the creation of new identities for the deceased, as with the bead burial at Cahokia. In the Cahokian bead burial, a burial of over 20,000 shell beads was used to create an ancestor by a rising elite kin group in need of a prestigious past to enforce their social status (Brown 2003). A deceased's identity is constructed through the deposition of specific grave goods and

ritualized materials that indicate the religious practice of the burial. Grave goods are used

to indicate a wide range of information about the deceased (Crawford 2004). Grave goods

can reflect fashion trends, including influences from different cultures and trade, along

with social identity, religious practices, and economic status.

Ritualized identity, particularly in death, is constantly negotiated with the visible past and

the environment. The Anglo-Saxons existed in a landscape in which the dead were a

constant presence both the ancient dead and the recently deceased (Meaney 2003).

Burials were placed within mounds creating a visible feature of the countryside

evidenced in Sutton Hoo or Spong Hill (Hills and Rickett 1984, Carver 1992). The

visibility of the burial indicates the importance of remembrance. Ireland's Neolithic

cairns are an example of how the living interacted with the deceased and their ritual

mortuaries, which were used and reused for burial rituals and depositions into the

medieval period (Hutton 1996). Medieval monks interacted with burial mounds,

imagining that that the past still existed within the constructions (Bitel 1994).

Identifying Ritual Spaces

Rituals have to occur somewhere. A public ritual is deliberately structured and regulated

by specialists with the intent of replication and, as such, very deliberate spaces are chosen

for the performance of public rituals. Ritual spaces can be divided into private versus

public, and structured versus natural spaces. These divisions rely on the nature of the

physical space, which can, in turn, reveal the nature of the ritual performed there. The

setting of the ritual practice is important for the understanding of the audience for the

ritual. A ritual that was performed in a public structured setting, such as a temple, would indicate that the ritual was meant for a large audience and a regular occurrence in the community. A community invests resources and time in the construction of a ritual structure only when the ritual performance is regular, and impacts a large group either through personal attendance or benefits by proxy. In contrast to the investment of a community in a structured ritual space, natural spaces require little to no investment for the ritual performance. Natural spaces are less easily understood since a lack of architecture means that the audience could have been any size, and the identification of the ritual actions relies on the nature of the deposits or remains of the performance. While the most identifiable spaces are structures, such as churches, basilicas, or temples, there are less recognizable natural spaces. Ritual spaces can be the spaces designated for a public ritual performance, while private rituals can be performed in less structured spaces, such as the home.

Sacred or ritualized landscapes are constructed through a shared cultural understanding and shaped through human interaction (Reese-Taylor 2012: 1). A sacred landscape involves the overlay of ritual performances, time and geographic space either in a built environment, such as a temple, or in a natural landscape without human modifications, such as a hilltop (Reese-Taylor 2012: 1). The sacred landscapes of Mesoamerica are used to reproduce a natural landscape of importance, such as the artificial cave beneath the Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan, which parallels their beliefs about caves as entrances to the underworld, or supernatural spaces inside mountains (Reese-Taylor 2012: 3). The

natural world provided, and still provides, many locations that inspire associations with the supernatural to foster ritual activities.

Structured ritual spaces

Structured ritual spaces allow for the participation of the community in the performance of important rituals. These places are key for focusing the religion through elaborate rituals and engagement for the community. Public rituals are most often performed inside a religious structure, outside the structure, or in the vicinity of the designated space. Within the large public plazas of the Maya, ceremonies were conducted to reconstruct and redefine their community through large performances, as at Tikal, Copan and Aquateca (Inomata 2006: 805). The plazas were meant to hold a large number of people for the ceremonies (Inomata 2006: 805). The leaders of the Maya would have had an vital role in the performances, which explains why the term for their leaders, Ajaw, means "he who shouts" (Inomata 2006: 805). These public rituals are defined by the necessity of specific circumstances accompanied by specific materials (Marcus 2007: 67). These public rituals are usually performed in religious structures, such as the Temple of Quetzalcoatl in Teotihuacan, Karnak in Egypt, St Peters Basilica in Rome and the temples of the Roman Empire. The ritual structures of significance can generally be identified based upon distinct features, even when they are built of organic materials, as with churches in the early medieval period or the woodhenges of the European Neolithic.

Public rituals were performed both in the enclosed spaces of religious structures, and within the natural landscape, such as lakes or along waterways, as at Gournay or

Ribemont in France (Brunaux et al. 1980, du Leslay and Lepetz 2008). There are locations that are made significant by the construction of enclosures and ritual deposits in locations that are not associated with water, as at the Iron Age site of Hallaton, Leicestershire (Leins 2007). Hallaton is recognizable as a place of ritual importance, and not an average Iron Age enclosure denoting a settlement or perhaps a livestock enclosure because of the discovery of 14 coin hoards immediately to the west of the entrance, a dog burial at the entrance, and a series of shallow pits holding animal bones, mainly young pigs, to the west (Leins 2007: 23). The frequency and nature of these deposits makes it unlikely that they were deposited for later retrieval or placed there for safety; they were most likely ritual in intent (Leins 2007: 27). Some ritual sites are only identifiable due to the frequency of deposits. Ritual deposits that occur in groups over spans of time suggest that the space held ritual significance for more than one person indicating that they are an important part of the regions religious practices.

Ritual spaces are identified either through specific architectural features, or more commonly, an unusual amount of items that are either unsuitable for practical activities or items never meant for practical activities. The ritual deposits can be items, such as the broken and twisted swords as at the Roman Iron Age site of Illerup Ådal in Jutland or the deliberately broken figurines from Dolnoslav, Bulgaria (Ilkjær 2002, Chapman and Gaydarska 2007, Dobat et al. 2014). Ritual deposits endow spaces with ritual meaning. Ritual spaces are sometimes only defined by the ritual items deposited there; they do not have to have identified structures or markers to signal their status (Marangou 2001: 155).

The identification of ritual architecture relies, in part, on a knowledge of the religion. The religious buildings of Christianity, Judaism or Hinduism are identified based upon the specific features that are fairly consistent across time. Christian churches are identified by east-west alignment, the presence of an apse, and often the subsequent burials beneath and adjacent to the building. However, sometimes older buildings are modified to accommodate the practitioners without the traditional accompaniments. Christianity was first practiced inside the home, which developed into a house-church, or a modified domestic building, before persecutions abated and Christian practitioners were permitted to construct basilicas (White 1990). Development of Christian spaces is well documented but the variation of this practice within England during the early Anglo-Saxon period is unknown since the practice likely had adapted.

The Portable Ritual Spaces of the Gabra

Ritual spaces are often assumed to be stationary and tied to a specific place, but this immobility is not always the case. Among the Gabra, a mobile society in northern Kenya, domestic activities are highly ritualized. The back wall of their tents is dedicated to milk containers shaped like eggs that are hung, as well as decorated ostrich eggs at each corner. These decorative pieces are part of the marriage ritual and are used to reinforce the highly ritualized aspect of everyday life (Prussin 1999: 431). The ritual space of the Gabra emphasizes the structured nature of an ephemeral practice. The Gabra also practice ritualized feasts, where enclosures are built solely for the feasting ritual (Prussin 1999: 431). Their ritual space could be moved and did not lose any of its value in the process; their space was not tied to a specific place in the landscape but the construction of a

specific material setting within their domestic space. The practices of the Gabra are only recognizable because they continue to be practiced today, in the archaeological record, these practices would have been largely invisible, or reconstructed based predominantly on any historic records.

While there is no archaeological evidence for portable ritual spaces or shrines in fifth and sixth century Britain, the concept of a portable ritual space in early medieval Europe could likely only be tied to the idea of reliquaries. The reliquaries contained body parts, clothing, or other important objects from saints believed to heal or impart blessings and were portable; they carried with them a sense of ritual importance (Klein 2004). They often traveled between cathedrals and even empires. From the seventh to the fifteenth centuries reliquaries were a common gift between Byzantium and western Europe (Klein 2004). Yet, this practice of traveling reliquaries did not create the same sense of constructed ritual space that the Gabra had within their tents. A reliquary did not make a ritual space, but was instead an additional symbolic item added to a constructed ritual space, such as a cathedral. The concept of portable ritual spaces, or shrines, is important because it is not immediately archaeologically recognizable and needs to be considered in studies of societies that lack clearly recognizable ritual spaces, like the early Anglo-Saxons (see Chapter 7).

Natural Ritual Spaces

Rituals could also take place among areas which did not require modifications to the landscape. Natural places are not monuments since they do not experience significant

man-made modifications, however, this does not exclude the possibility that the people

using the site believed it to be a deliberately constructed space (Bradley 2000: 34-35).

Natural spaces obtain meaning through their use and subsequent associations. The

identification of open air sites that lack permanent architecture, either of stone or the

unique preservation of organic materials, relies on the deposition of unusual materials

that can be identified as ritually significant allowing for speculation about the religious

rituals performed there and the possible role the location held in the religious culture.

The Aztecs, Maya, and Incan Landscapes

Mesoamerican and South America feature some of the best studied ritual spaces in

unmodified natural spaces. The Aztecs in postclassical central Mexico interpreted the

world through an anthropomorphized lens, the entire universe was an animated being

(Gargarza 2016: 595). The marking of territory was done through a ritualized pilgrimage

along the mountains. Natural landscape features were understood through the myths and

legends of the Aztec people. The landscape was understood not through geographic

reality, but through the complicated belief system: a mountain was not a compilation of

stone and dirt, but of an anthropomorphized identity and ritual purpose (Gargarza 2016:

595). The creation story of the Aztecs' describes a deity being broken up and reformed to

create the world. The landscape was active with both the founding deity's personality and

those that were created for each natural feature. This concept of attributing a ritual

identity to the features of the landscape can be ascribed to the first agricultural

communities, ca. 2500 BC (Gargarza 2016: 596). The combination of ritual beliefs and

an actively engaged landscape is termed "Cosmovision", which assigns deities,

supernatural beings, or dead ancestors, to the natural landscape: every mountain had its own personality and deified role in the universe (Gargarza 2016: 596).

The features of the landscape were important due to their deified status and not as a result of a ritual structure (Gargarza 2016: 603). The landscape was never a passive entity for the Aztecs: it was something that needed to be actively maintained: the relationship between the people and the landscape needed to be negotiated through regular rituals. Since the entire natural world was active, every aspect of the Aztecs' lives were ritually dictated (Gargarza 2016: 596). From morning to night, every action was ritually performed, for the Aztecs believed that deviating from those rituals would result in disease or misfortune (Gargarza 2016: 596). For the Maya, the natural landscape includes not only the physical geography, but also the sky: they imposed myths and legends onto the stars along with the earthly landscape they could physically interact with regularly.

The Maya, like the Aztecs and Inca, have strong ties to the mountains, which they refer to as "lords", and believe to be hollow with caves as the portals to the deities' inner-mountain (Brady and Ashmore 1999: 126). Their pilgrimages to the mountains are actually pilgrimages to the caves to honor the mountain deity (Brady and Ashmore 1999:126). The caves were both artificial and natural, but both hold the same role in the ritual landscape (Brady and Ashmore 1999: 134). The pyramids, as at Palenque, have artificial caves that are viewed in the same way as the natural caves found in the landscape and offer the same access to the deities (Brady and Ashmore 1999: 134-136).

Australia's Dream Tracks

In contrast to the Inca and Maya's approach to the landscape, the Australian Aboriginal groups saw a landscape that is constantly being changed. For the Australian Aboriginals, their variable landscape has resulted in a fluid cultural identity (Tonkinson 2011: 330). The Aboriginal groups under discussion maintain a hunter-gatherer state and engage with the landscape without significant modifications (Tonkinson 2011: 331). The process of "totemic geography" ties the ritualized identity of the landscape to the physical geography. The Mardu, a now largely sedentary group still engages with their ancestral landscape and ties their identity to the features of the landscape through ritual gatherings and meetings at which they reaffirm their connection to the land (Tonkinson 2011: 339).

The indigenous Australian landscape can only be understood through "Dreaming Tracks" or "Songlines", which divide the land and different groups (Taçon 2010: 83). The Dreaming is the most recent shape of the world as understood by the Aboriginals of Australia: it is a time when life emerged and through a period of transformation, the spirits and ancestors were created (David 2011: 487). The Dreaming is understood differently among each of the Aboriginal groups (David 2011: 488). The "Dream Tracks" were created by the movement of supernatural beings, such as the native cat that runs from the north to the south in the middle of the country and the Rainbow Serpent who deposited ten spirit children in the wells of important groups, or clans (Taçon 2010: 84). While deceased supernatural beings are thought to form the rock outcrops and cliffs in some regions and in others rocks are formed when supernatural beings anger the Rainbow Serpent (Taçon 2010: 84). These stories tie the features of the geographic

landscape to the mythic landscape. For outsiders, none of the mythic meanings or origins

for the features of the landscape would be known. The "Dream Tracks" are occasionally

marked by rock art, which is the only indications to those outside of the culture that the

areas are significant (Taçon 2010: 86). Sacred places in Australia include; rock clusters,

rock art, ritual locations that are sometimes secret, stone quarries where stones are

infused with sacred essences, mound burials, rock outcrops with bark coffins, and natural

places with cosmological significance (David 2011: 484).

Rituals in informal spaces

Rituals can be performed alongside secular activities inside and outside buildings

(Marangou 2001: 139). Most of "secular" activities that are today considered very

separate from ritual performance would not have been so in the past. A hearth, or oven

fire, would have been a suitable place for rituals to occur and would have been integrated

into the other activities around it (Marangou 2001: 155). Ritual acts could be tied to

specific non-religious activities and not to specific places (Marangou 2001: 155). This

lack of differentiation means that non-specific materials and spaces can be used within

the ritual. A private ritual can be performed in less formal circumstances and spaces, such

as domestic locations, as with the aforementioned Gabra in northern Kenya (Prussin

1999: 431, Parker 2015: 73-74).

Mesoamerica

The domestic rituals of Teotihuacan include mortuary rituals, and general rituals to

maintain the household both physically and metaphysically (Carballo 2012: 690). Clay

figurines and effigy incense burners were used to invoke ancestral spirits by women, while blood offerings were made to the ancestors using obsidian, stingray spines, maguey plants or bone (Carballo 2012: 691). The Mesoamericans viewed the household as a living entity that needed to be maintained through regular offerings and rituals (Carballo 2012: 691). Offerings were left beneath the floors or within the walls of the household, as at Oaxaca where ceramics and animals were found during the foundings and terminations of the households (Carballo 2012: 691). The household sphere was one that required frequent ritual maintenance acquiring its own identity apart from the individuals who lived within its walls (Carballo 2012: 691-692). The domestic sphere is where the materials used in ritual performances were produced and the production of materials was ritualized (Carballo 2012: 690).

In the Aztec household, domestic rituals were primarily performed by females (Overholtzer 2016: 1). The acts of production, such as weaving or preparing food, along with cleaning and disposing of refuse were regulated ritual activities. Brooms for sweeping were presided over by two deities and must be left outside the entrance to the home to prevent dirt or discord from entering (Overholtzer 2016: 1). The act of sweeping was an important daily ritual since it kept away negative events brought on by dirt (Overholtzer 2016:1). Brooms in domestic spaces gain a ritual identity that would not be recognizable without contemporary accounts.

Belief in Religion

In modern life, belief is considered exceedingly personal and something that is not often discussed in casual conversation. The particulars of personal belief vary from individual to individual even in societies where religion is strictly regulated and reinforced by active participation in rituals. Different aspects of scripture are more important than others to different individuals, which can be perceived occasionally in the material culture favored. For example, when comparing the homes of devout Catholics, specific saints may be emphasized in the material culture, portable representations or personal ornamentation, and yet, the households would likely all consider themselves good practitioners. Different aspects of belief can be emphasized without changing the religion as a whole. Variations of belief are thus visible in the selection of material and the practice of ritual.

Identifying variation of belief on the individual level can be reconstructed in burials where the identity of an individual is represented. Burials with grave goods, chambers, or evidence for above ground markers and burial activity are easily inferred by archaeologists to be representative of a belief revolving around death. Even in the most prosaic interpretation of burial linking it to social status and respect to an elder or concern expressed by a family is prominent. Value has been placed on how an individual's body is disposed of and a belief that the deceased requires more than just being placed into the ground respectfully. In the eighth century, Christianity banned grave goods putting the emphasis on a simple burial facing east-west (Petts 2016: 11). This emphasis has led to the interpretation of any inhumation empty of grave goods facing east-west as a Christian burial. This is despite the manifestation of similar burial practices in cultures known not to be Christian, as demonstrated by the Jutes in the early medieval period (Schulke 1999).

Beliefs are defined by Davies (2016: 11) as certain values that are endowed with increased meaningfulness by the society and reinforced by each individual. The values that become ingrained within a society become beliefs which influence the practices of a society. Davies (2016: 12) refers to this practice as "behaving belief". When a value becomes a belief, it informs the behavior, or practice, of individuals and society on a daily basis, consciously or unconsciously. "Values" as an abstract are discussed in several contexts in Davies' work defined as ideas by which a society directs its communal life, are invested with a high degree of emotional intensity, and are prominently manifest in rituals (Davies 2016: 10).

The acceptance of an individual's belief by another reinforces the group belief system (Hinde 2009: 105). This need to share and spread beliefs reinforcing the core system explains the rarity of unique or deviant burials; the consistency of ritual practices, likely maintained by a ritual specialist, are necessary to maintain the group's beliefs. Deviant burials, as such, are usually explained as representative of individuals who did not conform to the community standards. Belief systems have a symbiotic relationship with the society they create; beliefs change when society changes and society can change in response to reinterpretations of belief or the introduction of new beliefs from external sources. The consistency of ritual behavior reveals when a belief system is ritually stable. Changes in ritual practices, such as a shift in burial style, can reflect changes in the belief system. The group reinforces the belief system and the spread of that belief system validates its legitimacy (Hinde 2009).

What can be obtained in the archaeological record are the effects of belief. Ritual

practice is the basis for religion and feeds into all different manifestations. It leads to the

creation, or adoption and adaptation of myths and legends. Myth is the corner stone for

the reinforcement of the execution and continuance of ritual behavior (Segal 2005). Myth

plays many different roles including acting as the narrative of a religion, establishing the

manner of ritual practice and performance along with explaining the need for rituals.

Doctrine contains the information needed to practice a religion, while myth is used to

laud the good practitioners. Rituals develop out of a need to manifest a physical

representation of belief through sanctioned and regulated manners.

Beliefs are thoughts and means attributed to the physical practice of religion. If a society

invests effort into burials, it should be reasonable to assume that the society had a belief

in the afterlife or a meaning attributed to the ritual surrounding death. If, on a site

identified as a ritual space, there are deliberately broken figurines, ceramics, swords, or

personal ornaments, it is reasonable to assume that the people believed that they could

change something in their lives by enacting those rituals (Chapman 2007). Belief is

concealed within these actions.

Conclusion

The identification of ritual spaces, actions, and materials relies on the bundling of

evidence. In much the same way that Pauketat (2013) describes the bundling of agency

and religion to understand history, we must bundle ritual performances, materials, and

spaces to understand how religion was practiced. When examining the materiality of religion, the construction of space is as important as the portable materials. Sometimes the placement of an item or its proximity to another is what endows the material with its religious meaning. A cup is a utilitarian piece, however, when placed upon a Christian altar, it can have associations with a key ritual performance; the Eucharist. The cup only takes on an identifiable ritual role through its placement. The cup used in the Eucharist does not need inscriptions or specific features to perform its role. Its value comes from the actions it is used to perform and the ritual enacted around it not its specific decoration.

The material culture associated with religion is not always immediately obvious. The identification of archaeological material culture associated with religion is not confined to overtly religious items, such as a cross pendant or something with scripture written upon it. Identified material culture associated with religious ritual can be found in burials, votive deposits, stray finds, and ritual spaces. Religious practice was integrated into a range of activities and, as such, parts of religious practice are visible in several different cultural spheres. The material culture of religion can be found within the domestic sphere, as observed in the decoration of cooking pots, or in formal contexts such as burials.

The following study examines the question of how religions adapt under stress in a post-colonial and migration context through an examination of fifth and sixth century eastern England. In early Anglo-Saxon England, there is a plethora of evidence related to Anglo-

Saxon ritual practices, but a paucity of previously identified Christian practice, which represents a continued colonial practice from the Roman period. A reconstruction of the evidence related to Christian practice is identified based on the bundling of evidence from the archaeological evidence from religious spaces and burials, contemporary historic accounts, and a thorough review of the preceding religious practices of the relevant regions identified archaeologically. In accordance with the spirit of Pauketat's bundling theory, the religious practices of fifth and sixth century eastern England are analyzed through the context of the actions and the history attached to them.

II. Migration

Chapter 2: Migration Theory and the Anglo-Saxon Migration

Introduction

One of the major events in post-Roman Britain was the Anglo-Saxon migration. The process of migration and motivations behind it influence the interactions between the migrants and the native population. This chapter reviews our theoretical understanding of migrations and the markers of migration in fifth century Britain. This review is important to establish the degree of acculturation and integration that occurred during the migration period. The migration process informs us as to how much native practice could have continued afterwards.

Examining the effects of the ritual expressions of religion in a migration context reveals how cultures adapt in the first phases of contact and how the ephemeral aspects of society are impacted. When practical materials, like pottery, or elite trade goods are integrated into a society's practice it can be explained through practicality and the value of new materials. Changes reflect a shift in the individuals' worldview when religions change. Religion may only be represented archaeologically through iconography and ritual practices, but changes in these materials suggest an alteration of a belief system.

Migration Theory

Migrations are simply defined as a movement of people from one location to another either locally or long distance. A period of migration is characterized by a series of pioneers coming to settle a new region, they maintain a connection to their homeland, and the migration affects the homeland in a noticeable manner (Burmeister 2000: 548-550).

Migrations are the expansion of a population into a neighboring area and replacing the population (Cabana 2011: 16) or regular small scale movements into a new landscape (Bernardini 2011: 39). Migrations are fluid and should not be considered as a one way movement of people, since the migrants maintain connections to their homelands (Bernardini 2011: 39).

Motivating forces for migrations are usually internal. The causes relate to economic motivations, overpopulation, natural catastrophes, or coming of age rites (Burmeister 2000: 544). Migrations are most often attributed to environmental or social changes. If the environment is no longer hospitable, either due to changes in weather or a lack of access to sufficient resources, then groups are more inclined to relocate. In turn, if there are political or social pressures, like incoming aggressors, then groups are often forced to relocate (Clark 2011: 84). The Anglo-Saxon migration has been theorized to be the result of all of these events (Brandt et al. 1984, Baillie 1999).

The migration demographics and motivations influence the interactions with the indigenous population. Migrations appeal to men more than women and people between the ages of twenty and thirty (Burmeister 2000: 543). This demographic trend may apply to the Anglo-Saxon migration based upon the military nature of their initial contact with the Romano-British (Burmeister 2000: 543). Migration is costly in economic and social terms; the migrant population leaves the familiar in favor of the unknown, where they do not have support (Burmeister 2000: 550). Young men may migrate either permanantly or temporarily as a rite of passage to achieve status and secure livelihood (Burmeister 2000:

543). The regular migration of young men is often established in response to over-population and a lack of opportunities (Burmeister 2000: 543). The emigration of a large number of young men changes the demographic of the homeland, none of which has been identified in the North Sea region.

The motivations for a migration are important, in part, because not all migrations are intended to be permanent. Return migrations are not uncommon occurrences and usually are planned or in response to unfavorable conditions in the new region (Burmeister 2000: 544). Migrations are sometimes planned to be temporary or seasonal, as with the Puebloan peoples of Taos and Tiwa. These migrations were recorded by the Spanish beginning in the mid-sixteenth century, when they would encounter Peubloan villages that were empty as the population, sometimes upward of 1,000 residents, had moved to their another region where they had an established settlement waiting for them to repopulate it (Fowles 2011: 48). The migrations were not necessarily regular, and could take place after extended periods of sedentary time (Fowler 2011: 52). This movement created a sense of "non-place", which means that the geographic location did not structure the Puebloan identity and instead the regular migration or movement defines their identity.

The migrations of the Pueblo people of North America required the migrants engage in regular rituals that reinforced their identity (Fowles 2011). Within societies with migration as a central theme within their culture, like the Puebloan peoples of Taos and Tiwa, migration rituals were constructed. When there were long periods of stasis, their

identity of movement was maintained through a series of regular rituals that required the engagement of the body and the mind; ritual specialists would lead the people in a symbolic reenactment of previous migrations, take pilgrimages into the surrounding landscape, or dance to symbolically interpret the process of migration (Fowler 2011: 53). These rituals simulate the process of migration and serve as a reminder of an earlier migration and to prepare for future ones (Fowles 2011).

Migrants face a challenge in the formation of their identity. They are often identified by external groups based upon their homeland, yet the instant they settle in a new location, their geographic identity changes (Bernardini 2011: 39). The geographic identity of an individual or group can be complicated and variable. For example, within the Hopi, the landscape boundaries are fluid making culture identities defined by geography pointless, particularly when an individual's ancestors come from several different groups (Bernardini 2011: 39).

Migrant Culture
The process of migration does not end when a group settles in a new location; it involves a long process of adapting to a new landscape, interacting with the native population, and the formation of a modified culture in response to the integration of new practices and hybridization. The effects of a migration on the native group and the subsequent adaptations within both the migrants and natives are visible archaeologically. These changes are particularly interesting when studying religious ritual materials as the changes in material culture reflect changes in the ephemeral belief system. The process of

cultural transmission during the settlement following a migration has varying effects in different historic and prehistoric contexts.

Migrations to already inhabited lands begin with two cultures living in proximity to one another. The degree of interaction between the cultures varies based on the intent of the migrants and how both groups view outsiders. Migration varies from colonization, trade and diffusion through the intent and level of interaction with the indigenous population. Migration is the first stage of colonial activity, since the colonists have to travel to their new location from their homeland. It usually follows a period of trade and diffusion that serves as a period of reconnaissance for the migrant society.

The changes in native and migrant culture depend on the degree of culture contact. The process of cultural transmission does not depend on the number of participants, but on the degree of interaction between the communities (Hulin 1989: 90). The process of "culture contact", diffusion, trade, migration, or colonial activity comes with their own unique characteristics and biases, none of which should be discounted. The survival of indigenous practices within the acculturation or integration of migrant culture into the native materials demonstrates the nature of the culture contact.

Motivations for the Anglo-Saxon Migration

The Anglo-Saxon migration may be the result of over-population and lack of opportunities for younger generations, political or social incentives, or environmental pressure from the Dunkirk II Transgression (Brandt et al. 1984, Burmeister 2000: 543).

The motivations for the migration can influence the type of individual that would choose to migrate and could have dictated how they interacted with the native society. The nature of the decision indicates how the migrants would approach their new land; as an escape from an inhospitable environment or an opportunity for social advancement.

Vortigern's invitation to the Saxons to aid in their battle against the Picts in exchange for land may have been incentive for some individuals to choose to migrate (Bede *EH* I.15). *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* illustrates clearly that the Anglo-Saxon groups were intent on controlling a large portion of the British Isles (Hindley 2006: 212). The list of battles won are a clear indication that the migrants were not adverse to warfare (Crossley-Holland 1999, Hindley 2006). The political and social incentives for migration are clear within a society not adverse to military engagement.

In contrast to the political motivations for a migration, the Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Frisians and Franks may have experienced environmental pressures to relocate their population. The concept of an Environmental Migration implies that the environment has changed and is no longer hospitable for humans or large communities. This can occur when the coastline rises and puts the region underwater or becomes too dry for agriculture to flourish. The period of climate change during the fourth to eighth century is known as the Dunkirk II Transgression, also known as the Second Dunkirk Transgression, which caused a rise in tidal lines, spread of peat, and expansion of wetlands along the North Sea. The migration period also included sixth century environmental events and the fall

of the Roman Empire: both of these events would have had repercussions affecting northern Europe.

Societies adapt to climate changes and archeological evidence suggests that the communities most affected by the Dunkirk II Transgression either moved or adjusted just enough to survive. The spread of peat bogs would have limited the agricultural land but not grazing land (Brandt et al. 1984: 15.). The Dunkirk II Transgression was a slow and subtle shift, which may not have been enough to force communities out of their homes but there were other climate events that influenced the Migration. The settlements along the North Sea coast have not presented a convincing pattern of abandonment, or decrease in population, that corresponds to the migration period to suggest that the environmental pressures were enough to encourage migrations.

From Byzantium to China there was a dry fog recorded in historical sources in the sixth century, which may have encouraged later migrants, but not explained the initial migration (Jones 2000: 27). In Scandinavia, Ireland and the western United States, the dendrochronological record shows evidence for a severe cold period that was globally registered with the coldest period from AD 540-541 (Jones 2000: 27). The dendrochronology shows reduced tree ring growth across Europe from 536 to 545 (Jones 2000: 27). Surprisingly, at the end of this cold period in AD 550, a group of the Britons migrated to Brittany in France (Jones 2000: 29). The climatic event impacted the whole world for years after it occurred both in terms of weather patterns and the spread of plague. There were two large outbreaks of plague in AD 443 and 540 across Europe

(Jones 2000: 29). The AD 536 event resulted in dramatic weather patterns that would have impacted the Anglo-Saxons and Britons.

Contemporary Accounts of the Anglo-Saxon Migration

There are several contemporary sources, each offering differing accounts of the migration. The *Adventus Saxonum*, or migration of Germanic groups to Britain, was recorded slightly differently in every source from the fifth to ninth centuries. The historical texts provide different perspectives on the migration as each writer reveals the contemporary perception of the groups involved.

St Germanus' journeys in the early fifth century provide a particularly intriguing insight: Picts and Saxons had joined forces to fight the Britons in 429 (Hoare 1954: 300). Constantius, the author of the *Life of St Germanus*, is the first historian to link these two groups and to suggest they had an alliance or that the Saxons were even harassing the Britons to any great extent (Hoare 1954: 300). The Saxons were known to be raiders in Gaul but there is no evidence of an alliance with the Picts. This possible alliance further complicates our understanding of the migration period since Gildas and Bede report that the Saxons were invited to Britain to help fight the Picts. The account provides evidence for the Saxons coming to Britain before AD 449.

In AD 540, Gildas wrote *De Excidio Britanniae*, which favors Rome and discounts the character of the Britons. Gildas describes the position of Britain once Rome withdrew as a helpless condition unable to defend against aggressors, the Picts, who were attacking

from the north and the Scots from the north-west (Morris 1978: 21). These groups do not correspond to the groups identified by Constantius' *Life of St Germanus*, which states it was the Picts and the Saxons (Hoare 1954: 300). According to Gildas, the Britons requested aid from Rome to deal with the attackers: Rome came to their aid twice before they could no longer spare the troops required (1978: 22-24). Gildas describes a ruler he titles "The Proud Tyrant" who along with a council invited the Saxons to come to Britain to help them defeat the Picts and Scots from the northeast of Britain (Morris 1978: 26). Gildas identifies the Saxons as the sole immigrants to Britain and also expresses a distinct fear of them. Gildas describes the migration as a single occurrence of only three boats of Saxons landing along the east coast. His description of the migration is confined to the Saxons, either reflecting the dominance of the Saxons over the other migratory groups or revealing his ignorance or disinterest about portions of the country.

In contrast to Gildas' account of the Saxons, within Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, there are two separate accounts of groups migrating. He first includes the Saxons, Angles and Jutes who are traditionally accepted as the migrants to Britain (Bede *EH* I.15). Later, he redefines these groups to include the Rugians, Bructeri, Old Saxons, Frisians, Danes and the Huns, which may refer to the ancestral groups of the Anglo-Saxons or the separate migrants to travel to Britain during the migration period (Bede *EH* V.9, Hine 1997: 41). Bede's differing account could be attributed to his temporal distance from the event, since he was writing in the eighth century, several hundred years after the initial migration and during a period when the descendants of the Anglo-Saxons were the dominant culture group of the country (Wood 1997).

Bede calculates the dates of the migration based upon the relative dating found in Gildas' work: he offers two different dates the first is from AD 446-7 and the second between AD 449 and 455 (Muhlberger 1983: 23). Bede accepts Gildas' story of the tyrant and council who invited the Germanic tribes to Britain. He provides the tyrant with a name or a title: Vortigern (*EH* I.15). Bede attributes different groups to specific regions of the country (*EH* I.15). The Jutes settled in Kent, part of Wessex and the Isle of Wight. The East Saxons, West Saxons and South Saxons were located in southern England and descended from the Old Saxons. The Angles became the East Angles, the Middle Angles, the Northumbrians and the Mercians. Bede writes primarily about the Angles, specifically, stating that their homeland was deserted from the time of the migration till the eighth century, when Bede was writing (*EH* I.15). This desertion of an entire region along the North Sea is not supported archaeologically although some terps do not have evidence for occupation in the fifth century like Feddersen Wierde (Behre 2004: 48).

The leaders of the Angles, Hengst and Horsa, along with the native leader, Vortigern, are the only specific names that Bede provides from the migration (*EH* I.15). It may be that Bede only knew these names because he was in Northumbria, the area primarily occupied by the Angles. Horsa is said to have been killed in battle by the Britons in eastern Kent, where Bede states there remains a monument with his name on it (*EH* I.15). Bede describes Hengst and Horsa as brothers who were able to trace their lineage back to Woden (*EH* I.15). Bede's further discussion of the invasion and the subsequent period of

peace and later animosity of the Picts and Saxons against the Britons is derived directly from Gildas and Constantius' *The Life of St Germanus*.

Gildas' accounting of only one Germanic group migrating to Britain is remarkably different from Bede's summaries. Bede describes several ethnic groups coming to Britain in response to Vortigern's invitation. Gildas may not mention other migrating groups such as the Angles and Jutes since he was simply unaware of their existence (Dumville 1984: 71). The *Adventus Saxonum* is a confusing event and Bede himself gives two accounts of the groups that came to Britain. Presumably, Bede is naming the groups after their contemporary affiliations and identities. In contrast, Gildas focuses on the group he was familiar with, the Saxons, and states several times how ferocious they are along with their proficiency in war. Further, while we know about Picts from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, the titles of Scot and Saxon are not well documented: these terms may be reflections of racial or religious prejudices and not representations of how they would have identified themselves (Dumville 1984: 81).

 The *Gallic Chronicle of 452* was written anonymously in Gaul around the time of the migration. While Bede specifies his dates on a calculation based upon Gildas' vague records, the *Gallic Chronicle of 452* provides an independent date of AD 441-442 as the end date of the migration (Muhlberger 1983: 23, Woolf 2003: 350). The earliest version of the *Chronicle* comes from Manuscript L (officially designated the *British Library Addition Manuscript 16974*) dated between the ninth and tenth centuries. There are suggestions that Manuscript L does not contain the original version of the *Chronicle*,

simply the earliest version available, due to the editing and additions evident in other sections (Muhlberger 1983: 27, Burgess 2001: 53). The Chronicle's story is doubted both for the modifications that were made in each of the versions that survive. The "Prosperization" or inclusion of Prosper's work, and the incorrect dates found associated with the regnal years of the Roman Emperors (Burgess 2001: 58). The *Chronicle* describes the state of Britain only in passing as an example to illustrate the decline of the Roman Empire under Honorius stating that "The British provinces were devastated by the Saxons" (Muhlberger 1983: 31). The final British entry declares, "The Britons, having up to this time suffered various defeats and catastrophes, were reduced to Saxon rule" dated AD 441 (Muhlberger 1983: 31). While some entries in the *Chronicle* have been questioned, the statements made about Britain may reflect the perceptions that people in Gaul would have had about Britain. It also could complete the picture first proposed by Constantius' *Life of St Germanus* when the Saxons were harassing the Britons in the 430's. By the 440's, the Saxons could have had a dominant hold on the island (Muhlberger 1983: 33, Woolf 2003: 350).

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is a much later source, as the earliest written version dates to the ninth century and essentially reproduces the information found in Bede's work regarding the migration. The section of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* that discusses the invitation to the Angles by Vortigern in AD 449 does provide further details (Savage 1983: 29). It names only the Old Saxons, Jutes and Angles as migrants to England paralleling the regions of origin and settlement recited by Bede (Savage 1983: 29). This later chronicle also includes the story of Hengst and Horsa, the leaders of the Anglo-

Saxons, and descriptions of three major battles that pushed the Britons to the west allowing the migrants to claim the east (Savage 1983: 29). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* emphasizes the recording of battles won by Anglo-Saxon groups and genealogies, but neglects details suggesting that it was intended as a record glorifying the Anglo-Saxons. There are accounts from farther afield describing the migration such as Procopius, a sixth century Byzantine writer who identified the Frisians and Angles settled in England.

Other sources that mention the migration include sources from Wales, such as Nennius' writings from the early ninth century and the Welsh Annals. The earliest version of Nennius' *Historia Brittonum* that survives is preserved in the Harleian MS 3859, which dates to AD 828/9 (Morris 1980: 1). Nennius may not be the most reliable source due both to his temporal distance from the materials but also due to his inclusion of Arthurian events and facts that are not supported by any of the earlier writers including Bede, Constantius, and Gildas. Nennius mentions the forty years of independence that Britain experienced between the withdrawal of Rome and the migration of the Anglo-Saxons, but Nennius refers to the migrants only as the Saxons. Nennius also combines Bede's mention of Vortigern and the legends of King Arthur to create a rather entertaining narrative about the conquests of the Anglo-Saxons (Morris 1980: 12-16, 26). Overall, Nennius does not provide a reliable accounting of British history.

The Welsh Annals, or *Annales Cambriae*, were written by an anonymous author and the earliest surviving version is attached after Nennius' writings in the Harleian MS 3859 (Morris 1980: 44). Unlike Nennius' writings, the Welsh Annals are a fairly

straightforward chronology of events in the British Isles. Between recordings of deaths, plagues and visits to Wales by important figures, such as Gildas in AD 565, there are dates associated with King Arthur and his more remarkable battles (Morris 1980: 45). The Welsh Annals label the year of 447, actually the first entry in the record, as "Dies tenebrosa sicut nox", which translates to "Days as dark as night" possibly in dramatic reference to the Anglo-Saxon migration and battles between the Anglo-Saxons and Britons (Morris 1980: 45, 85). This is the only reference to the migration or migrants found in the text. Overall, these two later texts from Wales do not provide much insight into the migration, but do provide clues about how the migration was understood in the later periods.

The contemporary sources provide invaluable aid to understanding the period when examining the archaeological record. The historical sources are somewhat limiting as they inform the reader of only what the writer was interested in recording. Many of the sources examined devote only a few sentences or pages to the migration. The sources provide only limited information and no details relating to how the migrants behaved or lived: the everyday details can only be recovered through the examination of the archaeology.

The Peoples of the Migration

The groups discussed during the migration period have been referred to as "tribes". By definition, the term supposes a type of social structure, which may or may not have been present in all of the groups. It implies a structured hierarchical community. Current

anthropological theory describes tribal formation as occurring in response to interactions with a neighboring state (Ferguson and Whitehead 1992, Mattingly 1992). Groups formed along the edge of a state in an area dubbed the tribal zone (Ferguson and Whitehead 1992). Tribes are formed to facilitate relations with the state: states deal best with groups that have established authoritative leaders with whom they can interact (Ferguson and Whitehead 1992). The tribes identified along the Roman Empire's border developed the necessary political and social structure in order to deal with the Roman state. While some of the Germanic tribes who migrated to Britain would have had direct contact with the Roman Empire, it cannot be concluded that they were all structured in the same manner. Each group may have had varying levels of organization. The discussion of the Germanic migrants in terms of tribal units is misleading and implies similar organization. It is possible that the groups did have comparable structures but it is unclear.

The attribution of names such as Angles, Saxons or Jutes to these groups of individuals can be misleading. It presents only one aspect of the migrants' identity. The historical sources occasionally express uncertainty when classifying groups, such as Tacitus when describing the Peucini as Germans (Pohl 1998: 18). Medieval writers identified ethnicity by a set of four criteria: language, fighting style, costume, along with hairstyle and body signs (Pohl 1998: 19). Tribes, or rather their names, also disappear and reappear as designations of groups in the historical record, such as the Rugi (Heather 1998: 96). Group designations are deceptive and may not have represented the reality.

During the migration, the migrant groups are identified as being both separate cultures and political units by the historical sources and the archaeological materials. The groups have been traced to individual regions of northern Europe suggesting distinct social environments. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* names two leaders of the Angles, Hengst and Horsa, which further suggests an established structure in the migrants' community (*EH* I.15). The migrants could have had structured tribes as a result of existing along the edge of the Roman Empire and interacting with other groups.
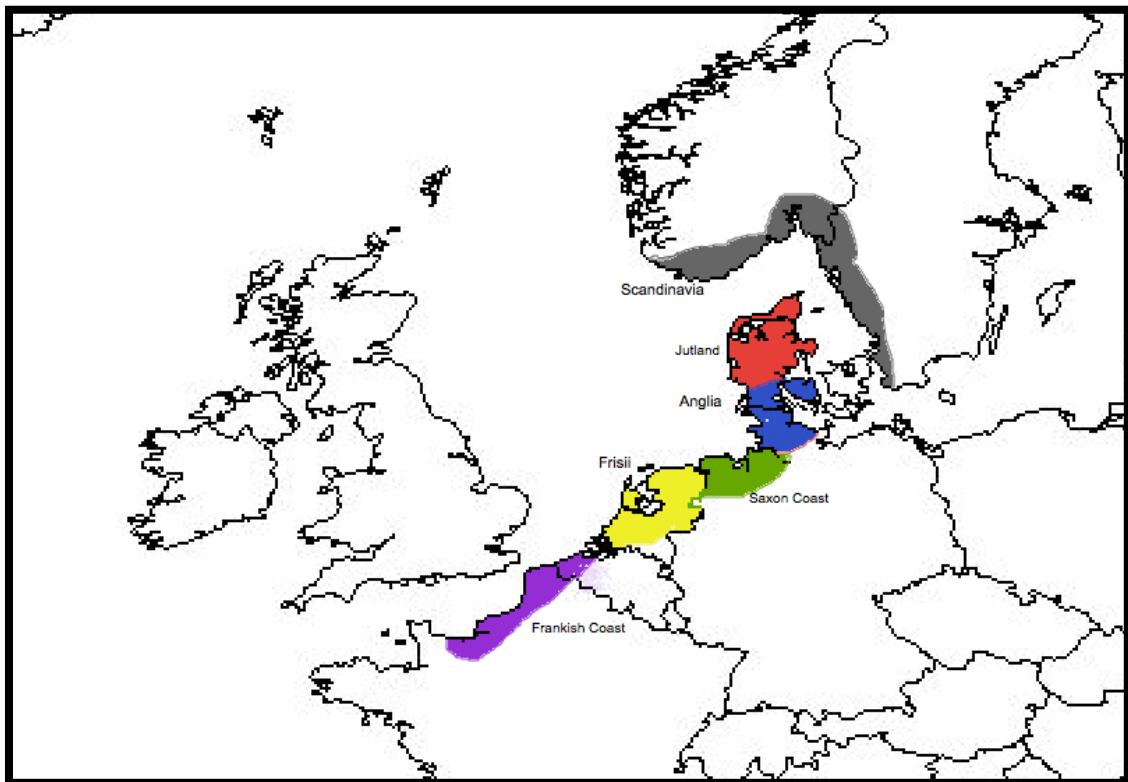
Figure 1: Map of northern Europe highlighting the regions traditionally allocated to each of the major migration groups

Angles, Saxons and Jutes

Angles, Saxons and Jutes are names traditionally associated with the migrating Germanic tribes, as identified by Bede. These groups do not reflect the contemporary designations

of the migration period, but instead represent the affiliations of the eighth century, the period in which Bede was writing. Nevertheless, archaeology has linked the characteristics of migration period settlements in England with the Germanic regions along the North Sea. The groups inhabited the coastal regions of what are now Germany, France, Denmark and the Netherlands.

Angles, Saxons and Jutes are derived from the generic terms used to encompass a large number of migrating groups. The Angles continue to be a mysterious and under-researched group. The Angles have been identified as originating in the eastern part of Schleswig-Holstein (Fisher 2004: 381). The Jutes originated in the peninsula of Jutland, located in present day Denmark and northern Germany. Ptolemy identified the Saxons as originating in the Cimbric peninsula, which encompasses Jutland in the north and Schleswig-Holstein in the south (Fisher 2004: 381). These three groups did not represent the contemporary reality of the fifth century but the dominant social identities during Bede's eighth century.

Saxons, as revealed in the contemporary writings, may have been a blanket term used to refer to a number of the Germanic groups. Gildas refers only to the Saxons as migrants to Britain either reflecting his limited awareness of the other migrants or the dominance of the Saxons in the political landscape of the sixth century (Gildas II.23-24). Historically, several groups have been incorporated under the umbrella of "Saxon" including Frisians and Franks.

The Frisians and the Saxons were two culture groups found beyond the edge of the former Roman Empire. Flooding frequently occurred along the marshes and encouraged the residents to construct the terps to raise their settlements above the rising tide levels, such as those found at the sites of Feddersen Wierde and Wijnaldum. Their mobility was sea based: both the Frisians and Saxons were considered water-bound groups who attacked the coasts of Britain and Gaul (Meier 2003: 37). They spent their lives learning to cope with the ever-changing North Sea building higher and higher terps over generations to adapt to the encroaching water levels.

There is a distinct lack of historical references to the Frisians, which may be due to a general confusion distinguishing between the Frisians, Saxons and Jutes by historians (Wood 1983). During the Roman period, the Frisii tribes occupied the region between the Oude Rign (*Old Rhine* river) and the Ems. Tacitus, at the end of the first century, identified two divisions of the Frisii, although beyond that little is known (Tacitus *Germania*). There are other culture groups identified in the region: to the southeast, there were the Chauci, while to the southwest the Canaefati are found.

The migration period of the fifth century refers not only to the Anglo-Saxons arriving in Britain, but also their migration to Frisia. It has been asserted that the Anglo-Saxon groups "invaded" rather than migrating (Hills 1996: 35). This aspect of activity during the fifth century is important since it provides an explanation for the level of homogeneity found in some regions of the North Sea coast. There is evidence for "generally similar material culture" identified from the Netherlands to Jutland,

particularly during the migration period (Hills 1996: 36). The evidence for homogeneity has been suggested to be a consequence of the Anglo-Saxon migrations along Frisia and inevitably other regions along the coast. The theory that the Anglo-Saxons invaded Frisia is not supported by the archaeological evidence, which suggests continuity and local development instead of dramatic changes introduced by an invading party (Hills 1996: 36). Homogeneity is not necessarily the result of migration or invasion: the presence of similar artifacts in Frisia and among the Anglo-Saxons could be explained by either trade or imitation and not the movement of people (1996: 36).

During the fifth century, Frisia existed between two spheres of influence; the Anglo-Saxons and the Franks (Heidinga 1991: 6). There was a renewal in terp activity in the fifth century during the migration period, although the only obvious evidence for this is the site of Wijnaldum (Heidinga 1991: 7). Frisia was composed of small nucleated regions with kingships: one such kingship is theorized to have resided at Wijnaldum (Heidinga 1991: 7). Frisia did not exist as a recognizable territory until the sixth century. The first historical reference to the Frisians as an established society is found in the *Lex Ribvaria* of Dagobert's reign (AD 623-39), which attributed the same weregild to the Frisians, Saxons, and Burgundians (Wood 1983: 7). The identification of the Frisians as a group entitled to a weregild meant they were an already established political group within the region. It was not until the seventh century that the Frisians emerged as an identifiable political entity (Wood 1983: 7). Frisia was divided into three regions; Westergo, Oostergo and Lauwers. In AD 734, the Franks conquered Frisia (Heidinga 1991: 6).

The Franks were a distinct group separate from the Saxons, yet historically they are not

always visible. It was not until the eighth century, when they developed distinct political

systems that they became recognizable in the historical record (Fisher 2004). Despite this

confusion between groups, it is known that the Merovingian Franks along the North Sea

were regularly raided by the Saxons during the sixth century. The Saxon "pirates" were

raiding northern Francia during the time of Clovis (AD 481-511) and continued later into

the sixth century. The *Pactus Legis Salicae* was legislation regarding the retrieval of

slaves captured or taken overseas from the early sixth century (Wood 1983: 5). During

the reign of Chilperic (AD 561-584), Bishop Dodo of Beauvais and Felix of Nantes both

dealt with marauding Saxons (Wood 1983: 6). During the sixth century, the

Merovingians were raided and only a little over a century later, the Franks were

conquering the Frisians. This conflict between the two groups suggests that they were

historically distinguishable and would not have been confused with the Saxons.

Other Possible Migrant Groups

Bede's second identification of groups in the *Ecclesiastical History* refers to the Frisians,

Rugians, Bructeri, Old Saxons, Danes and Huns as the groups that the Anglo-Saxons

originated among the *Germani* (*EH* V.9). The Frisians and Old Saxons were discussed

previously since they have been merged with the Saxons historically. The Danes,

Rugians, Bructeri and Huns are less visible archaeologically across the migration period

landscape, but hints of their presence have been found.

The Danes, in particular, offer an interesting conundrum in Bede's accounting of the migration. The Danes were not mentioned in the historical record until the sixth century by Gregory of Tours in Book III of the *Historia Francorum* (Thorpe 1979: 163, Nasman 1998: 271). They occupied the regions of south Scandinavia located in Denmark including the island of Bornholm. By the sixth century, the Danes are known as one of the most powerful kingdoms in northern Europe next to the Merovingian Franks (Nasman 1998: 273). The Danes have been called the group least affected by the migration to Britain since the large site of Gudme and its port Lundeborg flourished throughout the period (Wickham 1998: 280).

The Bructeri lived along the lower Rhine in the early first century AD and joined with the Chamavi and Chattuari to emerge as the Franks in the third century (Young 2004: 396). It is intriguing that Bede chooses to specify their group as migrants if they were included among the Franks. This mention of them in the eighth century by Bede may imply that they did not disappear as a cultural group when they joined the Frankish coalition.

The Rugians or Rugii, located along the northern Oder River on the Baltic coast, are a culture group with occasional historical mentions (Bede *EH* V, Reynolds and Lopez 1946: 43). There is some confusion in the historical record since the name is spelled many different ways including Rugii, Rugian, Rogian, Rygir, Ulmerugi, or Holmrygir. It is possible that these names refer to different groups or the same groups. One example of the confusion surrounding the Rugii is the case of Odoacer, a leader in the late fifth century in Italy of a large group including Huns and Rugians. Gregory of Tours, in Book

II of the *Historia Francorum*, discusses Odoacer as the leader of a Saxon group, suggesting that the Huns and Rugians were considered to be Saxon (Reynolds and Lopez 1946: 45, Thorpe 1979: 132).

The Huns, from the Asiatic steppes, were an aggressive group during the early medieval period. The Huns do not appear significantly in the archaeological record of northern Europe, however the historical sources, like Bede, mention their presence. Their identification in the archaeological record has rested on materials that possess "diagnostic Hunnic features" such as gold or silver pot-bellied open-ended earrings, of which nine have been found in Denmark and one in south Scandinavia (Hedeager 2007: 48). The earrings are all found in open contexts and not in hoards from bogs or wetlands, where most valuable metals are found in Scandinavia (Hedeager 2007: 48). Other Hunnic items found in northern Europe are small bronze mirrors with a sun symbol: one of which was found among the east mound burial of Old Uppsala (Hedeager 2007: 48).

Another Hunnic influence upon northern Europe is found in a shift in clothing style in Scandinavia in the fifth and early sixth centuries; the Scandinavians adopted the belted tunic common among the warriors of the Asiatic steppes, which has been interpreted as direct influence from the Huns (Hedeager 2007: 51). While these items are not evidence for the migration of Huns to Scandinavia, a number of burials found at the sites of Scania, Sosdala, Fulltofta and Vennebo provide evidence for funeral sacrifices and finds associated with Hunnic practices dated to the beginning of the fifth century (Hedeager 2007: 51). The Huns' influence may be more visible in the symbolic representations

found on fibulae and other ornaments, where images appear to have influences from the Asiatic steppe. It is intriguing that Bede chose to include the Huns as one of the migrating groups since their appearance in northern Europe is so ephemeral, as a result of their nomadic nature, suggesting that the Huns are simply not visible archaeologically.

The archaeology of the migration period in Britain does hint at complex influences in the material culture suggesting the presence of the Danes, Rugians, Bructeri and Huns. It is interesting to note that many of these groups were included under the umbrella of other larger groups such as the Saxons or Franks. Bede mentions these groups as distinct from the Angles, Saxons and Jutes perhaps implying they were secondary identities within the groups.

The Archaeology of Early Anglo-Saxon Britain

The material culture of Britain changed markedly in the mid-fifth century when the Anglo-Saxon groups came to England; the burials, posts and houses of Britain resembled those of northern Germany in the fifth and sixth centuries (Hills 2015). The change in material culture from post-Roman Britain to Early Anglo-Saxon is clearly visible in the archaeological record.

The size and type of migration has still not been agreed upon in the archaeological community (Hines 1990, Hamerow 1993b, Scull 1998). Major population replacement has been supported by a number of studies (Freeman 1870, Collingwood and Myres 1936, Stenton 1943, Myres 1986), which represent a trend from the nineteenth century

until the mid-twentieth. The mass migration theory rests upon the changes found in linguistic data, DNA, and abrupt material culture shift that is identified in the mid-fifth century (Weale 2002). Recently, more weight has been given to the theories favoring a smaller migration and the majority of changes are attributed to cultural transmission, or the elite transfer model (Härke 2003: 16).

The elite transfer model favors the movement of only elite warriors, who responded to the opportunity in England. The elite migration hypothesis is explained in a variety of ways from inter-marriage to an apartheid society or by more abstract concepts such as acculturation and assimilation (Brugman 2011: 41). The large-scale migration hypothesis has a more straightforward explanation; it was simply as a large-scale migration of people, who quickly dominated the landscape (Brugman 2011: 41). By the time of St Augustine of Canterbury's arrival in AD 597, there is no evidence for a continuing migration suggesting that the migration had ended.

The final population estimates range from Gildas' claim of three boats to a total population replacement of Britain. Härke (1999, 2003: 21) presents very modest estimates of population movement: he favors a 1:3 to 1:5 migration. The study puts forth the estimate of 200,000 Anglo-Saxon migrants to a native population of 1 million (Härke 1999, 2003: 21). Population estimates are now being reassessed based on the results of new DNA studies, since material culture changes can indicate cultural transmission and not migration.

DNA and Isotopic Studies

The quick material culture change and the DNA evidence from across the breadth of central England suggest a large influx of Germanic culture and peoples (Weale 2002: 1018). Weale et al. (2002: 1017) conducted a statistical study of the DNA of males, who claim at least two generations of residency, across central England, North Wales and Frisia that suggests the residents of central England are more closely related to modern Frisians than to the residents of North Wales. The conclusion of Weale et al.'s (2002) study proposes that for the level of relatedness between the populations, there would have been a mass migration with between 50-100% population replacement at sometime and historically the only migration that could have involved that level of migration is the fifth and sixth century migration (2002: 1017-1019). This DNA study has sparked an ongoing debate as to the size of the migration.

The strongest opposing theory is that of an apartheid-like society separating the native Britons from the Anglo-Saxons for at least two centuries, supporting an elite migration theory. One historical record supports the concept of a separated society, The Laws of Ine, from the kingdom of Wessex in the seventh century. The Laws of Ine refer to the Saxons and Welsh as distinctly separate social groups, with the Saxons identified as holding a significantly higher legal status (Thomas et al. 2006: 2652). The apartheid-like structure would have produced similar genetic results found in Weale et al.'s analysis over fifteen generations (Thomas et al. 2006: 2652). This result was the product of differential reproductive success and limited intermarriage between the migrants and the

Britons. The archaeological evidence for an apartheid-like structure is not obviously identifiable and the evidence that has been proposed is not convincing.

A portion of the debate has revolved around the composition of the migrants; were they only male warriors or a mixture from all levels of society? The migration demographics and motivations influence the interactions with the indigenous population. Migrations appeal to men more than women, which has been a theory applied to the Anglo-Saxon migration based upon the military nature of their initial contact with the Romano-British (Burmeister 2000: 543). The nature of the migrants changes the process of integration and acculturation of the indigenous population. Migration is costly, in economic and social terms, the migrant population leaves the familiar in favor of the unknown where they do not have a support system (Burmeister 2000: 550). The demographics and motivations of a migration have an impact on the nature of contact and adaptations during the settlement period.

The Anglo-Saxon migration was one of a voluntary nature; they were not driven out of their homelands by military force and if it was environmentally motivated there were adjacent regions unaffected by the Dunkirk II Transgression. The lack of force places the migration within the Voluntary Settlers Hypothesis. This hypothesis prescribes certain characteristics to the settlers: a motivation for wealth and freedom, highly autonomous and independent, predisposed to take risks (Kityama et al. 2006: 370). This dynamic creates "a region that is composed of a large number of voluntary settlers with goal-oriented mental characteristics will soon develop a culturally shared lay theory of

behavior as internally motivated and controlled" (Kityama et al. 2006: 370). The character of the individuals who self-selected for the migration is important for understanding the interactions.

Arnold (1984: 161) and Hodges (1989: 42) have argued that the migrants were predominantly male and warrior elite who came to England in small groups attributing the material changes to acculturation. Harke's (1990, 1997) study of graves has been used as the primary evidence for identifying Anglo-Saxon burials as separate from the Britons. He cites a combination of factors including height, stress markers and the inclusion of weapons, along with the already known personal ornaments associated with the early migrants to demonstrate that not all burials with swords represent Anglo-Saxon warriors. The "warrior" burials with weapons indicate a status marker and not warriors. The study only provides information about a small group of males and does not discount the possibility of other migrants from different societal roles or women. It provides insight only into the presence of males. The argument for a larger migration is that is more easily accounts for the culture change (Welch 1985: 13-14, Hines 1990: 17-18, Hamerow 1993a: 172-174).

One of the theories, which Weale et al. (2002) dismissed, presents the idea that a low level flow of migrants have been coming to England from northern Europe for two or more millennia (Pattison 2008: 2428). The apartheid-like society argument is used to support the elite migration theory, yet the idea of a low level migration across several hundred centuries supports the elite migration theory, as well, but does not account for

the DNA differences between northern Wales and central England. If the low level

migration was able to explain the DNA results, it does not provide a thorough

explanation for the archaeological evidence in the migration period. The results of Weale

et al.'s (2002) modern DNA may relate to the fifth and sixth century or not, but they do

present evidence for a strong Germanic presence in England at sometime.

Schiffels et al. (2016) conducted study of ten genomes from around Cambridge in an

attempt to understand the dynamics of the Anglo-Saxon migration. They found that the

four early Anglo-Saxon samples taken from the site of Oakington all had very different

markers. The two samples with markers most similar to the modern Dutch were taken

from the poorer burials (Schiffels et al. 2016: 6-7). One with markers most similar to the

Iron Age comparison samples taken from Hinxton and Linton was the richest burial with

a large cruciform brooch (Schiffels et al. 2016: 6-7). The fourth genome was a mixture

between Iron Age and modern Dutch suggesting cross-cultural reproduction (Schiffels et

al. 2016: 6-7). All four burials were in a flexed position with similar grave goods. This

study supports the theory of cultural integration and not apartheid or a small migration.

The leap from Iron Age to Early Anglo-Saxon does leave a four hundred year period of

population movement unaccounted for in this study. The Roman forces in England would

have intermarried and were of a diverse background. German mercenaries, *foederati,*

were also used during this time. However, the use of Iron Age genomes provides a

cleaner canvas of comparison for native traits.

The archaeological evidence, when examined as a whole, provides more evidence for the large migration theory. In addition to DNA studies, there has been some work done using isotopes to determine migrants within cemeteries, as at West Heslerton in North Yorkshire (Montgomery et al. 2005). The West Heslerton study successfully identified individuals who did not spend their adolescence in Yorkshire but could not definitively claim that they came from the Continent (Montgomery et al. 2005: 134). The materials examined below suggest that a large number of Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Franks came to England during the fifth century and settled into the landscape, disrupting the local society and spreading their culture. While a portion of Anglo-Saxon traits found across England can be ascribed to acculturation or trade, it is unlikely that a small group of elites could have conducted such a dramatic and abrupt transition. Acculturation or cultural transmission requires familiarity and exposure.

Anglo-Saxon Settlements

The Anglo-Saxon Migration of the early to mid-fifth century marked a distinct change in the archaeology of Britain. New structure and building styles represent the change in the political landscape and quickly replaced any remaining Romano-British practices along the east coast.

The Anglo-Saxon settlements of Britain feature timber constructions: longhouses and sunken feature buildings (*grubenhäuser* or SFBs). The variety in Anglo-Saxon buildings comes from their size and shape, the best examples of which are found at Cowdery's Down and West Stow. Both sites contain timber buildings displaying a difference in

construction techniques. Building C12 is the largest of those at Cowdery's Down and would have required over 70 tons of building materials (Arnold 1988: 73). It would have been a community endeavor and would not have been the task of only one family (Arnold 1988: 74-75). West Stow features the first reconstructions of Anglo-Saxon buildings used to determine the form and function of longhouses and sunken feature buildings. Longhouses and SFBs come in different sizes and constructions, but they do not represent the only type of buildings, just the most common.

Longhouses on the Continent were structures that consisted of divided rooms separating the livestock from the domestic activities, represented by a hearth (Hamerow 1993a: 10). They are post-built and wattle-and-daub constructions that often only leave post-holes as markers in the archaeological record. In the fifth century, during the first decades of the migration, the longhouses never exceeded twelve meters in length, oriented east-west (Hamerow 2011: 130). During the sixth century, structures were found with greater variation in foundation trenches, length and rarely, there was an inclusion of annexes (Hamerow 2011: 130). Annexes are generally associated with churches, yet they are occasionally found attached to longhouses, as identified at building A1 of Cowdery's Down. In the sixth century, buildings with floor sizes over one hundred square meters and exceedingly small buildings of less than six meters in length began to appear (Hamerow 2011: 130-131).

Structurally similar to longhouses are halls. Halls are identified as larger than the typical longhouse, usually with a floor area over one hundred square meters, without any

division of space and not primarily intended for residential use (Hamerow 2011: 141). They are interpreted as meeting places for the community and are found at sites such as Cowdery's Down and Yeavering. The hall type found at Yeavering is not significantly different from later examples (Hamerow 2011: 143). The later halls are characterized by elongated walls with a slightly wider middle section (Hamerow 2011: 143).

Anglo-Saxon settlements rarely separate kitchens or bakehouses and barns or granaries. Detached kitchens or bakehouses are characterized by clay-lined ovens or as in the case of Building S11 at Portchester, a rectangular oven lined with reused Roman tiles and limestone pieces set in clay (Hamerow 2011: 143). Building D3 found in the north section of Yeavering contains two hearths near a series of pit deposits containing animal bone fragments, mostly chopped and split cattle long bones (Hamerow 2011: 143). These detached buildings are found more often in later Anglo-Saxon phases. Anglo-Saxon barns and granaries are largely invisible in the archaeological record. Fewer than a handful of granaries have been identified (Hamerow 2011: 145). It has long been assumed that grain was stored either in the rafters of longhouses or in sunken feature buildings (Hamerow 2011: 145). Buildings identified as barns are rarer, perhaps because most animals would have been housed on one side of a longhouse.

Sunken feature buildings are the most common structure on Anglo-Saxon sites before longhouses. They are identified as storage and craft buildings in Britain and northern Europe, although they originated in central Europe as domestic structures (Hamerow 1993a: 19). SFBs are characterized by sunken floor foundations with between two and six

post-holes using wattle-and-daub to form the walls. They are sub-rectangular in shape usually measuring three by four meters with between two and six postholes (Hamerow 2011: 146). The postholes are positioned to support a tent-like roof. The depth of the sunken floor varies without any relation to the size of the SFB and is interpreted as a variation related to the intended use of the space (Hamerow 2011: 147). They have evidence for textile production, metalworking and ceramic production occurring both within and in the vicinity of the SFBs. There has not been an obvious correlation between the material deposits and the depth of the sunken feature.

The experimental reconstructions at West Stow conclude that it is most probable a floor was built over the sunken floor to prevent flooding (West 1985: 156, Hamerow 2011: 147). This interpretation relates to several pieces of evidence including the remains of floor planks preserved in two structures destroyed by fire and the nature of the sunken pits. The sunken pits vary in size but none at West Stow displayed evidence of erosion despite the sandy subsoil, none had an entrance, and the nature of the first deposit layer suggests debris falling through the floorboards (Hamerow 2011: 148). The purpose of the sunken floor may have been to promote air circulation and perhaps storage (Hamerow 2011: 148). The idea of a suspended floor is controversial and evidence for one is not found within every SFB. There is enough deviation within the structure of SFBs to suggest that the presence of a suspended floor is another variable in construction. SFBs leave a larger trace in the archaeological record than longhouses, as the sunken floor and post-holes are often both visible. The typical Anglo-Saxon settlement consists of a series

of longhouses and sunken feature buildings sometimes placed within a ditch and fence complex defining the space and a nearby cemetery.

Elite Settlements

The features distinguishing an elite settlement are few: their identification has been based on an abundance of rich burials, a large hall or the presence of a theater. Of these three features, the most telling is the inclusion of unusually large monumental buildings, such as a theater. Only a few settlements have been identified as elite, or "princely" Anglo-Saxon sites including Lyminge, Yeavering and Rendlesham.

At Yeavering, one of the most thoroughly excavated elite Anglo-Saxon settlements, the first theater was identified. It consisted of nine foundation trenches oriented in concentric arcs and a central post-built structure, labeled Building E, despite its reconstruction as a platform (Hope-Taylor 1977: 153). The structure is remarkably similar to a Roman theater except made of timber, not unheard of within Roman contexts. Examples have been found in Switzerland, another in Austria and a possible early phase of the Chester amphitheater in western England (Hope-Taylor 1977: 241).

While it superficially resembles a Roman structure, which is interesting since there are no Roman settlements in the proximity of Yeavering, the theater reflects local building traditions and an adaption to the Anglo-Saxon requirements. The theater is only one *cuneus,* or section, of a Roman amphitheater (Hope-Taylor 1977: 258). The Anglo-Saxon theater is built in a simple style and not as an imitation of the Roman structure it was

perhaps modeled upon. The theater at Yeavering would have been comparable to a modern assembly hall with space for around 150 people in the first phase of construction and after its expansion it would have held 320 people comfortably (Hope-Taylor 1977: 161). The orientation of the theater displays a thorough understanding of the environment. The individual standing upon the platform would be heard by his entire audience without interference from the prevailing wind (Hope-Taylor 1977: 258). The construction and subsequent expansion of this building implies the need for a central structured space from which to make announcements or discuss pressing community concerns. The community was large enough and structured enough to require a large official central place to replace or supplement the role of the local hall.

Anglo-Saxon Material Culture

The analysis of material culture is derived from stray finds, grave goods, and materials found at settlement sites. They are used to reconstruct the technologies and actions of the communities to understand how they lived. After settlement features, metal and ceramic materials are some of the most well studied and dated.

Figure 2: Reconstruction of Anglo-Saxon women and young boy from Tittleshall, Norfolk (Rogers 2013: 67, 70)

Personal Ornamentation and Dress Fittings

Change in styles over time are interpreted based upon the placement and style of surviving objects. In the first centuries of British settlement, the Anglo-Saxons proclaimed their ancestral identity through a continuing Germanic style of dress (Owen-Crocker 2011: 8). They did not adopt the native British style upon migrating to Britain. The clothing fasteners indicate that the Germanic styles dominated the Anglo-Saxon landscape (Owen-Crocker 2011: 8). In fact, the native style largely disappeared in favor of adopting the new Germanic style. The "Germanic style" was of course not uniform across the landscape. Chronological studies have determined that a clear cut style cannot be determined for the first two centuries of occupation, there appear to have been several concurrent dress styles at a time (Hills et al. 1984: 15, Hines 1992: 84, Høilund Nielsen 1997: 93-4). The Angles, Jutes, Saxons, Frisians and Franks had distinctive styles that did not disappear for several centuries.

Figure 3: Pair of girdle hangers from Little Eriswell 28 (Hines 1997b: 262)

Ornaments on the body can indicate status within the community or family, family identity within a group, group identity within larger society, religious affiliation, availability for marriage, motherhood, warrior status, or even astrological association, as with astrological signs today. Materials, such as keys or girdles, found around the waist of some adult women have been attributed to the life stage of the female (Owen-Crocker 2011: 8). Keys and girdles are usually found in adult female burials, with a few exceptions in young female graves, likely tied to a central aspect of adult female identity. These artifacts are obvious markers of female identity and status.
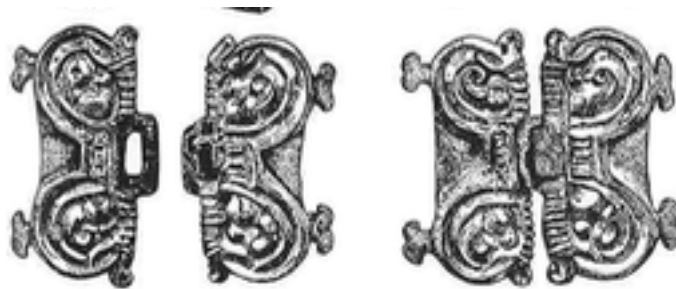
Figure 4: Wrist-clasps from Barrigton B (Hines 1997b: 267)

Metal dress fasteners are the most frequently preserved dress item. They indicate the decorative nature of the ornaments and more practically, where the clothing needed securing. Brooches are more often found near the upper body, while decorative items are

focused around the waist suggesting a belt. Beads and pendants are found at the chest. The main groups of migrants, Angles, Saxons, Jutes and Frisians, all have differences in style, although the main characteristics are very similar. Anglian dress forms in the fifth century feature metal wrist-clasps, an additional third central brooch and girdle-hangers (Owen-Crocker 2011: 6).

In the sixth century, the residents of Kent, interpreted largely as Jutes, feature a front-fastening garment with a Frankish inspired jacket over it, requiring a total of four brooches (Walton Rogers 2007: 189-91, Owen-Crocker 2011: 6 and 8). The imitation of a Frankish jacket suggests strong contact with the continental Franks and a desire to tie their identity to that contact.

There were a number of outside influences to Anglo-Saxon dress style. The regular contact with Gaul and the Franks is visible in Kentish style. There were a number of documented long-distance travellers including Theodore of Tarsus in the seventh century who became the archbishop of Canterbury, and Wolfstan who traveled through eastern Europe to visit King Alfred in the ninth century (Owen-Crocker 2011: 9). There is evidence of the importation of a large number of goods including amber and silk (Owen-Crocker 2011: 9).

Brooches

Brooch styles change when the Anglo-Saxon material culture was introduced and vary across the landscape of eastern England, perhaps reflecting the distribution of culture

groups (Harrison 2001: 207). The chronology of brooches is more complicated than previously determined: several styles were popular at a time, which has caused conflicts with relative dating. Bronsword and Hines (1993) conducted a study of square-headed brooch composition to determine the metallurgical trends. The brooches are mainly composed of recycled metal, which results in a similar chemical composition (Bronsword and Hines 1993: 3). They also discovered through their analysis that the styles of brooch could vary within the same smithy. Two brooches were identified with almost identical chemical compositions suggesting that they were made at the same time from the same recycled metal but they had different styles of ornamentation (Bronsword and Hines 1993: 3).

Figure 5: (left) Saucer brooch from Barrington A (Hines 1997b: 238)
Figure 6: (right) Sarre square-headed brooch from Grave 4 (Brent 1863: Plate II)

Harrison (2001) conducted a study of 119 brooches in England and compared them to 268 brooches from contemporary sites on the Continent. The 387 brooches encompassed six distinct brooch types each of which had style variants; equal-armed, supporting-arm, applied, saucer, and cruciform, and small-long brooches. The distribution of Anglo-Saxon groups is more complicated than the distribution of brooches, but the brooches

indicate style preferences that could indicate culture groups. They also indicate changes in the deposition practice, which shows how the Anglo-Saxon groups modified their practices in a new land.

Variations in brooch distribution and deposition could reflect the prefrences of different culture groups. Cruciform brooches, which are associated with Anglians, were found deposited north of the Elbe in Schleswig-Holstein and East Anglia (Harrison 2001: 243). On the Continent, the majority of cruciform brooches were found in cremations, while over half of those found in England were in inhumation burials (Harrison 2001: 242). In turn, 61 small-long brooches were found on the Continent, 38 of which were found in cremations, one in an inhumation and the rest were stray finds (Harrison 2001: 243). In England, 22 small-long brooches were found; 11 as stray finds, seven in inhumations and only two in cremations (Harrison 2001: 243). The only two cremations in England to have small-long brooches were from Spong Hill (Harrison 2001: 243). Only two small-long brooches in England were found in male burials (Harrison 2001: 244). Equal-armed brooches are predominantly found in female burials and their distribution suggests that they were not exclusively Saxon as had been previously assumed (Harrison 2001: 239). Supporting-armed brooches are found in inhumations on the Continent and in England (Harrison 2001: 239). Both saucer and applied brooches are found mostly in inhumations in England and cremations on the Continent (Harrison 2001: 240-241).

Figure 7: Small-long brooch from Spong Hill cremation 3095 (Hills, Penn and Rickett 1994: Plate IV)

The variations in deposition practice of the brooch wearers indicate that the same individuals who shared a cultural identity were changing their burial practices. Inhumations are more common in England than in northern Germanic regions. The similarities of the brooches cannot be denied despite the discrepancies of practice. Spong Hill is the only site in Harrison's (2001: 245) study that contained brooches deposited within cremations. Spong Hill is predominantly a cremation cemetery and had a brooch deposition practice similar to that on the Continent.

Ceramics of the Migration

The ceramics of the Migration period on either side of the North Sea indicate an abrupt change in England. When Rome withdrew its forces, the practice of wheel-thrown pottery disappeared, as did many other Roman practices including coins. Pottery reverted to the rough construction similar to that of the Iron Age, often grass-tempered, and continued into the sixth century.

Figure 8: Cremation urn from Spong Hill, cremation 2816 (Hills, Penn and Rickett 1994: Plate I)

Spong Hill cremations are more similar to those on the Continent than other cremation

sites in England. The composition of the cremation urns was analyzed and nine fabric

types were identified, including burnt bone, limestone, and grog temper (Hills, Penn and

Rickett 1994: 36).
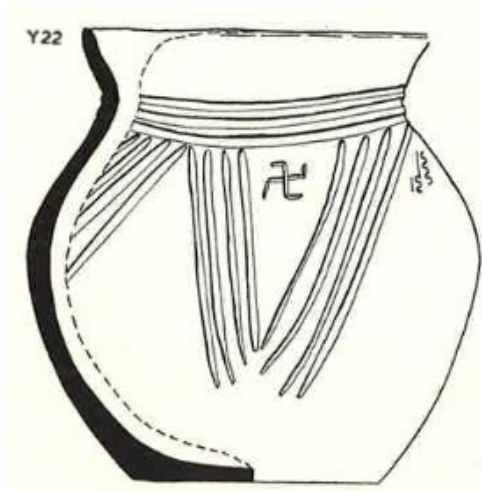
Figure 9: Cremation urn Y22 from Caistor-by-Norwich with swastika (Myres and Green 1973: Figure 2)

The decorative features of migration era ceramics relied on the linear, hatching, and

triangular decorations imitating basketry. The decorations were inscribed, stamped or

bossed. Some pieces have inscribed features that were placed post-firing. The stamps

feature a range of images, all with multiple variations, including crosses, swastikas, dots,

linear hatching, and many more, well documented in Hills, Penn and Rickett (1994). The

free-hand linear decorations are indicative of the pottery featuring abstract linear arrangements and more deliberate representations. Some pottery has more meaningful imagery such as animals, particularly birds, deer or horses, "wyrms", swastikas and, occasionally, runes. The pressed or stamped "crosses" on pottery are common place and are found across pre-Christian periods and places.
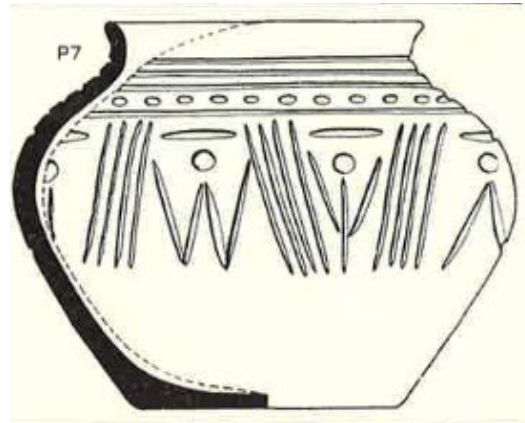
Figure 10: Cremation urn P7 from Caistor-by-Norwich with runes (Myres and Green 1973: Figure 21)

Cremation urns from the fifth century are found on both sides of the North Sea. The sites of Westerwanna, and Issendorf, Lower Saxony and Spong Hill, Norfolk all contain similar cremation urns (Myres 1973, Hills 1993: 19, Weber 1996, Hills 1998, Harrison 2001). Hills' (1993) study compared the cremation urns of Spong Hill to assemblages on the Continent and determined they were most similar to those in Lower Saxony.

Cremation Urns at Caistor-by-Norwich

The urns at Caistor-by-Norwich have been dated to the second half of the fourth century, which suggests an earlier migrant presence, similar to that of Mucking (Myres 1969: 71, Jones and Jones 1993). The cemetery contained over 300 cremation urns, 155 of which had grave goods inside. Caistor-by-Norwich cemetery also had a number of urns without decorations. Some of the plain urns have distinctive forms, including Anglian globular

forms and hollow-necked groups. The cemetery dates from the early fourth to seventh century.

The earliest urns at Caistor-by-Norwich mirror those found in Anglian territories, such as Schleswig, dating to the fourth century (Myres and Green 1973: 14). The early date is remarkable not just for placing Angles in England before the official migration is believed to have begun, but also for the contemporary presence of a Romano-British population. The five pieces of military equipment found in the cremations indicate that the early Germanic presence might have been the *foederati* (Myres and Green 1973: 31). Four pieces of "Romano-Saxon" pottery was found at the site, three of which were used to hold cremations, indicating that the Germanic residents were not importing their urns (Myres and Green 1973: 31).
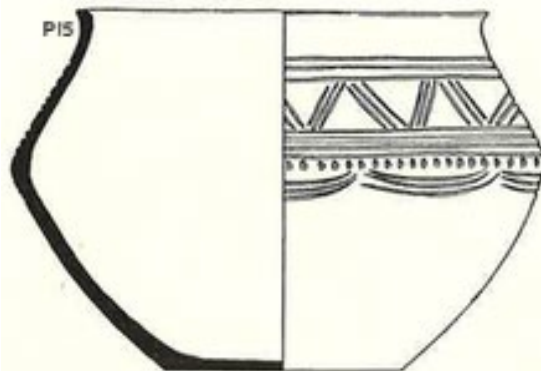
Figure 11: Cremation urn, P15, from Caistor-by-Norwich (Myres and Green 1973: Figure 12)

The earliest pottery at Caistor-by-Norwich is P15, a cremation urn described as "biconical bowl decorated with a zone of three-line chevrons demarcated above and below by groups of horizontal lines on the upper part, a line of nicks on the carination, and shallow three-line swags below" (Myres and Green 1973: 43). This type of bowl is unusual in England before the Anglo-Saxon migration and found paralleled in second and

third century pottery from northern Germany, specifically Schleswig-Holstein, and Fünen, Denmark (Myres and Green 1973: 43). The lack of wear on the bowl suggests that it was not an heirloom. The bowl is missing one significant feature that the other bowls like it have: handles. The bowl was likely deposited before the end of the fourth century, since the type was in use in the mid-third century (Myres and Green 1973: 44). A vessel of similar decoration was found at Hammoor associated with an early fifth century brooch, but the Caistor P15 bowl is only distantly similar (Myres and Green 1973: 44). The fragments similar to P15 were found at the site indicating that P15 was not the only bowl of this type.

Continental Comparison of Ceramics

The Anglo-Saxon material culture resembles that of northwestern Germany and Schleswig-Holstein, where the Angles and Saxons originate. The distinctive style is characteristic of northern Netherlands and Germany by the migration period. Pottery analysis from Nieuwhof's study identified Anglo-Saxon style pottery is first identified as a pottery type dating to the fourth century at the site of Midlaren-De Bloemert (Lanting and Van der Plicht 2010, 2012, Nieuwhof 2013: 60). The fourth century assemblage consists of four *Schalenurnen* pots and two round narrow-mouthed pots from the two cemeteries near Midlaren-De Bloemert. Schalenurnen ceramics are characterized by wide-mouthed carinated vessels, sometimes used as urns, sometimes decorated (Nieuwhof 2013: 60). The schalenuren ceramics peak in the fouth century and end during the early fifth century (Nieuwhof 2013: 60). The decorations consist of straight linear impressions, grooves, chevrons, bumps, stamps, oval impressions, and sometimes

symbolic features. The Dr.K4 beakers are also indicative of the Anglo-Saxon style: they feature wide-mouthed beakers with a thickened rim, a straight or concave neck, and a flat or raised and protruding base (Taayke 1996). In the seventh century, Anglo-Saxon pottery became more uniform favoring a reddish grey color with little decoration, an s-shaped neck and a round body with a protruding foot. The decorations are primarily linear with only occasional stamps (Nieuwhof 2013: 61).

The pottery from Ezinge and Midlaren-De Bloemert demonstrate that the Anglo-Saxon style began in the fourth century before the migration period (Nieuwhof 2013: 73). The style would have been introduced to the northern Netherlands through contact with Drenthe and Groningen to the east, where two of the main style variants originated (Nieuwhof 2013: 73). The vessels found at Feddersen Wierde included a number of narrow-mouthed pots used for liquids, which are in the Anglo-Saxon style (Nieuwhof 2013: 74). Schalenurnen and beakers in the Anglo-Saxon style at all three settlements make up 30% of the total number of vessels at the sites during the fourth and fifth centuries (Nieuwhof 2013: 74).

Examples of Anglo-Saxon style pottery have been found in Flanders. Excavations of fifth and sixth century settlements in Flanders have uncovered large numbers of chaff-tempered pottery similar to that found in southern and eastern England in the migration period. Hamerow, Hollevoet and Vince (1994) analyzed the ceramics from Kerkhove, Scheldt valley and Oudenburg. The pottery in Flanders is divided between handmade wares, presumably local, and imported wheel thrown vessels. The imported materials are

from the Eifel region appearing in the third century composed of mainly biconical vessels, later replaced by imports from the Speicher-Mayen region, which included cooking pots and lidded jars (Hamerow et al. 1994: 8). Roksem and Zerkegem had many fragments of Eifel ware which in the Carolingian period were replaced by imports from the Badorf region (Hamerow et al. 1994: 8). The pottery is mainly chaff tempered particularly in the fifth and sixth centuries, which is replaced by shell and quartz temper during the Carolingian era (Hamerow et al. 1994: 9).

Hamerow, Hollevoet and Vince (1994) compared four examples of chaff tempered pottery from Mucking and five sherds from Roksem. The samples were remarkably similar in composition and technology, but they could not definitively state that the Mucking samples were made in Flanders (Hamerow et al 1994: 12). There are no examples of Late Roman chaff tempered pottery. In the fourth century, there are grog tempered wares and one chaff tempered bowl from Silchester that is either late Roman or Late Saxon (Fulford 1984: 195, Millett and Graham 1986, Hamerow et al. 1994: 13). Chaff tempering reduces the risk of thermal shock (Brown 1976: 192). Chaff tempered pottery at Mucking, Heybridge and Springfield Lyons composes 50% of the total number of ceramics excavated (Hamerow et al. 1994: 14). The Thames forms a boundary in the distribution of chaff tempered pottery in the middle Anglo-Saxon period with it more common to the south (Brown 1973: 80-81, Hamerow et al 1994: 14). East Anglian assemblages contain significantly less chaff tempered pottery than those around the Thames even in the early Anglo-Saxon period. Chaff tempered pottery is found in England until the eighth century (Hamerow et al. 1994: 15).

Conclusion

The process of migration does not end when a group settles in a new location. It involves a long process of adapting to a new landscape, interacting with the native population, and the formation of a modified culture in response to the integration of new practices and hybridization. The effects of a migration on the native group and the subsequent adaptations are visible archaeologically. These changes are particularly interesting when studying religious ritual materials as the changes in material culture reflect changes in the ephemeral belief system. The process of cultural transmission during the settlement following a migration has varying effects in different historic, and prehistoric, contexts. The process of cultural transmission does not depend on the number of participants, but on the degree of interaction between the communities (Hulin 1989: 90).

Settlements reveal a dominant Anglo-Saxon method of construction. The dominance of a migrant culture is not only characteristic of fifth century Britain. The colonization of North America by European settlers and their influence as a migrant group can be seen in the architectural styles (Burmeister 2000: 541). The regional variation of the migrants can be seen in the variation of house forms, layouts and decoration. Surprisingly, the elite British migrants did not begin displaying their origin in house form until the seventeenth century (Burmeister 2000: 541). The migrants engaged in mutual acculturation and assimilation. The simple and most effective forms were adopted by all, while those that held special value to the dominant group were spread in an effort to promote the residents socially (Burmeister 2000: 541). Since assimilation, or acculturation, occurred quickly

within the migrant groups when examining the external representations of culture, the "internal domain" is the only area where individual migrant culture can be observed (Burmeister 2000: 542). In the early Anglo-Saxon period, variations of culture were visible in the personal ornamentation, which was used to differentiate the Angles, Saxons, Frisians, and Jutes, but the internal domain of structures did not vary significantly regionally.

Ceramics changed in post-Roman Britain when Rome withdrew and the pottery wheel was replaced by pinch or coiled pots. When the Anglo-Saxons arrived, ceramic vessels took on a distinctly Anglo-Saxon style. The ceramics took on an important role when they were recognized as imports to the Continent. Ceramics present evidence for contact between the Anglo-Saxon homelands and Britain and possible return migrations. The pottery in coastal Flanders is more similar to that of England than pottery found at sites further from the coast in Belgium (Hamerow et al. 1994: 16). Quentovic, Dorestad and Ribe have no evidence for imported Anglo-Saxon pottery, which suggests that the finds in Flanders are unlikely to be imports from England and instead are exchanges in technology (Hamerow et al. 1994: 16). This evidence suggests that the Anglo-Saxon migration was not a one way movement of people and that both trade and return migrations were occurring. Continued contact with their homeland also serves to reinforce cultural norms and religion.

The Anglo-Saxon culture quickly dominated the landscape in both ceramics and personal ornamentation. As highlighted in the Schiffels et al. (2016) genomic study, the richest

Anglo-Saxon burial identified was female and had markers most similar to the Iron Age British samples taken. This result highlights the appeal of Anglo-Saxon culture to the native population for either political or social advantages. The Anglo-Saxon culture became visibly dominant in the material culture and practices of the fifth century, which means that it influenced the religion of the Britons. If the cultural landscape of Britain was capable of changing this significantly, there is no reason not to believe that the religion changed in corresponding ways. While the Anglo-Saxon culture was dominant, there are cases of continuing Romano-British practices, which is the focus of this study.

Chapter 3: Continental Ritual Practice before the Migration, 100 BC – AD 400

Introduction

Migration period Anglo-Saxon ritual and religion is reconstructed based on the archaeological remains and later Scandinavian mythology. There are no written records after Tacitus in the first century AD that refer specifically to the ritual practices of the Anglo-Saxon homeland. Tacitus is the only writer to describe the practices of the regions along the North Sea coast in modern Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands, northeastern France and parts of southern Sweden. It is not until Ibn Fadlān in the early tenth century that the ritual practices of northern Europe are again recorded. Anglo-Saxon ritual and the practices of the Continental North Sea region in fifth century are a conglomeration of the practices recorded by Tacitus and Scandinavian traditions. The stories of the Old Norse, or Scandinavian, religion begin to be recognized in the representations of the migration period and later.

To understand the religions and rituals of the Anglo-Saxons in England, Scandinavian and Germanic practices and mythology are reviewed. Themes of transfiguration, ritual sacrifice, and the importance of natural features are mirrored in Germanic and Scandinavian practices that are then transposed into Anglo-Saxon England and likely influenced surviving Romano-British practices. The textual accounts do not always align with the archaeological remains, but many of the themes identified in the historic accounts are reflected in representations on archaeological materials and in the reconstructions of rituals.

The Religious Practices of the Germani

The regions beyond the Roman Empire to the east began to be referred to as Germania and the people as the Germani beginning in the fourth century BC (Todd 1992: 3). The Germanic region is generally described as the area east of the Rhine and the Danube, beyond the borders of the Roman Empire (Todd 1992: 3). The first mention of a people in eastern Europe was by Pytheas in 320 BC, when he journeyed by boat up to Britain and possibly past Jutland (Todd 1992: 1-2, Cunliffe 2001, McPhail 2014). Pytheas' journey was so fantastical that his account was not believed by many of the later historians and survives only through quotations used by other authors (Todd 1992: 1, Cunliffe 2001, McPhail 2014: 247). He was the first person from the Mediterranean to label the people Germanoi (Todd 1992: 2, Cunliffe 2001). In the late second century BC, Poseidonius of Apamea visited parts of Gaul and northern Italy and was the second to label the group to the east as the Germans in his *Histories* (Todd 1992: 2). Like Pytheas, Poseidonius' work is only known through his influence on other accounts. Norden (1959) argued that much of Tacitus' description in *Germania* is based on Poseidonius' *Histories*, although this influence is debated (Todd 1992: 2).

Caesar and the Germani

Caesar records the religion of the Germani as different from that found in Britain or Gaul in the *Gallic Wars*. The Germani did not have druids to regulate their rituals and worshipped gods of the sun, fire and the moon because they represented physical earthly concerns (*GW* VI.21). They may not have humanized their deities in the same manner as the people in Gaul or Britain. This observation by Caesar is his only remark regarding

the ritual activities of the Germani. The rest of his discussion involving the Germani groups refers to military events and other aspects of their lives.

Tacitus and the Germani

Tacitus, writing in AD 98, had never traveled to Germania himself and instead relied on other accounts, likely including works by Pliny the Elder, Caesar and Strabo (Syme 1958). Tacitus' *Germania* records details about the groups living in Germania and their deities. He discusses the gods and practices of the Germani as one unified religion with different groups within it. Tacitus describes examples of rituals and ritual spaces that align with the material evidence from the migration period. Tacitus records two stories where deities were worshipped within groves: Nerthus, and Castor and Pollux. He also records the associated rituals performed at each ritual space, which has been used to reconstruct and explain several archaeological finds on the Continent and in Britain.

The goddess Nerthus, the equivalent of Mother Earth, resided on an island with a sacred grove. The Germani did not worship within structures, but in groves and woodlands (*Germania* 9). They did not create images of their gods and did not give them human images (*Germania* 9). Nerthus was popular between Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland, which was an area inhabited by the Reudigni, Aviones, Anglii, Varini and Eudoses (*Germania* 40). Nerthus was believed to ride among her people on holidays, and the people would celebrate. The deity would then wash in a lake and the slaves that assisted her would be "swallowed" by the lake (*Germania* 40). The story of Nerthus is important for two reasons. First, it provides an explanation for the paucity of representations of

Germanic deities. Second, the story describes an incident of human sacrifice in a lake and a deity possibly linked to the practice.

In southeastern Germany, among the Lugii, the Naharvali performed rituals for the gods Castor and Pollux (*Germania* 43). Castor and Pollux were two young male gods, whom the people treated as "brothers" (*Germania* 43). Among the Naharvali, there was a sacred grove where a male priest dressed in female clothing to perform the rituals for the two gods (*Germania* 43). The male priest dressed in female clothing has been used to discuss the ritual specialists of the Germani throughout Late Antiquity. The identification of a male priest dressed in female clothing has been transposed to discuss early Anglo-Saxon ritual specialists.

Horses held a special place in Germanic society, and this role is reflected in their burials. Horses sometimes accompany rich burials in the Migration period. Tacitus records that the white horses were held in the sacred groves and never ridden by humans (*Germania* 10). They were reserved for a sacred chariot, which they were attached to and observed by the priests or king in order to interpret their reaction (*Germania* 10). These white horses were believed to be the confidants of the gods and as such held an important role in their society (*Germania* 10). The import of horses is clear in the Germanic culture and is later reflected in Scandinavian religion as well.

Tacitus records the process of burial among the *Germani* as a whole without any consideration for variations within the region. He asserts that cremations were the more

popular than inhumations and that they used a special wood for the pyre (*Germania* 27).

In the pyre, men were burned with their armor and sometimes their horse (*Germania* 27).

Tacitus describes a burial mound, or barrow, as the main burial type (*Germania* 27). The

use of only one wood for cremation pyres has not been identified in the archaeological

record, but the popularity of cremation is archaeologically attested.

Tacitus' accounting of the Germanic peoples provides a basis for discussing the deities of

the later Anglo-Saxons and possible explanations for some of the ritual practices. His

account of Nerthus and male priests of the Naharvali are most relevant for the discussion

of the pre-migration era groups. The next historic account to discuss northern Europe

comes many centuries after Tacitus. Few mentions of Germanic rituals occur until Ibn

Fadlān several centuries later.

Ibn Fadlān

Between AD 921 and 922, Ahmed ibn Fadlān recorded his journey to the Volga Bulgars

(Urbańczyk 2014: 230). Ibn Fadlān, an Arab Muslim, was sent as an emissary of the

Caliph of Baghdad to visit the king of the Volga Bulgars. He was accompanied on his

journey by a series of interpreters, who spoke the various languages he would encounter

(Urbańczyk 2014: 230). His story is known as his *Risala*, which translates to "account"

in Persian. On his journey, Ibn Fadlān spent some time with the Rūs. The Rūs were either

the ancestors of the Vikings or Russians (Montgomery 2000: 1). They are assumed to be

early Scandinavians from eastern Sweden, who settled on the Volga (Montgomery 2000:

2).

Ibn Fadlān records a Rūs ritual offering to help with their trade meeting. On the first day of trading, the merchant approaches a large pole set into the ground with a face carved on it and a series of smaller carved figurines around it. The large pole represents their lord and the smaller figures are the wives, daughters and sons (922: 48-49). The merchant places an offering to the largest carving and asks him for good luck trading. If the trading does not go well, a merchant may return to ask the smaller figures to intercede with their lord (922: 48-49). Should the trading go well, the merchant will sacrifice animals and hang their heads around the large pole to thank the deity (922: 48-49).

This story of ritual offerings is significant because they are made to a large wooden pole and smaller figures. These representations are approached as if they themselves are the deities. This practice implies that representations of the gods were the gods, i.e. they are icons. The icons are also of wood, which would explain why so few representations have preserved in the archaeological record. In the first century, Tacitus asserts that the Germani did not create representations of their gods, and in the tenth century, Ibn Fadlān relates a story of icons among the Rūs. The temporal and geographic differences account for this variance, but also means that the practices of the Anglo-Saxons could be either.

Ibn Fadlān was able to observe the process of a Rūs burial, which he recorded in detail. The burial was an elaborate boat burial for the group's former leader, or chief. When the man died, his body was placed in a grave and covered with a wooden roof to preserve the body until the official burial ceremony was ready. At the funeral a woman came, titled

the "Angel of Death," and she readied the burial site. A bed was placed within a tent on the boat and covered in Byzantine silk (922: 50-51). The body was then brought out wrapped in the same fabric the deceased died in and was placed on the bed. Ibn Fadlān notes that the body had turned black because of the cold, but that the body lacked any noxious odor and was well preserved (922: 50-51).

The body was then dressed at the burial site in rich clothing including socks, boots, trousers, a tunic, and a rich cap with brocade and sable (922: 50-51). He was then placed within the bed on the boat in a seated position. Once the body was positioned, fruit, herbs, bread, onions, and meat were placed with him (922: 50-51). Excavations have corroborated Ibn Fadlan's account of burial practices. At the cemetery of Birka, in use from the eighth century to the tenth, many of the richer burials had the body interred in a seated position (Graslund 1980: 37ff). At Vendel, a particularly rich ship burial, dated to the tenth century, contained a man seated in a chair (Stolpe and Arne 1912: 37, Price 2002).

In addition to the process of readying the deceased's body and placing the offerings, Ibn Fadlān records the sacrifice of a woman to accompany the chief in death. The Angel of Death was responsible not only for readying the burial but also for performing the ritualized killing of the woman. The woman was a slave girl, who volunteered to accompany her master when his family asked (922: 51). She was given alcohol, and she had relations with many of the men, who said that she should tell her master that they did it out of love for him (922: 51). Another ritual was performed where the slave woman

was seated on a chair and lifted up to see over a door frame; she claimed that she could see her parents, deceased relatives, and finally her master in paradise (922: 51). The story of the slave woman being lifted to look over a door frame is corroborated by an Old Norse poem, the *Volsa þáttr,* in which a female ritual specialist asked to be lifted to see over a door in order to see an "otherworldly place" (Price 2002). Ibn Fadlan then records that the slave woman was brought into the tent and laid next to the chief's body (922: 53). The Angel of Death placed a rope around her neck, which was held on either side by men who choked her while the Angel stabbed her (922: 53).

The ship was then lit on fire, and the body and all that accompanied it were cremated (922: 53-54). A man told Ibn Fadlān through his interpreter that cremating the body allowed the spirit to reach paradise faster (Montgomery 2000: 20). A mound was then erected over the top of the burnt remains (922: 54). A birch post was placed on the top of the mound to mark the burial and record the man buried there (922: 54).

Ibn Fadlān was writing many years after the Anglo-Saxon migration, and he notes an important change in ritual performances from what is recorded in Tacitus. While many of the aspects of the burial mirror the archaeological materials found in burial mounds through several centuries, Ibn Fadlān was the first to record a female ritual specialist who led the burial. A woman had taken the role that Tacitus describes was led by a male who dressed in female robes (*Germania* 43).

Scandinavian Religion

Reconstructions of early Scandinavian, or Old Norse, religion are the basis for our understanding of Anglo-Saxon religion. The practices described above by Caesar, Tacitus, and Ibn Fadlān provide insight into the practices of the Germani, but do not explain all of the imagery identified on Anglo-Saxon materials. These representations better match the stories and traditions identified in Scandinavian regions. Before the conversion to Christianity in Scandinavian regions, the religious traditions are known as the Old Norse (Andrén 2011: 846). The Old Norse pre-Christian religion is reconstructed based upon later texts and the archaeological remains. The Old Norse gods developed over many centuries into the form recognizable during the Viking period. From the third to sixth century AD, the cult of Wodin, or Odin, gained popularity (Ellis Davidson 1982: 7). It was likely these Old Norse religious practices that formed the basis for many of the religious practices imported into England with the Anglo-Saxon groups.

The stories of the Old Norse gods were recorded by Saxo Grammaticus and Snorri Sturluson. Saxo Grammaticus wrote the History of the Danes, or *Gesta Danorum*, at the end of the twelfth century. The Archbishop of Lund, Absalon (AD 1177-1201), directed Saxo to write the *Gesta* in a moment of patriotic fervor (Friis-Jensen 2015: xliii). Saxo was the archbishop of Lund's secretary, canon, and magistrate. At this time, histories were written as moral guidance for the readers, and the *Gesta Danorum* deliberately parallels the history of the Roman Empire with that of the Danes (Friis-Jensen 2015: xlii). The narrative reflects a Christian interpretation of traditional Old Norse mythology. Snorri Sturluson (AD 1179-1241), the Icelandic scholar, in the thirteenth century, recorded the history of Iceland, many sagas and the stories of the gods from before the

conversion of the country to Christianity in AD 1000. In 1220, Snorri wrote down the myths as a guidebook for poets, the *Prose Edda*. These authors both record the traditional Old Norse religion through the lens of their own Christian belief. *Beowulf* also reflects a distinctly Christian influence. Many of the themes found in Snorri and Saxo are mirrored in *Beowulf*; the only Beowulf manuscript that survives dates to the eleventh century and is based on an oral tradition that likely originated many centuries earlier.

Old Norse Gods

Old Norse mythology describes the formation of the world, the adventures of the gods, including Donor, Wodin, and Loki, who are the main characters in most stories. It highlights the capricious nature of the gods and the importance of pleasing them. It impresses on the believer the importance of battle in Norse culture as the only route to Valhalla and a good death (Ellis Davidson 1982: 31).

Warriors are first depicted wearing a horned helmet on the gold horns from Gallehus, Denmark from the early fifth century (Ellis Davidson 1982: 36). This imagery is also found in the sixth century on a Swedish helmet plate, and then in the seventh century on an Anglo-Saxon gold buckle from Kent (Ellis Davidson 1982: 36). The same imagery is again used on the Sutton Hoo helmet and the helmet plate from the Valsgärde cemetery, Sweden. The marks of Odin, identified in the *Prose Edda*, are used to identify the warrior champions from the Other World; these marks include the helmet horns ending in eagle beaks, which are seen on an amulet from Ekhammar, Uppland, the panels from the Sutton

Hoo helmet, and the helmet plate from Torslunda, Öland (Ellis Davidson 1982: 36-37).

The horned helmet, or circle on a helmet, is similar in nature to the Bronze Age helmets

found in a peat bog at Viksø, Zealand, associated with the contemporary "sky god"

imagery identified by Ellis Davidson (1982: 26).

The thunder god, known as Thor, Thunor, or Donar, is associated with the storms and

lightning. He was symbolized on oak trees, axes and hammers (Ellis Davidson 1982: 59).

The Anglo-Saxons wore hammers as protective amulets representative of Thor's

hammer, known as Mjollinir, characterized by a short handle (Ellis Davidson 1982: 59,

67). Hammer amulets are found across Scandinavia and Britain. Thor was also known for

his two goats, who pulled his wagon; he would eat them at night, and they would be

reborn when Thor raised his hammer over the bones. The use of the hammer as a marker

of raising the dead could explain why the hammer symbolism is found on grave markers

in ninth and tenth century Scandinavia (Ellis Davidson 1982: 66). Thor's axe is a variant

of the hammer; few axe amulets are identified in the early medieval period (Ellis

Davidson 1982: 68).

Sun imagery was first associated with Tyr, whose role was later taken by Odin and Thor

in mythology. Tacitus refers to Tiwaz, or Tyr, as the equivalent to the Roman Mars, and

Donar, who later becomes Thor, as Hercules (Todd 1992: 104). The name Tyr was found

inscribed on the Negau helmet from the second century BC, predating Tacitus'

description (Todd 1992: 104). Representations, that Ellis Davidson (1982: 55) identified

as suns include swirls, wheels, swastikas, and circles found from the Bronze Age

onwards. The assumption that all of these symbols are representative of the sun is controversial, but the symbols do play an important and recurring role in northern Europe. Within Scandinavian religious ritual, swastikas have been interpreted as both the sun and lightning bolts, which represent Thor (Welch 2011: 869). Swastikas are found on cremation urns beginning in the Bronze Age in Scandinavian regions (Ellis Davidson 1982: 55).

Animals in Old Norse Mythology

The wolf, eagle, and raven are found represented on many materials from before the Viking age. The wolf is associated with the berserkers and Odin, who had two wolves as companions. Loki also had a son, Fenir, who was a large wolf. The eagle and raven are also associated with Odin. The eagle imagery can likely be partially attributed to the use of an eagle as a Roman symbol for the emperor (Ellis Davidson 1982: 40). Odin could take on an eagle form to fly; transfigurations were a common theme in Old Norse tales, identified in Style 1A Anglo-Saxon brooches and belts (Flowers 2012). Transfiguration appears as a theme in many stories of Odin, similar to the classical tales of Jupiter. Within Style 1A imagery on brooches and belts, there are twisted men and snakes, which may be representative of symbolic transformations (Flowers 2012). Odin has two ravens, which he sends out to travel the land together, named Thought and Memory (Ellis Davidson 1982: 40). These animals are used to possibly represent the passage into Valhalla and as markers in battle, since ravens and wolves scavenge on battle fields.

Horses have a special place in Iron Age ritual, Celtic mythology, and Old Norse stories of Odin. Sleipnir was Odin's horse and was unique because of his eight legs making him easily identifiable in the representations. Horses are also linked to the cult of Freyr, where a horse was dedicated to Freyr and no one was allowed to ride it (Ellis Davidson 1982: 78). Horse fights were popular in Scandinavia well into the Christian period, and represented on a stone in Häggeby, Sweden (Ellis Davidson 1982: 78, Shenk 2002: 16).

The world serpent is another creature linked to Old Norse mythology; Thor was said to have gone fishing with a giant and battled the world serpent. In the mythology, the world serpent is linked to Ragnarok, or the end of the world, and was twined around the world (Anrén 2011: 846). The story of Thor's battle was identified on a stone coffin found beneath the church in Gosforth, Cumbria (Ellis Davidson 1982: 61). The identification of this imagery in the northwest of England is significant because it was a symbol of the continuation and spread of traditional Scandinavian stories into the eleventh or twelfth century within Christian England. The site also has a stone cross in the churchyard that had other traditional Old Norse tales of Loki and Ragnarok (Berg 1958).

Archaeological Ritual along the North Sea

The historic sources provide insight into the ritual practices of the Germanic and Scandinavian peoples, but they are all written by outsiders. The reconstructions of ritual activities from the first century BC to the fourth century AD reflect many of the themes discussed by Caesar, Tacitus, Ibn Fadlān, Snorri, and Saxo Grammaticus, but also vary in significant ways in the use of ritual spaces, deposition of ritual materials, sacrifices, and

burials. Many of the ritual sites discussed below are only identifiable based on the ritual

deposition of goods. Constructed ritual spaces are unusual within the Germanic regions.

The ritual spaces are generally focused around natural features, such as groves, trees, and

watery locations, but there are instances of constructed spaces that have been identified,

mainly in Scandinavian regions.

Watery Ritual Sites

Springs, rivers, wells, and lakes were the locations of ritual deposits. Small deposits are

first identified in the Neolithic and into the Bronze Age, but large scale deposits do not

begin until the fifth to third centuries BC (Andrén 2011: 853). After AD 500, the large

scale weapon deposits at watery sites disappeared, but smaller ritual deposits continued

into the eleventh century (Andrén 2011: 853). In southern Scandinavia, 50 weapon

deposits have been identified at 20 sites, the majority of which are in eastern Jutland and

Funen (Ilkjær 2002: 15). Denmark and northern Germany have a number of sites with

well-preserved offerings because of the formation of peat bogs. Nydam was a large lake

cult site covering over 1,000 square meters, primarily used in the third and fourth

centuries AD with evidence for three to four large deposition events (Todd 1992: 110).

The deposits include three ships, over one hundred swords, most of Roman origin, over

500 spears, 170 arrowheads and 40 bows, belts, brooches, pottery, Roman coins, and

agricultural tools (Todd 1992: 110). The boats were probably loaded with materials

before being deliberately sunk into the lake (Todd 1992: 110).

Skedemosse

The lake site of Skedemosse on Öland had deposits from the fifth century BC to the tenth century AD. In contrast to the examples described above, Skedemosse was not primarily a military deposit. The deposit was composed of personal ornaments, including gold snake finger-rings, weapons, horse gear, animal sacrifices, including a large number of horses, and human sacrifice (Andrén 2011: 853). Over 100 horses, 80 cattle, 60 sheep or goats, 15 pigs, and seven dogs have been excavated. In addition to the animal sacrifices, 38 humans were sacrificed at the site (Andrén 2011: 853). From AD 200-500, numerous destroyed weapons and seven gold rings were deposited in the lake (Andrén 2011: 853).

Illerup Ådal

Illerup Ådal, located in central Jutland, was a similar site to Skedemosse. A total of 15,000 artifacts were excavated from the lake site, and only approximately 40% of the lake had been explored (Ilkjær 2002: 29). The majority of the material deposited was weapons including 100 swords, some of which have Roman manufacturing stamps, 748 lanceheads, and 661 spearheads (Todd 1992: 111). The depositions occurred in several events that have been linked based on matching the broken pieces (Ilkjær 2002: 30-32). The first sacrificial deposit is dated to AD 200, and due to its placement, it is theorized that the materials were sailed out to the center of the lake before being tossed in (Ilkjær 2002: 32). This first depositional event included over 200 Roman silver coins, the latest of which dated to AD 187/188 (Ilkjær 2002: 48). The second deposition is dated to AD 230 and took place from the southern shore (Ilkjær 2002: 32). The third deposition was over one hundred years later in AD 375 from the shoreline (Ilkjær 2002: 32). The final depositional event was in the fifth century and consisted of only a dozen or so objects

from the eastern portion of the lake (Ilkjær 2002: 32). Almost all of the materials in the

lake were deliberately destroyed before deposition as part of the ritual performance or as

a necessary preparation beforehand.

Alken Enge

The site of Alken Enge, in eastern Jutland along the Illerup valley, covers 75 hectares of

wetland that was once a lake. The site likely contains an estimated 380 disarticulated

human remains, although an MNI (minimum number of individuals) of 85 have been

excavated so far (Holst et al. 2018: 5920). The human remains deposited at the site are

dated to the early first century AD (Holst et al. 2018: 5921). However, the site contains

artifacts dated to the Late Bronze Age until the sixth century AD, which suggests that the

area was in use before the human remains were deposited (Holst et al. 2018: 5921-2).

Approximately 674 animal bones, including dogs, pigs, and cattle, were identified with

evidence of butchery marks (Holst et al. 2018: 5922). A relatively small number of

artifacts were recovered given the number of human remains and the majority of weapons

recovered were Germanic (Holst et al. 2018: 5923).

Of the 85 individuals identified, composed of over two thousand bones, 139 bones show

evidence for peri-mortem trauma (Holst et al. 2018: 5923). All of the humans are

identified as young adult males, which leads to the interpretation of the deposit as the

remains of a losing army (Holst et al. 2018: 5924). The bodies were disarticulated before

they were deposited in the wetlands of the lake; the bodies were not placed into the lake

until six to twelve months of open air exposure when a variety of animals had access to them (Mollerup et al. 2016).

Temples and Groves

The sanctuaries described by Tacitus and Ibn Fadlān are open groves and springs, or lakes. Yggdrasil, the world-tree, is described in Old Norse mythology as a great ash tree that forms the center of the universe linking heaven, earth, and the world of the gods, giants, and the dead (Todd 1992: 105-6). The ash tree is already known to be valued from Pliny the Elder and the Druids, and is also mentioned in Tacitus' discussion of sacred groves (*Germania* 9 and 43). Ash trees were valued in both druidic and Germanic traditions.

At Lunda in Södermanland, there was a series of ritual deposits atop a small hill, which may have had a small grove or a single tree as the focus of the rituals (Andrén 2011: 853-854). Atop the hill, the burnt bones of domesticated animals, mostly young pigs, and burnt clay, along with unburnt beads, knives and arrowheads were deposited from the second century BC to the tenth century AD.

Ritual spaces were sometimes marked with posts, as at Ullevi, Östergötland. Ullevi was in use from 400 BC to AD 400 and consisted of an irregular rectangular space marked by posts. Inside the enclosure were 40 hearths or cooking pits, with domesticated animal bones both burnt and unburnt (Andrén 2011: 854). According to the place name, this site

was a local ritual site for the god Ullr (Andrén 2011: 854). The posts are the only surviving markers used to demarcate the space and separate it from the area around it.

Ritual buildings have been identified within large "central places" like Gudme, Vä, Helgö, Uppsala, and Lejre. Uppsala and Lejre are known from written sources in the tenth and eleventh centuries and described as important royal seats with large events every nine years with a large number of sacrifices, including humans (Andrén 2011: 854). The ritual site with the longest use is Uppäkra, Skåne, which has evidence for ritual activities beginning in the second century BC until the end of the tenth century AD, while most other sites do not have evidence for activity until the second century AD (Andrén 2011: 854). These ritual structures are characterized by large halls with smaller structures adjacent and ritual items deposited within them.

Uppåkra

From the third or fourth century, Uppåkra had a small structure that was erected on top of a platform in the center of the settlement (Andrén 2011: 854). The platform was surrounded with animal bones and weapons scattered around the structure. Inside the small structure, under the floor, gold foil figures, two large iron rings, a gilded silver beaker, and a large glass bowl were found (Andrén 2011: 854, Welch 2011: 868). The gold foil figures, or *Guldguber*, were placed beneath the posts. *Guldguber* are thin gold foils with human representations stamped onto them; they begin to appear in the sixth century and continue to be found into the Viking period (Welch 2011: 868). The structure

and platform were rebuilt eight times until they were replaced by another style building (Andrén 2011: 854).

Human Sacrifice

Human sacrifice is not an unusual occurrence in the Iron Age of northern Europe. Tacitus' story of Nerthus, the goddess, who bathed in a lake that swallowed all of the slaves that attended her, could record the process of human sacrifice in the region and one of the gods to whom the deaths were dedicated. Caesar (*GW* VI.16) records the practice of human sacrifice in the first century BC. A large number of bog bodies have been found from the Iron Age, but there are over 15,000 examples from the Mesolithic period into the early 20th century (Parker Pearson 1986: 15). The majority have been identified in Jutland, Schleswig-Holstein, and Niedersachsen (Parker Pearson 1986: 16). Bodies have been recovered from peat bogs in Denmark at the site of Tollund, Graubålle and Windeby. These bodies are preserved because of the anaerobic nature of peat bogs. The bodies are preserved so well that the cause of death can be determined, their clothing and hairstyles reconstructed, and their last meals analyzed (Green 1998).

The bodies discovered at Tollund and Borre Fen, Denmark, and Lindow Moss in Cheshire exhibits signs of garroting, while the bog bodies from Gallagh and Windeby both had collars, which were likely symbolic signs of garroting (Green 1998: 179). Both Windeby and Juthe Fen were female and have evidence for drowning rather than strangulation (Green 1998: 179). Many of the bog bodies have evidence for multiple forms of death, reminiscent of the actions of the "Angel of Death" described by Ibn

Fadlān above; Lindow II has evidence for both having his throat cut, blunt force trauma to his head, and strangulation, while Lindow III was drowned and beheaded (Green 1998: 179).

Hazel is found associated with many of the bog bodies in different forms. Lindow III had crushed hazel nuts in his gut, indicating it was one of his last meals (Green 1998: 180). The Windeby body had a hazel collar around his neck (Green 1998: 180). While a body found in Undelev, in Denmark, was deposited with three hazel rods (Green 1998: 180). Hazel took many different forms within these depositions, but the use of the tree in the depositional ritual of the bog bodies

Burial

In the late first century BC, high status burials become more common, which is also when imported Roman goods begin to appear (Todd 1992: 81). Cremations were the dominant form of burial practice in Germania until the first century BC, when inhumations gained popularity (Todd 1992: 80). Inhumations began to be found in Denmark, southern Sweden and along the lower Vistula (Todd 1992: 80). The majority of cemeteries contain little evidence of social distinction, apart from the Lübsow group, which were richly furnished inhumations in northern Germania (Todd 1992: 80). Cremation cemeteries came in several forms: urn-graves, funeral pyres with grave goods, and unurned cremations. In Poland, there was a unique phase of cremation burials where the remains were scattered in a layer with the grave goods then covered with a layer of dirt (Todd 1992: 81). Within the cremation cemeteries, there are few examples of

children or infants (Todd 1992: 80). According to Snorri, the followers of Odin viewed cremation as a way to tell the honor of the deceased in Valhalla; the higher the smoke rose from the funeral pyre, the greater the honor the deceased would receive in the afterlife (Ellis Davidson 1982: 44).

In the Germanic regions, from the fourth to fifth centuries, cremation cemeteries were common; inhumation burials did not become dominant until the ninth century (Fisher 2004: 381). The cremation cemeteries of Westerwanna, Issendorf and Liebenau were in use during the first to fifth century. These three examples represent the typical cremation cemetery, which went out of use during the fifth century when inhumations became more common. Burial traditions in northern Gaul, which includes modern northern France, Belgium, the Rhineland, and the southern Netherlands, were different from those in Germanic regions, in part, because of Roman influence. In the early fourth century, burials in northern Gaul were predominantly inhumation burials with few grave goods (Halsall 1997: 9). By the late fourth century, elaborately furnished inhumations begin to appear in small groups within larger Roman cemeteries (Halsall 1997: 9).

Hjemsted

In western Denmark, the site of Hjemsted was a mixed inhumation and cremation cemetery beginning in the first century AD. The site had 88 identifiable burials, all of which were east-west oriented apart from two, and 56 burials had evidence for coffins (Crawford 1997: 51). The four wealthiest burials were female based on the grave goods; the four burials were clustered in the western section of the cemetery and dated to the

Late Roman Iron Age (Crawford 1997: 54). The site does not have any weapon burials and only 17 burials lack grave goods (Crawford 1997: 54). The site continued to be used after the migration period.

Krefeld-Gellep

Krefeld-Gellep in the Rhineland is a typical inhumation cemetery site apart from its size and longevity. More than five thousand graves have been excavated at Krefeld-Gellep, allowing archaeologists to obtain an abundance of information regarding burial practices and variations within the population. The cemetery was first established in the third century AD with continual use until the ninth century. In the early fifth century, a new burial practice appears in Krefeld-Gellep with grave goods such as weapons in male burials and jewelry in females' (James 1989: 28, Wells 2004: 591). This change diverges from the fourth century burials, which were characterized by an east-west orientation and few grave goods. The fifth century burials likely represent a shift in the population using the cemetery and not a reversion of the early population to polytheistic practices. The grave goods consist of weapons, vessels, personal ornaments and other equipment with distinct levels of wealth visible in grave assemblages (Wells 2004: 591). The sixth and seventh century phase of Krefeld-Gellep becomes a Reihengräber row-grave cemetery. Reihengräber cemeteries are characterized by large numbers of row-grave inhumations with numerous goods (Wells 2004: 591). Reihengräber cemeteries are the most common cemetery type in the Germanic regions during the migration period (Todd 1992: 82).

There are few identified burials of ritual specialists on Continental sites, but there is a category of grave goods that have been associated with ritual activities: amulets. These amulets include crystals suspended in silver loops, glass and amber beads, keys, cowrie shells, miniatures, and fossils, among other items (Meaney 1981). They are singled out as ritually significant because they are often associated with one another and are found in only a few burials in a cemetery. At Krefeld-Gellep, Burial 1803, included some of these items including a suspended crystal ball, worn suspended from the waist to hanging near the knee, and a necklace of glass and amber beads (Pirling 1974 vol. 2: 69-70, table 54). Burial 533 was accompanied by five conch shells and one snail shell, a bronze key, an irregularly formed amber bead and three class beads (Pirling 1966 vol. 2: 69-70, table 48). Burial 818 was accompanied by only a small bronze key (Pirling 1966 vol. 2: table 69). These amulets may compose the ritual materials needed by a ritual specialist, such as those described by Tacitus and Ibn Fadlān. The amulets identified in Germanic burials continue to be found during the Migration period on either side of the North Sea.

Conclusion

The pre-Migration practices of the Scandinavians and groups on the Continental North Sea provide a basis for the ritual practices found in early Anglo-Saxon England. The deities, ritual practices and specialists were imported into England and adapted to fit the new environment. The Angles and Saxons were very similar in their practices, while the Jutes are identifiably different (see Chapter 7 for discussion of Anglo-Saxon burial practices). These differences are developed during the pre-Migration period and carry on well into the sixth century. The Scandinavian regions have more recognizable constructed

ritual spaces, while on the Continental North Sea, there are more natural spaces identified with few visible modifications. Apart from these differences, the groups are all markedly similar. They shared a similar religious and ritual foundation and were interacting through trade and travels on a regular basis. Given the dominance of Anglo-Saxon style settlements, ceramics, and personal ornaments, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, it is difficult not to assume that their religion was similarly culturally dominant.

III. Southeastern England, before, during and after the Migration

Chapter 4: Contemporary Accounts of Religion in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries

Introduction

The question of whether Christian practice continued in the post-Roman era stems from the contradictory evidence from the contemporary historical accounts and the archaeological record. This chapter reviews the contemporary texts which serves as the basis for my archaeological inquiry. Only three main sources exist for examining the fifth and sixth centuries in Britain: Bede (AD 672/3-735), Gildas (d. AD 570) and Constantius (b. AD 415). They are supplemented by more fragmented references such as those in the works of Prosper (AD 388/390 – between 455 and 463) and the *Chronicle of 452*. These materials all contribute to the understanding of the period and much of the information is largely reproduced later in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (late ninth century) and Nennius (early ninth century). There are also a series of saints lives that are attributed to western England in the fifth and sixth centuries. These historical records provide conflicting accounts both of the Anglo-Saxon migration and a startling amount of evidence for a surviving Christian practice before St Augustine's mission in AD 597.

In order to obtain the most thorough understanding of the fifth and sixth centuries, this chapter will examine how the historical texts describe religious identity and practice in this period. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* has long been considered the pinnacle of early English historical literature, but much of his information is taken directly from earlier sources. This chapter will juxtapose Bede's work and other historical sources from the fifth and sixth centuries in an attempt to elucidate the practices of Post-Roman Britain. This chapter includes a discussion of the authors in an attempt to understand their

perspective and influences, thus providing a possible explanation for discrepancies between the accounts. The goal is to present a narrative addressing how Britain continued after the withdrawal of Rome, the effect of the Anglo-Saxon migration on religious practices and the continuing practice of Christianity before St Augustine.

The Historical Sources

The writings of Constantius, Gildas and Bede provide brief insights into fifth and sixth century Britain. Constantius is the only author to allude to the religious controversy seen in the early fifth century. In the sixth century, Gildas berated his fellow Christians for their incompetence and expounded the difficulties facing a country recently abandoned by the Roman Empire. In the eighth century, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* attempted to draw all the available information together to create a succinct description of Post-Roman Britain; he went to some effort to obtain materials on which to base his history mainly from monastic houses. Two lesser known texts, the *Chronicle of 452* and the works of Prosper, both contain brief references to the state of Britain during this period. In contrast, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* provides a timeline for Britain, using much of the information provided by Bede and provides a list of battles. Together these six sources allow for a limited understanding of Britain during the fifth and sixth centuries.

Each source uses the same terminology to refer to people and events, but the meaning of each descriptor may have been different. The groups, or tribes, identified in the texts may not represent how the members would have referred to themselves. Bede's identification of Angles, Saxons and Jutes are encompassing terms that may not have been the designations. In turn, the religious terminology used represents a problem as

well. Each designation in the following texts should be received with caution and acknowledgement that the historical reality may not align with the modern interpretation. To this effect, "Anglo-Saxon" is used as an overarching term for the migrant groups and their settled populations in Britain. The Saxons, one of the migrant forces, are the most frequently discussed migrant force among the six historical sources and may have been the all-encompassing term for the migrants used by the Britons. As a group designation, "Saxon" certainly did not represent the entirety of the people. Pelagianism is an identified heretical Christian belief as is, the briefly discussed, Arianism. Both terms have established Christian meanings, although how they were practiced in Britain is unclear, and they may not have even resembled the heretical beliefs defined by the Church in anything but name. All of these designations are important in understanding the contemporary reality of Post-Roman Britain.

The insights available from the historical texts provide a framework for understanding the fifth and sixth centuries, yet they all conflict with one another in significant ways. These differences may be the result of their geographic location, religious or political influences, or temporal distance. Constantius, Gildas, Prosper, and Bede reveal more than simply what they wrote: each author chose to include or discard pieces of knowledge revealing clues as to their intentions. Gildas' choice to refer to the Saxons as frightening, for instance, reveals a popular perception of the migrants even decades after their arrival, hinting at a continued social division. The migration was an unavoidable theme found in each of the historical sources. Since Constantius records the Angles and Saxons, Gildas mentions only the Saxons, and Bede names a number of Germanic groups. Therefore,

understanding who actually came to Britain is difficult. The disparities in the record of which groups migrated to Britain are intriguing and rely on other sources of research, such as archaeology for clarification. Of the six sources, only Gildas would have written from personal experience, all the other sources are based upon secondhand accounts and the copying of other sources.

Figure 12: Location of identified authors, excluding the two anonymous texts

Constantius and St Germanus

Constantius (b. AD 415), a monk of Lyons, is thought to have written *The Life of St Germanus*, or *Vita Germani*, between AD 480 and 490 on the orders of Bishop Patiens (Thompson 1984: 1, Barrett 2009). The date of Constantius' writing is debated as there is evidence that the *Life* was used as a handbook for bishops during the 470s and 480s, which places its production before then (Wood 1984: 14). Patiens became Bishop of

Lyons in AD 449 and ordered the writing of Germanus' life presumably not long afterwards (Hoare 1954: 283, Barnes 2010: 253). Despite the numerous discussions about St Germanus' life, little is known about Constantius apart from his authorship of the *Life*. Constantius records the life of St Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, about 30 years after his death and does not state from whom he gets his information. Presumably, he gained information from people who were aware of, if not acquainted with, Germanus. It was likely written a generation after his death, when first hand accounts were unavailable (Barnes 2010: 253). His *Life* became a handbook and model of hagiography in the later fifth century.

The majority of Constantius' account is questioned, in particular, the information regarding Germanus' second trip to Britain, despite the short period between his death and the writing of his *Life*, between about 30 and 40 years (Thompson 1984: ix). Constantius records two trips to Britain, although the scarcity of information for the second journey supports the argument of only one journey with the second as a duplicate of the first. The second journey contains only a mention of miracles and very little detail. There are distinct differences in the two sections of Constantius' work: the sections on Germanus' trips to Britain lack detailed information, such as place names or topographical features, whereas his section on Gaul and Italy contains all these details. The disparities in Constantius' work lead to doubt regarding the veracity of the rest of his writings.

Germanus (AD 378-440s) is described as an intensely Christ-like figure, who journeyed to Britain to reinforce the presence of Christianity (Higham 2014: 123). He was born in Auxerre to Christian parents. He was educated in Gaul and Rome, eventually forsaking his family and successful career to join the clergy, eventually becoming Bishop of Auxerre. Constantius takes pains to prove Germanus' resemblance to Christ, including the performance of numerous miracles and depictions of his humble clothing and manner. Germanus made two visits to Britain in AD 429 and sometime around 435 (Gildas 1984: 16, Barnes 2010: 254). The story of St Germanus provides important information about the continuity of the cult of St Alban, the military adventures and the heretical movements in Britain.

The Life of St Germanus

The record of St Germanus' first journey to Britain provides information about the status of the religions of the island after Rome withdrew. Germanus' journey was the result of a request from British citizens alleged to be around AD 429 (from Prosper's *EC*; Muhlberger 1990: 84, Barrett 2009: 202). The invitation was spurred by the appearance of Pelagianism, or as Constantius termed it "The heresy of Pelagius" (Hoare 1954: 295). Pelagianism was condemned as a heresy beginning in AD 418 (Wood 1984: 6). The veracity of Constantius' claim that Pelagianism abounded is distrusted, since it cannot be explained how Pelagius' version of Christianity traveled to Britain. Germanus and Lupus, another priest, were sent to Britain to reconvert the population (Hoare 1954: 296). They journeyed to Britain, where the leaders of the heretics hid and helped to reassert the Christian practices found within the Roman Empire (Hoare 1954: 297). Constantius then

described the eventual confrontation between the visiting priests and the Pelagian leaders: it is unclear whether this story is an attempt to further display Germanus' abilities and miracles or to describe a version of a confrontation that truly occurred. The meeting resulted in Germanus and Lupus demonstrating the power of their faith and religion compared to the false faith of the Pelagians.

One important feature of Germanus' first visit to Britain is his stop at the Shrine of St Alban. St Alban's story is well depicted later by Bede and Gildas, as the only story of martyrdom in early Christian Britain. Constantius does not describe who St Alban was or why he deserved a shrine that was still being maintained in Britain apart from Alban's decision to help save a Christian and his own conversion. The shrine of St Alban may appear to be an insignificant detail, yet it reveals much: the shrine existed and the people in Britain were conscious of its meaning. While Constantius does not dwell long on Germanus' visit to St Alban's shrine, the fact that he considered it was significant to mention implies that his audience was familiar with the martyr and his conversion story.

While Germanus was performing miracles and recovering from an ankle wound, Constantius reports that the Saxons and Picts were joining forces to fight the Britons in AD 429 (Hoare 1954: 300). Germanus was named the leader of the British army and he won the battle without spilling any blood: instead the bishops chanted "Alleluia" and fooled the coming army into believing there were more soldiers than there were. Thompson (1984: 39-40) does not trust Constantius' claim that the Britons were too timid to fight on their own without Gallic bishops to organize them. Constantius presents the

victory of the battle as a miracle, using Germanus' cunning to trick the Saxons and Picts. This victory can be attributed to an over-familiarity with each other's fighting styles: Germanus did the unexpected, and it surprised the Picts and Saxons enough to frighten them away (Thompson 1984: 45).

Germanus' second journey to Britain, around AD 435, contains less information than the first (Wood 1984: 16). He receives news that the Pelagian heresy has surfaced and the bishops of Gaul again chose to send Germanus, this time with Bishop Severus as his companion. The inclusion of Severus is one of the details that gives support to the reality of the trip: Higham (2014: 132) points out that Severus was an important figure in eastern Gaul at the time that Constantius was writing, and the inclusion of his accompanying Germanus would have been easily reputed. Constantius gives little detail about how Germanus overcame Pelagianism this time; he instead focuses on a few miracles. He appears to have converted the island back to a more accepted form of Christian practice all at once by miraculously healing a young boy (Hoare 1954: 308). With this final successful attempt to convert the Britons back to Christianity, Constantius ends his story of Britain turning to Germanus' work in Gaul and Italy. His account is important since it proves a continuing influence of the Continent in Britain and a significant Christian presence. Constantius does not address the state of Britain again and continues to be the only surviving source depicting the state of Britain in the fifth century apart from that of Prosper.

Prosper Tiro of Aquitaine

Prosper of Aquitaine, sometimes referred to as Prosper Tiro, (AD 388/390 – between 455 and 463) is primarily known for his letters in defense of Augustine's criticism of Pelagianism. Prosper was born in Aquitaine, but lived his adult life in Marseilles and was associated with the local monastery as a layman, not a monk (De Letter 1963: 3). It appears he executed the philosophies of the monastery, but did not take an oath to make his participation mandatory (Muhlberger 1990: 48). Prosper rose in historical importance when in AD 416, he defended Augustine's position on predestination and grace, which was directly contrary to the position of the Pelagians. In the 420s, while Prosper was in Marseilles, protests broke out at the monasteries in Gaul in response to Augustine's teachings. Prosper and his friend, Hilary, were the only advocates for Augustine in the area and led the effort to subdue their religious adversaries, both through letters and preaching (Muhlberger 1990: 51). The *Liber Contra Collatorem* was originally a letter written to John Cassian, who was one of the most vocal critics of Augustine in the region. This debate, known as the 'Gallic Controversy', about the validity of Augustine's doctrines regarding salvation through God's grace, did not end with Augustine's death in 430, instead it quietly ended around the death of John Cassian in AD 435 (Muhlberger 1990: 52). After Prosper was no longer required to defend Augustine's position, he moved to Rome and became the secretary of Pope Leo (r. AD 440 – 461).

Prosper's years in Rome are better understood than his earlier time in Gaul, since he was a prolific writer. He wrote a number of religious treatises, including the *Capitula*, in which for the first time he does not enforce Augustine's pronouncements indiscriminately, instead he relies on Papal authority to support his assertions. His final

work, *De vocatione omnium gentium,* written around AD 450, was his final attempt to reconcile Augustine's concept of grace with the scriptural desire of God to save all people (Muhlberger 1990: 53). The last edition of the *Epitoma Chronica* was modified to include the Vandals sacking Rome in AD 455, which means he did not die until after that date (Muhlberger 1990: 54). The final mention of Prosper comes in the AD 463 entry of the sixth century chronicle of Count Marcellinus (Muhlberger 1990: 54). Prosper is best known for his defense of Augustine and his chronicle, but he also provides important insights into fifth century Britain.

Liber Contra Collatorem and *Epitoma Chronica*

Prosper wrote two earlier works that mention Britain during the fifth century; the *Epitoma Chronica*, which details the history of the world until the mid-fifth century, and the *Liber Contra Collatorem*, which mentions Britain and St Germanus indirectly. In the *Epitoma Chronica*, he primarily details Papal events, but he also mentions the spread of Pelagianism, which is why his work is relevant to determining the facts of Post-Roman Britain. In the *Liber Contra Collatorem*, Prosper discusses the fact that an individual was sent to resolve the Pelagian problem in Britain. Both sources provide support for the presence of Pelagianism in Britain, which is occasionally doubted, and St Germanus' mission to reconvert them.

The *Epitoma Chronica* exists today in four different editions produced between AD 433 and 455 (Barrett 2009: 202). It was written based upon the chronicles of Eusebius and St Jerome, along with Prosper's own experiences (Cross 1974: 1134). Each of the four

editions ends at a different date; 440, 443, 445 and 455. Prosper appears to have revised and published his chronicle several times, both to update it to reflect recent events and to change the content of older entries (Mommsen 1892, Muhlberger 1990: 56). The *Chronica* was very popular and translated into Greek from Latin soon after it was written. In the seventh century, it was expanded to include the years up until AD 625 by an anonymous Italian chronicler by combining the chronicles of Prosper, Jerome and Isidore with his own writings and details (Muhlberger 1990: 48). The *Chronica* is focused mainly on occurrences in the western portion of the Roman Empire and completely neglects the eastern region unless actions there effected Rome (Muhlberger 1990: 78).

The *Epitoma Chronica* discusses how Pelagianism was imported to Britain. Even though Pelagius was himself a Briton, he lived his adult life in Rome and never returned home to spread his beliefs. The discussion of St Germanus' missions to Britain is often tinged with a level of doubt, but paired with Prosper's account, the presence of this controversy becomes more accepted. Under the year AD 429, Prosper writes of Pope Celestine (r. AD 422 - 432) taking action to abolish Pelagianism in Britain (Muhlberger 1990: 84, Barrett 2009: 202). He identifies Agricola, the son of the Pelagian bishop Severus, as the one who brought Pelagianism to Britain (Muhlberger 1990: 84). Prosper then asserts that Celestine sent Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, to reconvert the Britons to non-heretical Christian practice (Muhlberger 1990: 84). This mention of Germanus in Britain may predate Constantius' *Life of St Germanus*, which may have been written in AD 480, several decades after the latest version of the *Epitoma Chronica* (Muhlberger 1990: 84).

Prosper relates this story, as it reveals a victory over the Pelagians led by the Pope, which was his own goal in Gaul.

Prosper presents an intriguing picture of Papal involvement in the British Isles. Prosper's reliance on the authority of the Bishop of Rome, which was not accepted in large parts of the Christian world, was unusual in the fifth century. Since in AD 418, Honorius outlawed Pelagianism in the Roman Empire, and Germanus was able to enforce an imperial edict to banish Pelagianism (Wood 1987: 252). Pope Celestine's interest in preserving a Christian Britain by sending Germanus in 429 and then in 431, he expressed interest in Ireland (Wood 1987: 257, Muhlberger 1990: 84). Sending Germanus to England is seen as the first step to spreading Christianity to Ireland through Palladius then Patrick (Bieler 1948: 297). Even though Britain was no longer part of the Roman Empire, Prosper discusses the island as if it were still a province with a strong Roman presence.

The *Liber Contra Collatorem* is fundamentally Prosper's attack on John Cassian for disagreeing with Augustine's doctrine of grace in AD 432, but it also discusses Papal events such as Celestine's interest in Britain (De Letter 1963: 8, Muhlberger 1990: 52). In the *Contra Collatorem*, Prosper references Germanus' mission in AD 429, explicitly mentioning the presence of Pelagianism in Britain and the dispatching of a missionary to reconvert the island. Prosper writes that Pope Celestine was set on eliminating Pelagianism from within the reach of the Church (De Letter 1963: 134). Prosper wrote that the Pope was "Endeavoring to keep that island of the Roman Empire in the Catholic

faith" (De Letter 1963: 134). He again refers to Britain as still belonging within the Roman Empire. Although he was aware that Rome withdrew all military troops from the island and the change in religious practice from Pelagianism, which was a heresy banned from the Roman Empire.

Prosper records Pope Celestine's interest in spreading proper Christianity back to Britain and into Ireland (De Letter 1963: 134). After Pope Celestine sent a missionary to Britain to end the spread of Pelagianism, he sent Palladius to spread Catholicism and become the bishop of the Irish (De Letter 1963: 134). Palladius was first chosen to go to Ireland before his predecessor, Patrick, was sent. Intriguingly in the *Ecclesiastical History*, Bede never mentions Patrick, but does refer to Palladius' mission as chronicled by Prosper (Bede *EH* I.13, Bieler 1968: 128). In Prosper's *Contra Collatorem*, he reveals in just a few sentences an intriguing interpretation of Britain's place in the Roman Empire. Since Prosper only touches on the state of Britain during the period, his work can only be used as supporting evidence for Constantius' writings, confirming the mission to Britain to fight Pelagianism.

The Chronicle of 452

The Chronicle of 452 was written at the same time Prosper was writing his own chronicle. The two chronicles have several similarities: both are written by devout Gauls, perhaps both based in Marseilles, constructing their chronicles from Jerome's original chronicle. Yet their theological and secular sympathies were different; where Prosper attempted to strike a balanced interpretation of recent events, the anonymous Gallic

chronicler saw downfall and decline (Muhlberger 1990: 136). The identity of the anonymous chronicler has been unknown since the ninth century, and even before then several historians attempted to attribute the work to Prosper (Muhlberger 1990: 136).

The Chronicle of 452 is a short document that is found bound with many others and dated to approximately AD 452, since that is the last date mentioned in the piece. The *Chronicle* is preserved in at least 40 separate manuscripts (Muhlberger 1990: 137). The earliest copy of the *Chronicle* is found in a ninth century manuscript and also represents the most complete version (Muhlberger 1990: 138). The *Chronicle* only contains a few mentions of Britain, but they are important because he attributes very different dates to events than other authors. In particular, he states that Britain was under Saxon rule by AD 441 (Muhlberger 1990: 179). The anonymous Gallic writer attributes a slightly earlier date than Bede, which implies that something monumental happened in Britain between the Britons and Saxons to suggest to the Gauls that Britain was controlled by the Saxons (Muhlberger 1990: 179). This interpretation of Britain being dominated by a group, labeled the Saxons, is not unique. In this aspect of British history, the anonymous chronicler disagrees with his sources for the early fifth century; the *Narratio de imperatoribus domus Valentinianae et Theodosianae* (Muhlberger 1990: 179). The *Narratio* decrees that Britain was lost to the Roman Empire during Honorius' reign (AD 395-423). While the anonymous *Narratio* appears to have abandoned Britain rather early, the *Chronicle* attributes the removal of Britain from the Roman sphere to the later Saxon authority (Muhlberger 1990: 179).

The AD 441 date is the only relevant reference to Post-Roman Britain in the *Chronicle of 452,* but it is a very important one. The writer attributed a specific date soon after St Germanus' second visit to Britain. It does not provide much time for British self-governance, if the residents came together in such an attempt. Every account thus far discusses Britain's reliance on other foreign powers and inability to exist on its own. Yet every account of Britain during the Migration period, once the Picts were no longer a threat and the migrants began to fight for territory, discusses how the Britons fought and did not simply accept Anglo-Saxon rule. *The Chronicle of 452* shortens the period of self-rule significantly and presents the possibility that the migration occurred earlier than traditionally accepted.

Saint Gildas

Gildas' personal life is a bit of a mystery, although it is clear that he lived in the sixth century and was a monk. He was born in the Kingdom of Clyde in Scotland and was educated in Wales. He wrote in south Wales, which is evident since the only figures he identifies by name are from that region. A few academics, including Dumville, suppose that Gildas migrated to Brittany and wrote from there, which can account for discrepancies in chronologies and geography (1984: 77). Although it does appear that Gildas was originally from northern Britain and spent time in Wales based upon his limited knowledge of the rest of the country and mention of specific names from Wales. There is a cult devoted to a St. Gildas in southeast Brittany and possible traces of a cult in south Wales (Dumville 1984: 79). The Welsh Annals record his death in AD 570 and a trip to Ireland in AD 565 (Morris 1978: 3, Morris 1980: 45, Dumville 1984). The record

of him in the Welsh Annals suggests that even if he moved to Brittany, he had continuing

contact with Wales. Despite the inconsistencies in his life and his writings, it is clear that

Gildas had a remarkable impact on later monasticism in England.

Gildas mixes historical facts with religious parallels and presents the entire narrative as a

representation of God's contempt for the religious state of Britain. He wrote a prophecy

for Britain and not a history. He was hoping for an ideal future. He is unhappy with the

kings, many of which he identifies by name, and the Christians. It begs the question of

whether only Gildas was this dissatisfied or if it reflected the feelings of many. Given the

popularity of his writings, it can only be assumed that his sentiments were not

unwelcome or unexpected.

On the Ruin of Britain

Gildas' work provides evidence for the presence of Christianity in sixth century Britain,

but the status of religion during this period in Britain is remarkably vague. Gildas wrote

On The Ruin of Britain, or *De Excidio Britanniae*, around AD 540. It was meant to be a

condemnation of the contemporary church and political rulers of Britain. As Bede would

later, Gildas draws upon the ideal days of the Roman Empire and contrasts them to the

political and religious environment he experienced. The majority of the *Ruin of Britain* is

based upon other historical sources and place-name studies. It appears that most of his

information comes from oral traditions and earlier Roman texts. Gildas borrows heavily

from Orosius and Rufinus, as Bede does two centuries later. Orosius wrote in AD 417

and explains the Roman geographic view of their world: the earth was round and centered

at Rome. Orosius places Ireland between Britain and Spain, a belief that continued for several centuries. Gildas' work became integral to the spread of monasticism in Ireland, Wales and northern Gaul: he is named as one of the founding fathers of monasticism (Morris 1978: 3).

There are several important aspects of Gildas' writing providing clues about Britain in the sixth century, particularly in relation to religion. Gildas lived in a world that had been separated from the Roman Empire for over a century, yet he still focuses on the conflict that arose in the wake of the Roman withdrawal from the country. In particular, Gildas tells the tale of the conflict with the Picts and Scots along with the invitation to the Saxons. Gildas presents the people of Britain as inherently ungrateful and rebellious: he has a rather bleak outlook on Britain and an idolization of Rome. To examine Gildas' validity, it is reasonable to accept the themes but the details are a bit questionable.

Gildas' only reference to the Saxon occupied eastern England is in his discussion of martyrs tombs and their inaccessibility, likely referencing St Alban's shrine (Gildas II.10,11). Gildas is another scholar to describe St Alban as an important character in British lore. He describes Alban as a mirror of Christ in his willingness to put himself to risk to save another Christian. Alban sacrificed himself to save his confessor who converted him to Christianity. When the Romans went to martyr him, God marked him with "wonderful" signs, which Gildas interprets as God's approval of his actions. When St Germanus visited the shrine for St Alban in the fifth century, it was still in use. Gildas' mention of the martyr suggests his continued importance in the Christian British

realm in the sixth century, and Bede's later account of Alban is much more detailed in the eighth century. Alban had a remarkable effect on the continuing practice of Christianity.

Gildas does not mention the Pelagian heresy anywhere in the text. Thompson (1979: 208) supports the idea that Gildas did not have access to an extensive library and relied instead on memories and on the few texts he did have access to. It could explain his extensive discussion of Magnus Maximus. It is remarkable that Gildas does not refer to the Pelagian heresy, which is of utmost concern during the fifth century (Thompson 1979: 210). Interestingly, the one unusual reference that could shed light on the lack of Pelagianism was identified by John Morris. Morris found the source of one of the three unidentified quotes within Gildas' writings (Morris 1965, Thompson 1979: 212). The statement "*non agitur de qualitate peccati, sed de transgressione mandatae*" which was taken from a passage among the works of St Jerome and is a Pelagian text (Gildas III.38, Morris 1965: 36).

Gildas describes the position of Britain once Rome withdrew as a reversion to its helpless state. The Picts were attacking from the north and the Scots from the north-west, which may have included the Irish (Gildas II.15). The identification of these groups is an interesting contradiction from the groups identified by Constantius' *Life of St Germanus*, which states it was the Picts and the Saxons. Gildas states the British requested aid from Rome in dealing with the attackers. He mistakenly attributes the construction of Hadrian's Wall to this event as an attempt to protect themselves in the absence of the

Roman army. Gildas states that Rome came to British aid twice before they could no longer spare the manpower (II. 15-17).

Once Britain was left to fight without Rome, Gildas describes a "Proud Tyrant" who was a leader among the Britons and had the authority to present an invitation to the Saxons (Gildas II. 23). Gildas describes not only the Tyrant, but also a council responsible for making decisions, suggesting an alliance among the native groups (Gildas II.23). Intriguingly, Gildas identifies only the Saxons as migrants to Britain and he expresses a distinct fear of them. The Saxons first fought the Scots and Picts in the northeast of Britain; presumably, this action was exactly why the council and Tyrant invited them (Gildas II.23). The description of the Proud Tyrant inviting another group to fight for the Britons has been doubted, although it is entirely plausible. There is historical precedent for this choice and it would be remarkably effective to end the Pictish aggression, if the Saxons had not then turned on the Britons.

The Saxons came to Britain on three boats and settled in the eastern region according to Gildas. This account of only one Germanic group migrating to Britain is remarkably different from Bede's summaries. Bede describes several ethnic groups coming to Britain in response to Vortigern's invitation likely in an attempt to harmonize what his information from his monastic sources. Gildas may not mention other migrating groups such as the Angles and Jutes because he was simply unaware of them (Dumville 1984: 71). The *Adventus Saxonum* is a confusing event and Bede himself gives two accounts of the groups that came to Britain. Presumably, Bede is naming the groups after their

contemporary affiliations and identities, while Gildas is focusing on the most feared and well-known group, the Saxons. He states several times how ferocious the Saxons are and their proficiency in war. The titles of Pict, Scot and Saxon may have been reflections of prejudices and not representations of how they would have identified themselves (Dumville 1984: 81).

Once that conflict with the Picts and Scots had ended, the Saxons turned against the Britons demanding supplies and tribute (Gildas II.24). The Saxons were no longer the allies of the native British. Instead they were the aggressors terrorizing in the same manner as the Picts and Scots. Gildas reports they were plundering and burning towns, although how much of his report is simply rhetoric to illustrate his point that the Saxons were dangerous is unclear. Gildas then describes the Battle of Badon Hill, which cannot be located geographically or supported by other historical sources, but was a pivotal battle in the conflict (Dumville 1984: 76). Gildas is also unclear about the dating of these events occurring either 44 years after his birth or 44 years before his writing (Gildas II.25). While discussing the Anglo-Saxon incursion and interactions with the Britons, Gildas mentions only two Roman names: Aetius and Ambrosius Aurelianus (Thompson 1979: 219). Ambrosius is described as being the son of parents who were clad in the purple, which Thompson describes as a form of praise, not necessarily evidence of Roman social status (Gildas II.25, Thompson 1979: 219). Gildas (II.25) attributes a period of peace to his leadership and then proceeds to malign his descendants for not living up to him. His criticism of a once fine family further illustrates the degeneration of his country.

Gildas devotes the final two-thirds of his diatribe on the topic of the five kings and the clergy of Britain. The most cautious manner to interpret these complaints is to acknowledge that they are proof of both an established political system with kings and judges along with a structured clergy. Much of this section is composed of Biblical references both in an effort to draw equivalents of the events and the continuing flaws of mankind along with presenting a route to reformation.

Gildas discusses five kings that ruled while he was alive: Aurelius Caninus, Maglocunus of Anglesey, Vortiporix of Demetia, Constantine of Dumnonia, and Cuneglasus. Vortiporix of Demetia is of particular interest to Gildas because his father was a good king, which Thompson (1979: 225) takes to mean that he was a Christian like his son, for Gildas does not think of pagans as "good men". Vortiporix was an Irish name: this association draws no comment from Gildas. Constantine of Dumnonia murdered several people within a church (Gildas II.33). All five rulers are charged by Gildas as guilty of adultery, murder and causing conflict in the region. Gildas' knowledge of only kings from the southwest and west of Britain further supports his residency in that region.

Gildas ends his writings on Britain by congratulating the few good priests and hoping God will protect them (Gildas II. 110). At the very least, Gildas demonstrates the presence of monasticism in sixth century Britain. Gildas' role in religion in Britain is perhaps the most important contribution he has made to the study of the Post-Roman

province for the simple fact that he is identified as a monk who died at least 27 years before St Augustine landed on the shores of Britain.

Dumville (1984) attempts to separate fact from fiction in Gildas' work, along with aligning the events with a succinct chronology. He redates the abandonment of Britain by Rome between AD 388 and 410 (1984: 83). Dumville attributes the Pict and Scot invasions to between AD 410 and 450 before the *Adventus Saxonum* between AD 480 and 490 (1984: 83). Dumville dates the battle at Badon Hill, where the Saxons were defeated by the British ca. AD 500 (1984: 83). These dates offer a new perspective on the narrative that Gildas provides serving fundamentally to illuminate the discontinuity when compared to other sources. Again, the chronological differences can be explained by the discrepancies found in oral tradition. Dumville confirms that one date would be realistic based upon the relative chronology that Gildas references: Gildas lived two generations after AD 410 and not before 460 (1984: 78).

Bede the Venerable

Bede the Venerable is the most commonly cited source when discussing early British history and is integrated into the grand historical narrative. He was born in AD 672/3, based upon the assertion that he was 59 years old when he finished the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* in AD 731 (Collins and McClure 2008: xii). He entered the monastery of Wearmouth, which was closely associated with the nearby monastery of Jarrow, at the age of seven and stayed until his death on 25 May 735. The two monasteries are often discussed as a single unit and Bede was originally attributed to

Jarrow (Collins and McClure 2008: xiii). The monastery provided Bede with access to a large number of books and contacts across the Christian world, thus, Bede was not an isolated writer in a remote corner of Christianity. While he never left northern England, he was able to access knowledge from across the island through the religious network. Through texts, he was able to gain knowledge about the rest of Europe. Bede wrote Biblical commentaries, hagiographies, histories, homilies, and scientific and educational texts.

The *Ecclesiastical History* was designed to be an extension of the Bible and was concerned with the people's relationship with God, which is not surprising since Bede was first and foremost a Biblical scholar. There are four ways to read the text: literally, allegorically, with a moral purpose, or anagogically. Bede wrote with a purpose: there is an underlying focus on the sin of idleness. This is most explicitly found in his *Letter to Egbert*, but it is seen in all of his other works. Bede also emphasizes the importance of rulers and bishops working together for that is the only circumstance when everything goes well in his *Ecclesiastical History*.

The Ecclesiastical History of the English People

Bede's most studied text is *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (also known as the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*). Bede wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* in his home monastery of Wearmouth in the early eighth century finishing in AD 731. The range of knowledge displayed in the text demonstrates his contacts across Britain (Kirby 1966). He directly copies from a number of sources that survive today such as Gildas

and Orosius. The main unit of transmission for knowledge among the monasteries was oral traditions or monastic "memories". He was reliant on the materials forwarded to him from the monastic centers, the quality and quantity of which varied; the church of Canterbury, in particular, forwarded a significant amount of information to him (Kirby 1966: 342, 357). Bede includes letters, documents and first hand accounts to record church history. Bede wrote about events occurring hundreds of years earlier based largely upon these monastic memories and written records.

In Bede's "Introduction", he names his sources of information; most prominently, Abbot Albinus from Kent, educated by Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian. Albinus gave his information to Nothelm who obtained more information from the Roman archives with the permission of Pope Gregory. From Albinus and Nothelm, Bede received information about Kent, East Anglia, Northumbria, and the East and West Saxons. Bishop Daniel of the West Saxons also provided Bede with information about the West Saxons, Sussex, and the Isle of Wight. From the monastery of Lastingham, Bede learned about the kingdom of Mercia. From the account of Abbot Esi, Bede learned more about East Anglia. Bede explains his knowledge of the kingdom of Lindsey from first hand accounts from Bishop Cyneberht and other "trustworthy men" (Plummer 1896, Collins and McClure 2008:4). All of Bede's sources are religious men associated with Christian institutions and the *Ecclesiastical History* is dedicated to a king, Ceolwulf.

Bede's history and sources provide insight into what influenced his writing. His sections addressing the fifth and sixth century are largely taken from the writings of Constantius

and Gildas. Bede presents a slightly different picture from what is found in their original writings. These differences may reflect the benefit of temporal distance from the period and a new clarity of knowledge, or it may be misinformation and propaganda spread under the Anglo-Saxon regime. Either way it reflects a change in the narrative of the migration from the contemporary accounts of Gildas and Constantius to the later reflective account of Bede.

The Ecclesiastical History presents a chronological analysis of Anglo-Saxon migration and conversion to Christianity. There are three surviving copies from the eighth century; The surviving manuscripts include the Cotton MS Tiberius A XIV (AD 775-825) at the British Library, the Moore Bede (AD 737) held at Cambridge University, and the Leningrad Bede (AD 748). The Cotton MS likely originated in Northumbria in the late eighth century. The *Ecclesiastical History* served as instructions on how to convert people, which led to a demand on the Continent: it served as a model for missionary work in the Carolingian period (Wood 2001: 44, Parkes 1982).

Religion and Conversion

Bede describes several processes of conversion to Christianity after Augustine's arrival. His descriptions offer clues about the nature of everyday life in the fifth and sixth centuries. Bede provides an account of the persecution of Christians in the late Roman Period (*EH* I.7), in particular, that of St Alban, which draws upon an earlier epic passion of the martyr's death. The story of St Alban provides evidence for the presence of British Christianity in the third century. Alban allowed a cleric to seek shelter from persecution

in his home. The cleric converted Alban to Christianity and Alban chose to pretend to be the cleric in order to save him. Alban was prepared to be martyred for his newfound faith. At Alban's appointed time of death, the executioner was converted to Christianity in the face of his obvious faith. Upon the hill, where Alban was to be executed, a spring sprouted, and when Albans head fell, so to did the executor's eyes. Bede places Alban's death on 22 June, the year is unknown, near Verulamium. Bede paints a remarkable picture of conversion and martyrdom that reflects his perception of the early faith practiced in Roman Britain. Bede's inclusion of this intriguing story of conversion is important: he chose this story perhaps as it was the best known and demonstrated the power of Christianity.

Bede identifies two divergent forms of Christianity present in Britain: Arianism and Pelagianism. Arianism is identified as present in Britain during the time of Constantius (r. AD 293) and Constantine (r. AD 306) by Bede (*EH* I.8), but the Arianism did not emerge until after AD 310. Bede emphasizes the destructive presence of Arianism in Britain and "across the world", which he would have learned about from his books (*EH* I.8). Pelagianism, essentially the Christian denial of original sin, was first mentioned as present in Britain in *The Life of St Germanus*. Pelagianism may or may not have been present in fifth century Britain. Bede describes the Briton Pelagius as someone who "Spread his treacherous poison far and wide, denying our need of heavenly grace" (*EH* I.10). Later in Book I, Bede replicates St. Germanus' account of his visits to Britain and the problem of Pelagianism (*EH* I.17-19). Bede is quite concerned with what he interprets

as incorrect forms of Christianity that have appeared in Britain. Unfortunately, he did not describe the extent of these controversies across the landscape.

Bede presents an important glimpse at the conversion process and how Britain was converted in the seventh century. *The Ecclesiastical History* jumps from the mid-fifth century to the end of the sixth, when in AD 590 Pope Gregory came to power to continue the Christian narrative. Seven years later, Gregory sent Augustine to Kent to begin the official conversion of the British (*EH* I.25). Augustine was sent to convert King Æthelberht (r. AD 560-616), whose Frankish wife, Bertha, was already a devout Christian. Bertha was the daughter of Charibert, a Frankish leader who reigned in Paris (Chadwick 1954: 200). This story is important since it establishes a presence of Christianity between Gildas' account in AD 540 and Augustine's arrival. The conversion of Æthelberht is described as a condition of his marriage to Bertha. Bertha was provided with her own Bishop, Liudhard, to aid her faith along with a place of worship in Canterbury (*EH* I.25). Liudhard was not able to convert Æthelberht to Christianity and it is supposed that Liudhard was deceased before Augustine's arrival (Collins and McClure 2008: 371).

Bede describes the site of St Martins in Canterbury as a "Church built in ancient times in honour of St Martin, while the Romans were still in Britain" (*EH* I.26). St Martins provides a glimpse into a continuing Christian practice after the Roman withdrawal and before Augustine's arrival. Bertha demonstrates that contact with Gaul allowed for marriage alliances and transmission of religion. Bede utilizes the story of Æthelberht to

demonstrate the top-down nature of Christian conversion. Bede paints Augustine's mission as one focused on the conversion of elites first and the rest of the population afterwards.

Bede records a series of questions and pleas for advice that Augustine sent to Pope Gregory including one that hints at variations in Christian practice, providing insight into the process of conversion and how adaptable the practices could be. Gregory also gives Augustine authority over all the British bishops (*EH* I.27). Augustine asks "Even though the faith is one are there varying customs in the churches? Is there one form of mass in the Holy Roman Church and another in the Gaulish churches?" (*EH* I.27). Gregory responds by telling Augustine to be careful in his selection of different practices, but to be willing to use new forms that he deems acceptable. This particular question provides a hint at the differences between Christianity regionally across Europe and evidence that Gregory was tacitly encouraging the variation, if it was an improvement on earlier practices. In this selection of letters and questions, Bede demonstrates the concerns of Augustine and the essential role of Gregory in establishing the practices of the early Church in Britain.

The last correspondence that Bede transcribes between the bishops of Britain and Gregory gives advice on how to deal with the continuing pagan practices. Gregory cautions the bishops of England not to overreact to the presence of paganism, but to change their temples into Christian places by destroying them as temples.

The idol temples of that race should by no means be destroyed, but only the idols

in them. Take holy water and sprinkle it in these shrines, build altars and place

relics in them. For if the shrines are well built, it is essential that they should be

changed from the worship of devils to the service of the true God. When this

people see that their shrines are not destroyed they will be able to banish error

from their hearts and be more ready to come to the places they are familiar with,

but now recognizing and worshiping the true God…Do not let them sacrifice

animals to the devil, but let them slaughter animals for their own food to the praise

of God (*EH* I.30).

This practice of repurposing pagan temples into Christian spaces provides an intriguing

hint at the process of conversion and how the Christians viewed pagan spaces. Gregory's

command allows for a contrast with the later story of Edwin and Coifi.

In the rest of the *Ecclesiastical History*, Bede describes the later conversion of the

country to Christianity. He focuses on the conversion of Northumbria, since that was the

region he was most familiar with and tells the story of Edwin. Of particular interest is the

inclusion of Coifi, the pagan priest, in the story. Bede describes the long ongoing

conversion process for Edwin, who had to be convinced of the value of Christianity

several times. Paulinus came to convert Edwin, and when Edwin asked his advisors for

their opinion, Coifi provided a fascinating response:

Coifi, the chief of the priests, answered at once, 'Notice carefully King, this

doctrine which is now being expounded to us. I frankly admit that, for my part, I

have found that the religion which we have hitherto held has no virtue nor profit in

it…If the gods had any power they would have helped me more readily, seeing that I have always served them with greater zeal. So it follows that if, on examination, these new doctrines which have now been explained to us are found to be better and more effectual, let us accept them at once without any delay (*EH* II.13).

Coifi is presented as the practical advisor without attachment to the Anglo-Saxon religion. Bede paints paganism as a practical and self-serving religion, the perfect contrast to Christianity. Peculiarly, when Edwin asks his political advisors the same question, they display more attachment to their polytheistic practices than Coifi does. After hearing more about Christianity from Paulinus, Coifi chooses to go out and destroy his own temple with a spear and sword atop a stallion. Bede states that the high priest of their religion was not allowed to carry arms or ride a stallion, which means that Coifi was not only embracing Christianity, but also rejecting all of his earlier pagan values (Barrow 2011: 701). This same prohibition against weapons is later legislated by bishops in the seventh and eighth centuries, which places Coifi's actions in violation of both his pagan beliefs and his new appreciation of Christianity, which would have been understood by Bede's eighth century readers (Barrow 2011: 701). Coifi threw his spear into the shrine and then ordered his companion to burn it down. Bede describes this destruction as occurring in Goodmanham, Yorkshire (*EH* II.13). It is curious to note that Gregory advised his bishops not to destroy temples, only the idols, yet Coifi's enthusiasm led him to destroy a number of shrines, idols, and a temple. Coifi is presented by Bede as a bad practitioner of both native Anglo-Saxon religion and Christianity.

Augustine entered an environment where there was a form of Christian practice already in place. Augustine called the bishops and doctors from the nearest provinces and scolded them for rituals and beliefs that were not aligned with traditional practices (*EH* II.2). This incident between the British bishops and Augustine occurred after he exchanged letters with Gregory. Gregory advised that Augustine be tolerant of some variation in religious practice in order to accommodate the local culture, but Augustine does not have this tolerance with the bishops. His intolerance suggests that the type of religious practice that the Britons were engaged in was too different from Augustine's form of Christianity to accept; although this could be attributed to the failure of the British bishops to stand at Augustine's arrival and their negligence in converting the Anglo-Saxons.

Native religious practice must have been recognizable enough for Augustine to call the religious leaders "bishops" and they must have had an organized religious structure to appoint leaders within England. It was not until Augustine cured a blind man that the Britons recognized his religious authority. The Britons then asked for time to confer with their people before accepting Augustine's changes (*EH* II.2). When the Britons returned, Augustine charged them with three practices that they must conform to the date of Easter, baptismal rituals, and preaching to convert others to Christianity (*EH* II.2). Augustine then claims that all the other non-traditional practices that the Britons have incorporated into Christianity will be tolerated (*EH* II.2). The Britons then rejected his order because he did not stand to address them (*EH* II.2). Augustine ended the meeting with a prophesy of their death, which happens just as he had predicted.

The final intriguing story of polytheism and Christianity is that of Raedwald of East Anglia. Raedwald was an Anglo-Saxon leader, who converted to Christianity, but upon his return home, his wife lured him back to their traditional religion (*EH* II.15). Raedwald, often linked to the Sutton Hoo Mound 1 ship burial, is the only example that Bede presents of someone attempting to balance polytheistic practices with Christianity.

> [Raedwald] seemed to be serving both Christ and the gods whom he had previously served; in the same temple he had one altar for the Christian sacrifice and another small altar on which to offer victims to devils. Ealdwulf, who was ruler of the kingdom up to our time, used to declare that the temple lasted until his time and that he saw it when he was a boy (*EH* II.15).

Bede provides a glimpse into the dual practice of traditional religion and Christianity. Bede disapproved of Raedwald's actions, since he lived in a world that was fully Christianized, but the continuing use of the altars indicates they were an accepted practice in the region.

The most important aspect of the *Ecclesiastical History* is what Bede chose not to include. He mentions few characters who are not elite and focuses on conversion stories concentrating on the elites of the society. The first council of the English, the Council of Hertford, was not held until AD 673 resulting in almost one hundred years between the introduction of Christianity by Augustine and the established evidence of an independent organized Church in England.

Procopius of Casearea

Procopius was a historian during the mid-sixth century, who chronicled the life of General Belisarius within the Byzantine Empire. In AD 527, Procopius was assigned to be the legal advisor and secretary to Belisarius and traveled with him on campaigns. Procopius wrote *the History of the Wars*, in which there is a mention of Britain, although part of the account is unusual. The first seven books of the *Wars* were published in AD 550/551 and the final book was released in 552. The accounts were largely based on knowledge he obtained as legal assessor to Belisarius, *Dux Mesopotamiae*, while he led campaigns on the eastern frontier, against the Goths in Italy, and in North Africa (Nicholson 2018: *Procopius of Caesarea*).

The History of the Wars

In the *History of the Wars* (VIII.20), Procopius records a story about Britain, of the Isle of Brittia. The Isle of Brittia is situated between the islands of Britain and Thule at the mouth of the Rhine, and was ruled by the Anglii, Frissones and Brittones (*HW* VIII.20). These groups were in regular contact with the Franks, and migrated to Gaul regularly. Another story that Procopius records is that the spirits of the dead travel to Brittia (*HW* VIII.20). Brittia may not refer to Britain. His account does not provide much insight into sixth century Britain, but does provide an interesting account of a local tale.

Nennius

Nennius was the Welsh author of the *Historia Brittonum,* or the History of the British. The *Historia Brittonum* was written in Wales in AD 829/830. The earliest surviving version comes from the Vatican Recension dating to AD 943/944 (Dumville 1985: 4). In

the introduction to the *Historia Brittonum*, Nennius describes his work as "Some extracts that the stupidity of the British cast out; for the scholars of the island of Britain had no skill and set down no record of books. I have therefore made a heap of all that I have found" (*HB*: Preface). Nennius thus describes the *Historia Brittonum* as including sources that none of the other contemporary historians used. Nennius wrote the *Historia* based on a compilation of sources, including the *Life of St Germanus* and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. Nennius did not faithfully copy from those sources either, he placed events out of order and expanded upon sections with information not provided in the original copies (Morris 1980: 6).

Historia Brittonum

The *Historia Brittonum* describes the end of Roman rule in Britain and the coming of the Anglo-Saxons in very different terms from the earlier sources. Nennius claims that the Britons overthrew Roman rule, both through constant battle and through the killing of Roman generals (*HB* 29-31). Nennius describes the subsequent period of independence as a period of fear for the Britons, when "Vortigern ruled in Britain and during his rule in Britain he was under pressure, from fear of the Picts and the Irish, and of a Roman invasion, and, not least, from dread of Ambrosius. Then came three keels, driven into exile from Germany" (*HB* 31). This perspective of both the relationship between Vortigern and Ambrosius along with the description of the Anglo-Saxons coming without an invitation, is different from those expressed by Gildas and Bede. Nennius asserts that Vortigern welcomed the groups led by Hengst and Horsa and gave them the Island of Thanet (*HB* 31).

Following Nennius' discussion of the Anglo-Saxon migration, he describes an elaborate version of St Germanus' visit to Britain, the battles between Vortigern and Ambrosius, along with Vortigern's corruption, incest and eventual conversion to Christianity by St Germanus. His descriptions are much more elaborate than those found in earlier texts. Constantius' own story of the life of St Germanus written in France at the order of the Bishop of Patiens less than 50 years after his death holds none of the detail that Nennius claims. Gildas, the first to mention Vortigern, calls him the proud tyrant but does not describe any of the drama present in Nennius' account.

The Christians of the Fifth Century

Constantius, Gildas, Prosper, Bede and others all record Christian practice in Britain on the east coast, and there are saints that emerged from western England and Wales in the fifth century. Unlike St Alban, these saints existed in the fifth century and were contemporaries of Gildas and Germanus. Gildas did later become a saint, and have a cult dedicated to him, but this is largely based on his writings not his actions. Wales and Cornwall were some of the last regions occupied by the Anglo-Saxons, and as a result the residents were able to continue their Romano-British religious practices for a longer period after Roman withdrawal. This continuance includes the practice of Christianity and several saints' lives are attributed to the fifth century in Cornwall and Wales.

St Patrick and Ireland

Patrick was born Magonus Sucatus Patricius; his name indicates an Iron Age Brittonic influence in his heritage, as Sucatus was a Latinized form of the Welsh Sucat (Bieler 1948: 292). The date of his birth is unknown, although it is agreed that he was sent to Ireland as a missionary in the mid-fifth century. Patrick, in his *Confessio*, records his home in Britain as a villa, or *uillula*. Although few Roman villas have evidence for use in the fifth century, there are a few with evidence for occupation into the early fifth century (Dumville 1999: 20). Determining the exact end of occupation at many villa sites is difficult because of the lack of dramatic events surrounding them; for example, there were no large fires or destructive raids, apart from along the Saxon Shore. Many sites are dated based upon a lack of coins or pottery, and few Roman sites were reused by the Anglo-Saxons in the mid-fifth century. Patrick could be referring to a non-Roman structure that he refers to as a villa in the post-Roman landscape. In combination with his father and grandfather serving as Christian leaders, it seems likely to place his life in the early fifth century, when Christianity was still practiced in England and villas could still be in use. Dumville (1999: 21) argues that a fourth century date would fit the criteria as well, but the date contradicts Prosper's records (*CM* 473).

At age 16, Patrick was captured by the Irish and held as a slave for six years. Patrick's family was Christian in Britain, and he relied on that faith while in Ireland (Bieler 1948: 293). When Patrick escaped his servitude after six years, he was educated somewhere on the continent, possibly Gaul (Dumville 1999: 25). Patrick's time in Rome solidified his faith and the basis for his knowledge. His return to Ireland as a missionary was aided by his prior knowledge of the landscape and language (Bieler 1948: 296).

Patrick was sent after Palladius' death to continue the effort to convert Ireland. Palladius was the first deacon sent by Pope Celestine. He died on his return journey to Rome; Prosper of Aquitaine, as a contemporary, records Palladius' journey (*CM* 473, Bieler 1948: 290). There is a theory that Palladius' journey to Ireland in 431 was a sequel to St Germanus' journey in 429 (Bieler 1948: 297). Patrick's *Vita* neglects to mention any Christian practitioners in Ireland before his arrival. Nonetheless, Palladius' mission was deemed a failure. The Ulster Chronicle records the arrival of bishops Secundinus, Auxilius and Iserninus to Ireland in 439 (Bieler 1948: 301).

Patrick converted the majority of Ireland. His lists of miracles are numerous, perhaps most impressive was when he drove all of the snakes from the island. Patrick came to Ireland with British companions and was British himself, but the Synod of Patrick, Auxilius and Iserninus states that new clerics required a letter of recommendation (Bieler 1948: 302). The Pelagian Controversy in Britain may have influenced the welcoming of British Christians into Ireland. Later, the *Life of St Samson* mentions that there were Irish travelers who came to Wales and whom Samson's teachers deemed to be acceptable companions (*VIS* 1.37-52). It is unusual that Bede makes no mention of Patrick given that he includes a mention of Palladius (Bieler 1968: 128, *EH* I.13).

The influence of the Irish Church on Britain is still debated, but it does appear that the Irish influence never reached Kent or East Anglia during the early Anglo-Saxon period. These two regions were more heavily influenced by Gaul. However, Bede (*EH* II.2, 4,

19) does record that Easter in the British Church, before Augustine, was celebrated on the wrong day, much as it was in Ireland.

Fastidius

Fastidius predates Patrick, but like St Patrick, he was a Christian practitioner at the end of the Roman period and continued to practice after Roman withdrawal. Fastidius is recorded between AD 490 and 500 in Gennadius of Marseilles' *De viris illustribus*, which is a continuation of St Jerome's earlier work of the same name (Haslehurst 1927: vii). Fastidius is said to have written *De vita christiana* and *De viduitate servanda*, or *The Preserving of Widowhood* sometime in the mid-fifth century, perhaps around AD 430 (Haslehurst 1927: vii). Fastidius is only mentioned in the one text compiled by Gennadius and his authorship of the texts is hotly debated. Haslehurst (1927) argues that the first six works attributed to Fastidius by Gennadius were in fact not written by him as the style and rhetoric differ from that of *the Preserving of Widowhood* and *De vita christiana*. Haslehurst rejects Pelagius and favors Agricola, son of the Pelagian bishop Severianus as a possible author of the first works (1927: xlvi).

De vita christiana is generally attributed to Augustine of Hippo, apart from two copies; the first is held in St Gall Library, which is a ninth or tenth century copy attributed to Pelagius, and the second is Codex 232 in the Monte Cassino Library dating to the eleventh or twelfth century, which attributes the work to Fastidius (Evans 1962). Caspari (1890) favors Fastidius as the author based upon the substitution of Augustine's name for that of an unknown bishop by a copyist in the eleventh or twelfth century. The use of a

little known bishop over Augustine suggests a prior knowledge about the author not indicated in the surviving manuscripts, although this argument is predicated on the document that the copyist had access to recorded Augustine as the author (Evans 1962: 82, 86). Caspari also argues that the style of writing found in the *Vita Christiana* is too restrained to have come from the same author as *Epistola ad Demetriadem* (Caspari 1890, Evans 1962: 84). Evans (1962: 97) supports the claim that Pelagius was the author as it would have put Pelagius in direct literary competition with his rival, Augustine. However, at the Council of Diospolis, the letter was read aloud and Pelagius publically denied having written it (Evans 1962: 98). The debate surrounding Fastidius as author of *De vita christiana* is doubted, but many are willing to accept his authorship of *De viduitate servanda*.

Gennadius refers to Fastidius as a British bishop (Haslehurst 1927: vii). His *De viduitate servanda* is advice for a widow on how best to serve God in her new state. His writing is reflective of Pelagian Christian beliefs. It is possible that Fastidius left Britain around AD 410 for Sicily, where he was converted to Pelagianism (Cross and Livingstone 2005). The date of his departure implies that he grew up in Britain at the end of the Roman military presence. Around AD 430, Fastidius may have returned to Britain as a bishop (Cross and Livingstone 2005).Where Fastidius' possible works were written is again vague with enough specific mentions of regional knowledge to encourage a possible Britannic or northern Gaulish origin (Haslehurst 1927).

The possibility of Fastidius as a British bishop is why he is included here. He represents the continuation of an organized Christian church within Britain. Fastidius could have been who introduced Pelagian beliefs into Britain, which were described in the Life of St Germanus in the mid-fifth century (Hoare 1954: 295). There is no evidence that Pelagius ever returned to Britain from Rome, but his followers could have. Gennadius' assertion that Fastidius was a British bishop is of import here, as it indicates an organized Christian society in Britain after the withdrawal of Roman support and the incursion of the Anglo-Saxons.

St Samson

Samson of Dol, born in the late fifth century in southern Wales, spent time in Cornwall and the Channel Islands before settling in northern Brittany in the town of Dol. The *Vita Sancti Samsonis* records that Samson was sent to a teacher, a man named Illtud, who was a disciple of St. Germanus (*VIS* 1.7-9). Illtud was well educated and taught Samson about Christianity as St Germanus practiced it. The emphasis on Germanus' teachings highlights the Gaulish influence in fifth century and the ties between southern Britain and Gaul.

A late seventh century date for the *Vita Sancti Samsonis* is currently favored over a later one (Woodling 2007: 16, Olson 2017, Wood 2017: 103). The dating of the *Vita* is debated based upon when Samson was believed to have lived. Samson was taught by Illtud, who was taught by Germanus, who visited in the mid-fifth century, and there is a Samson recorded at the Council of Paris in the 560s. The canons of Paris mention several

British names including Samson, Gonothigern of Senlis and Ferrocinctus of Éverux (Wood 2017: 104). The Council of Tours in 567 corroborates the presence of Britons in Gaul through a decree preventing the consecration of Bishops without the approval of officials in Armorica (Wood 2017: 104).

Samson is known best for his travels through the British Isles, Ireland and Gaul. Samson began his journey when he traveled to Ireland with the bishop's approval in the company of pious Christian men (*VIS* 1.37-52). In Ireland, Samson performed a series of miracles and arranged the governing of a monastery before traveling to Brittany (*VIS* 2.14). The Christian mission in England had been reenergized by Augustine's arrival at the end of the sixth century. Patrick's mission in Ireland in the earlier fifth century meant that Samson would have felt comfortable traveling there as a Christian. The religion of western England and Wales may well have been more Christian than that of eastern England due to the late introduction of Anglo-Saxon culture and contact with Gaul and Ireland, where Christian practice continued.

The *Vita Sancti Samsonis* covers a wide geographic area, including south Wales, Ireland, Cornwall, the Channel Islands and Brittany. Samson himself was from south Wales; Dyfed and Gwent were identified as his parents' home regions (*VIS* I.42). When Samson arrived in Cornwall, he went to a monastery, which could be at the site of the church of St Kew, where a stone with Latin and Ogam inscribed on it was found (*VIS* I.45-7). The journey there would have brought him past South Hill where there is a Chi-Rho inscribed from the sixth or seventh century, which has been suggested to be the cross carved by

Samson (*VIS* I.46-7). The South Hill Chi-Rho was found in 1891. This association could

be the result of the author having been to Cornwall himself and not the actions of

Samson, since he refers to having touched the inscription when he was there (*VIS* I.48).

The author of the *Vita* indicates through first person statements that he has been to

Cornwall, south Wales and Brittany as well (Olson 2017: 1). Samson lived during the

late fifth century, and his life was written sometime between the mid-seventh and mid-

ninth century, indicating that the regions visited by the author would have been different

from when Samson had visited.

Samson founded a monastery in Cornwall and placed in his father Amon responsibility

for it when he left for Brittany (*VIS* I.50-52). He founded a second monastery at Pental,

near the mouth of the Seine (*VIS* I.52). The author also attributes the monastery of Dol,

where he writes, as founded by Samson and in possession of his body (*VIS* I.61). Olson

(2017: 14) suggests that Samson was a later part of the Britons' migration to Brittany, as

recorded by Gildas (*HB* 25, 67). The migration to Gaul could explain the necessity for

Samson to found a bishopric at Dol to serve the migrants (Olson 2017: 14). Olson terms

it a "colonial church" that would have serviced the Britons in Gaul and Spain (2017: 15).

St David of Wales

There are two medieval *Vitas* that record the story of St David, which Brett (2018) links

to an original work by Rhigyfarch ap Sulien, who died in 1099 (Wooding 2007: 3).

Rhigyfarch's *Vita St. Dauid* was based upon earlier traditions and likely an earlier text;

the cult of St David can be traced back into the seventh century. The eleventh century

Vita was written to reflect a shift in the tradition surrounding St David after his relics were inexplicably "lost" and the cult was refocused around new relics of David (Wooding 2007: 7). St David is referred to in a *Vita Pauli Aureliani*, which dates to 884 and was written in Brittany (Brett 2018). David likely died around AD 600 and was a contemporary of Gildas (Wooding 2007: 1). He was known for his extreme asceticism and his monastic rule reflected this inclination (Wooding 2007: 16). His cult spread from Wales into Ireland by the early ninth century reflecting the appeal of his ascetic lifestyle (Wooding 2007: 11). St David became the main figure associated with Welsh Christianity and remains so today.

St David lived in south-west Wales, where he founded a monastery and became a bishop. The cult site for St. David at Dyfed had become an episcopal See by c. 800 (Brett 2018). In hagiography, David was referred to as a water-man, *aquaticus* or *dyfrwr* (Dumville 2007: 56-57). Celtic saints in Ireland and Wales are often attributed with the ability to walk on water, but David earned the title because he would only drink water (Dumville 2007: 57). Dumville (2007) argues that David died on March 1st, between 589 and 601. His death was followed by a continuous cult dedicated to him (Dumville 2007: 37-38).

The evidence for St David in Wales in the sixth century is based on his monastic centers. It is believed that Mynyw was a Christian center before David; a nearby inscription dates to AD 500 and reads "the relics of R/P" (Nash-Williams 1950: 205, Dumville 2007: 62). Later the site was attributed to St David. The *Annales Cambriae* records an attack on Dyfed and the burning of his monastery in AD 645 (Phillimore 1888 *AC* s.a. 201,

Dumville 2007: 63). This time period was characterized by acts of violence against churches in Wales, particularly those of St David (Dumville 2007: 63).

Gildas corresponded with Uinniau, who was a British bishop in Ireland in the mid-sixth century. Gildas' *On the Ruin of Britain* was followed with a letter to Uinniau (Dumville 2007: 44). Their correspondence and Gildas' theories on monastic life mirror each other and presumably are imitating that of David (Dumville 2007: 47). Gildas, with his usual divisive opinions, criticized David's ascetic monasticism in his letters to Uinniau (Dumville 2007: 54). Gildas, Uinniau, and David would have been contemporaries.

Possible Cornish Saints

A number of possible saints have been identified in Cornwall based upon the early place-names. In Cornwall, 95% of churches are endowed with a medieval patron saint who is specific to that area and unknown elsewhere (Padel 2002: 304). The specificity of the saints suggests a separate religious history isolated from the rest of the country; many of the cults are only local. Approximately 147 of the 196 parishes in Cornwall have ecclesiastical place-names, usually associated with a saint's name (Padel 2002: 304). These place names are most common in western Cornwall, while in eastern Cornwall, only around half of the parishes have ecclesiastical names (Padel 2002: 305). This trend contrasts sharply to Devon, where out of 454 parishes, only 29 have names of an ancient ecclesiastical nature (Padel 2002: 305).

Lann translates roughly into "enclosed cemetery", while *eglos* translates into "church", and when paired with a saint's name composes many of the early parish designations in Cornwall (Padel 2002: 307). One in four Cornish parishes have the term *lann* in their name, and the same number of non-parish spaces have the same name designator, some of which have early cemeteries (Padel 2002: 307). *Eglos* is incorporated into 35 place names, and in east Cornwall two modern parishes still use this name (Padel 2002: 308). *Egloslagek,* or "the church of St Ladock" and Eglosvylyon, or "the church of St Mullion," are clear in their associations with religious locations and saints. Lantinning and Lanuah both refer to farms within the parishes of St Anthony and St Ewe, respectively. While some *Lann* names are used as church names, as at Lansallos, where salwys is the personal name used, but the reason for the use is unclear since the church is now dedicated to St Hyldren (Padel 2002: 311). *Merther* is a term used to indicate a grave or shrine associated with a relic and alter (Padel 2002: 314-315). *Alter* is used in only one place name, that of Altarnun in east Cornwall, where the shrine to St Nunn, the mother of St David, was located (Padel 2002: 315-316). Alternun does not appear in the Domesday Book (Padel 2002: 316). The place name saints do not always correspond to the saint that the church is dedicated to (Padel 2002: 311).

The conservative explanation for the many local saints is that they were local people who took on significant religious roles (Padel 2002: 313). The names that appear in multiple locations suggest the spread of a saint's cult and a role beyond that of local significance (Padel 2002: 313). The records for these local saints all date to after the tenth century,

which means they either represent long traditions or they are later inventions to cement local historic claims.

The question remains whether this is only a Cornish phenomenon of saintly place names or whether this is a widespread tradition that is preserved only in Cornwall because of the isolated nature of the region (Padel 2002: 328). There are only two religious sites with evidence that they predate the ninth century: the monastery of St Docco is recorded in the Life of St Samson and the monastery of Dinuurrin of St Guron at Bodmin (Padel 2002: 329).

St Germanus of Auxerre may have had a cult site at St Germans, Cornwall, but it is unclear whether the cult represents the same St Germanus or a more local figure (Padel 2002: 330). St Germanus' first journey to England focused around the eastern coast, if we assume that the shrine to St Albans is located at Verulamium. His second journey lacks the details of the first used to determine specific places.

St Antoninus, or Entenin, has three sites associated with his name in Cornwall; two are churches on the south coast, and the third is a cult site only ten miles from one of the churches dedicated to him (Padel 2002: 333-334). The cult site is a holy well that today has a fairly modern building around it (Padel 2002: 334). Antoninus is a Latinized name that was translated into the Cornish version of Entenin. It is unknown exactly how long Latin names continued in use in the region. The name change likely occurred sometime between the fifth and eighth centuries, placing Antoninus as an early medieval figure

(Padel 2002: 335). The association of a water cult site suggests a possible early origin, as water was a ritual focus for the Iron Age and Roman periods. The site has not been excavated, and so the exact nature of Antoninus' well is unknown. Antoninus is recorded in the Vatican List in the twelfth century.

Gaulish Influence in Britain

Gaul remained a Roman province until AD 486, when the Battle of Soissons freed Gaul from Roman rule, and soon after, most of the region was ruled by the Merovingians (Wood 1994: 41). Christianity was well established within the Roman Empire by the end of the fifth century, and appears to have been equally well established in Gaul (Harries 2002). The Franks converted to Christianity at the end of the fifth century under Clovis I, who took his wife's orthodox faith and conquered most of what is now France (Wood 1994: 41). Frankish religious practice was likely similar to that of the Anglo-Saxon conversion, where traditional beliefs and practices continued for a time following the conversion.

Bede records several instances of marriage and familial ties to Gaul. The historical evidence for contact between Merovingian Gaul and England is found in Bede's story of Raedwald. Raedwald's son Sigbert was named after Sigibert, a member of Frankish royalty (Wood 1983: 14). When Raedwald died, Sigbert fled to Francia, which reveals the connections and apparent safety that Gaul represented to the elites of England. The Sutton Hoo burial, which is linked to Raedwald, demonstrates material evidence in the

gold coins and buckle for the contact with Gaul, particularly the port of Quentovic, where one of the coins found at Sutton Hoo was minted (Wood 1994).

Another character from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* with connections to Gaul is Æthelberht's wife Bertha, who was the daughter of Charibert I, a Merovingian ruler in the mid to late sixth century (Bede *EH* I.25, Gregory of Tours *Lib.Hist.,* IV.26). Æthelberht married Bertha soon after 562 AD, and when Augustine arrived to convert the island of Britain, Bertha was one of his strongest allies. These historical connections between Gaul and Anglo-Saxon England hint at the economic and social connections that would have existed.

Conclusion

Bede, Gildas, Constantius, Prosper, and *The Chronicle of 452* all provide important insights into Post-Roman Britain. The brief period of self-governance experienced by the Britons is obscured between the religious heresy and the aggressive Picts. The medieval sources are able to provide insight into the religion, politics, and migration with very differing accounts. The differences in the accounts are valuable in that they reveal biases, transmission boundaries, and popular contemporary opinions. Bede's account is the most elegant and leaves the reader with the fullest understanding of the period, an examination of the earlier sources, which are more contemporary with the events. The combined reading of the six sources for Post-Roman Britain certainly does not provide a whole picture of the period, but they do provide just enough information to begin to understand the events and actions of the Britons.

The religion of the authors colors their writings, but also establishes their stances on the religious controversies they are describing. Bede and Constantius produce hagiographies valuing the Christ-like characteristics of their subjects. Prosper, who was fighting Pelagianism in Gaul, takes particular note of the presence of Pelagianism in Britain. It is possible that Prosper was simply imposing his own problems with heretical Christian sects on to the heresy he had heard of in Britain and that later the same is done by Constantius.

By the time Raedwald appears in the British landscape, the island was experiencing its second conversion to Christianity, and the migrating groups had been in England for over a century. As with *The Chronicle of 452* and Prosper's assertions that Britain was still a province of the Roman Empire until the Saxons ruled in the mid-fifth century, the island was still under the umbrella of the Church until the island either experienced a pagan revival or a heretical conversion.

The contemporary records and saints' lives present an image of a continuing Christian practice in Britain, while the archaeological record reflects a landscape with a strong Germanic presence. The lives of the saints, all written hundreds of years after their events, were biased towards presenting virtuous Christ-like figures to bolster a Christian past in England. Cults dedicated to the saints all predate the earliest surviving copies of the *Vitas,* indicating an element of truth. The saints' lives are all focused in southwestern

England and Wales, which suggests that ritual practices were not uniform across the island.

The nature of the religion of Britain during the Post-Roman and Migration periods is an intriguing debate. While Pelagianism may have spread to Britain, St Germanus reconverted the island to a more accepted form of Christianity. The migrants brought their own belief systems, but none of the authors concerned with Britain were concerned with the invading religion. The island is presumably not acceptably Christian again for several centuries, since Bede records stories of rebellious pagans after St Augustine arrives to convert the island to traditional Roman practice.

The textual sources suggest a Christian practice existing in parallel with the Anglo-Saxon practices. The west coast, particularly Devon and Cornwall, was the last area of England to be occupied by the Anglo-Saxon migrants allowing for the continuation of Romano-British traditions for a longer period of time. Ireland, and St Patrick, would have provided a nearby reminder of how Christianity was to be practiced. Ireland did not experience the upheaval that Gaul did in the fifth century, and the Franks were not well established Christians, perhaps confining the Gaulish Christian influence to the few missionaries that were sent from monastic settings.

Religion on the east coast of England, the first regions to be inhabited by the Anglo-Saxon groups, produces a similar confusion in regards to practice. The contemporary textual sources of Bede, Gildas, and Constantius all agree that there were areas of

Christian practice within Kent and East Anglia. Identifying the physical evidence for this practice will be discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter 5: From Prehistoric to Roman Britain, 100 BC to AD 300

Introduction

A review of earlier ritual practice in Britain demonstrates how they can adapt over long

periods, and how some symbols and practices persist. The fifth and sixth century was a

time when multiple religions were actively practiced. The Roman occupation did not

signify the end of Iron Age practices, and Romano-British ritual represents a combination

of a number of religious traditions. The introduction of Roman practices, and eventually

Christianity, influenced the continuing Iron Age practices in ways that are not entirely

clear. Understanding the religious environment that the Anglo-Saxons encountered in the

fifth century is crucial to deciphering how the religious practices adapted.

Religious practices before the Iron Age are reconstructed based on archaeological

evidence. The first signs of ritual activity in England occur during the Paleolithic when

the glaciers receded (for a discussion of ritual and religion see Chapter 1). The ritual

activities in the prehistoric periods are reconstructed based on the archaeological

materials, including spaces, deposits and burials. At the end of the Iron Age, contact with

the Mediterranean led to the first written records referring to temperate Europe and

Britain.

Earliest Prehistory

From 32,000 to 12,000 BC, Britain was covered in glaciers, which prevented many of the

ritual activities identified on the Continent. The oldest burial in Britain was found at

Goat's Cave in Gower Peninsula; a young man was buried with ivory bracelets, covered

in red ochre, and accompanied by a mammoth skull (Hutton 1996: 2). The ivory

ornaments provide an approximate date of 25,000 BC before the last period of glaciation

(Hutton 1996: 2). A series of burials at Mendip Hills, Aveline's Hole and Gough's Cave

are dated to 12,000 BC. Gough's Cave at Cheddar Gorge contains evidence for the

defleshing of the bones before burial indicating a change in ritual practices (Hutton 1996:

3). The formalization of burials with carefully selected grave goods is representative of a

developed belief system where the body of the deceased needs to be cared for, and

accompanied by specific materials and prescribed actions.

The Mesolithic in Britain is best represented at Star Carr, where there is rich evidence of

ritual practices. Star Carr in Yorkshire is dated to around 9,000 BC (Connellerl et al.

2012). The excavations of the site have uncovered a series of 21deer skulls with antlers

that were modified to serve as masks with eye holes (Tolan-Smith 2004). These masks

are either clever ways to hunt or they were a ritual item used in performances (Hutton

1996: 13). The masks could easily have been used for both hunting and ritual

performances. These masks are the first evidence of ritual performances in Britain. They

represent the practice of elaborate rituals that required the transformation of an individual

through the wearing of the mask.

In the Neolithic, there was an explosion of visible ritual activity in Britain. From 4,500 to

2,000 BC, megaliths and burials peppered the landscape. The Neolithic was a period of

change with the introduction of agriculture, and the changes were reflected in the new

ritual practices. Burials in the Neolithic are sometimes associated with monumental

structures, such as stone circles, tombs beneath large earthen mounds, cists, cairns, and monoliths; examples of better known structures in the British Isles include Stonehenge, Newgrange, and Avebury. More than 40,000 Neolithic stone tombs have been identified in Europe (Hutton 1996: 19). These tombs are characterized by large stone lined chambers beneath mounds of dirt. Around 3,800 BC, variations in the style of stone tombs began to appear. In 3,700, stone cists begin to replace tombs (Hutton 1996: 25). A cist burial is characterized by a small stone lined box. The burial practices reflect a need to monumentalize death and make ancestors visible in the landscape. From 3,200 to 2,200 BC, people began to build henges, which became one of the defining features on the Neolithic landscape (Hutton 1996: 52). These henges could be of stone or wood, and are part of larger ritual landscapes. Wiltshire is known for the Stonehenge ritual complex, which is not far from Avebury, Silbury Hill, the Uffington Horse and the West Kennet Long Barrow and Avenue. Neolithic ritual landscapes developed into large and complex sites. Henges do not appear to have been primarily intended to be burial sites, although there are burials associated with many of them from multiple time periods.

The deposition of bodies in these megalithic sites included both cremations, inhumations, and secondary burials. At some sites, the bodies were separated, and long bones, skulls were all placed in separate locations within the tomb. The tomb at West Kennet contained cremations, inhumations, secondary burials with incomplete skeletons (Thomas and Whittle 1986). The burials at West Kennet separated the different sexes, with males, females, children and the elderly placed into separate chambers of the tomb (Thomas and Whittle 1986). The West Kennet tomb was finally closed in the Bronze age, marking

approximately one thousand years of use from 3650 BC (Hutton 1996: 89). Fussell's

Lodge in Wiltshire contained sixty people, who spent two years exposed before their

bones were stacked in groups of two within the longhouse (Hutton 1996: 33). The burial

practice does not appear to require a complete skeleton to be deposited. The number of

burials demonstrate that only a handful of individuals were given monumental burials

suggesting that they were elite due to the time and resources used to construct the burials

(Shanks and Tilley 1982, Hutton 1996: 35). Grave goods are rarely associated with one

individual and are instead found within the burial chambers. The tombs were reused and

reopened for new burials and deposits after the initial burials (Hutton 1996: 34). These

burial practices represent a fluidity in the line between the dead and the living; the living

could have access to the bodies of the deceased without digging them up and disturbing

their burial. The tombs encouraged the living to engage with their ancestors.

The Bronze Age was marked by a change in ritual activity with burials, and the use of

megalithic spaces. Flat graves became the main burial practice, replacing the more

monumental practices of the Neolithic, although barrow burials are still practiced.

Around 2,000 BC, cremations became a more popular form of burial (Hutton 1996: 92).

In the Early Bronze Age, Neolithic ritual spaces were still used and modified to meet the

new needs of the people. At Longstone Rath, a mingled cremation burial of a male and

female was marked by a limestone monolith surrounded by an earthen henge (Hutton

1996: 94). Nearby, also in Curragh, in the middle of another henge, a burial of a young

woman was aligned with the two entrances. A pathologist determined that she may have

been buried alive (Hutton 1996: 94). A number of megalithic ritual spaces, constructed in the Neolithic or Bronze Age, include Early Bronze Age burials and continued to be modified. Stonehenge continued to be used and modified until it reached its final form, as seen today, around 1,500 BC. Cairn burials or flat graves were more common than other burials associated with megaliths. Many cairns do not have evidence for a cremation or body and instead have only traces of charcoal (Hutton 1996: 95). The most common alignment was east to west, and crouch burials were more common than prone (Hutton 1996: 95). While cairn and flat burials are more frequently identified, there are a large number of elaborate burials that are associated with megalithic structures. The megaliths that are so characteristic of the Neolithic continue to have an important role in the ritual lives of the Early Bronze Age peoples.

The site of Barns Farm, Fife reflects the complicated and elaborate nature of Bronze Age burial performances. At Barns Farm, eight pits were dug, and there is evidence for multiple fires. In these pits, multiple cremations were placed along with severed heads of children and adults, and burnt bodies (Watkins et al. 1982). Atop the pits, three cists were built and crouched inhumations were placed with cremations, accompanied by beakers, vessels, pebbles, antlers, an awl, beads and a necklace (Watkins et al. 1982). Three flat graves were then dug alongside and a mixture of unburnt bones and cremations were placed within. Finally, the entire burial site was covered by a large earthen mound (Watkins et al. 1982). Barns Farm represents one of many elaborate burial sites with evidence for violence and multiple ways of disposing of the dead. The process of burial

appears to have been customized with an adaptable set of requirements and rituals for disposing of the dead.

The first recognizable ritual specialists emerge during the Bronze Age. The identification of items of ritual meaning rather than indicators of elite status is based upon the unusual materials found in burials. At a round barrow in Upton Lovell, Wiltshire, an adult male was buried covered in perforated bones that likely hung on his clothing, accompanied by stone axe-heads, boars' tusks, white flint and pebbles that could not be found locally (Hutton 1996: 109). A similar burial at Youlgreave, Derbyshire contained dog and horse teeth placed beneath the skull along with an axe, quartz pebbles, and a piece of porphyry (Hutton 1996: 109). The reoccurrence of these materials in more than one burial, in similar assemblages, suggests an overarching ritual structure for the groups in Bronze Age England that would have been regulated.

The Iron Age

Ritual sites in Iron Age Britain are focused around water. Britain lacks the evidence for ritual sites at the sources of rivers, as found in Gaul at the source of the Seine and the Rhine (Ross 1996: 48). Wells, springs, pools, and lakes are commonly associated with ritual structures and deposits. At Biddenham, a well that was over 37 feet deep was filled with a human skeleton, a mutilated statue, a fractured altar slab, fragments of over 50 Roman urns, bones from ox, fox, hog, horse and dogs, along with pebbles (Ross 1996: 54). In a similar shaft at Wholfhamcote, a large square stone with a hole in the center and grey-ware urns on top were deposited, then the sequence was repeated 24 times in the

shaft (Ross 1996: 54). The deliberate closing of the wells indicates a ritual meaning to the well. At Lydney, the temple is situated on the Severn estuary with a temple dedicated to Nodons (Ross 1996: 48). Bath is the only spring site to have datable evidence to the pre-Roman period in the form of several Iron Age coins (Hutton 1996: 167).

There are only a few examples of structured shrines and temples in Iron Age England. Ritual sites are identified based upon votive offerings or the identification of buildings that lack evidence of a domestic or agricultural use or are set apart from other buildings (Hutton 1996: 165). Based on these requirements, there are a minimum of 24 possible structures at 16 different sites (Hutton 1996: 165). There are pre-Roman temples at Heathrow and Frilford. The Heathrow temple is a square shrine within a larger square defined by post-holes similar to those found in the Roman period (Ross 1996: 70). Frilford presents a different type of constructed ritual space with six post-holes in two lines of three with a deposit at the central post of a votive shield, sword, and iron ploughshare (Ross 1996: 70).

At Hayling Island, there were two phases of a ritual structure. The first phase was marked by two square enclosure ditches, and a pit inside on the western edge dating to the mid-first century (King and Soffe 2013: 3). The outer enclosure was marked by a series of semi-circular post-holes indicating a fence, while the inner enclosure ditch had more substantial square post-holes (King and Soffe 2013: 5). The second phase demolished the inner structure and replaced by a circular building constructed around the central pit (King and Soffe 2013: 6). The second structure is most similar to that of an Iron Age

roundhouse and little distinguishes it from a domestic structure apart from the votive deposits around it and the central pit. A series of coin deposits were found outside the roundhouse; the majority of which date to the mid-late first century and some Roman coins were found in the Iron Age deposits (King and Soffe 2013: 9). The deposits also include brooches, weapons, vehicle fittings, and small number of human skeletal fragments (King and Soffe 2013: 10). The deposits included beads sourced in Britain, the Continent, and as far south as the Crimea; many of the beads were deliberately broken before deposition (King and Soffe 2013: 11). The pit is the main focus of the site and is dated to AD 20-330; it was in use during the second Iron Age phase and the Roman phase. The site has been sited as a parallel to the site of Gournay and is linked to a Mars-type local deity (King and Soffe 2013: 17). The Roman temple was built atop the second Iron Age phase in the late first century AD. The Roman temple was composed of a limestone *cella* and *pronaos* with features reminiscent of the Fishbourne villa (King and Soffe 2013: 19). The practices in the Iron Age and Roman temples are markedly similar with ritual deposits taking place outside the central shrine within the inner round structure surrounded by a square enclosure.

Ritual sites are often identified as associated with trees and groves, which is a common theme throughout history but begins to be identified in the Iron Age. The name Druid, first used by Caesar to identify the ritual leaders of the *Celtii*, derives from *dervovidos*, meaning "knowledge of the oak" (Caesar *GW* IV.13, Pliny *HN* XVI.95, Ross 1996: 59). Oak and mistletoe both have longstanding meanings and uses in burial and druidic ritual, as recorded by Pliny the Elder (*HN* XVI.95).   The role of trees in ritual performances or

spaces is only known in the broadest sense. Myths, place-names, and representations link trees to ritual. The place-name evidence is linked to the appearance of *bile* or *nemeton*, meaning "sacred grove" (Ross 1996: 62). The evidence for uses of groves or special trees has not been identified, although the depositions of hoards may indicate the importance of specific natural features.

In southern England, there was a unique form of representation, where figures were carved into the chalk hills. The majority of carvings date to the seventeenth to nineteenth century and only a few have evidence for earlier construction. The Uffington Horse in Oxfordshire and the Cerne Abbas Giant in Dorset are both tentatively dated to the Iron Age. The Cerne Giant is a naked male, 180 feet in height and holding a club. The figure is only definitively dated to pre-1742, when it was mentioned in a historic record (Hutton 1996: 162). The first mention of the Uffington Horse was in AD 1084 in an ecclesiastical document in Abingdon (Miles 2003: 16). Luminescence dating places the Uffington Horse in the early Iron Age, approximately 800-600 BC (Miles 2003: 75-78). The shape of the Uffington Horse closely parallels the imagery found on Iron Age coins.

A handful of wooden carvings found in bogs or gravel beds in Ireland and England has been associated with the Iron Age without definitive dating (Hutton 1996: 158). These few wooden carvings are non-descript in terms of gender and lack any defining features. The stone carvings are undated and as likely to represent later holy men as Iron Age deities.

Pre-Roman Ritual in the Classical Sources

Iron Age ritual and religion is the earliest religious practice reconstructed based on textual evidence, mainly from Tacitus, Pliny, and Caesar. The description of religion, from these sources, in Britain is confined to a discussion of the Druids. The Druids pre-date their first mention in Caesar's Gallic Wars, but their longevity is unknown; Caesar was the first to encounter them in Britain. There have been attempts to project their presence back into the Neolithic and the construction of Stonehenge; however, there is no evidence for their existence before the Roman and Greek accounts. No conclusive archaeological evidence has been found to support the presence of Druids in Gaul or Britain (Evans 2018). Diogenes Laertius, Aristotle, and Sotion mention that the Druids were an old tradition by 200 BC (Ross 1996: 79). The range of druidic practice is unknown, although Caesar claims they were well established across Gaul and Britain. Caesar, Pliny, and Tacitus all provide details about the druidic practices; both Caesar and Tacitus would have had opportunities to encounter Druids in their travels.

Caesar was the first to record the Druids in any detail, when he wrote *The Gallic Wars* between 58 and 50 BC, while on his campaigns across Europe. His observations were skewed because of his status as an outsider and the violent nature of his encounters. He led two campaigns into Britain but failed to make claim to enough land to maintain a strategic foothold. Caesar describes the Druids as a class of people found in Celtic culture across western Europe (*GW* IV.13). He does not differentiate between druidic practices across regions. Caesar records the Druids as ritual specialists concerned with nature; they performed sacrifices and rituals and taught their craft to other men (*GW* IV.13). In Gaul,

Caesar identified a leader among the Druids who gathered all the others once a year for a conference (*GW* IV.13). The druidic practice, Caesar claims, began in Britain before spreading to Gaul (*GW* IV.13).

Pliny the Elder describes the Druids in his *Historia naturalis* in AD 77. Pliny discusses the Druids in both Gaul and Britain. According to Pliny, Druids used mistletoe and oak, specifically the Valonias oak, in their ceremonies (*HN* XVI.95). They worshipped the Valonias oak and performed rituals only with materials from these trees (*HN* XVI.95). Mistletoe was used by the Druids to increase fertility in animals and as an antidote for any poison (*HN* XVI.95). In addition to mistletoe, the Druids valued *selago*, known today as northern firmoss, for protection and to treat eye diseases (*HN* XXIV.62). Pliny ends his discussion of Druids by praising Caesar for ending druidic practice in Gaul and warning that in Britain the practices continue (*HN* XXX.4).

In AD 98, Tacitus records the end of the Druids in Britain. In the *Annals* (XIV. 29-30), Tacitus notes that the Isle of Mona, modern Anglesey, is the place of refuge for those fleeing the Roman military campaigns. Paulinus Suetonius journeyed there with what troops he could muster and found when he arrived a group of Druids prepared to fight him (*Annals* XIV.30). The Druids are described as fanatics in black robes performing a ritual with raised hands that frightens the Roman military men, but does not prevent their slaughter (*Annals* XIV.30). According to the *Annals*, Suetonius was able to claim the entire island and destroy the sacred groves (*Annals* XIV.30).

The Iron Age-Roman Transition

The "Romanization" of Britain included continuing Iron Age practices. A number of deities from the Iron Age are imported into the Roman pantheon or are simply assigned local religious identities within a Roman framework. Female goddesses were associated with water sources, as with Sulis in Bath, Coventina's Well and in France, the Seine River with Sequana (Hutton 1996: 154). Epona was a unique case, as she was one of few local deities that was integrated into Roman practice across the Empire and in Rome. The male deities of the Iron Age were not integrated into Roman beliefs in the same way; often male gods did not retain their local names (Hutton 1996: 154). Sulis, Coventina, Sequana and Epona all maintain their local names. The localized nature of religion in the Iron Age and early Roman Empire is exemplified in the 375 inscriptions of local deities' names with 305 of them appearing only once in the landscape (Hutton 1996: 156). The limited, regional nature of religious figures is later mirrored in the appearance of Cornish saints.

Epona was the horse goddess favored in Gaul and usually represented in Roman iconography next to a horse (Webster 1986: 70). Horses are featured on Iron Age coinage in Britain and hillside chalk carvings, i.e. the Uffington Horse. Horses are well established as a favored animal in ritual activities from all periods until Christianity is adopted from at least the Bronze Age and one of the main images in Paleolithic cave paintings is the horse. The linking of a humanoid deity to horses is not unexpected.

Recorded in St Patrick's *Confessio* (60), people in Ireland were still worshipping the sun after their conversion to Christianity. This worship of a sun does not appear to have been related to a specific humanoid deity but instead to the deification of the sun itself (Hutton 1996: 156). If this deification of the sun is true, it is possible that the wheel and Celtic cross imagery are representative of it (Hutton 1996: 156). However, there are no other records of a sun cult, just a lot of imagery that could resemble the sun.

In Gaul, many temples have been identified beneath later Roman temples (Ross 1996: 70). The same might be true for Roman temples in England, but few have definitive evidence for it. Roman temples may have been placed over the top of Iron Age ritual sites including Worth, Maiden Castle, Hayling Island, Thistleton, and Brigstock. At Worth, Kent, beneath the Roman temple, early and late Iron Age pottery was found along with three shields and fragments of a statue holding a shield and spear (Ross 1996: 71). Hayling Island has very similar patterns of ritual deposit in the Roman and Iron Ages; during the Roman era, the temple was dedicated to Mars (King and Soffe 2013: 22). The reuse of ritual spaces in the Roman period represents the appropriation of important ritual places from the Iron Age and was likely a sign of control of the region, reinforcing the importation of Roman religious practices.

Ritual continuity is visible at sites such as Coventina's Well. At Carrawburgh, the temple encloses Coventina's Well along with a series of altars and offerings. At least 29 altars have been recovered, 14 of which were dedicated to Coventina and one dedicated to Minerva (Lewis 1966: 88). Many votive offerings were left there including pins, glass,

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pottery, stone, and bronze statues of dogs, and horses, and bronze heads, bells, over 13,500 coins, and a human head have been recovered from the well, the earliest dating to the first century (Lewis 1966: 88, Ross 1996: 56). After the end of the second century, the worship continued on a smaller scale until the fifth century, as is evidenced by fewer coins deposited (Lewis 1966: 88). A second well was dug and associated with three temples, including a Mithraeum, an altar to the nymphs and local god (Ross 1996: 56). The ritual use of Coventina's Well extended into the fifth century. Coventina is interpreted as a water goddess associated with healing.

Woodeaton in Oxfordshire has evidence for a temple and an attached workshop where items were made to be deposited at the shrine. Many of the items produced for deposition are purely Iron Age in appearance without Roman influences, including a bronze mask, a headdress, a statue of a kilted female, and chainmail similar to that found at the Iron Age site of Hjørtspring, Denmark (Ross 1996: 70). The large number of coins found at the site with the votive materials suggests formal ceremonial events, such as festivals (Ross 1996: 70). A series of bird representations, pins, bracelets and rings at Woodeaton link it to the similar deposits found at Lydney (Ross 1996: 70). The poor quality of the rings, pins and bracelets indicates that they were likely made for deposition and not wear (Ross 1996: 71). Also found at the site were model axes, an anchor and six spears, three of which were bent (Ross 1996: 71). Fragments of sheet bronze with letters indicate that there were possible curse tablets deposited there. The deposits at Woodeaton suggest several different types of cult activities: festivals, a workshop, female-focused deposits as at Lydney, and deposits focused on military materials.

There are a few sites from the second to ninth century displaying native British features representing a continuing tradition from the Iron Age. Roundhouses, an Iron Age structure type, are found periodically at Roman sites and into the Early Anglo-Saxon period; several are found in the area around Yeavering (Hope-Taylor 1977: 268). In the first decades of the Roman occupation, they appear at the borders of Roman towns during the first phase of occupation (Perring 2002: 51). The Romans introduced rectangular buildings to the island and soon replaced the majority of circular structures characteristic to the Iron Age. However, a number of roundhouses have been found in the later Roman period at Vindolanda and areas in Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire (Perring 2002: 52). The line that the Romans set and defined with Hardrian's Wall does not represent the Iron Age borders, and at Yeavering, Iron Age structures continued with more frequency beyond Rome's influence. While there are not many sites with evidence for pre-Roman continuity, there are enough to suggest that a few areas were not completely Romanized.

Roman Britain

In 1912, Frances Haverfield defined "Romanization" as a change in culture and materials in response to the spread of Roman society (Millett 1990: 1). This change was not a cultural replacement but an adaptation of local practices and materials to create a fusion of the two. The Roman Empire had a well-established pantheon of gods, including Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Juno, Bacchus, Minerva, and Athena, to name a few. However, these gods represent only those cultivated in the heartland of the Roman Empire and have parallels within Greek civilization. Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva were the most common

deities to be imported into new regions (Millett 2005: 105). In a process titled

Interpretatio Romana, deities encountered within other cultures, particularly male deities,

were associated with the principal Roman gods and often given the same names. This

process does not hold true for all deities. Mithras, for example, gained a cult following

and retained his own identity within the Roman pantheon, as did Epona. Castor and

Pollux are depicted in a Roman mosaic in Trier, where they, along with Helen of Troy,

are emerging from the eggs laid from the union of Jupiter and Leda (Henig 2006b: 89).

The use of Castor and Pollux were two Roman gods whose names were transposed onto

Germanic deities in an act of *interpretatio Romana* by Tacitus.

Roman deities all had temples, shrines and altars dedicated to them. They ruled over

specific domains in the world and situations encountered by people in everyday life. Juno

was the patron goddess of both Rome and marriage. Magistrates and priests were

responsible for maintaining the temples and leading ceremonies. Calendars indicated

when celebrations were held for feast days, temple-dedication festivals, and regularly

occurring signs; the annual calendar became popular in 46 BC after Caesar's reforms

(Rüpke 2014: 8).

Unlike Christianity or Judaism, traditional polytheistic Roman religion was not

concerned with improving the moral practices of the people, but it functioned as an

avenue for improving their lives. They would perform sacrifices and offerings in order to

alleviate immediate suffering (Liebeschuetz 1979: 40, Beard et al. 2006). Offences that

the gods punished included insulting a deity directly through neglecting to present

offerings to them or through theft from their shrines, incest, breaking of an oath or murdering a family member (Liebeschuetz 1979: 41-42, Beard et al. 2006).

Often calamities, political or natural, would be attributed to discontent deities and people who had neglected to please them (Liebeschuetz 1979: 56, Beard et al. 2006). Gods' moods required maintenance through sacrifice and offerings. When the military lost wars or the civil wars occurred, the misfortune was attributed to unappeased gods and ceremonies were performed.

When the Roman Empire claimed Britain as a province, several different religious traditions were imported. In the first century, five legions were sent to Britain including four from the Rhineland and one from the Danube (Millett 2005: 90). While these legions would have included some men from the Mediterranean, many would have been from other provinces including the Rhineland and Danube. With these diverse peoples came their belief systems and individual deities.

The Imperial Cult

The Roman Empire did not impose a unified religion on the regions it conquered with the exception of the Cult of the Emperor. The cult of Julius Caesar began soon after his murder, when during the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris* celebration, a comet was seen for seven nights afterwards and interpreted as divine support for the cult (Liebeschuetz 1979: 65). Octavian proclaimed the comet to be Caesar's soul and thus established the divinity of his role as Augustus, since his father was a god (Liebeschuetz 1979: 66). Augustus became

the second emperor to gain a cult after his death. The Cult of the Emperor rose in importance under Augustus and required Roman citizens to be willing to sacrifice or light incense in the name of the Emperor (Liebeschuetz 1979: 66). The deification of some emperors after their deaths led to their inclusion within the Roman pantheon. The deification of men was eventually accepted by the Romans and had its basis in Greek practice (Liebeschuetz 1979: 66).

In the provinces, the Cult of the Emperors was imposed by the government to force the elite to acknowledge the Roman rule (Liebeschuetz 1979: 77). The spread of Roman religious practices and spaces was purposeful to foster loyalty to the remote emperor (Liebeschuetz 1979: 77). In Colchester, the main Classical temple was dedicated to the emperor Claudius, who was deified, and the temple provided the cult focus for the region (Millett 2005: 105). This temple served as a visible reminder of Roman rule in Britain. Other imperial cult centers were located in London, Lincoln, and York, which coincidentally become the main bishoprics of Christian Britain (Millett 2005: 106). Expressions of faith and loyalty to the Imperial Cult were not confined to ritual centers, the wealthy merchant class could perform sacrifices with the *augustales*, a collection of six men who had unimpeachable loyalty to the Emperor (Henig 1984: 71).

The Mystery Cults

Mystery cults were a type of religious group developed within the Roman Empire as elite clubs. The term mystery was used in the Classical period to refer to these small religious groups (Klauck 2000: 83). Mystery cults are characterized by the need for initiation, a

lifelong commitment to the group, and a vow to never reveal the secrets (Klauck 2000: 83-87). The secrets were not what the cult was about or what they worshipped; the secrets of the mystery cults were about objects and pieces of secret knowledge or ritual (Bowden 2010: 24). They were built around a mystery that could be revealed to only those individuals who passed their initiation trials (Beck 2006). The rituals of the cults are not well known because they were not well recorded, which was deliberate. Many of the texts that discuss the mystery cults were written by Christian authors, who were not bound by the vows of secrecy, but as a result, they lack many of the specifics known only to the members (Klauck 2000: 88). Apart from the rituals of initiation, many of the cults relied on ritualized feasts to unite their participants and maintain hierarchy, namely Mithraism and the cult of Dionysus (Bowden 2010: 189).

The mystery cults of the fourth century include Mithraism, the Eluesinian Synthēma, the cult and mysteries of Dionysus, the cult of Sarapis, and the cult of Isis, to name a few. These mystery cults were constructed around a specific mythological tale of the central figure. In Mithraism, the killing of the bull is the main tale emphasized within the cult. In the mysteries of Dionysus, the hedonistic gluttony and theophagy run as themes through the wild cult. In the cult of Isis, this story was of Isis and Osiris' rebirths and Isis' role as a maternal figure (Klauck 2000: 130-135). While the cult of Sarapis was structured around a shared feast and was introduced from Egypt alongside the cult of Isis (Klauck 2000: 139). The mystery cults of Isis and of Serapis had a cult center in York and London that continued into the fourth century (Henig 2006b: 89).

The cult of Mithras

Mithra, or Mithras, was either a Persian god or a Roman god, who called water from rock, killed the primal bull, fought the sun god and lived in heaven (Klauck 2000: 140). The killing of the bull is the defining scene of Mithraism and is found in every mithraeum (Ulansey 1991: 6, Beck 2006). There is a debate as to whether the cult was transposed from Iran, and Persian mythology, into a Roman tradition; there are certainly some parallels in iconography, but the development of the cult took place in the Roman Empire (Klauck 2000: 140, Bowden 2010: 181). Inscriptions to Mithras are identified in Rome around AD 102 and peaked in AD 140 (Klauck 2000: 141). Mithraism was by necessity a small cult that excluded women and extended membership to only a select few (Henig 2006b: 89). The religion appealed to men in the Roman army, which is demonstrated in the occurrence of mithraea in or near Roman forts, but it also included merchants, politicians, and slaves (Ulansey 1991: 6, Beck 2006). The mithraea were built to resemble caves, which was where Mithras lived according to myth (Klauck 2000: 146).

Burial

Roman cemeteries were located outside of the walls of settlements and forts. Trends in burial changed from the first to fifth century AD in Roman Britain. Above ground burial monuments of stone with inscriptions memorializing the deceased were located along roads near the city entrances. Only a few large monumental examples of this exist in Britain, primarily in London (Millett 2005: 123). Inscribed tombstones were more common in Britain (Millett 2005: 123). This process of memorialization declines at the end of the second century, when inhumations replace the earlier practice of cremation

(Millett 2005: 124). Later Roman burials favored prone inhumations in well-defined graves with few instances of overlap suggesting they were marked on the surface (Millett 2005: 128).

Mausolea appear in the later Roman period to mark important burials and are decorated with wall paintings. The mausoleum at Poundbury, Dorset was decorated with what has been termed a Christian style wall painting (Millett 2005: 126). Stone or lead coffins were sometimes used to differentiate high status burials (Millett 2005: 126).

Two burial rituals were adopted within Britain from the Roman repertoire: the inclusion of coins and shoes with the body (Millett 2005: 126). A coin was placed in a burial, traditionally, to pay Charon to cross the River Styx in the underworld. Shoes represent a need for the deceased to walk to the next life and are identified based on the discovery of hobnails in burials (Millett 2005: 126). These two practices were not adopted by all of Britain, but have been identified to varying degrees across it.

Votive Deposits

The deposition of valued materials, either in the ground or in water, continued into the Roman period. The votive deposits often include coins, small representations in metal, stone, or wood, personal ornamentation or curse tablets. Representations could include an image of a god or goddess, individual images that could be interpreted as portraits of the person depositing the item, or body parts. These representations could also be miniatures of objects used in everyday life, such as an axe, altar, dagger, wheels, shields, farming

implements, and many others (Webster 1986: 125-130). The representation of body parts, such as feet, legs, or eyes is interpreted as the individual invoking the deity for aid with a specific ailment. Coins, representations and personal ornaments were found in the Iron Age but come to define three of the four types of deposits in the Roman period.

The Roman period introduced curse tablets. Curse tablets, or *defixiones*, were small metal sheets, primarily lead, with invocations to specific deities to either send good or evil wishes (Webster 1986: 123). Many have been found in Bath, Uley and other ritual sites that are primarily associated with water. Some tablets ask for a thief to be cursed or for something to be returned. Often they were written backwards presumably to deter others from easily reading them (Webster 1986: 135). The language used on the tablets appears to have been regulated with a specific formula required to properly ask the deities for something (Webster 1986: 135).

Ritual Sites

During the Roman occupation of Britain, from the mid-first to early fifth century AD, a series of temples was built to commemorate both Roman and Celtic deities. These temples enjoyed a long period of use before disappearing from the landscape either from neglect and abandonment or deliberate destruction. The fall of the Roman temples in northern Britain coincides with the spread of Christianity and, perhaps, with the withdrawal of the army from the island. The end of Roman temples has often been linked to Christian animosity and anti-pagan laws within the Roman Empire, which began during the reign of Constantine. The archaeological record does not explicitly support the

concept of deliberate destruction of temples by Christians during the late Roman period. It is difficult to attribute deliberate destruction or vandalism to temples from an excavation. It appears that the native British rituals did not require monumental structures until the Romans introduced them, followed by an increase in the presence of native British deities alongside Roman ones.

The temples along the northern region of Britain reflect a diverse collection of religions, which was common in the Roman Empire until the spread of Christianity. The religions found in Britain during the Roman occupation were varied and required different structures and materials. There were four identifiable religious types: classical Roman paganism, the native British beliefs and deities, mystery cults, and Christianity. The Roman and British paganism became intertwined in representations and in ritual sites. Classical temples did not necessarily house classical Roman deities, and Romano-British temples did not necessarily contain a combination of Roman or Iron Age deities. These two religions were mixed in the sacred landscape; a type of temple does not correspond to a specific religious practice. Romano-British, also referred to as Romano-Celtic, temples and shrines, which demonstrate the merging of Roman and local belief systems, are found primarily within civilian centers and not in the military sites (Millett 2005: 108).

Romano-Celtic

Romano-Celtic temples are found scattered across Britain. They are described typically as one rectangle within another and, less frequently, as concentric circles or polygons

(Lewis 1966: 1). There are no circular Romano-Celtic temples known in Britain (Lewis 1966: 30). They are typified by an internal *cella* and concentric ambulatory (Woodward 1992: 37, De la Bedoyere 2006: 242). The ambulatory would have been used for religious processions, while the cella would be entered less often by a select few (Woodward 1992: 37). There is debate as to whether the temples were enclosed with walls and a roof or if the site was completely open; there appears to have been variability in the structures (Woodward 1992: 40). The inferences surrounding the influence of the pagan religion and the temple structure are unclear; generally it is assumed that the pagan "Celtic" religion was focused around natural features such as tree groves and springs (Lewis 1966: 5). A large number of the Romano-Celtic temples and shrines are found associated with springs and are thought to be dedicated to a water deity. These temples are often found on top of earlier ritual centers with buried votive deposits. The Romano-Celtic temples often have features that allow for increased light.

Classic Roman Temples

There are only very few temples in Britain that conform to classic Roman architecture (Lewis 1966: 57). The lack of classic Roman temples, like those found in Rome, must in part be due to access to appropriate resources and architects to design them; the temples that can be described as classic are found in military zones where the Italians were located or where Roman influence was strong (Lewis 1966: 70). In classical Roman temples, a mixture of deities was worshipped, both local and Roman. The type of temple did not dictate the type of deity worshipped, simply the form of the building.

A classical temple is characterized by not being a "Romano-Celtic" temple and not housing an oriental cult (Lewis 1966: 57). There are not many temples in Britain that reflect pure Roman architecture, and when they do appear to have Roman characteristics, it does not imply the deity was Roman. Bath, the most famous classical temple in Britain, was dedicated to Sulis-Minerva, a combination of Celtic and Roman goddesses. The classical temples did not have fixed orientations or features, as they were adapted to the landscape (Lewis 1966: 57). All the variations of classical temples were simple and consisted of two rooms, which were a *cella,* or cult room, and a porch or ambulatory (Lewis 1966: 77). The sizes of the temples vary, and the shrines differ. This building plan can be used to describe both ritual and secular buildings, meaning that the interpretation of possible temple sites is conservative (Lewis 1966: 78).

The classical temples have several variations including small apsidal temples and small circular temples. The apsidal temples lack the columns or pilasters that characterize the typical classical construction. The apsidal temple features a large apse with either low polygonal tiled roofs or, less commonly, a half-dome over the apses (Lewis 1966: 72). Apses are found more often in baths or civic buildings, not in religious contexts (Lewis 1966: 72). The apsidal temples are simple and difficult to differentiate from the other classical temples with walls, since often very little of the foundation survives. The small circular temples attributed to the classical temple style represent an earlier tradition from the Iron Age (Lewis 1966: 85). They are all small and roughly constructed including timber additions with entrances toward the east. The classical temples come from many different origins and features.

The Temple of Sulis-Minerva in Bath

The archaeology of Bath centers around the bathhouse, *Aquae Sulis*, built during the Roman occupation (AD 70 – 470), and the evidence of preceding and subsequent activity around the spring. The baths have drawn attention for several centuries and are located beneath a Georgian reconstruction. The sites of the Temple Precinct and King's Bath have been well excavated and documented revealing an important bath and temple complex (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985). The sites were recognized as significant in 1727, when the gilt-bronze head of Minerva was discovered along with a series of sculptural fragments, likely from the temple. The first excavations began in 1867 followed by 30 years of work in the shadow of the nineteenth century construction. The site was described as consisting of the temple, spring and baths to the south and east of the complex. This discovery was followed by a lull in the excavations until the 1960s, when the site was more fully investigated (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985).

The archaeology of Bath reveals a complex urban landscape with hints at continuing ritual traditions into the late fifth century. The temple and baths were laid out in AD 70, during the Flavian Period, using classical architecture, even though the site was honoring a Celtic goddess, Sulis, alongside the Roman Minerva. Soon afterwards, during the Hadrianic period, a second temple precinct was placed to the east of the main temple. It was 130 years after the first construction of the temple precinct before the principal sanctuary was modified. In AD 200, a series of improvements was made to the temple and baths. Specifically, the spring was fully enclosed with a vaulted chamber, which

limited the public access to the space. The temple was also covered, and the site now incorporated an ambulatory around a cella resembling Romano-Celtic architectural style (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985). Two rooms were also added to either side of the staircase leading to the temple, and the baths were expanded and reroofed. Near the end of the third century, an elaborate portico was added with an ornamented entrance along the north wall of the spring chamber. Sometime between AD 350 and 470, there were at least six phases of floor levels, suggesting that the sanctuary was in use well into the fifth century.

The site continued to be used into the fourth century, which spelled the end for most temples. The continual deposition of ritual items, mainly dominated by coins, suggests that the pagan ritual tradition continued long after the country's Christianization and the Roman withdrawal in AD 410. A pot, dating to the last quarter of the fourth century or later, perhaps post-dating the destruction of the altar and the end of maintenance for the temple, was deliberately buried at the base of the main entrance way to the spring (Davenport 1991: 146). The radiocarbon dates of the temple suggest that the demolition was between AD 450 and 500 (Gerrard 2007: 149). These dates suggest that the site continued to be important in the region well after Rome officially withdrew.

Apart from the temple and bath precinct, a series of urban excavations has been conducted, revealing hints about the rest of the settlement. The excavations at the Upper Borough Walls in 1980 reveal the northern defenses of Bath with a second century rampart cut to allow a perimeter wall with a wide ditch, probably dating to the fourth

century (Davenport 1991: 1). The Roman wall survived into the late Saxon period, when outworks were added and the ditch was recut (Davenport 1991: 1). The outer works were demolished in the thirteenth century. The next set of excavations, at Swallow Street, between 1984 and 1985, uncovered hypocaust structures, walls and a presumed hallway revealing what appears to be an alleyway between two houses. These structures date to the Roman period, based upon pottery deposits (Davenport 1991: 40). After the Roman period structures at Swallow Street, there was a layer of undisturbed silt covering the site until the eleventh century, when construction in the area began again (Davenport 1991: 48).

The only burials uncovered in Bath were found at the Crystal Palace Public House and 2 Abbey Street sites. The sites are next to one another, and the burials likely form one cemetery in use from the Roman to Saxon periods (Davenport 1991: 104, 109). At the Crystal Palace Public House, four late Saxon burials were identified on top of a tesserae mosaic floor from the Roman period, whereas at 2 Abbey Street, there were eight phases of occupation identified, dating between the first and second centuries, with only a few materials hinting at some form of construction. The ninth phase of Abbey Street corresponds with the burials at the Crystal Palace and contain twelve burials and an assortment of bone fragments in addition to the four burials already discussed (Davenport 1991: 109). In phase ten at Abbey Street, the outside of a structure was identified. In phase eleven it was filled in and construction materials were removed.

The archaeology of Roman and post-Roman Bath presents an intriguing amount of evidence for continuing practices and traditions even in the wake of dramatic political changes. Roman Bath in AD 70 consisted of a primarily ritual site centered at the sacred spring, temple and bathhouse, but the urban excavations reveal fortifications and settlement. The Roman incarnation of Bath was a bustling ritual center evidenced by the richness and number of deposits in the spring. The ritual practices would have been similar to those at the temple to Minerva at Piacenza in Cisalpine Gaul (Henig 1984: 43). Post-Roman Bath presents evidence for continuing ritual practices at the spring until the end of the fourth century, far beyond the expected end when the country was believed to be Christianized. The minimal evidence for the Saxon period is the few burials found at the Crystal Palace and Abbey Street. Beyond the burials, there is little evidence for an extensive occupation, since Swallow Street has a Roman level of occupation and also a large layer of silt between the fifth and eleventh centuries.

Mithraea

The Mithraea are characterized by a subterranean structure. Beyond the entrance, there were a series of stairs leading into a lower room, which often featured a source of water (Klauck 2000: 146). It was a popular religion in the second half of the second century and spread across the Roman Empire. Mithras is one of the few external gods who became popular in Rome. In the fourth century, a number of Mithraea buried their statues either for ritualistic purposes or for safety from Christian persecution (Croxford 2003: 91). There is evidence for both destruction and reconstruction in response to persecution or the dissolution of the Mithraic community. In 296 AD, there was a Pictish invasion along

Hadrian's Wall, and all three of the Mithraea were destroyed; only Housesteads was not rebuilt.

There are six known mithraea in Britain: London (Walbrook), Carrawburgh, Rudchester, Housesteads, York and Caernarvon. Three of these mithraea are found along Hadrian's wall: Carrawburgh, Rudchester and Housesteads. These three temples differ from the large London mithraeum in that they are built into the sides of valleys a fair distance from the nearby forts (Lewis 1966: 102). They are smaller than the London Mithraeum with less elaborate decoration and architecture. The wall mithraea were constructed using both stone and timber with a number of altars and shrines to both Mithras and Sol, an associated deity, along with numerous unassociated deities. The York Mithraeum was characterized by a small bull-slaying votive representation accompanied by the sculptures of the head of Mithras, Sarapis and Minerva (Henig 2006b: 89). The Mithraea have also been identified as Basilica structures, but are differentiated by the altars present and the subterranean nature of the main room.

Conclusion

Religion in the fourth century, during the time of Constantine, was one of variance and change. Constantine was careful to respect the Imperial cult and its priests, but favored the bishops to whom he gave the powers of a civil magistrate (Henig 2006b: 86). He was aware the Christianity was spreading and made pagan sacrifice illegal (Barnes 2014). The worship of a series of gods continued well into the fourth century in Rome, however, and it can be assumed that the same occurred in Britain.

Chapter 6: Christianity in Britain in the Fourth Century

Introduction

The practice and spread of Christianity by members of the Roman Empire represents a distinct change in the nature of religion. Traditional Roman polytheistic religion integrated local deities and practices into the formal Roman practices. Traditional Christian practice does not allow for traditional Roman Imperial cults or the appeasement of multiple deities; the adoption of Christianity represents a distinct change in religious belief systems. In Britain, the material culture of Christian practice is not visible until the third and fourth centuries. The archaeological evidence does not prove that it was the only religion practiced. This chapter will focus on the development of Christianity in Britain. While Christianity was gaining followers, traditional Roman religious practices were continuing. The analysis of continuing Roman Christian practice in fifth and sixth century eastern England is dependent on establishing the evidence for widespread Christian practice in the fourth century.

Christian Practice before the Fourth Century in the Greater Roman Empire

The first centuries, when Christian practice broke away from Judaism, are marked by few material remains or ritual spaces. The earliest form of Christian practice is difficult to identify archaeologically because it was persecuted, and used symbols that were ubiquitous (White 1990: 3). Christian religious spaces during the Roman persecution were covertly situated within private homes. The catacombs of cities, including Rome, were used for irregular gatherings near the tombs of martyrs and other Christians (Stevenson 1985, White 1990: 12, White 1996: 12).

The original Christian meeting place was within the domestic sphere, mirroring those featured in the Bible, eventually evolving into the house-church (White 1990: 3). The house-church was likely unrecognizable in the early phases before becoming a designated space as the religion spread. From the end of the first century into the third, designated public ritual spaces began to be developed from private homes into public churches (White 1990: 15). House-churches likely continued as the main ritual space for Christian practice well into the third century (White 1990: 16). Identifying ritual spaces within domestic spheres is difficult without blatant evidence like the rooms identified at the Lullingstone Villa or Dura Europos.

The only complete pre-Constantinian Christian ritual space is that of Dura Europos where the complete evolution of the house-church can be seen. The house-church of Dura Europos is dated by the Sassanian incursions of AD 256 (White 1990: 7). It contains an elaborately decorated room that was likely used for baptism (Jensen 2006: 575). Dura Europos is interesting not only for its house-church, but also for its vicinity to the synagogue and mithraeum located down the road (Hopkins 1979, White 1990: 8). This proximity demonstrates both competition between the religions and an accepted co-existence. The church of Dura Europos has no clear evidence for Christian use before being modified to serve as a house-church (White 1990: 22). Before the painting of the baptistery, the structure was similar to any other private house in the settlement. It was likely used as a Christian meeting place before the addition of paintings with scenes from the New Testament and was decorated at a later stage of its use.

There are other examples of house-churches in Qirqbize, Syria, and Parentium, Istria, which is now Croatia. Qirqbize has a villa beneath the basilica Euphrasiana (White 1990: 22). Qirqbize began as a rectangular hall in the early fourth century and had basilica features added by the end of the century (White 1990: 23). There was a similar trend within Judaism from the first to second centuries BC; private homes were transformed into synagogues (White 1990: 64).

The Persecution of Christianity

The persecution of Christians was a reaction to a fear that they were dangerous within the Roman Empire because they refused to sacrifice and that unwillingness could anger the deities upon whose good grace the people depended. In AD 249, Decius issued an edict that required all inhabitants of the Roman Empire to perform sacrifices to the gods (Rives 1999: 135). This edict was not intended as a hostile measure against Christians; it was a reflection of Decius' concern over maintaining traditional Roman religious practices (Rives 1999: 142). It was the first mandate to require the participation of the entire Empire in a religious activity (Rives 1999: 148). In an empire that had numerous religious practices, Rives (1999: 152) identifies Decius' edict as the first official indicator that sacrifice was one of the unifying practices of Roman religion. In other words, in a civilization that allowed many variations in religious practice, the act of sacrifice is what united them. The emphasis was on a shared religious act and not a shared religious belief (Rives 1999: 153).

The official persecutions began in the mid-third century following Decius' edict. Before Decius' persecution in AD 250, aggression towards Christians was localized (Rives 1999: 135). Decius' persecution was followed by Valerian's from 257 to 259/260 (Thomas 1981: 46, Rives 1999: 135). In AD 260, the Rescript of Gallienus declared Christianity an officially approved cult within the Roman Empire (Thomas 1981: 46). The respite from official persecution did not last long. In AD 303, Diocletian ordered another persecution, which lasted eight years in the Lavant but ended in the rest of the Empire in AD 306 (Thomas 1981: 47). Persecution limited the ability of the Christian community members to publically express their religion. Meanwhile, in England there is little evidence for the persecution of Christians, apart from the story of St Alban who was martyred either during the reign of Decius or Valerian (Barnes 2010). Constanius I, a junior emperor, was ruling Britain and Gaul from AD 293 to 306 and may have destroyed some churches based on Lactantius' account (AD 313/315 *De Mort. Persec.*, Barnes 2010). Most evidence for Christian practice in Roman Britain is dated to the fourth century.

In many parts of the Roman Empire, there is evidence for Christian violence towards polytheistic ritual spaces and materials (Matthews 1967: 445, Fowden 1978). There is little physical evidence for Christian aggression in Britain. Many of the materials that are used as support of the destruction could actually be evidence for the ritual deposition of materials and the ritual closing of spaces by the practitioners (Nicholson 1995, Croxford 2003). At Uley, the pieces of a cult statue were used as packing material for a timber structure erected after AD 403 over the top of the remains of a temple (Croxford 2003: 83). The head of the same statue was not buried until the sixth century when the site was

a church (Croxford 2003: 83). The Walbrook Mithraeum had broken and buried statues, although, the space continued to be used into the early medieval period (Croxford 2003: 91). Many temples and shrines of the Romano-British polytheistic religion continued to be used well into the fourth century (Dark 1994: 30-31).

The Fourth Century Shift

In AD 306, Constantine was proclaimed an emperor of the Roman Empire in York. The Tetrarchy, a system of rule within the Roman Empire composed of four emperors, only lasted a short period. It was instituted in AD 293 and ended 313. Constantine, as his first acts, ended the persecution of Christians in Britain, and Gaul (Lactantius AD 313/315 *De Mort. Persec.*). Maxentius ended the persecution in Italy and Africa in 306, after he gained power. The Palinode of Galerius declaring a period of toleration in 311, only applied to the Balkans and Eastern Empire where it lasted only around six months. In 313, Constantine formed an alliance with Licinius after the Battle of the Milvian Bridge and the Letter of Licinius, often referred to as the Edict of Milan, was sent to provincial governors to return property to Christians and allow them to worship freely. It was not until 324, when Constantine defeated Licinius solidifying his role as Emperor of the eastern and western Roman Empire, that Christians would be completely free of the fear of persecution.

In AD 314, a debate on how to resolve the dispute between the north African Donatists and the rest of the Christian Church took place at the Council of Arles. The importance of the debate comes from the recording of delegates from Britain. The religious delegates

present at the Council included bishops from Italy, Gaul, and Britain, which included the York bishop, Eborius, the London bishop, Resitutus, and the "Episcopus de Civitate Colonia Londiniensium" (or possibly Lindiniensium), Adelphius, along with a priest, Sacerdos, and a deacon, Arminius (Munier 1963: 15, ll. 54–58, Henig 2006b: 90, Petts 2016: 2). Londinensium may be either Colchester, or Lincoln as the more likely, as it represents the third province of Britannia (Thomas 1981: 121). At this time, Britain was divided into four provinces, each of which had its own governor, and perhaps its own bishopric. The fourth province, Britannia Prima, may have lacked a bishop and been represented by the deacon and priest (Thomas 1981: 121). The Council of Arles did not resolve the division, but it is the first indication of an organized Christian Church in Britain with the mention of the British delegates in the *Acta Concilii Arelatensis* (Munier 1963: 15, ll. 54–58, Rivet and Smith 1979: 49–50). The recording of British bishops indicates that there was an organized formal church structure already in place in Britain before the council.

In the fourth century, as Christianity began to be accepted within the Roman Empire, the church architecture began to take on specific characteristics that would later define it. Basilicas were easily transformed with a few changes, such as the movement of entrances. The favor of Constantine and his mother, Helena Augusta, led to the proliferation of churches within the Roman heartland and the Holy Land including the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives (Cameron 2006: 100). The Church of St. John Lateran, in a strict sense, was the

first basilica in AD 314 and first form of official monumental Christian architecture built on land donated by the imperial palace (White 1990: 18).

Constantine died in 337 soon after his baptism, as recorded by Eusebius of Caesarea's *Life of Constantine* in the fourth century (Cameron and Hall 1999). His reign represents a change in the practice of Christianity. While he did not make Christianity the official religion of the Roman Empire, he did favor it over others. It took the better part of seven decades before pagan altars were destroyed (Cameron 2011). In 382 AD, the Altar of Victory, which was the main statue and shrine dedicated to the Goddess Victory used to represent the Roman state and religion, was removed and the Roman cults were disendowed by Gratian (Brown 1961: 3, Cameron 2011). These actions marked the beginning of the end of approved pagan practices.

It was not until the end of the fourth century, during the reign of Theodosius I, that other religions were legislated against (Cameron 2006: 102). The legislations against polytheistic religions continued into the sixth century under Justinian I (Cameron 2006: 102). In the 390s, Victricius, the bishop of Rouen, traveled to Britain to settle an unknown dispute (*De Laude Sanctorum* 443–444). Victricus' journey, perhaps, began the tradition of Christian representatives from Gaul being called upon to solve British religious controversies, as Germanus would in the fifth century.

The Materiality of Christianity

There are few inscriptions declaring Christian practice or identification and the archaeological study of Christianity relies on the identification of symbols. Symbols of Christ or God found most frequently are the Chi-Rho, HIS, a fish, and the Alpha and Omega. The A-O, which is the short form of the Alpha and Omega, are symbols used to represent Christ (Meztger 1976: 6). Fish are found in a number of ritual representations including Christian contexts and in conjunction with polytheistic Roman representations. Keys, or crossed keys, are used to represent the Bishop of Rome, St Peter, and the keys of heaven (Wilson 1938: 40). Cross imagery is found in a mosaic in Cirencester from the third or early fourth century adjacent to dolphins and cantharus (Cookson 1987: 427). The cross is most often represented as an equal armed cross or the Celtic cross within British iconography.

In AD 312, Constantine I took the Chi-Rho symbol as his badge, as recorded by Lactantius, inspiring the use of the monogram to embody Christ (Lactantius AD 313/315 *De Mort. Persec*. C. 44, Painter 1967: 15-18). The Chi-Rho begins to appear more frequently in the early fourth century, which corresponds to Constantine's use of the monogram and the official end of persecution. The Chi-Rho is the most common symbol representative of Christ found in late Roman England; it is the first two letters of the Greek word, Christos. It is one of the few symbols in Christianity that cannot be tied to other religions. It has been found on epitaphs, rings, mosaics, wall-paintings, silverware, and many other forms of portable items. Images of Christ are unusual in Britain, although there is one at Walesby, Lullingstone and Hinton St. Mary, where Christ is identified

based on the presence of a Chi-Rho. The Water Newton treasure includes a series of silver plaques with the Chi-Rho inscribed (Henig 2006b: 92).

Images of Christian stories are found represented on paintings, mosaics, and inscriptions beginning in the Roman period. Representations of stories from the Old and New Testament are found on items ranging from sarcophagi and walls of mausoleums to the body of a flagon. At a mausoleum in Poundbury, Dorset, a wall painting featured a series of men, one of whom had a large square-cut beard, a common way to represent St Peter in the fourth century (Henig 2006b: 92). The other men in the group were likely the other apostles (Henig 2006b: 92). The silver flagon from the Traprain Law hoard depicts a series of stories from Christianity including Moses striking the rock, Adam and Eve, and the adoration of the Magi (Henig 2006b: 92).

There are few examples of recognizably Christian representations before the third century, possibly, a result of borrowed symbols from other religions (Jensen 2006: 574). Religions commonly borrow from a shared symbolic vocabulary making it difficult to identify the religious practice being expressed but easy for new comers to understand. The analysis of Christian items in Roman and post-Roman Britain relies on similar symbols being used in Britain as were used in Rome.

Symbols are often shared by multiple belief systems, like the cantharus, dolphins, vine-scrolls, and cupids that are used to ornament Christian scenes (Elderkin 1924, Hutchinson 1986: 143, Perring 2003: 109). Cupids, dolphins and cantharus imagery first began to

appear in Britain in the mid-second century before they were used in Christian imagery (Perring 2003: 120). These images do not represent the adoption of other beliefs within Christianity; they are part of a common Roman symbolic template used to decorate spaces.

Several different birds are associated with Christianity. Doves are used to represent the Holy Spirit (Henig 2006: 91). Doves are found on many items in Roman Britain, including a gold ring from Fifehead Neville, Dorset, adorned by a dove above a Chi-Rho flanked by palms (Toynbee 1953: 19). Peacocks are used to represent Christianity and appear to have been a Christian motif predominantly used in Britain (Petts 2016: 4). Belt buckles with peacocks have been found in Warwickshire, North Yorkshire and Oxfordshire; the only belt buckle found outside of Britain is from Westerwanna, Germany (Collingwood Bruce 1880: 90, figure 8, Hawkes 1973: 145–159, figure 3.1, Henig and Brown 2003, Petts 2016: 4).

Fish are identified as a representation of Christ (Dideron 1965: 344). Fish imagery is found in Rome, Ravenna, Cyrene in Africa, and Britain (Dideron 1965: 345). Typically, the fish is not incorporated into any other scenes and is represented on its own. Toynbee (1953: 17-18) argued that fish representations found on pottery in the late Roman period were representative of Christian practice. He argued that fish brooches were not evidence of Christianity because Roman brooches are known to have a wide range of representations, including sandels and roosters; fish alone are not enough to prove a visual message of Christianity on a Roman brooch (Toynbee 1953: 17-18). In the Roman

period, fish are also used to decorate bath houses, indicating Christian practice (Toynbee 1953: 17-18). A piece of glass beaker recovered from Silchester has a fish, palm leaf and a portion of the letter C, together indicating Christian decoration (Toynbee 1953: 17). All three villas, Lullingstone, Hinton St. Mary, and Frampton, include imagery of dolphins around the main motifs.

Hinton St. Mary

In 1963, a mosaic was found in a field behind Mr. W.J. White's home in Hinton St. Mary, Dorset and a year later, the British Museum began to excavate the site (Painter 1967: 15, 19). The site is composed of a large villa with three wings around a central courtyard with the fourth side marked by a ditch. The south-east wing was robbed down to the foundation trenches for building materials (Painter 1967: 19). The rest of the villa walls were robbed down to the floor level; the two mosaic floors were the best preserved sections of the villa. The mosaic spans two rooms within the villa. In the smaller room, there are three panels; the center panel features Bellerophon on Pegasus fighting the Chimaera and both side panels have dogs hunting stags in a forest (Painter 1967: 15). The larger room features a central circular panel with the bust of a man and behind the head, a Chi-Rho indicating that the man portrayed is Christ (Painter 1967: 15). In the corners around the central bust are four more images of male busts, possibly representing the Evangelists or the four seasons. The central bust could be Constantine I, who used the Chi-Rho as his symbol, noably the bust lacks any imperial dress or insignia (Painter 1967: 18, Pearce 2008). Images of Christ with a Chi-Rho and a nimbus behind his head are found frequently in the fourth and fifth centuries (Painter 1967: 19). The mosaic is

dated to between AD 315/325 and 340/350 based on its similarity to other mosaics in Dorset, specifically those at Frampton and Hemsworth (Painter 1967: 24).

Christian Artifacts in Britain

In 1995, Mawer compiled a list of small finds with Christian symbols and scenes from the Roman period. There were a fair number of materials identified across Britain and the items continued to be found mainly associated with villas and forts. This list included 28 terracotta and bronze lamps, six lead candlesticks, along with 47 metal, 26 glass and 45 ceramic vessels identified with Christian iconography (Mawer 1995). There are 29 buckles, buckle-plates and strap-ends with peacocks, fish, chi-rhos and other signs associated with Christianity (Mawer 1995: 59). Only seven brooches have images associated with Christianity, which include fish, Chi-Rho, and the cross (Toynbee 1953: 17-18, Mawer 1995: 78). There are also examples of a type of plaque amulet that are clearly inscribed with Christian messages but lack any other functional use. Forty-nine of these plaque amulets have been identified; they are circular, triangular, and rectangular in form and made of gold, silver, or bone/ivory (Mawer 1995: 78-90). Ten coins or medallions have been identified (Mawer 1995: 92). Twenty-seven ingots, all of which were pewter apart from one tin, all have DEUS, SPES, or the Chi-Rho stamped on them (Mawer 1995: 96).

Seventy-five rings and gemstones have been identified with images such as doves, peacocks, fish, palms, anchors, and Christian inscriptions (Mawer 1995: 65). The Chi-Rho or a cross is found on many rings. A gold ring with a Chi-Rho was found in

Brentwood, Essex, less than 200 feet from the Roman road to Colchester (Toynbee 1953: 19). Another ring featuring two heads and *Vivas in Deo* inscribed was found in Brancaster, Norfolk (Toynbee 1953: 19).

Figure 13: Map of portable Christian artifacts identified within Roman Britain (Mawer 1995: 144).

The symbols of Christian practice are found on a number of portable materials from Roman Britain ranging from pots to lamps to rings. The Chi-Rho, in particular, was a common motif found on the material culture of the late Roman period. Other common motifs include fish, the Alpha and Omega, cross, palm branches or leaves, and doves.

Portable Christian artifacts are found in villa and fort contexts within settlement deposits or hoards. The practice of ritual deposition was not confined to polytheistic religions and was likely practiced within Christianity as well. The deposition of a solely Christian hoard, at Water Newton, is suggested by Painter (1993) as a possible transitional practice between traditional Christian and polytheistic practice. Petts (2003a) concludes that

practice of ritual deposition is not confined to polytheistic religions. A large number of Christian items were found within hoards at the end of the fourth century.

Inscriptions

There are a few inscriptions that indicate Christian activities. For a long period, the earliest physical evidence for Christians in Britain was thought to be a word square scratched into it that read "Pater Noster" with an Alpha and Omega at each end as the letters were rearranged (Petts 2003b: 29). This word puzzle was found on a fragment of amphora in a late second century pit. A similar word square was found in Cirencester and dated to the second or third century (Petts 2003b: 30). Several similar word squares have been found in Pompeii dating the before AD 79. Petts (2003b: 30) points out that Pater Noster as a phrase was not only used among Christians, and was not a primarily Christian term until the sixth century.

At Bath, a lead curse tablet, mentioning Christians, dated to sometime in the fourth century was discovered. It was written on behalf of a man named Annianus asking that the goddess, persumably Sulis-Minerva given it was deposited in her temple at Bath, punish the "pagan or Christian" who stole his money (Petts 2003b: 41). This text is significant because it separates the Christians from other religious practitioners implying that it was a well established religion and not an unknown minority.

Vessels

Many vessels were created with Christian symbols and stories inscribed on them. A late second century samian bowl with a Chi-Rho on it was deposited sometime in the second half of the fourth century only a quarter of a mile from St Martin's Church in Canterbury demonstrating Christian activity in the area (Toynbee 1953: 19). A pewter bowl from the Isle of Ely had a Chi-Rho, Alpha and Omega, peacocks and peahens, an owl, and Nereids inscribed on it (Toynbee 1953: 22). Nereids are sea nymphs from traditional Roman mythology and illustrate the syncretism of late Roman religion.

Inscriptions dating to the third century have been found at Risley Park, and Shavington. The Risley Park Lanx is a silver dish that has a frieze of a boar hunt and an inscription that reads "Bishop Exuperious gave this to…" either a town named Bogium, a church dedicated to Bogius, or a church on the land owned by Bogius with a Chi-Rho at the end (Petts 2003b: 38). A salt pan from Shavington has an inscription indicating it was owned by a bishop (Petts 2003b: 39).

A number of bowls have Christian symbols inscribed as a later modification suggesting a need for Christian materials that were not readily available; these are sometimes referred to as graffiti. A shallow pewter bowl was recovered from the bed of Welney River in Cambridge; it has a Chi-Rho and an Omega that were scratched onto the exterior base of the bowl (Toynbee 1953: 22). A pewter bowl from Copthall Court also had a Chi-Rho scratched into the base (Thomas 1981: 89). Similar Chi-Rhos were found scratched on vessels found in Richborough, Exeter, Canterbury, and Caerwent (Thomas 1981: 89).

Spoons

The most commonly found Christian items in hoards are silver spoons. Fifty-two spoons have been identified with Christian iconography (Mawer 1995: 42). Spoons are a common baptismal gift and are often found in pairs. Two spoons from the Mildenhall Treasure, dating to AD 330-60, with the inscriptions *Papittedo Vivas* and *Pascentia Vivas*, were possible christening or baptismal gifts with the recipient's name before and after the ceremony; the spoons contain Christian and Bacchic elements (Toynbee 1953: 21). The Mildenhall Treasure had three spoons featuring a Chi-Rho between a Greek Alpha and Omega letter, in addition to the two labeled as "christening" spoons (Brailsford 1941-1950: 70, Painter 1973: 167). Two spoons were found in Dorchester, one with a fish and the other with *Augustine Vivas*, both of which were Christian inscriptions (Toynbee 1953: 21). Similar spoons were found in the Mound 1 burial at Sutton Hoo, with *Saulus* and *Paulus* inscribed in Greek on them (Ward 1952).
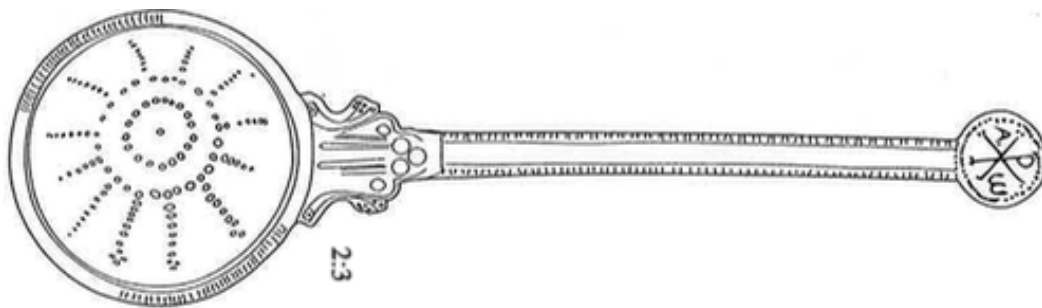
Figure 14: Strainer from the Water Newton Hoard (Mawer 1995: 123).

Water Newton

The Water Newton hoard is dated to the late fourth century and interpreted as a predominantly Christian ritual deposit. It is composed of 27 silver items and one gold plaque. Of the silver materials, only nine are vessels, and the other 18 are small plaques

with Christian iconography. The vessels include a large jug, a large inscribed bowl, a hanging bowl, dishes, a strainer, and an unengraved cantharus. The strainer, featured above in Figure 2, has a Chi-Rho inscribed on the end of the handle. The strainer along with the other vessels suggest that the items are associated with feasting. One bowl is very similar to a collection of vessels in Chaource, France, and likely came from the same workshop and the same set dated to around AD 270 (Painter 1993: 268). Two of the vessels were dedicated as offerings with votive inscriptions (Painter 1993: 269).

Figure 15: Silver plaque from the Water Newton Hoard (Mawer 1995: 133)

The Water Newton hoard's leaf shaped votive plaques have Christian inscriptions, however, the form borrows from the Romano-Celtic forms (Painter 1977, Thomas 1981: 31). The plaques are likely votive offerings from a church evidenced by the small holes, possibly from nails on the edges (Painter 1977). The plaques had three votive inscriptions and 15 Chi-Rhos suggesting they were dedicated as offerings (Painter 1993: 268-269).

Traprain Law

Traprain Law Hoard is dated between AD 395-423 by two coins of Honorius (Painter 1973: 171). The hoard contained a strainer, buckle, and two silver flasks with Christian imagery. The strainer has a Chi-Rho in the center and *Iesvs Christvs* inscribed around the side of the head (Toynbee 1953: 22). Strainers likely had a different role from spoons; the

perforations suggest that they could be used as a wine strainer and used in the performance of the Eucharist (Toynbee 1953: 22). The small flask has a Chi-Rho, Alpha and Omega, and Greek letters inscribed on the neck with four biblical scenes on the flagon depicted in repoussé. The Traprain Law hoard included nine spoons with Christian iconography, two of which had a Chi-Rho (Painter 1973: 168).

Identifying Christian Burials

Christian burial practices were unregulated until the eighth century and grave goods were a common occurrence during that time (Petts 2016: 11). Christian burials are not characterized by east-west orientations or an absence of grave goods in either the Roman Empire or the early medieval period. Christianity places an importance on the preservation of the body based on the belief of the second coming of Christ and necessity of a physical form for the resurrection (Merrifield 1988: 78). This belief indicates that it is unlikely that cremation burials represent Christians.

In Roman Britain, burials shifted from predominantly cremation to inhumations in the third century. This change originated in Rome and spread outward beginning in the second century and was not in response to the spread of Christianity (Petts 2003b: 139). In the later fourth century, cemeteries began to favor an east-west alignment, but this is unlikely to be the result of Christian influence. The cemeteries of Poundbury, Illchester, Ashton and Butt Road have dates in the early to mid-fourth century for their unfurnished burials oriented east-west (Petts 2003b: 146). While this trend mirrors later Christian burial practices, in the fourth century, Christian burial practices were not formalized and

the similarities are a reflection of a general shift in practice (Petts 2003b: 148). Brown (2015) has suggested that the Church began to exert control over burial practices in the fourth century to prevent displays of wealth and power reflected in the regularity of grave distributions in the managed cemeteries. The even distribution of graves in rows without grave goods allowed for the deemphasis of kin groups and economic status (Petts 2003b: 149, Brown 2015). The use of this burial rite did not necessarily indicate Christian belief, just the growing power of the Church (Petts 2003b: 149).

The only prominant identifier of Roman Christian burial was an inscription indicating Christian belief. Christian symbols on gravestones are mainly a Continental phenomenon and few stone sarcophagi in Britain have indications of Christianity (Petts 2016: 13). There are remarkably few examples of monumental stone inscriptions in Britain compared to the rest of the Roman Empire. The "epigraphic habit" failed to continue in the third and fourth centuries in Britain (Petts 2003b: 150). Approximately 20 gravestones can be dated to the third and fourth centuries (Petts 2003b: 150). Two gravestones, located on Hadrian's Wall and in York, may indicate that the deceased was Christian due to similar phrasing to Christian inscriptions on the Continent (Petts 2003b: 151-2).

Plaster in burials could be an early attempt at preservation of the body after death and a marker of Christian belief (Merrifield 1988: 78, Sparey-Green 2003: 93). Gypsum, which is used in plaster, was often utilized to absorb moisture and preserve the features of the face (Merrifield 1988: 78). A number of gypsum and plaster burials have been uncovered

and interpreted as Christian burial rites at Butt Rd Cemetery, Colchester (Sparey-Green 2003: 93). Plaster is atypical to find plaster in Roman burials in England and it has not been definitively tied to Christianity. The use of plaster has been identified in both Christian and non-Christian burials in the third and fourth centuries. This practice may represent the spread of a burial rite that was not religion specific (Petts 2003b: 155).

Martyrdoms

Julian the Apostate (r. AD 361-363), the last non-Christian emperor of the Roman Empire, complained that the Christians had so many martyr shrines (Sozomen *Church History* V, 20, 7). Christianity has always placed a value on religious individuals after death; if they were sufficiently pious, they require special burial. Commonly, churches were built above the most important religious burials outside the city proper, as were St Peter's Basilica, Bonn, Tour and Xanten (Rollason 1989: 9). These ritual places developed during the fourth century; the trend of burial beneath religious spaces would have reached Britain before the withdrawal of the Roman forces.

The evidence for the cult of saints is sparse despite the evidence for foundational burials in Britain. St Albans is the first British saint and the only confirmed martyr-cult of early Christian Britain. His burial and shrine are recorded in the texts of Constantius, Gildas and Bede as the destination of pilgrimages (See Chapter 4). Unfortunately, there is no physical evidence that has been found to corroborate the text (see Chapter 9). Apart from the rhetoric surrounding martyr burials, the practice of Christian burial during the Roman period is unregulated and undefined.

The identification of martyrs' burials is virtually impossible; the identification of founding burials for churches, chapels and cemeteries is possible. These founding burials are often associated with martyrdoms in Gaul and the Roman Empire. It is possible to transpose the practice to Christian Roman Britain. In fact, Gildas bemoans the fact that many martyr burials were held within English lands (*On the Ruin* II.10). Martyrdom foundational burials are found at chapels in Cirencester where the churches of St Cecilia and St Lawrence are located atop Roman cemeteries (Rollason 1989: 17). The churches of St Oswald, St Mary de Lode in Gloucester, and St Augustine's in Canterbury all support the role of martyrdom burials in Britain, although St Augustine's is of a later date (Rollason 1989: 17). At Stone-by-Faversham in Kent, a Roman-style temple was converted into a church, which could instead be a chapel erected atop a martyr's tomb (Rollason 1989: 15).

Ritual Spaces in Britain

Ritual spaces are the first archaeologically identifiable evidence for Christian practice in Britain. The introduction of Christianity into England was first evidenced by mosaics featured in the Roman villas. The house churches of early Christian practice were a familiar concept to the Romano-British. The early house-churches in Britain present a combination of Christian and traditional Roman iconography. The site of Hinton St. Mary has the earliest evidence for Christian practice in Britain. Dating to the same period, Frampton villa also has a Chi-Rho across from the mask of Neptune in a mosaic (Romilly 1887: 77, Perring 2003: 111). The Chedworth villa in Gloucestershire had a Chi-Rho

carved on a stone that formed part of the foundation of the steps of a corridor associated

with the nyphaeum (Romilly 1887: 76). The combination of Christian motifs and

Bellerophon only occurs in Britain at Hinton St. Mary and the Lullingstone villa (Perring

2003: 107). The Lullingstone Villa has one of the best examples of the house-church in

the Christian world. The villa contained two ritual spaces; one assigned to Romano-

British belief systems and the other was a house-church (Meates 1955).

In the fourth century, churches were constructed and usually identified based on the

presence of an apse. Churches were modeled after existing basilicas within the Roman

Empire, a desire to reflect the monumental public architecture in Rome (White 1990: 18).

Silchester has a Roman church that has been identified based upon the presence of a

western apse and two aisles. The church is likely dated no earlier than AD 360, when a

coin was deposited beneath the floor (Radford 1971: 1, Cookson 1987: 426). The

Silchester church post-dates its neighboring buildings, which were left to decay in the late

third century (Frere 1976, King 1983, Ford 1994, Cosh 2004, Petts 2016). A unique

Roman church in South Shields is dated to the late fourth century and began to decay in

the fifth or sixth centuries. It is unique because of it s stone altar that is more likely to be

Christian in origin (Petts 2003b: 77). The altar was surrounded on three sides by a stone

structure that was most likely an eastern apse of a rectangular stone building.

Churches, such as Lincoln, Caerwent, and Vindolanda, have been identified along

Hadrian's Wall and within Roman settlements. Beneath the modern church of St Paul-in-

the-Bail, Lincoln located above the central forum of the Roman town, there were three

earlier church structures. The earliest church was a rectangular building aligned east-west with an apse on the eastern end (Steane 2006: 129–211). The next structure was larger and constructed out of timber with a more substantial apse. This second structure was cut by burials dating to the seventh and eighth centuries (Steane 2006: 129–211). The third construction was a smaller construction with a central burial dated to the middle Saxon period (Steane 2006: 129–211). The standing church of St Paul-in-the-Bail is a medieval era construction. The first two buildings date from the late Roman period to the seventh century (Steane 2006: 192–194). St Paul-in-the-Bail demonstrates the continuity in ritual spaces that sometimes occurs from the Roman period onwards.

The repurposing of basilicas for use as Christian spaces could be done with the closing of doorways and opening of new ones. The Romano-Celtic temple in Insula XVI in St. Albans was abandoned in the fourth century and remodeled at the end of the century with a change in the location of the entrance (Niblett 2001: 6). The builders moved the entrance from the theater to the opposite side on the south-east wall (Niblett 2001: 6). This repositioning is interpreted as a repurposing of the structure as a church (Niblett 2001: 6). Vindolanda has a building with an apse that is dated to the early fifth century based on the build up of debris surrounding it (Birley 2009, Petts 2016: 7). Caerwent has a church that was built over the top of the insula baths after A.D. 400 (Radford 1971: 2).

Baptismal Spaces

Another important aspect of Christian ritual spaces is the necessity of a space for baptism; lead tanks are often decorated with a Chi-Rho, the Alpha and Omega, and

sometimes baptismal scenes. The fourth century lead font at Walesby had a baptismal scene molded in relief, one of the only representations of Christian activity in Britain (Henig 2006b: 91). In the central frieze, there is a naked woman with two clothed women helping her, and two groups of clothed males on either side, interpreted as a baptismal scene (Thomas 1981: 221–225, Petts 2016: 9). A tank from Flawborough, Nottinghamshire has a scene of four figures in the orans posture, which is the same posture found on the walls at Lullingstone. It was a common motif to indicate prayer (Petts 2016: 9).

Pools are found at some villas, surviving a similar function as the lead tanks. Octagonal pools have been identified at Dewlish in Dorset, Lufton in Somerset, and Holcombe in Devon (Perring 2003, Todd 2005, Petts 2016: 9). Fourth century baths at Lufton and Dewlish may have been baptismal spaces that were given unusual octagonal form because of their use for both baptisms and socializing (Perring 2002: 175-7, 2003: 113, Todd 2005, Henig 2006a). Baptismal baths were located on the northern and western sides of a house, likely, due to the original need to face the west to reject the devil and turn east to accept Christ (Cyril of Jerusalem *Mystagogic catechesis* 1.4, Ambrose, *On Mysteries* 7, Perring 2003: 113). In Chedworth, Gloucestershire, there was a small apsidal pool fed by natural springs, which originally had a number of slabs lining it inscribed with Chi-Rhos (Goodburn 2000: 24, Petts 2016: 9). The removal of the slabs suggests a possible change in function. Pools without Christian symbols are not themselves diagnostic of Christian practice

Housesteads

Housesteads is the site of one of the milecastles along Hadrian's Wall with three phases

of distinct construction (Rushworth 2009: 270-271). The Housesteads temples are

located north of Chapel Hill, a nearby religious complex, which included several temples

and shrines. The site is unique because it contains the only possible church that was

newly constructed in the fifth century. Once Roman forces withdrew from Britain in AD

410, the population of Housesteads did not exceed thirty people (Crow 1995: 94). The

site could have housed a small Christian population, evidenced by the possible fifth and

sixth century Church between Barrack I and Building VII. It is interpreted as a church

based upon the inclusion of an apse connected to a small rectangular building and the

discovery of a nearby water tank, similar to those found in Zurich, Switzerland (Brown

1971: 228, plate 31, Crow 1995: 96, Petts 2016: 8). There are small stone structures

found within the north-east quarter resembling Roman buildings and not the timber halls

associated with the Anglo-Saxons (Rushworth 2009: 325). The only other Roman forts

providing evidence for post-Roman occupation are at Richborough, Birdoswald,

Vindolanda, and, perhaps, South Shields (Rushworth 2009: 322).

Roman Christianity in Eastern England

The evidence for Christian practice in eastern England, specifically East Anglia and Kent,

is more prolific than in other regions of Britain, except for, perhaps, along Hadrian's

Wall. In eastern England, Christian presence is expressed primarily through the

deposition of valuable materials with Christian imagery and not the construction of

churches (Petts 2003b: 165). The few churches and ritual spaces identified in East Anglia

and Kent are either house-churches or smaller churches, as at Icklingham. The site of Ivy Chimneys in Witham has a Roman font but no evidence for an associated church (Petts 2003b: 165). Christian cemeteries have been identified at Laxton, Bletsoe, and Great Casterton (Petts 2003b: 165). The separation of churches, cemeteries, and fonts suggests that there was an emphasis on different aspects of Christian life.

Icklingham has evidence of a complex Christian landscape and more traditional Roman practices: a possible Roman church with an adjacent baptistery and a cemetery with 41 inhumations. Four lead tanks with Christian inscriptions were buried in the vicinity of the church in addition to hoards with pewter vessels, some of which contain images associated with Roman Christianity (Petts 2003b: 128-129). One of the lead tanks was buried adjacent to the possible baptistery associated with the church (Petts 2003b: 128). At least five coin hoards were deposited in the area as well. All of the ritual activities on the site post-date the construction of the church except for one (Petts 2003b: 129). A pit with six skulls including one child's and some stone architectural refuse that appears to be from a single event was found not far from the later church (Petts 200b3: 130). The "Icklingham Bronzes" were discovered by metal detectors and illegally exported. Their supposed origin in the vicinity of Icklingham and non-Christian imagery indicates that the unusual masks and statuettes were another addition to a complex landscape (Petts 2003b: 130). The combination of Christian and non-Christian ritual practices in the vicinity of Icklingham suggests a complicated ritual landscape.

Roman hoards with Christian imagery are more commonly found in eastern England than Christian ritual spaces. Christian materials, either hoards or belt buckles, have been found at Water Newton, Orton Longueville, Ashton, Thrapston, Milton Keynes, Sandy, and Cave's End Farm (Petts 2003b: 164). These materials reveal that the production of materials, both vessels and personal ornamentation, was common in the fourth century, as well as, the ritual deposition of these materials.

The end of the fourth century

How Christian was Roman Britain? The combination of historic records and archaeology indicates that by the end of the fourth century, the religion was well spread and Christian Britons were playing an active role in Continental politics with the attendance of bishops at the Council of Arles. A religion can become visible and appear dominant only when the elite are practicing it. It is not as varied in practice as Christianity in fourth century Britain. Christianity may have been favored by the elite, as evidenced by the house-church at the Lullingstone Villa and the mosaics at Hinton St. Mary and Frampton. The development of churches, though sparse, are enough to indicate a healthy population of practitioners; churches can hold more people than a house-church for services. These practices and spaces were in use at the end of the fourth century and there is no reason to believe that they ceased immediately when Rome withdrew its military forces in AD 407-411. The impact of the Anglo-Saxon migration on the post-Roman society is explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 7: The Archaeology of Post-Roman Religion

Introduction

Between AD 407 and 411, Rome withdrew its military forces to defend other regions of the Empire, leaving Britain without protection. As discussed previously in Chapter 2, the Anglo-Saxons were invited to fight the Picts to the north and, in exchange, were granted lands in England. Although the size of the migration is debated, Anglo-Saxon culture, through the movement of migrants or cultural transmission, was quickly spread through England; the material culture and settlement style dominated the island by the mid-fifth century. The evidence for ritual spaces, deposits, and burials reflect a range of practices with regional and cultural nuances but predominantly Anglo-Saxon characteristics. Any surviving Romano-British practices are largely materially invisible in the archaeological record and evidence for them is compiled in the next chapter. This chapter reviews the typical ritual practices and materials of fifth and sixth century England, focusing mainly on the evidence from the eastern regions

Early Medieval Ritual in England

The ritual practices of early Anglo-Saxon England were very different from the Roman period. The Germanic migrants introduced new cultural practices that changed the physical landscape and material culture of the newly post-Roman island. Anglo-Saxon ritual in England is different from the practices of their homelands on the Continent. The changes are likely the result of the migration and interactions between the different culture groups.

Ritual Spaces

The question of ritual spaces in Early Anglo-Saxon England is an area of uncertainty. The ritual spaces are marked by association with burials, ritual deposits or unusual features. The ritual spaces are still found to be associated with the same geographic features as on the Continent. Ritual spaces can be constructed or natural features and the early Anglo-Saxons utilized both forms. There are only a few examples of identifiable ritual spaces, which may indicate that natural features were utilized more often than constructed spaces. Ritual deposits may suggest more ritual places, but without more data than an isolated deposition, the importance of the place cannot be determined. The identification of early Anglo-Saxon ritual spaces relies on ritual deposits and associations with burials.

Place-names have been used to determine the locations of Anglo-Saxon ritual spaces. *Hearg* and *wig/wēoh* both denote ritual spaces. *Wig/wēoh* translates to "holy place" and can refer to a Christian location (Meaney 1995: 32). *Hearg* refers to formal ritual spaces, such as altars, but does not appear until the late ninth century texts (Meaney 1995: 32). Wilson (1992) suggests that the ritual spaces of early medieval England come in two forms: one that is public, the *hearg*, and one that was private, the *wēoh*. This claim parallels the later practice of the medieval *Eigenkirche*, where the priest was also the leader of the family (Chaney 1970: 14).

Constructed Ritual Spaces

Ritual spaces, including shrines or temples, are defined as small rectangular enclosures in Britain. They are found at Slonk Hill, Sussex, Blacklow Hill, Warwickshire and Yeavering, Northumberland. The rectangular enclosures are defined by trees, posts, or mounds and are usually found on higher locations (Blair 1995: 2). Square or rectangular enclosures are characteristic of both Neolithic and Anglo-Saxon practices. This recurrence can cause confusion when the site has no datable materials, for example at Windmill Hill (Blair 1995: 5). Square ditched enclosures are sometimes associated with barrow burials (Blair 1995: 7). They are more likely to be found in northern Scotland from the fifth to eighth centuries, at Fortevoit, Caithness, or Whitebridge, rather than in eastern England. Some small square ditched enclosures are associated with graves from the Roman to early Anglo-Saxon period. Both Spong Hill and Morning Thorpe in Norfolk have small square enclosures that cut the Anglo-Saxon burials and are cut by subsequent burials suggesting that they represent a phase of ritual practice within the cemeteries (Blair 1995: 9). The enclosures are sometimes associated with prehistoric monuments, illustrated by Tandderwen, where a square ditch with two burials aligned with a post was constructed atop a Bronze Age ring-ditch and beaker burial (Blair 1995: 10-11).

In the late sixth century to the early seventh, there were also square-fenced enclosures as at Slonk Hill, Sussex. While at Yeavering, a Neolithic stone circle was replaced with a fenced enclosure, which disturbed an earlier cremation (Blair 1995: 16-17). Inside the enclosure, a large post was erected with three smaller posts around it and the cemetery that filled the enclosure aligned with the posts (Blair 1995: 16). The cemetery outlasted

the use of the enclosure; the later burials cut into the edges of the enclosure, indicating that it was no longer maintained or significant (Blair 1995: 16).

Not all fenced enclosures are associated with prehistoric monuments or burials. Blacklow Hill, Warwickshire was composed of two enclosures, one rectangular and one circular encompassing 270 pits (Blair 1995: 18). The Yeavering D2 structure was associated with a number of ox skulls, which led to an interpretation of it as a ritual space. The associated enclosure contained only a crouched child's burial oriented to the east with an ox-tooth dated to the early seventh century (Blair 1995: 18). Ritual spaces identified by poles or totems are identified at settlement sites or within enclosures based upon a location isolated from other postholes. At Yeavering, a central post was identified with a series of burials focused around it within the western ring ditch (Hope-Taylor 1977: 108-116).

Danebury, Cadbury and Uley all had a series of square or rectilinear shrines over the top of ritual pits, similar to the earlier site of Gournay-sur-Aronde, which have evidences for several phases (Blair 1995: 3). The Harford Farm site, near Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk, had five square enclosures on a north-south orientation. The southern-most enclosure was post-in-trench which is reminiscent of a Romano-Celtic shrine (Blair 1995: 7). One square enclosure had a third century coin in the fill and cut an Iron Age roundhouse. There are two late seventh and early eighth century cemeteries associated with the site as well (Blair 1995: 7). This suggests that the site continued to have a ritual role in the region from the Roman period into the middle Anglo-Saxon period.

A number of ritual spaces are identified in cemeteries at Lyminge, Bishopstone, Polhill, Sewerby, Spong Hill, Morning Thorpe, and Alton. These ritual spaces were smaller rectangular timber structures within cemeteries, often in the middle phases of the cemetery (Wilson 1992: 52-54). Indications of individual shrines are sometimes found above burials. At the site of Morning Thorpe, a post was placed at the four corners of Grave 148, which contained a male and a female inhumation (Wilson 1992: 53). The site of Lechlade, Gloucestershire included a cremation that had post holes forming a square, while another cremation had post holes linked by slots (Wilson 1992: 53). The site of Apple Down in west Sussex has evidence for 33 cremations with four or five post holes. These small post holes have evidence for reuse suggesting the shrines were in use for many years (Wilson 1992: 57). Similar shrines have been identified at the Saxon cemetery at Liebenau, Germany from the third and fourth centuries (Wilson 1992: 57).

Open Ritual Spaces:

The Anglo-Saxon ritual spaces include open natural spaces associated with hilltops or trees. These spaces are usually identified based only on place name evidence or ritual depositions. Thunresfeld in Wiltshire represents a tradition of place names with *feld* or *lēah* combined with a god, such as *thunor* or *woden* often indicating a ritual function for the space (Hines 1997a: 386). A number of Anglo-Saxon ritual spaces have been found on hilltops, where rituals would have been visible at a distance and the view of a wider landscape would have played a part. Ritual sites including Tishoe, Surrey, Woodeaton,

Oxfordshire and Harrow Hill, Sussex are hilltop ritual sites that are hidden from view until reaching them (Semple 2010: 27).

Ritual spaces associated with water are viewed as liminal; an inaccessible space where items cannot be easily retrieved (Semple 2010: 32). The ritual killing of items, such as swords or pins and deposition in water locations such as rivers, springs, wells, or wetlands is a common occurrence through many periods of British prehistory. In the fourth century in England, the Romano-British deposited tablewares, lead baptismal fonts, and spearheads into the wells, fens, and rivers (Lund 2010: 53). Bridges over rivers represent another defined liminal space with evidence for ritual deposits during later periods. The site of Tissø, Sjaelland had a bridge dated to the Viking era and had a double burial of two decapitated men nearby (Jørgensen 2002: 221, Lund 2010: 55). In England, the site of Skerne in East Yorkshire had a deposit of four knives, a sword, animal bones from twenty animals with no evidence for butchery except for one horse, and an adze all dated to the tenth or eleventh century (Dent 1984: 253, Lund 2010: 55). To date, there is no evidence for similar activities in the fifth century. The importance of water association is consistent from at least the Iron Age until well after the conversion to Christianity in England, as evidenced by the temple site of Sulis-Minerva at Bath, Coventina's Well in Northumbria and many later monastic sites. Monastic sites in England, Ireland and Scotland were often found in locations where access to the site was gained by crossing water (Lund 2010: 59-60). Crossing water might have been seen as a part of the social performance required to enter a ritual location.

Ritual Deposits

There are several different types of hoards, or ritual deposits, with different connotations. The deposits usually include some type of animal bones, either articulated or not, and mixed items with whole or broken pottery. Hamerow (2006) conducted a study of 42 ritual, or as she terms them "special," deposits in 16 settlement sites dating from the fourth to the seventh centuries. Twenty-one of the deposits were found within sunken feature buildings, 13 were found in pits, and six were inhumation burials found within cemeteries (Hamerow 2006: 8-9). The deposits contained a range of animal bones including those of cattle, dogs, horses and sheep. Twelve complete human skeletons were found in the deposits.

The process of ritual deposition, either in water or in the ground, varies from the practice on the Continent. There was an increase in hoard deposits at the end of the fourth century and beginning of the fifth, likely in response to the Roman withdrawal and increased unrest in Britain. During the Anglo-Saxon period, hoards continued to be a common occurrence with a similar material composition. Both weapons and wooden figurines in water were common depositions practiced by the Anglo-Saxon groups on the Continent, albeit not in fifth and sixth century Britain (Welch 2011: 868, 870). Until the discovery of the Staffordshire Hoard, which is firmly seventh century, there were no large scale weapon deposits in England (Welch 2011: 870). There are no wooden figurines deposited in water, despite having been a fairly common practice in the Anglo-Saxon homeland. Spong Man is the closest to a figurine found thus far; it is a seated figure on a ceramic

cremation urn lid. Spong Man is similar in form to a wooden figure found in a ship burial at Fallward, Lower Saxony (Welch 2011: 868).

Burials

The shift in burial trends from Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon reflects a distinct change in material culture and practices. The Anglo-Saxon process of burial varies within the regions of England, reflecting different groups in addition to the native Romano-British population; Angles, Saxons, and Jutes all had slight variations in their material culture (see Chapter 2). The western regions of England, including Wales, were not occupied by the Anglo-Saxons groups immediately following the migration. As a result, the burial practices varied. While in northern Wales, burials were arranged in lines around Roman or prehistoric focus (Carver 2019: 449). Stone-lined graves were common along the west coast from Cornwall to Caithness, a practice that originated during the Iron Age and continued well into the Anglo-Saxon period (Carver 2019: 449).

The difference between the west and east in the fifth century is striking due to the Anglo-Saxon migrants in the east. However, some pre-migration burial practices continued in the east. In particular, the practice of decapitation at burial is distinctly Romano-British and not found in the Anglo-Saxon homeland but continues to be found in England after the migration, as at Sutton Hoo (Härke 2003: 20). Whether decapitation represents the punishment of criminals and adversaries or simply a variation in the burial norm is unknown. The use of stones or planks in burials, similar to the burial practice along the

west coast, has been identified at some cemeteries in the east, including Wasperton (Carver 2019: 449).

In the fourth century, inhumations were the most common burial practice and this continues even after the Anglo-Saxon migration. Furnished inhumations are found across southern and eastern England. This trend represents a shift from the Continental practices of the Anglo-Saxons where cremations were more common. Grave orientations are diverse and appears to predominantly rely on the local topography (Williams 2011: 246). Most graves contain only one inhumation, but double inhumations can occur, both superimposed and side-by-side. Supine burials are more common than crouched, flexed, or prone. Inhumation burials are dressed and accompanied by a variety of grave goods. A wide range of female costumes have been identified across England; within a single cemetery, contemporary dress styles can vary (Williams 2011: 246).

Cremation was a public process with evidence for pyres at the site of many cemeteries. The process of cremation was enacted near to the site of deposition. The changes to the body during the public burning would have been part of the burial performance visible to those attending the cremation (Williams 2010a: 72, Williams 2011: 242). Cremations are described by Williams (2001, 2011) as reflecting an "ideology of transformation" where the deceased's identity is reconfigured after the cremation. Cremation sites, or pyres, have been identified in cemeteries indicating that the process of cremation occurred at the graveside.

Grave Goods

Cremations and inhumations have different treatments of grave goods. While the same objects can appear in both burial types, cremations frequently include objects associated with grooming such as combs and toilet implements (Williams 2010a: 73-75). In some cases these items are burnt in the cremation process, while in others, the goods are placed unburnt within the burial. In inhumation burials, the grave goods are placed in deliberate locations within the grave indicating that the visual impact of the grave on mourners was important. The grave goods were not tossed in or placed in piles, their locations are chosen to convey meaning. Inhumations and cremations include grave goods that indicate gender and status differences. The burials display evidence for an earned status society (Hines 1997a: 130). At the age of two or three, there is a shift in the burials of children from unfurnished to furnished and children are buried with grave goods including a weapon, such as a knife, sword, or spear (Hines 1997a: 132).

There are distinctly different female and male gendered grave goods, but both sexes receive rich and varied grave goods. There are no visible patterns of wealth discrepancy between male and female burials (Carver 2019: 449). Both genders appear to have held important roles in society that were reflected in their burials. Food and drink are found in both male and female burials indicated by vessels and animal remains. While animal bones are often an indication of grave side feasting and are found in the fill or in a pile at a corner of the grave. Female burials generally include girdle-hangers, keys, knives, brooches, beads, pins, and nails. Some richer burials include items interpreted as amulets, or gold and silver pendants indicating different social status and roles. Their dress is

distinctly Germanic in style (Fisher 1995: 154). While male burials often have knives, nails, weapons, brooches, and belt buckles; swords are found sparingly. Swords and other weapons were likely too valuable to be regularly taken out of circulation. As such, it is fair to assume that those with swords in their burials held an important place in society. Horses are sometimes found in male warrior burials, a status symbol often identified in mound burials in the seventh century. Horse sacrifice is a minority ritual practice in England, it is much more common in Germanic regions and Scandinavia (Welch 2011: 869).

In the later fifth century, dress accessories and weapon inclusion in burial become more prevalent and are included in the burials of children as well. The majority of burials are dated to the early sixth century, when there was an increase in burial numbers (Penn and Burgmann 2007). In the mid-sixth century, wrist-clasps and girdle-hangers exit female fashion and are no longer found within female burials, replaced with simple hoops to attach items at the waist (Penn and Burgmann 2007). At this time, square-headed brooches replace annular brooches. Weapon burials also change, spearheads are found in only a few adult graves, and swords are less common (Penn and Burgmann 2007). Wealth becomes concentrated in a few richer burials, unlike the fifth century when wealth is more evenly distributed in grave goods (Scull 1993: 73, Härke 1997: 147, Penn and Burgmann 2007: ix). In the later sixth century, graves became richer and fewer (Carver 2019: 449). By the seventh century, burial practices change in response to the spread of Christianity and political changes reflected by rich burials evidenced at Sutton Hoo.

Cemeteries

Cemeteries are composed of a wide range of variable features. Mixed cemeteries with inhumations and cremations are most common, with few cemeteries that are only cremations. Most cremations and inhumations are in flat graves with little indication of above ground markers. In addition to flat graves, there are a small number of chamber graves. Chamber graves are markers of wealthier burials and are placed beneath a mound. They can contain either inhumations or cremations and a range of elite grave goods. Spong Hill contains two chamber graves with indications of elite goods, including gold, dated to the sixth century (Williams 2011: 247). Mortuary monuments, or small shrines and grave markers, may have existed in some cemeteries. These features are indicated by post-holes near a grave. They could be above ground markers of the burial, similar to modern day headstones, or small structures used by the living for rituals. Some cemeteries have evidence for structures within them that could be used as ritual spaces, or mortuary houses to prepare the deceased.

Cemeteries are organized in three different broad patterns; monocentric, horizontal stratigraphic, and polycentric (Härke 1997: 138). The monocentric cemeteries have one focal point that all the burials are placed around, such as a Bronze Age burial mound or ring ditch as at Buckland and Mill Hill, Kent (Williams 2011: 250). Horizontal stratigraphic cemeteries are spread in one direction from a core location. Polycentric cemeteries are groupings of burial groups around multiple focal points, indicating families, households, or divisions of genders and age (Härke 1995, Lucy 1998, Stoodley

1999: 131–5). For example, at West Heslerton, the cemetery has a cluster of children's burials and another of weapon burials (Haughton and Powlesland 1999: 84).

Early cemeteries often used monuments from earlier periods to establish links to the past (Wilson 1992: 67, Carver 2019: 449). In particular, early Anglo-Saxon burials tended to include a Bronze Age burial mound as the focus. The reuse of burial mounds consists of burials around the exterior and radiating burials. The mounds are used to establish ancestral ties to the region (Williams 1998). The reuse of Bronze Age burial mounds account for 61% of the 330 identified cases of Anglo-Saxon reuse of earlier monuments (Williams 1998: 91-94). The reuse of earlier monuments are frequently identified in upland areas, undisturbed by later construction, and may coincide with the landscape preferences of the Anglo-Saxons and earlier peoples (Williams 1998: 95).

Ritual Specialists

Who were ritual specialists in Anglo-Saxon England? The identification of ritual specialists, or the individuals responsible for maintaining and overseeing ritual practices, is dependent on the presence of a specific combination of grave goods. In the seventh century, ritual specialists, referred to as "cunning women" are identified by their special burials that include items identified as amulets, bed burials, and rich grave goods (Meaney 1981, Geake 2003, Williams 2010b). The homogeneity of burials in Anglo-Saxon England suggests that someone was in charge of the burials. The specialists responsible for preserving ritual traditions would have had special burials themselves, making them visible in the archaeological record (Geake 2003: 262). "Cunning women"

burials are identified at Wheatley, Grave 27 and Bidford-on-Avon, Grave HB2 (Geake

2003: 263). Bidford-on-Avon, Grave HB2, is the burial of a young female with a bag at

her hip that contained a series of amuletic items; items that have no obvious value apart

from ritualistic (Dickinson 1999). Items identified as ritualistic, or amuletic, include

spoons, keys, coins, crystal balls, shells and miniatures (Meaney 1981). These materials

are often found at the waist in a purse or in a box at the foot of the grave. Amulets have

only been identified in female burials leading to the interpretation of these women as

ritual specialists. The precedent for the presence of ritual specialists comes from Tacitus

and Ibn Fadlān (see Chapter 3).

While there is a distinct lack of identified male ritual specialists, the female ritual

specialists recorded by Ibn Fadlān are found in the fifth and sixth centuries (Lunde and

Stone 2012). While we cannot discount the possibility that some of these "female" burials

are actually "male", the skeletons were too degraded for positive skeletal identifications.

To date, the ritual specialist burials with preserved skeletons for analysis have been

identified as female. This could support that women took an even more active role there

than they did on the continent.

Tacitus in *Germania* 43 identified male ritual specialists dressed in a female costume.

Only one such individual has possibly been identified in England, at Yeavering. Grave

AX has been labeled either a priest or a surveyor because of the long wooden staff

indicated by elaborate crosspieces and metal-cap ends beneath a large post that would

have marked the burial (Hope-Taylor 1977, Hamerow 2006: 14, Welch 2011: 871). The

staff is similar to that of a Roman surveyor. Staffs are found in female burials in Viking

Age Scandinavia and the Isle of Man, however, they are very different from the staff

found at Yeavering (Welch 2011: 871). The sexing of the body is unclear and has been

posited as possibly male. The body was accompanied by a goat skull at the feet,

suggesting that the burial was ritually significant. The possibility of a male ritual

specialist at Yeavering suggests that some of the ritual specialists identified in East

Anglia and Kent could be male, however, the poor skeletal preservation in the majority of

the cemeteries prevents an analysis to determine sex.

Conclusions

Having now established the archaeological and historic background for fifth and sixth

century Britain, the question becomes how many Romano-British religious practices,

particularly Christianity, continued after the Anglo-Saxon migration? The outline of

ritual behaviors and practices described above do not include the numerous variants and

fringe practices. The unusual grave goods and burial types are markers of practices that

vary from the norm and thus may indicate surviving Romano-British, possibly Christian

practices. These practices and materials are identified at cemeteries in eastern England to

determine the evidence for continuing Roman practices, specifically Christianity, and

contrasted with the evidence for the use of Roman churches in the post-Roman period.

At the beginning of the fifth century, Britain was still a Roman province, and continued

to be considered one even after the Roman forces and other officials were withdrawn

between AD 407 and 411, as recorded by Prosper (De Letter 1963: 134). The Roman

Empire no longer offered military support to Britain, although, the Bishop of Rome continued to be concerned with the practice of Christianity (See Chapter 4). The texts all agree that Britain contained Christian practitioners and was a place of concern for the continental Christians because of heretical practices.

Anglo-Saxon rituals are distinctly different from those of the Christian practices identified in the textual sources. The material culture reveals a different religious practice than that described in the saints' lives. The *Vita*e describe a landscape where Christianity was able to maintain a foothold, a view that is supported by Bede, Gildas, and Constantius. The ritual elements of fifth and sixth century England that have been reconstructed archaeologically reflect a dominantly Germanic culture. Variations within Anglo-Saxon rituals and material culture may reflect the surviving Romano-British practices that influenced them. Specifically, the integration of materials associated with Christianity are archaeologically identifiable and found in a handful of burials in East Anglia and Kent signifying a continuing practice reviewed in the next chapter.

IV. The Archaeological Evidence for Christianity in Britain, AD 400-600

Chapter 8: The Cemeteries of East Anglia and Kent

Introduction:

The regions of East Anglia and Kent present a lens to understanding the nature of interaction within the rest of England. The study of a post-colonial society that is then reoccupied by a migrant group involves a number of considerations. The British Isles were fractured after the withdrawal of the Roman infrastructure and the military forces, resulting in an uneven distribution of the population both geographically and culturally. The remaining population were soon displaced by the arriving Anglo-Saxon groups, each of whom brought in their own cultural norms and biases to influence the Britons. To study the post-colonial survival of the Romano-Christian religion within England, it is necessary to consider a number of features. The selection of East Anglia and Kent is based upon several factors: the relevance of historical records discussing these regions, the early presence of Anglo-Saxons, and the potential contact with the Continent. The regions could have also been influenced by the peoples of western England, where Romano-British practices were able to continue for a longer period of time, and Ireland, where Christianity was introduced by Patrick sometime in the fifth century (see Chapter 4).

The Romano-British were not fully converted to Christianity and traditional Romano-British polythesitic practices continued. Christian conversion had yet to take on the "Manifest Destiny"-like position that it would only a century later with the active concern of the Bishop of Rome to send missionaries to convert Europe. Despite the fifth century being a relatively early phase of the Christian religious expansion, the Bishop of Rome,

Pope Celestine (r. AD 422 - 432), sent Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, to reconvert the Britons to non-heretical Christian practice around AD 429 (Prosper *EC*, Muhlberger 1990: 84). The early presence of the Anglo-Saxons in eastern England is important to allow for the continuation of Romano-British practice and the memory of the Roman Empire to influence the early integration. There were fewer than two generations between the official withdrawal of the Roman Empire between AD 407 and 411 and the Anglo-Saxon migration, which was likely sometime around the 440's.

The parameters of study

The 31 cemetery sites of this study are located across East Anglia and Kent to provide a snapshot of the religious ritual practices. The study is based on reports from already excavated cemeteries and burials from across these two regions. The regions of East Anglia and Kent were selected for this study based upon the textual evidence for continuing Christian practice. The contemporary historic texts, mainly Constantius, Gildas, and Bede, are clear on the presence of Christian practitioners before the arrival of Augustine in Canterbury. The following analysis of 31 cemetery sites and various ritual spaces has been compiled in order to understand the material evidence for a surviving Roman practice within an Anglo-Saxon context.

Varied Practices

The sites considered here contain both cremation and inhumation burials to provide a wide range of data. Christianity traditionally rejects the practice of cremation, because the body is considered necessary for the second coming of Christ (see Chapter 6). Roman

tradition varied through time as burial trends changed from inhumation, mixed rites, to cremation dominated. Within the Anglo-Saxon groups the trends in burial vary from cemetery to cemetery. Early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries are all of different composition ranging from cremation or inhumation dominated, to fairly mixed rites as at Spong Hill. Inhumation burials tend to contain more grave goods than cremation burials, but cremation burials would have required a greater output of energy to burn the body.

Despite the overarching term of "Anglo-Saxon", the groups that actually migrated to Britain were varied and united at the same time: Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Frisians, Franks, and perhaps some Scandinavians. The Angles, Saxons and Jutes, the dominant groups in the historical record, all had very similar material culture features but were still distinct from one another in practice and identity. The Jutes, the dominant group found in Kent, traditionally bury without grave goods, oriented east-west in a very similar way to traditional Christian burial. It was necessary to choose regions that have evidence of a variety of groups inhabiting them, as different groups may have been more open to the introduction of a new religion than others. In addition, within the overarching culture groups, Angles, Saxons or Jutes, each settlement was likely independent and would have responded to religious pressures differently.

Location types

Anglo-Saxon cemeteries are mainly distributed on the slopes of river valleys, which is also where Bronze Age burial mounds are commonly found. The view of the valley and surrounding areas was clearly important in Anglo-Saxon cemetery selection. The

cemeteries are often associated with earlier burials and features, such as Bronze Age

barrows, Roman enclosures, or earlier roads (Penn and Brugmann 2007: 11). The

prehistoric Icknield Way runs through East Anglia, along the chalk corridor into

Cambridgeshire. Pilgrim's Way is another prehistoric road, which runs through Kent and

passes a number of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. The juxtaposition with older sites is

one method for creating an ancestral claim to the region.

Characteristics Considered for Analysis

An east-west orientation and lack of grave goods are not an accurate assessment of

religious practice during this time, although variations among cemetery assemblages will

be noted. The absent evidence cannot be accurately assessed; as such, this analysis relies

on the materials found in burials that can be linked to variations in the traditional Anglo-

Saxon repertoire to determine the extent of British influence. Any materials that suggest

variation in the traditional Anglo-Saxon ritual burial practice, discussed in Chapter 2 and

7, are recorded below and assessed in the following chapter. The items recorded include

anything with Christian symbols or meaning, Roman materials, or items that are unusual.

The burials recorded in this study include materials that are not usually found in Anglo-

Saxon burials, have been linked to Christian practice or symbolism, or are representative

of a Roman tradition. These materials include crystal balls, Roman materials, with special

attention to coins, any item with a cross motif, and spoons. The validity of these items

and how they relate to pre-Anglo-Saxon practices will be explored in Chapter 10. Several

exceptional items with Christian iconography have also been identified.

Due to the acidic nature of the soil of most of Britain, the majority of cemeteries lack full skeletons. Unless otherwise noted, the sexing of skeletons is reliant on gendered grave goods. Occasionally, cemeteries do possess skeletons with good preservation that allows for a complete skeletal analysis.

The Cemeteries of East Anglia

East Anglia is a region that combines Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge and Essex. The area is formed by glacial deposits and shallow valleys formed by rivers that drain into the North Sea. The north is low-lying, flat, and dominated by marshes, like the Norfolk Fens and the Cambridge Fens. The northern area is bordered by the Wash, which is a bay on the North Sea; the coastline of East Anglia, particularly the north, has been modified in the last few centuries due to erosion and changing sea levels.

The region of East Anglia is characterized by the dominance of material associated with the Angles. However, the dominance of Angle materials does not exclude other groups settled within the region. The Angles settled in East Anglia, but so did the Saxons, Frisians, Jutes and perhaps some Franks displacing at least a portion of the existing Romano-British population. Quickly, the whole of eastern England began to culturally resemble the Anglo-Saxons; whether this change reflects the migration of a large number of people or the cultural dominance of a small group is unknown.

In contrast to Kent, East Anglia presents a region firmly dominated by the Germanic groups yet with one of the locations linked to the continued Christian pilgrimages, St Albans. It presents a dichotomy of appearing purely Germanic yet presenting evidence for a continued Romano-British presence based upon isolated burials conducted distinctly differently from the Anglo-Saxon practices. East Anglia was not influenced by constant contact and trade with the Continent.

The site of St Albans martyrdom, which is known to be a location of pilgrimages in the fifth and sixth centuries, would have had to be maintained by a local group. Pilgrimages in the early medieval period would have required support from a local population, suggesting that the practice of a different religion would have been acceptable and not persecuted by the locals.

Bergh Apton, Norfolk dates from the late fifth to late sixth centuries. It is located on the top of a small hill on the north side of Well Beck, which is a tributary to the River Chet. Earlier gravel extraction for the site likely destroyed a number of burials before the discovery. The site is only 40 km from Spong Hill and across the river from Brooke. The inhumation cemetery contains 63 burials, and only five inhumations without grave goods (Green and Rogerson 1978). The demographics were determined based upon the presence of grave goods to come to 24 females, 18 males and 12 children.

Interestingly, unlike other cemeteries in this time period, Bergh Apton has very few Roman or unusual ritual items. Only one of the 58 burials with grave goods contains

materials that are similar to the uncommon ritual items found in other cemeteries. Grave 34 is a female burial with a number of grave goods including a fragment of a blue glass vessel that is dated to AD 70-130 (Green and Rogerson 1978: 27). This grave also includes a large string of 186 individual beads including 150 amber, 32 glass, nine copper-alloy bucket beads, one blue cylindrical bead, and two large crystal beads. These large crystal beads are reminiscent of the large perforated crystal from Bifrons Grave 6 (Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 303). The nine bucket beads are the largest number found in the graves studied and are known to be associated with ritual identities (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 167, 170).

Boulter, S. and P. Walton Rogers. 2012. *Circles and Cemeteries: Excavations at Flixton Vol. 1*. East Anglian Archaeology 147.

Green, B. and A. Rogerson. 1978. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Bergh Apton, Norfolk: Catalogue.* East Anglian Archaeology 7. Norfolk Archaeological Unit, Gressenhall.

Penn, K. and B. Brugmann. 2007. *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Inhumation Burial: Morning Thorpe, Spong Hill, Bergh Apton and Westgarth Gardens*. East Anglian Archaeology 119.

Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville, Suffolk is dated from AD 500 to 700, but the cemetery is primarily composed of seventh century material (Dickens et al. 2006). The cemetery contains only 26 inhumations with no cremations, all east-west aligned with three isolated burials to the east. There is evidence of only a few coffins. The female

burials feature more grave goods than the males, with personal ornamentation items, such as necklaces or pendants, and chatelaines found with the females. Male burials contained only a tool or knife. The disparity in the grave goods between men and women suggests a social discrepancy not generally identified during this period, apart from within religious communities. Lucy et al. (2009) suggests that the elite female role within this cemetery may suggest an early religious community.

One female burial, Grave 11, of indeterminate date although a seventh century date is favored, contained a silver necklace with a cruciform (Dickens et al. 2006: 391-393, Lucy et al 2009). The burial was rich with the traditional features of a female adult burial including a bronze girdle hanger, silver pin, iron shears and knife, a chatelaine, and a pair of wood and iron woolcombs. The silver necklace is the only indication of variance from tradition and the only overt indication of religion.

Figure 16: Silver necklace with cruciform pendant, Bloodmoor Hill Grave 11
(Dickens, Mortimer and Tipper 2006: 392)

Bloodmoor Hill's cruciform pendant is likely too late for inclusion in this study, but the religious nature of the burial and cemetery begged its inclusion for consideration. An early religious community in Suffolk during the seventh century would indicate a quick integration of Christian practice. The juxtaposition of the cruciform and the traditional lifestyle items, such as the woolcombs and knife that mark the Anglo-Saxon concerns for

the afterlife, also serve to indicate the type of integration of religious beliefs found in the early Anglo-Saxon period.

Dickens, A., R. Mortimer and J. Tipper. 2006. "The Early Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Cemetery at Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville, Suffolk: A Preliminary Report." *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 13*. Oxford University School of Archaeology, Oxbow Books: 63-79.

Lucy, S., J. Tipper and A. Dickens. 2009. *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Cemetery at Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville, Suffolk, East Anglian Archaeology* 131. Cambridge, Cambridge Archaeological Unit, University of Cambridge with ALGAO East.

Brooke, Norfolk from the middle to late sixth century contained an estimated 15 inhumations and two possible cremations (Kennett 1976). The grave goods of brooches and spears indicate seven males and eight females. Remarkably for the small cemetery, there were 13 weapons, specifically spears, with only two small knives, and 13 brooches (Kennett 1976). Due to the early excavation, 1867 and 1869, the burials themselves were not analyzed or preserved. The grave goods and burial information is recorded after the antiquarian collection of the materials.

Kennett, D. H. 1976. "Anglo-Saxon Finds from Brooke, Norfolk, 1867-1869." *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society,* Vol 66. The Burlington Press: 93-118.

Caistor-by-Norwich and Markshall, Norfolk are two associated mixed rites cemeteries. Caistor-by-Norwich contains both inhumations and cremations, while Markshall is only a cremation cemetery. Both cemeteries are located in the Tas Valley near the *Venta Icenorum*. Some of the pottery, or urns, from the cremations are dated to the fourth century, which could indicate an earlier Germanic migration or presence than generally assumed, as at Mucking (Richardson 2005: 53). The coins and pottery of the Romano-British disappeared around AD 360 within the walled town (Myres and Green 1973: 17). The temple precinct in the north-east of the site was still in use during the fourth century (Myres and Green 1073: 18). The overlap of perhaps 100 years, as theorized by Myres and Green (1973: 13), presents a picture of Anglo-Saxon culture adjacent to Romano-British.

Building 4 of Caistor, excavated by Atkinson (1931, 1932), was burnt with partial remains of thirty-five men, women and children within it. The site was disturbed by ploughing, which can account for some of the confusion around the deposit. The human remains are unusual because the long bone fragments only account for six individuals, but there is evidence for 35 skulls many of which have traces of blunt force trauma (Myres and Green 1973: 33, 34). The blunt force trauma might be the results of ploughing (Darling and Keith 1987).

Caistor-by-Norwich Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery dates from the early fourth until the seventh century. It contained over 300 cremations, not all of which were urned, 155

of which had grave goods. Interestingly, there were 28 cremations under 13 years old and within that 13 there were infants or young children (Myres and Green 1973). Of the cremation burials, Cremation Y40 included an iron knife and a perforated Roman coin dated to the third century (Myres and Green 1973: 44, 205). The site also contained 39 inhumations burials with 60 individuals dating from the late sixth to seventh centuries. None of the inhumations were definitively accompanied by unusual items, but two Roman coins were found associated with Grave 17, not as grave goods, however (Myres and Green 1973). The paucity of Roman grave goods is unexpected since there was a large Roman site nearby.

The cemetery of Markshall, contemporary with Caistor-by-Norwich, is on the west side of the river Tas and contained over 100 urns without any inhumations. The cremations were predominantly unaccompanied and grave goods were unusual.

Atkinson, D. 1931. *Caistor excavations, 1929.* Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society.

Atkinson, D. 1932. "Three Caistor pottery kilns" *The Journal of Roman Studies*, *22*(1): 33-46.

Darling, M.J. and A. Keith. 1987. "The Caistor-by-Norwich 'Massacre' Reconsidered." *Britannia* 18: 263-272.

Myres, J.N.L. and B. Green. 1973. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of Caistor-by-Norwich and Markshall, Norfolk.* Thames and Hudson Ltd, London.

Richardson, A. 2005. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of Kent*, Vol. 1. BAR British Series
391, John and Erica Hedges Ltd, Oxford.

Edix Hill, Cambridgeshire was in use during the sixth and seventh centuries
encompassing the Christian conversion begun by Augustine at the end of the sixth
century. Edix Hill is one of a number of cemeteries that allows for a greater
understanding of how the conversion affected burial practices. Located in the Cam
Valley, the site is on a chalk area surrounded by a lower clay rich area. The site was
discovered in the mid-nineteenth century. It is a rich cemetery with a number of female
bed burials and gold items. Edix Hill had 73 inhumations and no identified cremations.

Of the 73 inhumations, ten were identified as adult males, nine as adult females, with five
young adults, five juveniles and one infant based on the skeletal analysis (Malim 1990).
The cemetery has no recognizable pattern to the orientations of inhumations or groups
(Malim and Hines 1998: 26, Malim 1990). The positioning of the body appears to have
indicated sex: all the bodies flexed to their right were male, while those flexed to the left
were female (Malim and Hines 1998: 34). The children appear to have mimicked the
adult patterning (Malim and Hines 1998: 34). Four male skulls have sword cuts, possibly
trepanations, all of which were healed indicating that the individuals survived (Malim
and Hines 1998: 181).

The cemetery contains two female bed burials, two shroud burials and a number of open
wooden boxes that would have displayed the body. Of the two bed burials, one woman,

Grave 18B, was buried with a sword, and she had leprosy. The nature of Grave 18B is unusual due to the presence of a sword, but the other grave goods that accompany her are those generally associated with female bed burials and the cunning women (Meaney 1981, Geake 2003). Her burial contained a glass bead, silver rings from a necklace, an iron key, two iron knives, a bucket of iron and oak, a weaving batten, the remains of an iron and ash box, an antler comb, an antler spindle whorl, a fossil sea urchin, a sheep astragalus, a glass fragment, and a number of iron fragments, in addition to the funerary bed she was placed upon (Malim and Hines 1998: 52-53). The fossil sea urchin, sword, and sheep astragalus are unusual enough to suggest the amulets associated with a cunning woman. This burial is dated to the seventh century, when bed burials are common.

The cemetery has three instances of Roman coins: two in burials and one an unstratified find. Grave 3 has two coins within a purse next to two broken wrist-clasps, while Grave 109 contains two Roman coins (Malim and Hines 1998: 226). Malim and Hines (1998) support the view that the coins held an economic value rather than a continuation of Roman practice. Three further coins were discovered unstratified, another was found in an Iron Age ditch and an additional, six were found in the nineteenth century (Malim and Hines 1998: 226).

From the nineteenth century excavations, two copper-alloy bells were excavated (MacGregor and Bolick 1993: 256-257, Malim and Hines 1998: 227). Similar bells were found in two cremations: one in Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire and another at Spong Hill, Norfolk. The bells are unusual and identified as ritual items.

One burial in particular has items of interest to this study, Grave 91. This burial is an unsexed young adult with a number of grave goods that suggest a female. She was buried with seven glass beads, an indeterminate number of slip-knot rings that were fragmented, a copper-alloy ring that appears to have been part of a chatelaine chain, a knife, an antler comb, an iron nail, a crystal pendant of gold, and a gold composite scutiform pendant (Malim and Hines 1998: 80-81). The gold has been dated to post-AD 610 based upon the purity (Malim and Hines 1998: 249). The scutiform pendant is reminiscent of the later pendants that more clearly represent the cross.

Figure 17: A gold scutiform pendant and crystal pendant from Edix Hill, Grave 91 (Malim and Hines 1998: 128)

Grave 91 is too late to be considered in this study as evidence for pre-Augustinian Christianity. It does demonstrate that the visibility of female ritual specialists increased after AD 600 but that they were still recognizable in the earlier periods.

Geake, H. 2003. "The Control of Burial Practice in Anglo-Saxon England." *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300.* York Medieval Press: 259-269.

MacGregor, A. and E. Bolick. 1993. *A summary catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon collections (non-ferrous metals), Ashmolean Museum*, BAR British Series 230. Oxford.

Malim, T. 1990. *Barrington Anglo-Saxon Cemetery Edix Hill, 1990: Interim Repo*rt. Cambridgeshire Council Archaeology.

Malim, T. and J. Hines. 1998. *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Edix Hilll (Barrington A), Cambridgeshire: Excavations 1989-1991 and a summary catalogue of material from nineteenth century interventions*. CBA Research Report 112, York.

Flixton II, Suffolk is located on the river Waveney within the Iceni territory, just across the river from Norfolk. The site was excavated in 1990, 1998 and 2001 to uncover a series of features from the Neolithic to Anglo-Saxon. The site had prehistoric ring-ditches and a post-hole circle as well as another post-hole circle dated to the Late Iron Age or early Roman period (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 5). There was evidence for one possible prehistoric, likely Early Bronze Age unurned cremation of an unsexed young adult (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 28, 43-44). Two other cremations were identified in a similar unurned state, likely heavily impacted by ploughing. The Roman period activity included another post-hole and trench defined palisaded circle and 27 pits which contained Late Iron Age-early Roman pottery (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 54). The Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of Flixton I and Flixton II are dated from the fifth to seventh centuries. The cemetery is located only 500 to 600 m from the contemporary settlement, and would have been visible from the settlement (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 87).

The site contains two Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Flixton I has only one excavated inhumation in association with Bronze Age features. The Flixton I inhumation is located within the ring-ditch around one of the three Bronze Age barrows. Flixton I Grave A is

that of a female juvenile with her head to the west buried with two copper-alloy small-long brooches, a complete glass claw beaker and a ceramic bowl (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 197). The prominent position near a Bronze Age barrow and the rich grave goods suggest that her family or she herself had an important status within the community. The burial is likely part of a larger cemetery.

Flixton II had 51 inhumations excavated from an estimated total of 200 that composed the entire cemetery. The site is characterized by a defined rectangular plot, estimated to be 40 m x 50 m before the cemetery expanded to focus around one of the Bronze Age barrows (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 83, 85). The initial contained nature of the cemetery and expansion later to incorporate the Bronze Age barrow indicate that after the cemetery was well established and perhaps full, the inclusion of an earlier monument became important culturally. The inhumations are laid roughly west-east (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 87). The majority of burials have their heads to the west, with the exception of Grave 17, who was female with her head to the east; she has a man's skull at her side (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 89).

There are few unusual ritual features in the inhumations. The ritual evidence from the cemetery includes evidence for feasting in the northwest corner of the plot (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 94). The practice of graveside feasting in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries is often discussed, but evidence of the hearth is unusual. The site contains few Roman items, only two unstratified Roman coins (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 106). One neck-ring, known as a *lunula* in Anglo-Saxon contexts, was found in Grave 22, which was the grave of a child

between the ages of 11 and 12. It is one of nine known similar necklaces in Anglo-Saxon

contexts, and is a clear imitation of Continental examples, most similar to those found in

fifth century Netherlands (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 114).

The site has no crystal balls or spoons; instead the site has bucket pendants, which have

been determined to have both a ritual designation and use as an indicator for adult female

status (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 167, 170). Grave 20B has three bucket pendants and

Grave 27A has seven bucket pendants. Grave 20B is a young adult with ten beads, a

fragment of a pin, a belt buckle and three bucket pendants (Boulter and Rogers 2012:

160). Grave 27A is a female inhumation with ten beads, a knife and seven bucket

pendants (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 160). Only 20 graves with bucket pendants have

been found in Britain, five of which are in Flixton II (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 170).

They are dated to the late fifth to the first half of the sixth century, mainly in East Anglia,

with the exception of a burial at Bidford-on-Avon (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 106). The

markers of identity at Flixton II are identified as traditionally Anglian and also feature a

number of uncommon items within the burials (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 163).

Boulter, S. and P. Walton Rogers. 2012. *Circles and Cemeteries: Excavations at Flixton
        Vol. 1*. East Anglian Archaeology 147.

Great Chesterford, Essex is a cemetery that demonstrates links to the Continent and

beyond. It dates from AD 450 to 600 and is located south of Cambridge on a gravel

terrace on the east bank of the River Cam. The site is composed of a large cemetery with

a number of Roman deposits which include an anvil and a series of other metal items (Neville 1856: 2). The cemetery contains multiple horse burials and Roman objects and a surprising number of juvenile/infant burials compared to the rest of East Anglia. When the site was discovered in 1952, around 100 inhumations were identified. In total, Great Chesterford is composed of 161 inhumations, 33 cremations, two horse graves and two dog graves (Evison 1994). The inhumations are composed of 88 adults with 4 unknown, 39 males, and 45 females, and 83 non-adults with 12 unknown juveniles, 2 male juveniles, 4 female juveniles, and 35 unknown infants, 1 male infant, 14 female infants, and 15 feotus based on a skeletal analysis of the site (Evison 1994: 32). The cremations are composed of 21 adults with 2 identified males, and 3 non-adults with one possible female, and 6 unsexed or aged (Evison 1994: 32). Of the cremations, there were three Romano-British cremations (Evison 1994: 32).

There are four phases of use indicated by grave goods and orientations. Only two swords were found within the cemetery in the only two rich male inhumations (Evison 1994). The site contains more rich female burials than males. No gold or silver is found in the cemetery, only bronze with a few instances of gilt.

Animal remains are found in twelve burials. There are two horse burials and two deliberate dog burials. Grave 121 is a young male with a pot of three eggs found in situ (Evison 1994: 35). The remains of a stew indicated by bone fragments are found inside pots in Graves 10 and 13 (Evison 1994: 35). A boar tusk was found in a female infant burial, Grave 31, while Grave 1 and 9 have horn cores from oxen (Evison 1994: 35). The

inclusion of these unusual grave goods indicates variations in the Anglo-Saxon practice compared to other contemporary cemeteries but are not unusual finds.

Great Chesterford has 21 Roman objects found within burials including a glass bowl, a pin, hobnails, bracelet, lead spindle whorl, finger ring, razor, annular brooch, three perforated coins and 10 coins (Evison 1994: 21). Two Roman finger rings of bronze with the traces of a geometric inscription on the face demonstrating no discernable meaning were found unstratified (Evison 1994: 27). The three perforated coins are found in juvenile burials and appear to be worn as pendants (Evison 1994: 27). All three coin pendants were found with beads, one on a female between 10-12 years old and the other two on infants. Only children at Great Chesterford had perforated coin pendants; at other contemporary cemeteries perforated coins are found in adult female burials. In addition, coins were positioned in the burials in both inhumations and cremations. One coin was placed in nine different burials: near the skulls of two male inhumations, a large one found beside the body of a rich female inhumation, one near an infant and another near a juvenile, in the left hand of a juvenile female, near two cremations, and with a glass fragment above one of the dog burials (Evison 1994: 27). In Grave 136, an infant of 12-18 months had nine Roman coins placed near the feet of the burial (Evison 1994: 110).

The cemetery of Great Chesterford has clear variations from the typical early Anglo-Saxon practices. The placement of coins, unusual faunal remains, formal burials for two dogs, and rich female burials indicate that the residents were different from those in the adjacent regions.

Evison, V. I. 1994. *An Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Great Chesterford, Essex. Council*

    For British Archaeology Research Report 91, York.

Neville, R. C. 1856. "Description of a Remarkable Deposit of Roman Antiquities of Iron,

    Discovered at Great Chesterford, Essex, in 1854." *The Archaeological Journal*

    XIII, London: 1-13.

Holywell, Mildenhall, Suffolk is another large cemetery with 101 inhumations dating from the late fifth or early sixth century until the middle seventh century The cemetery is in both a sandy and chalk context, with some graves cut into the hard chalk and subsequently easily identified, while others are in the sand and difficult to discern (Leftbridge 1931: 1). The graves were investigated by T.C. Lethbridge in 1931 after the end of the excavation. The demographics of the contained 19 children, with two infants, five sub-adults, 30 adult females, 30 males, and 17 unknown (Pader 1982: 95). All heads are positioned to the west apart from two. Due to the early date of excavation, a large number of items were not kept or preserved at the University of Cambridge, where the majority of surviving items are held.

Grave 10 contained a only the teeth in the sand with two annular bronze brooches, four amber beads, fragments of iron and 11 bronze bucket beads (Lethbridge 1931: 4). The teeth are identified as milk teeth suggesting that it was a child's burial (Lethbridge 1931: 4). The bucket beads have been identified at only a few cemeteries and are interpreted as indicative of a special status.

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Grave 11 contained a skeleton of a young child, indicated by the size of the coffin fittings (Lethbridge 1931: 4). Based on the grave goods, the child is assumed to be female. The child was accompanied by a large number of rich grave goods including some outside the coffin. One bronze bowl was placed inside the coffin and another was outside at the foot of the grave cut (Lethbridge 1931: 5). A square-headed brooch, similar in style to those found in Kent during the sixth century, set with garnets as found at the neck along with two annular brooches (Lethbridge 1931: 5). Three silver disc pendants were found at the upper chest with over 100 amber beads, three jet beads, two crystal beads that were imported, two large Romano-British glass beads (Lethbridge 1931: 6). Gold braid was found interspersed in the burial, likely from her clothing (Lethbridge 1931: 8). At her waist, she had two large bronze girdle-hangers, a strike-a-light, a bronze buckle, a bronze ring, and strap ends (Lethbridge 1931: 8). Two silver bracelets, and a silver finger ring were found on her hands and have matching decorative motifs (Lethbridge 1931: 8). A weaving batten was found, which is unusual to find in England, and is more commonly found in Scandinavia (Lethbridge 1931: 8).

Grave 100 was an unusual burial; the skeleton was poorly preserved, but was buried in a crouched position within a circular hole under what was a fire pit, and contained no grave goods. The skeleton was not burnt but a large amount of ash was found above and beneath the body (Lethbridge 1931: 45).

Lethbridge, T.C. 1931. "The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Holywell (or Hollywell) Row,

      Suffolk." Recent Excavations in Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Cambridgeshire and

      Suffolk, A Report. Bowes & Bowes, Cambridge.

Pader, E. 1982. *Symbolism, Social Relations and the Interpretation of Mortuary*

      Remains. BAR International Series 130, Oxford.
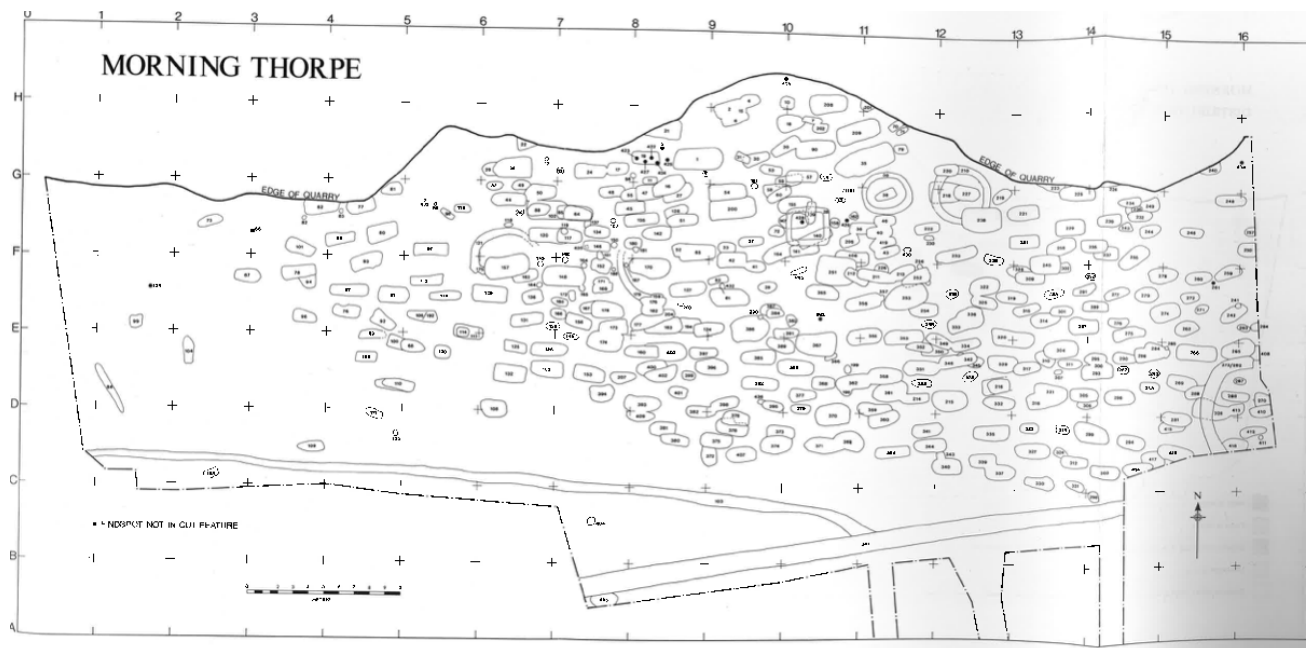
Figure 18: Site map of Morning Thorpe, Norfolk produced by Green et al. 1987

Morning Thorpe, Norfolk contained a remarkable 365 burials and 9 cremations dating

from the fifth and sixth centuries (Green et al. 1987). The cemetery consisted of two

small ring ditches, a penannular ditch and post-holes suggestive of above ground

structures accompanying the burials. The burials were 96 females, 76 males, and 193

unsexed. Interestingly, only three female burials were oriented with heads to the west,

along with 31 of the 141 unsexed graves, demonstrating a bias towards east-west

orientations (Green et al. 1987: 6). The high acidity in the soil left only trace amounts of

the skeletons in the burials.

Figure 19: Silver ring with incised cross, Grave 384, Morning Thorpe, Norfolk (Green et al. 1987: 342), Figure 20: Silver horned face, Grave 384, Morning Thorpe, Norfolk (Green et al. 1987: 342)

Of the inhumations, one in particular is worth examining. Grave 384 is the inhumation of a juvenile female and contains a remarkable number of grave goods: 17 amber beads, 8 glass beads, a large iron pin, 4 silver bells, an annular brooch, an iron buckle plate, an iron key, two possible iron keys, an iron ring, an iron knife with a horn handle, an iron buckle, some miscellaneous metal, and a silver zoomorphic mount that may have been modified to serve as a pendant and worn as a necklace (Green et al. 1987: 149-150). Yet, the important item is a late Roman silver finger ring with a cross incised on the center of the ring's surface, dated to the late fourth to early fifth century, and possibly hung from a necklace (Green et al. 1987: 149). This is the only explicit evidence of Christian materials at the site, and it is interesting that it comes in the fully outfitted grave of a young female. The ring would have been an heirloom by the time of deposition and may have held other meaning apart from Christian identity. Its inclusion alongside the horned zoomorphic mount presents a dichotomy of religious practice that will be examined further in Chapter 10.

Grave 133 is a young adult female who was buried with two copper alloy annular brooches, a copper alloy cruciform brooch, twelve beads, two wrist clasps, a wooden

bowl, an iron key and knife with a horn handle with a Roman enameled bronze disc-brooch (Green et al. 1987: 72-73). The Roman disc-brooch was modified to use as a pendant and found directly under one of the annular brooches (Green et al. 1987: 73).

The inclusion of Roman material in the early Anglo-Saxon female burials provides a link to the British past. The items may have been brought from the Continent and are evidence of contact with the Roman Empire from Germania, items from Britain that were obtained by Anglo-Saxons after the Migration, or kept by the native British, who now otherwise resemble the Anglo-Saxons in burial.

Green, B., A. Rogerson and S. G. White. 1987. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Morning Thorpe, Norfolk, Vol. I: Catalogue. East Anglian Archaeology* No 38, Vol 1. Norfolk Archaeological Unit.

Penn, K. and B. Brugmann. 2007. *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Inhumation Burial: Morning Thorpe, Spong Hill, Bergh Apton and Westgarth Gardens. East Anglian Archaeology* 119.

Mucking, Essex is near Stanford-le-Hope in Essex County. The site is located on a one hundred foot long gravel terrace above the Thames River but covers over eighteen hectares in total (Hamerow 1993a: 1). Starting in 1965, the site was first excavated by M. U. Jones and W. T. Jones for thirteen years. The settlement represents a period of uninterrupted occupation from the early fifth century to the beginning of the eighth century. The settlement consists of 203 SFBs, 53 post-hole buildings, 27 pits, one

inhumation cemetery with 62 burials and another mixed burial cemetery with 480

cremations and 274 inhumations (Hamerow 1993a: 1). The settlement of Mucking exists

on the edge of four geographic contexts; it is along the Thames estuary, north of the chalk

downs at Kent, bordering the kingdoms of Kent and Essex, on a defendable peak with a

view of Kent and the estuary, and finally, it occupies a central, accessible location within

the North Sea (Hamerow 1993a: 2-4). These are geographic and political influences that

must be considered when the site is examined.

The Roman presence in Mucking is considerably smaller than the Saxon settlement.

There are two areas of identified Roman presence, one along the southeastern side of

Mucking and another at the center of the site (Clark 1993: 20). The remains have been

interpreted as a farmstead surrounded by a ditch enclosure with two entrances while the

main enclosure is subdivided with two wells (Clark 1993: 20). The settlement ended in

the first century AD, but the associated small ditched cemetery was in use sporadically

until the later fourth century (Clark 1993: 20). The site would have been abandoned for

fifty to seventy-five years before the Saxons arrived (Clark 1993: 21). The site contains a

number of Iron Age and Roman ditches open during the Anglo-Saxon period (Hamerow

1993a: 1).

There are two cemeteries associated with the settlement of Mucking. Cemetery I consists

of 62 inhumations while Cemetery II contains around 274 inhumations and 480

cremations (Clark 1993: 21, Williams 2006: 188). Cemetery I is described as incomplete

and unenclosed, dating to the second quarter of the fifth century into the early seventh

century (Jones 1993: 759). Cemetery II has the same date range but contains both inhumations and cremations. The burial assemblages suggest a distinct difference in social status. There appears to have been a special treatment of a handful of individuals within each generation with family units, rather than dominant families in the community (Jones 1993: 760). A few graves include late Roman military metal decorative pieces, which have been associated with German mercenary soldiers (Johnson 1982: 165). The late Roman and Saxon period field systems were well excavated and include Saxon pottery from the fifth century suggesting an early Saxon presence in the cemetery (Johnson 1982: 165). There were over 800 burials spanning 200 years suggesting that the settlement was well populated. The site of Mucking lacks a final phase cemetery implying the presence of another undiscovered cemetery near the settlement (Jones 1993: 760).

Grave 552 contained a female based on the associated artifacts as only parts of the skull and partial long bones preserved. The grave goods include two matching copper alloy lozenge-shaped brooches, 4 glass and 2 amber beads, two pieces of bronze sheet, fragmented belt pieces with leather attached, D-shaped iron buckle (Hirst and Clark 2009: 55-57). At the right of her chest, a copper alloy toilet set hung on a ring with a pierced Roman coin, dated to AD 324-326, were placed (Hirst and Clark 2009: 55). At her left waist hung a girdle with an iron knife and iron key (Hirst and Clark 2009: 57).

Grave 843 is a female burial with the only large crystal in the cemetery. The burial is identified as female based on the associated grave goods. The grave goods include a pale

green glass claw beaker at the head of the grave, two silver-gilt small square-headed brooches, and an iron pin with a copper alloy head. At her waist, hung nine glass beads, two amber beads, two silver tubes with decorative mercury-gilded bands, a small iron and bronze buckle plate and buckle, an iron knife, an iron firesteel or pursemount, leaded copper alloy ring, and a large faceted convex smoky quartz crystal bead or spindle whorl (Hirst and Clark 2009: 148). The crystal has edges that are worn from (Hirst and Clark 2009: 148). In the fill of the grave, a light blue glass vessel, probably a bowl, was placed.
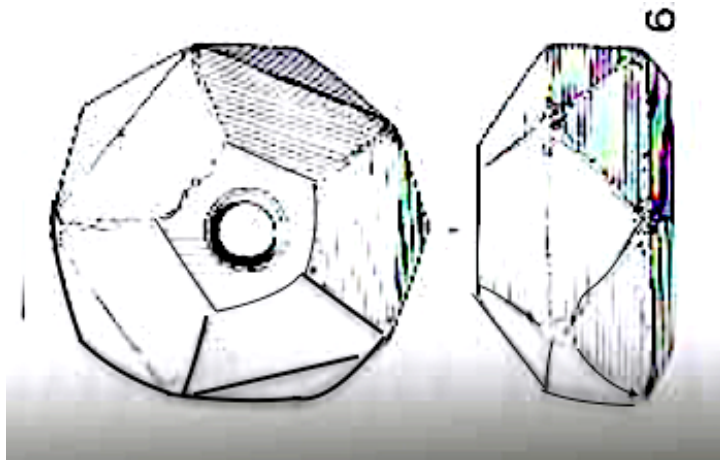
Figure 21: Crystal bead or spindle whorl in Grave 843 (Hirst and Clark 2009: 147)

Grave 789 is a male burial with a purse of Roman coins. The burial is identified as an adult male based on the associated artifacts and size of the surviving skeleton (Hirst and Clark 2009: 136). The burial contained an iron spearhead, penannular brooch at the shoulders. At his waist, there was a buckle, knife, and a purse that held four late third century Roman coins, a lump of solder, and metal fragments (Hirst and Clark 2009: 136-138). There are soil stains and two large clamps that indicate the body was placed in a coffin (Hirst and Clark 2009: 136-138).

Grave 823 is another male burial with an interesting belt buckle. The burial is identified as an adolescent male based on the size of the soil stain from the skeleton and the grave goods; the skeleton was not preserved (Hirst and Clark 2009: 138). The belt buckle is reminiscent of Roman buckles that featured Christian symbolism, but this belt features geometric decoration and one surviving swastika. Swastikas in fifth and sixth century burials probably were meant to symbolize Thor and lightning (see Chapter 3).
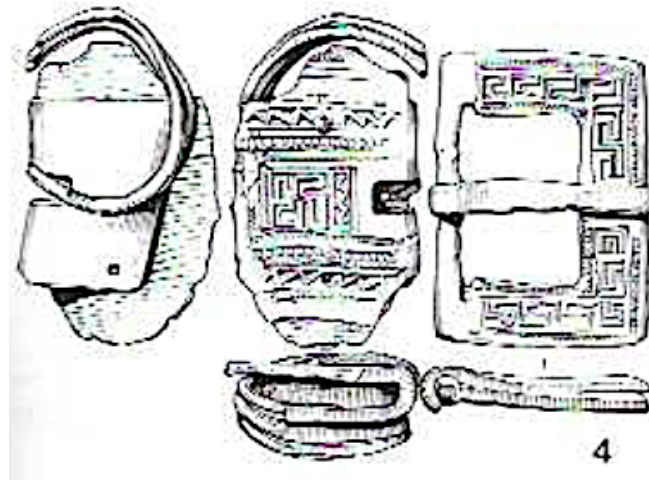
Figure 22: Grave 823 belt buckle from Mucking (Hirst and Clark 2009: 139)

Grave 935 is a burial of either a man or a woman, the sex is indeterminate, and is recorded here because of the presence of a Roman coin. The coin is identified as that of Antoninus Pius dated to between AD 138 and 161 (Hirst and Clark 2009: 185). Preserved fabric and leather suggests that the coin was placed inside a pouch and suspended at the left waist (Hirst and Clark 2009: 185).

One cremation, C367, has an urn with an incised X on the underside, similar to those at Springfield Lyons (Hirst and Clark 2009: 261). The preserved bone indicates an older adult male (Hirst and Clark 2009: 261). The grave goods placed inside the urn include a miniature iron tweezers that were unburnt, a burnt iron fragment, a pieces of melted glass

and metal, and a fragment of a glass claw beaker that was found outside of the urn (Hirst and Clark 2009: 261).

Interpretations of the settlement of Mucking are varied and largely focus on how the residents would have interacted with the surrounding area. The first group of settlers is interpreted as *Foederati*, an independent Germanic unit paid by Rome for their services (Hamerow 1993a: 93). They would have been brought to Essex to aid in defending the *civitates* after Honorius withdrew forces in AD 410 and were intended to protect London (Hamerow 1993a: 93). The possibility of gathering a mercenary group to defend London after AD 410 is interesting as most evidence from London excavations indicates little proof of occupation after the official withdrawal of Rome. The suggestion that Mucking housed a group of *Foederati* could be dismissed if not for a number of burials containing Roman military paraphernalia, which was a common form of payment to Germanic troops (Johnson 1982: 165). The name Mucking can be translated as the "followers of Mucca", an inherently Germanic name (Hamerow 1993a: 96). The site was a modest settlement in the fifth century; its growth was restricted by the continuing sub-Roman population in the vicinity until the Anglo-Saxon Migration began later that century (Hamerow 1993a: 91). Once the Anglo-Saxons claimed control of the estuary, they were able to expand.

Clark, A. 1993. *Excavations at Mucking, Vol 1: the site atlas*. English Heritage and
British Museum Press.

Hamerow, H. 1993a. *Excavations at Mucking, Vol. 2: The Anglo-Saxon settlement, excavations by M U Jones and W T Jones*. English Heritage and British Museum Press.

Hirst, S. and D. Clark. 2009. *Excavations at Mucking, vol. 3 The Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, excavations by Tom and Margaret Jones, part I introduction, catalogues and specialist reports*. Museum of London Archaeology, London.

Johnson, S. 1982. *Britain Before the Conquest: Later Roman Britain*. Granada Publishing Ltd.

Jones, T. and M. Jones. 1993. *Excavations at Mucking, Vol. 3: The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries, part ii analysis and discussion*. English Heritage and British Museum Press.

Williams, H. 2006. *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain*. Cambridge University Press.

Oxborough, Norfolk is a small cemetery dating to the sixth century. While composed of only eleven burials that have been excavated, the cemetery represents the tradition of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries located next to Bronze Age burial mounds. Arguably, this practice grew out of a desire to create historic ties to the landscape and establish ancestral roots. At the cemetery of Oxborough, the tradition was undertaken by a small local community. The cemetery is on the sandy soil of the Breckland and was heavily disturbed by modern ploughing. The excavation was conducted in 1990 to determine the details of the barrow and surrounding graves. The eleven excavated burials represent a larger cemetery that has not been excavated.

The eleven burials are typical in composition to other East Anglian cemeteries. Dated to the sixth century, the burials contain the items typical of the period. The cemetery was composed of an older infant, six adult females, and four adult males. Ploughing greatly disturbed the burials and distributed the materials across the site. A large number of artifacts was found during surface collection and in the top layer of the soil (Penn 1998: 13). Some of these items might have come from the eleven excavated burials and the unexcavated cemetery. The grave cuts for these burials are interesting because unlike all the other cemeteries examined in this study, the frequency of cuts that were too short for the intended skeleton is unusually high. The natural chalk of the region may be to blame, which could explain why the grave diggers favored the ring-ditch and barrow for burial, as the soil was easier to cut through.

Of the eleven burials, only one is unusual, Grave 9. Grave 9 contains one of the few early Anglo-Saxon female trepanations. The adult female was laid with her head to the north and a large flint was found beneath her skull to prop it up (Penn 1998: 12). The trepanation has evidence of remodeling on the edges indicating she survived the procedure (Penn 1998: 12). The skeleton was largely intact and had her arms folded across her chest. She was buried with two copper-alloy brooches, a copper-alloy Roman brooch, an iron knife and ring at her hip, and 25 beads at her chest including 13 amber (Penn 1998: 12). The Roman brooch was of the Hod Hill type and dated to the first century AD. A number of aspects of this burial make it unusual including her folded arms, trepanation, and Roman brooch. Grave 9 was the richest of the eleven burials.

Penn (1998) reviewed the trepanations of Norfolk and found that of the eleven, Grave 9 was the only female. Of those eleven, four were identified by Wells (1976) as having been performed by the same person. All of those four were within 30 km of Oxborough and contemporary: Watton, Eriswell, Swaffham and Grimston (Penn 1998: 23). Grave 9 has the same characteristics as Wells' four, which further supports his theory of a traveling specialist (Wells 1976, Penn 1998: 23).

The eleven burials of Oxborough represent a larger cemetery and one in accordance with the surrounding area. The inclusion of a Roman brooch suggests that it was valued for its heirloom status and linkage to the past. It is unlikely to have been held by a family for four hundred years only to be deposited in the sixth century.

Penn, K. 1998. *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Oxborough, West Norfolk: Excavations in 1990*. East Anglian Archaeology, Occasional Papers 5. Norfolk Museum Service, Gressenhall.

Wells, C. 1976. "The Skeletal Material." *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at The Paddocks, Swaffham,* East Anglian Archaeology 2: 33-41.

Rayleigh, Essex is a unique cemetery due to the lack of high status grave goods. The site dates to the second half of the fifth century until the mid-sixth century. Located in southern Essex on an open grassland not far from the river Thames, Rayleigh represents a population along the border of Kent and East Anglia (Ennis 2008: vii).

The site had 145 cremations with a minimum of 118 individuals. Only six cremations were sexed, all designated as male (Ennis 2008: 14). The pottery has parallels at Mucking and in north Kent, which links the cemetery grave materials with Kent more clearly than East Anglia (Ennis 2008: vii). There were burnt animal bone deposits within ten different cremations (Ennis 2008: 14). Despite the paucity of grave goods, there were 16 features across the cemetery, indicating that the nature of the cemetery may have included a visible component. The cemetery may have relied on above ground features rather than grave goods to emphasize status, but this practice is sporadic in the early Anglo-Saxon period.

The site had only one inhumation, Burial 61; a female with folded legs was laid in an oval pit with a layer of charcoal beneath her (Ennis 2008: 19). She was interred with a necklace of 114 glass beads, including two amber, one Roman, and two jet, along with pottery from three vessels and a copper-alloy ring at the waist (Ennis 2008: 19).

The site conforms to early Anglo-Saxon cremation practices, despite the lack of wealth. The nature of cremation and the burning of grave goods mean that organic or more degradable materials are lost, and estimations of wealth could have been dramatically different before burning.

Ennis, T. 2008. *An Early Saxon Cemetery at Rayleigh, Essex: excavations at the former Park School. East Anglian Archaeology* 127. The Dorset Press.

Snape, Suffolk dates from the late fifth to seventh century on the edge of the modern village of Snape. The site is only 17 km from Sutton Hoo and contained a similar composition of burial types including ship burials. The excavations took place between 1985 and 1992. The site consists of nine to ten burial mounds, a ring ditch and tumulus populated with inhumations and cremations. The cemetery has poor bone preservation but contained 48 inhumations, including a double burial, and 52 cremations, including one empty urn (Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001). Sexing and Age are based upon the size of the sand bodies and the nature of the grave goods. This cemetery of clearly elite burials has a number of unusual items.

Figure 23: Roman intaglio ring featuring *Bonus Eventus* in Snape cemetery, Inhumation 1
(Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001: 120)

Inhumation 1 was located within the tumulus, which was 22 meters in diameter and approximately 1.7 meters high. The inhumation is presumed to be male based on the grave goods, and a collared urn, found in grave 48, suggests it was a Bronze Age barrow that was reused by the Anglo-Saxons (Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001: 19). The mound also contained a number of Anglo-Saxon cremations, but their stratigraphic relationship is unclear. The main inhumation is a richly outfitted ship burial that was looted; the remaining grave goods include a glass claw beaker, a few pieces of broken jasper, a fragment of opaque blue glass, a fragment of woolen cloak, and two spears, along with a

Roman finger ring. The Roman finger ring features an onyx intaglio with *Bonus Eventus* in the center dated to the early to mid-sixth century (Filmer-Sankey 1992: 41-42, Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001: 19). *Bonus Eventus* was representative of a "Happy Outcome." The edges of the ring were set with granules, beaded, and twisted wire, which formed a zoomorphic effect on the sides of the ring (Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001: 19). The ring is likely an import and a Frankish production as similar rings were found in Krefled-Gellep and Lorsch (Filmer-Sankey 1992: 42).

Grave 51 is a cremation urn with no surviving skeletal material but is noted here for the swastika symbols pressed into the neck. The swastika is a complicated symbol during any pre-modern time period. It has been appropriated by Christians, Jews, various indigenous polytheistic groups across Eurasia, Zoastrians, Hindus and Buddhists. It is first identified in the Indus Valley and Mesopotamia. The appearance of this particular symbol on Anglo-Saxon pottery could indicate anything. It is an ambiguous symbol that could be found in the Anglo-Saxon repertoire for any number of reasons.

The final unusual burial is Grave 68, which was a cremation in a copper-alloy bowl wrapped in cloth. Only around twenty examples of copper-alloy cremation bowls have been identified in Britain (Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001). The unusual nature suggests that it was a high status burial. Grave 68 is dated to the late sixth or early seventh century.

Snape offers a range of unusual grave goods that are not so far outside the norm but which suggest more leniency or variation in burial requirements than at Westgarth Gardens or Sporle with Palgrave. The cemetery is certainly very rich, but the inclusion of a Roman intaglio ring is a link to a different time and a tie to a society that is no longer in England likely creating an association to a number of ideas.

Filmer-Sankey, W. 1992. "Snape Anglo-Saxon Cemetery: The current state of knowledge" *The Age of Sutton Hoo: the seventh century in north-western Europe*. Boydell Press, Woodhenge: 39-51.

Filmer-Sankey, W. and T. Pestell. 2001. *Snape Anglo-Saxon Cemetery: Excavations and Surveys 1824-1992*. East Anglian Archaeology, Report No. 95. Archaeological Services, Suffolk County Council.

Spong Hill, Norfolk is well known for the large cremation cemetery with 2,262 cremations, but it also contained 57 inhumations. Founded in the middle of the fifth century, the cemetery by the end of the sixth century covered 4,375 m^2 (Rickett 1995). The site includes an associated settlement and evidence of constant occupation of the area from the Iron Age until the end of the sixth century when use of the cemetery ended. The Roman occupation ran from the second century until the late fourth century with evidence for neglect beginning in the fourth century (Rickett 1995: 33). The Saxon settlement includes a small square enclosure, six, with a possible seventh, Sunken Feature Buildings, five post-hole groupings, and thirteen pits or hollows. By the late sixth century the cemetery and settlement were abandoned (Rickett 1995: 58). The number of

inhumations and cremations suggests that the cemetery was serving as a large regional burial ground, as the settlement itself cannot account for all of the burials.

The inhumations are composed of 27 females and 16 males with 14 unsexed. Of the 57 inhumations, 43 had their heads west, and only two heads oriented east. The common ritual burial was in a coffin oriented west to east with the body extended. The clear deviations from this are also anomalous in other respects and are all, except one burial, associated with the ring-ditch surrounding Grave 19; they are all also female, or unsexed (Hills et al. 1984: 2). The wooden coffins are preserved as soil stains. There are two chamber graves, which are both male and include weapons. Spong Hill contains burials that conform to the traditions of Anglo-Saxon identity with only hints at any variation.

All except for the earliest portion of the cemetery appears to be traditionally Anglo-Saxon in nature. Chamber Grave 40 and Grave 44 appear to be native Britons based on their burial characteristics. Grave 44 is oriented west to east, which is the opposite of the norm in the cemetery. It is a female burial in the crouched position. She is believed to be Romano-British because of the "dolichocephalic tendency well observed in East Anglian Romano-British populations" (Hills et al 1984: 16). Located in the earliest part of the cemetery, Chamber grave 40 and its attendant burials are separate from the rest of the cemetery. Some of the attendant burials are crouched and grave 44 is associated, which is a native British practice and not an Anglo-Saxon one (Hills et al 1984: 41).
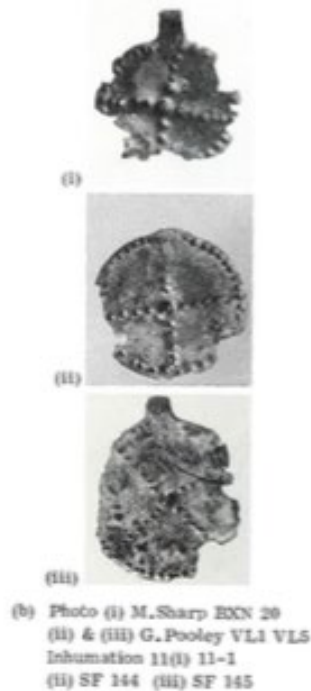
Figure 24: Spong Hill pendants associated with inhumation 11 (Hills et al. 1984: Plate XIV)

Inhumation 11 was a presumed female burial based upon the grave goods, as the bone did

not preserve. It was also cut by a later ditch. The burial was oriented roughly west-east

and contained a copper alloy pendant, annular brooch and cylinder fragment along with a

pot base sherd. In the upper layers of the fill, two more bronze pendants were found that

are almost identical to the pendant found within the main burial level. This is either the

result of bioturbation or a deliberate act during the refilling of the grave cut. The bronze

pendants have traces of silver gilt and feature the suggestion of a cross of repoussé dots

across the center and lining the edge (Hills et al. 1984: 58). There are very similar

pendants found two centuries later that are considered to have deliberate cross representations, and these may be early forms of the same (Williams 2007: 226). However, they are not dissimilar to the traditional pendants found among the Anglo-Saxon female dress. Even if the materials are made with one intent, it does not discount the possibility that they were favored for their similarity to a Christian cross.

The Mound 2 burial, or Inhumation 31, was a chamber burial that had been looted. The looters missed a few objects, namely a pair of gold fish emblems meant to be mounted on a shield and the boss (Hills 1977). The fish is identified by Hills (1977) as a pike, which is a suitably aggressive fish to represent an Anglo-Saxon warrior. The fish is one of the symbols of early Christianity used to indicate covert Christian belief within the Roman Empire (Schulke 1999: 86, Jensen 2013: 51). However, fish can also be a symbol of aggression among the Anglo-Saxons and associated with a warrior, similar to a bird of prey or boar. Since Christian rhetoric was active within the British landscape, as the historic texts report, the users were likely aware of the associations.

In a SFB, a small fragment of glass was found with an equal armed cross with triangular terminals pressed into the base surrounded by a circular moulding (Rickett 1995: 87). The fragment is from a glass bottle dated to the early Anglo-Saxon period. It is significant because of the unusual nature of a cross on a glass bottle.

Hills, C. 1977. "Chamber grave from Spong Hill, North Elmham, Norfolk." *Medieval Archaeology* 21:167-76.

Hills, C., K. Penn and R. Rickett. 1984. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham Part III: Catalogue of Inhumations*. East Anglian Archaeology Report No 21, Norfolk Museums Service.

Jensen, R. M. 2013. *Understanding early Christian art*. Routledge, New York.

Rickett, R. 1995. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham, Part VII: The Iron Age, Roman and Early Saxon Settlement*. East Anglian Archaeology 73.

Schülke, A. 1999. "On Christianization and Grave-Finds" *European Journal of Archaeology* 2(1): 77-106.

Sporle with Palgrave, Norfolk is a sixth century barrow cemetery located along Peddars Way, an Iron Age roadway that travels roughly north-south through Norfolk. The cemetery originally had three to four early barrows, two of which were reused by the Anglo-Saxons in the sixth century. One barrow had sixth century burials of three men with weapons and three to four women with jewelry (Ashley and Penn 2012). A horse burial, without a harness or associated materials, was found in an adjacent reused barrow; it appears to have been a solo burial with no evidence for an associated human burial (Ashley and Penn 2012). There is no associated settlement site suggesting that this cemetery was chosen for its links to the pre-Anglian past. Barrow burials are a common occurrence in Anglo-Saxon elite burials, and British barrows that pre-date the migration would have been easily recognizable. The composition of the burials suggests traditional Anglo-Saxon inhumation rites.

Ashley, S. and K. Penn. 2012. "'Contained the Bones of Horses': An Early Anglo-

      Saxon Cemetery at Sporle with Palgrave." *Norfolk Archaeology* 46: 281-310.

Springfield Lyons, Essex is located on glacial sands and gravel overlooking the River Chelmer to the east. A circular enclosure of 60 meters was identified based on aerial photographs in 1981 (Tyler and Major 2005: 1). The large enclosure was identified as part of a Late Bronze Age complex. An earlier enclosure was first constructed in the Neolithic and contained over 2000 sherds from plain bowls to the east of the Late Bronze Age enclosure (Tyler and Major 2005: 2). The Late Bronze Age enclosure had a rampart that contained three round houses (Tyler and Major 2005: 2). The enclosure and rampart show no signs of re-cutting and likely represent a single phase. The pottery found within the ditches were radiocarbon dated to c. 830-450 BC (Tyler and Major 2005: 2). One pit within the enclosure contained a La Tene style sword and scabbard, which are the only signs of Iron Age activity (Tyler and Major 2005: 2). During the Roman period, there were a series of settlements in the vicinity, but at the site there are only a few pits that mark Roman activity (Tyler and Major 2005: 2). After the early Anglo-Saxon cemetery fell out of use, a late Anglo-Saxon era settlement was founded. The cemetery was in use from the second half of the fifth century to the end of sixth.

The Anglo-Saxon cemetery was composed of graves, cremation pits, post-holes and slots, and pits. The cemetery contained 143 cremations, 114 inhumations, and a further 25 possible inhumations. Only eight inhumations contained skeletal material (Tyler and Major 2005: 6). One burial has evidence for a shroud and 21 have coffin fittings (Tyler

and Major 2005: 6). 45 inhumations contain grave goods and are used to determine

gender (Tyler and Major 2005: 6). 120 cremations were within pots, which were heavily

affected by plowing and only three pots were intact (Tyler and Major 2005: 10). Of the

143 total cremations, only 23 had grave goods (Tyler and Major 2005: 11). A ring ditch,

four meters wide, encloses two cremations neither of which contained grave goods (Tyler

and Major 2005: 10).

There is one unique burial at Springfield Lyons: near cremation 8511, but not associated

with it, there was a horse head burial in its own grave (Tyler and Major 2005: 6). The

horse head was complete with iron harness fittings and was not clearly associated with

any other burials. The burial is unique because it only contains the head. Snape also has

a horse head burial that is associated with a boat burial dated to the seventh century

(Tyler and Major 2005: 10). The Snape horse head is at least one hundred years after the

Springfield Lyons burial.
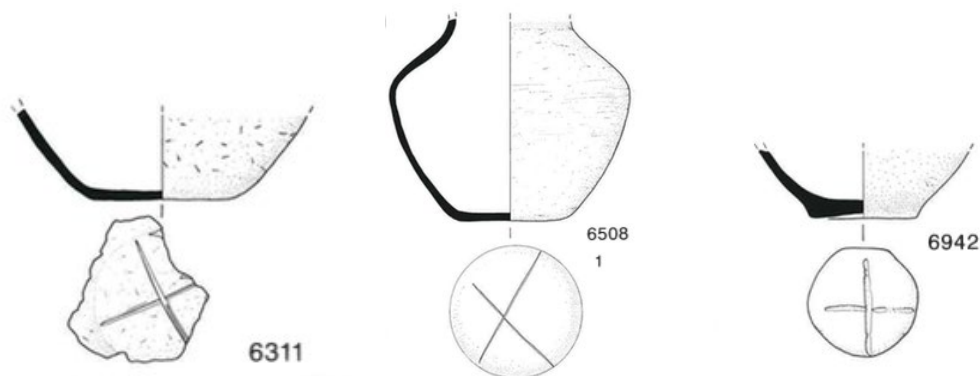
Figure 25: Cremation urn bases from Graves 6311, 6508, and 6942 (Tyler and Major 2005: Figures 53, 54 and 59)

Some cremations urns, Graves 6311, 6508, and 6942, have equal armed crosses inscribed

on their base. The cremation urns from Grave 6311 and 6508 had an incised equal armed

cross at the base that would have been placed there before firing (Tyler and Major 2005:

35, 37). Grave 6508 had a copper alloy disc brooch fragment associated with it (Tyler and Major 2005: 37). Grave 6942 has an equal armed cross that was shallowly incised on the base, which may have been done before or after firing (Tyler and Major 2005: 44). The purpose of these incised crosses is unclear: they are unusual to find on fifth and sixth century cremation urns and reminiscent of the Chi-Rhos scratched on Roman era vessels found in Richborough, Exeter, Canterbury, the Welney River, and Caerwent (See Chapter 7, Thomas 1981: 89).
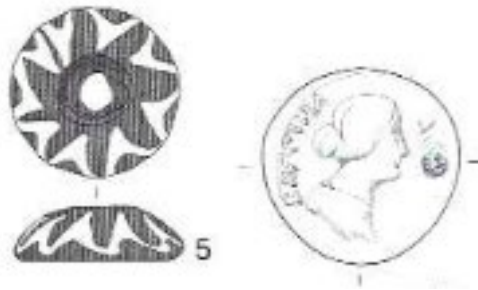
Figure 26: The coin and spindle whorl from Grave 4741 Springfield Lyons (Tyler and Major 2005: 73)

Only one burial contains Roman coins; Grave 4741 was oriented east-west with no surviving skeleton (Tyler and Major 2005: 16). The burial contained two small-long brooches, two perforated Roman coins, a spindle whorl of dark purple glass decorated with white glass in a triangular pattern, a copper alloy buckle, an iron ring and an iron pin (Tyler and Major 2005: 16-19). Of the two perforated copper alloy coins, only one has a surviving inscription of Faustina, the wife of Marcus Aurelius, dating to AD 161-180 (Tyler and Major 2005: 17).

Tyler, S. and H. Major. 2005. *The Early Anglo-Saxon Cemetery and Later Saxon Settlement at Springfield Lyons, Essex*. East Anglian Archaeology, Report no. 111. Wiley Press Ltd., Hunstanton.

Tittleshall, Norfolk was discovered during the construction of a pipeline to King's Lynn. The site has evidence from the Neolithic to the modern day. The site is located near the source of the river Nar and not far from the Launditch, a linear earthwork that was of Iron Age construction within the Iceni region (Rogers 2013: 1, 17). The Romano-British settlement of Kempstone is only 5 km to the south, and Tittleshall is not far from the Peddars Way, which was a road last maintained by the Romans (Rogers 2013: 1).

The cemetery has a number of pits and ditches contemporary with the burials that indicate other activities in the area. The largest pit contains iron slag and pottery sherds from ten different vessels, which is likely evidence of iron smelting in the immediate vicinity (Rogers 2013: 15). The other five contain sherds of pottery. The ditch enclosure within the cemetery is rectilinear, 7m x 7.4m, and went through two phases of construction (Rogers 2013: 15). The rectilinear enclosure is to the south-east of the Iron Age ring ditch (Rogers 2013: 12). A second smaller ditched enclosure could be at the north end of the site, but was left unexcavated, as ploughing and erosion had degraded the area (Rogers 2013: 16). The site has a series of pits 50 meters to the east, which likely mark the edge of the early Anglo-Saxon settlement contemporary with the burials (Rogers 2013: ix).

The cemetery is composed of 24 graves with 25 inhumations, two cremations and a pit with only a skull. The cemetery is dated from the fifth century to the early seventh, with only one burial possibly belonging to the later seventh century (Rogers 2013: ix). The

demographics of the individuals from the cemetery represent a small farming household. The aging and sexing of the inhumations is based upon a skeletal analysis. The cemetery includes one foetus, two neonates, three infants, four juveniles, five sub-adults, six young adults from age 17-25 years old, seven middle adults from 26-45 years old, eight mature adults over the age of 45, nine senile adults over the age of 60, and ten indeterminate adults (Rogers 2013: 52).

The inhumations are all generally oriented east-west (Rogers 2013: 17). There is no evidence for coffins, although three burials have stains that suggest a blanket was placed beneath the body (Rogers 2013: 17). Charcoal was found in eight inhumations, tested to reveal that it was composed of blackthorn, hazel, ash, oak and maple in combination (Rogers 2013: 19). Grave 1 was unoccupied, and allowed to naturally fill, an unusual find (Rogers 2013: 17). Two of the burials were later disturbed by second inhumations placed above. If there had been above ground markers of the burials, they were not sufficient to prevent disturbance.

There is a series of Roman items at the site. There are two instances of perforated Roman coins, two bow brooches dated to the first century AD and a finger ring typical of the second or third century but missing the stone (Bayley and Butcher 2004: 148-159, 233-235, Rogers 2013: 10-11). These items were found within separate burials, all dated firmly to the early Anglo-Saxon period. Grave 3 contains the inhumation of a child determined to be between six and seven years old. The grave goods included two copper-alloy annular brooches and a pierced copper-alloy Roman coin. Fragments of textiles and

leather survived. The Roman coin is of the House of Constantine, dated to AD 335- 341 (Rogers 2013: 82).

The crystals found at this site are unusual as the four found were strung on necklaces, perforated through the center of the rock, and worn. Rogers (2013: 43) determined that the wear on all four beads was different from that of the glass or amber beads on the same necklaces. The crystal beads with their unusual amount of wear suggest that they had a separate former use from that of a necklace (Rogers 2013: 43). They are reminiscent of Bifrons Grave 6 and Bergh Apton Grave 34 (Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 303, Green and Rogerson 1978: 27). They come from two burials, Grave 11A and 15.

Grave 11 is a double burial with 11A as the lower burial and 11B as the intrusive upper burial. Grave 11B has no grave goods and is far enough above Grave 11A to insure a lack of mixing (Rogers 2013: 91). Grave 11A is a female between the ages of 40 and 50 years old with her head to the west (Rogers 2013: 91). The grave goods include the fragments of a silver pendant, a copper-alloy pin, two copper-alloy annular brooches, and two wrist-clasps. At her waist, there was an iron buckle, an iron girdle hanger with a knife, two rings and an iron latchlifter (Rogers 2013: 95). In the burial, there were also two early Saxon vessels including an almost complete sub-biconical jar (Rogers 2013: 95). The burial had a total of 212 beads around the chest and head, 168 of which were amber, and one of which was a crystal. The burial is dated to between AD 480-570 (Rogers 2013: 43).

Grave 15 is a female burial, 30 to 35 years old, with her head to the southwest and her upper body turned to the left (Rogers 2013: 100). Her burial contained 107 beads, which included 27 amber and three crystals. The necklace also included a fragment of a copper-alloy Roman coin, that was dated to c. AD 260-378 (Rogers 2013: 102). A copper-alloy cruciform brooch and small-long brooch were found at her chest, along with the fragments of a saucer brooch. At her waist was a latchlifter (Rogers 2013: 102). This burial was dated to AD 450-530 (Rogers 2013: 43).

Based upon the demographics and length of use, the cemetery of Tittleshall was serving only a small farmstead. It does not encompass the entire population of the farmstead, which may have predated the cemetery (Rogers 2013: 63). Rogers (2013: 63) suggests that earlier burials may have been taken to the nearby Spong Hill. The crystal beads are what make the burials unusual. The wear on four large crystal beads, similar to the suspended crystal balls found in other contemporary rich female burials, may suggest the use of a less ostentatious version for ritual use. A smaller farmstead with its own cemetery could require a ritual specialist to facilitate them.

Bayley, J. and Butcher, S., 2004. *Roman Brooches in Britain: a Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, Rep. Res. Comm. Soc. Antiq. London 68. Society of Antiquaries, London.

Green, B. and A. Rogerson. 1978. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Bergh Apton, Norfolk: Catalogue.* East Anglian Archaeology 7. Norfolk Archaeological Unit, Gressenhall.

Penn, K. and B. Brugmann. 2007. *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Inhumation Burial:*

   Morning Thorpe, Spong Hill, Bergh Apton and Westgarth Gardens. East Anglian

   Archaeology 119. Network Archaeology Ltd, Lincoln.

Rogers, P. W. 2013. *Tyttle's Halh: the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Tittleshall,*

   Norfolk: The Archaeology of the Bacton to King's Lynn Gas Pipeline, Volume 2.

   East Anglian Archaeology 150. Network Archaeology Ltd, Lincoln.

Tranmer House, Suffolk is located a short distance, only 500 meters, north of Sutton

Hoo on the Deben River. The Tranmer House site has evidence for use from the

Neolithic into the post-medieval period. From the Bronze Age, the site contains a small

barrow with a cremation and a small pit with 26 sherds of pottery (Fern 2015: 23-24). In

the Iron Age, a rectilinear enclosure was constructed, which was still in use during the

Roman period (Fern 2015: 32).

The Anglo-Saxon cemetery contained 13 cremations and 19 inhumations. The soil was

acidic enough to degrade the bones in the inhumation burials, but the cremated remains

remained partially preserved (Fern 2015: 41). Age and sex estimates are based on the

length of the body stains, or sand bodies, a few instances of surviving teeth, and human

remains found in the cremations (Fern 2015: 41). Nine ring ditches were identified on

the site, each surrounding one or two cremations. Of the cremations, five were identified

as female and one as male based up on the surviving bone (Fern 2015: 193-195). Only

two cremations were of sub-adults, the rest were all adult burials (Fern 2015: 195). From

the inhumations, 13 males and four females were determined based on a combination of skeletal remains and analysis of the sand bodies (Fern 2015: 195).

Inhumation 21 was a male burial with the body placed in the supine position oriented west-east. Some teeth and bones were preserved beneath the shield; the preserved teeth indicate that he was an adult and the burial was determined to be male based on the associated grave goods (Fern 2015: 53). The burial included an iron spearhead, shield-boss, eight copper alloy shield mounds, two animal-shaped shield mounts, an iron sword, an iron knife, and iron buckle (Fern 2015: 53-54). The two animal-shaped shield mounts were of a fish and a bird of prey with silver and gold gilt. The bird of prey was placed in profile with a snake wrapped in a figure eight between the beak and claws (Fern 2015: 53). The fish is indistinct because of the style of representation. Fish and birds of prey, like eagles, have both Christian and Anglo-Saxon meanings. Inhumation 21 is the only burial in the Tranmer House cemetery with materials that could be linked to Christianity.

Fern, C. J.R. 2015. *Before Sutton Hoo: the Prehistoric Remains and Early Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Tranmer House, Bromeswell, Suffolk*. East Anglian Archaeology 155. Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service, Bury St Edmunds.

West Stow, Suffolk is a settlement site occupied from AD 400 to 650. The site is located near Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk County. The site is primarily composed of a fifth to seventh century Anglo-Saxon settlement but also contains evidence of earlier occupations. During the Mesolithic, the area was occupied by a hunter-gatherer group

indicated by five or six flake concentrations, cores, blades and tools (West 1985: 3). In the Iron Age, the Iceni tribe claimed the land in the Icklingham-Mildenhall-Brandon region. A large Iron Age site is located directly under the later Anglo-Saxon site of West Stow. The site contains a number of circular huts, pits and enclosure systems over five acres. The area may have been abandoned as a result of the Boudiccan rebellion in AD 61 (West 1985: 4). There was dense occupation of the Valley again by the Romano-British, evidenced in the nearby site of Icklingham. The later settlement of Anglo-Saxon West Stow is found at the edge of an earlier and larger Roman settlement to the west, Icklingham. A level of contact between the two settlements has been suggested based upon the presence of Roman pottery and coins from West Stow (Johnson 1982: 167). Anglo-Saxon West Stow was founded in the fifth century and consisted of seven halls, over 70 SFBs, two hollows, one clay reserve and a cemetery.

West Stow was occupied from 400 to 650 AD, encompassing both pagan and Christian activities. To the west of West Stow a secondary site has been identified containing two SFBs and a post-hole building (West 1985: 156). The site does not contain much evidence for activity suggesting a short lived use period. Another area not far from the settlement reveals surface finds with Scandinavian imagery suggesting yet another unexcavated site (West 1985: 156). West Stow may encompass part of the Conversion Period, although no church has been identified in the area. West Stow is interpreted as a settlement in transition from the Romano-British era into the Anglo-Saxon occupation. Romano-British towns along eastern Britain did not last long into the Anglo-Saxon

migration, forcing sites like Icklingham to be abandoned and sites like West Stow to appear, thus intermixing Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon practices.

Two burials were found within the settlement during the twentieth century excavation, both with their heads oriented west and no grave goods (West 1985: 58). Early Anglo-Saxon ceramic sherds were found within the fill of the burials, dating them as contemporary with the settlement.

The main cemetery of West Stow was found and lost in the initial discovery of the site in the mid-nineteenth century. The cemetery was discovered as workers were turning the land into an agriculture field, and the workers found "about 100 in number" within the gravel layer only 18 inches down, suggesting some possible disruption from modern activity (Tymms 1853: 316). The inhumations were placed with their heads to the southwest. The grave goods are reported in bulk instead of individual burial assemblages, including pottery, beads, brooches, and spear heads (Tymms 1853: 316).

One stone coffin was found, a rare occurrence in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. The stone coffin is carved from a solid block of local stone identified as Barnack or Northamptonshire (Tymms 1853: 319). The coffin was five feet eight inches long without an identified lid (Tymms 1853: 319). It contained the remains of a few bones, identified as "small" and related as either belonging to a "youth or a female" (Tymms 1853: 319). The grave goods include pieces of iron and a copper-alloy broken clasp. Outside of the coffin to the left, a spear head and a shield boss were found, likely

associated with an adjacent burial marked by nearby bones (Tymms 1853: 319). The coffin is most similar to that found at Bayeux dated to the Romano-Frankish period (Tymms 1853: 319).

The grave goods in the inhumations include those associated with Anglo-Saxon practice: weapons, personal grooming, brooches, and ornamentation. A number of weapons were found in the burials. A shield boss with wooden fragments exhibiting a painted decoration was uncovered and offered a rare opportunity to note the painted imagery (Tymms 1853: 320). An iron sword had traces of wood adhering to it. Spearheads, arrowheads and knives were found at the site, but the number is undetermined (Tymms 1853: 320). No unusual ritual grave goods were identified at the site, apart from four Roman coins recovered with perforations and a spoon modified to become a pin (Tymms 1853: 325-326). Two sets of wrist clasps and eight girdle hangers were found, which supports the dating of the cemetery to the fifth and sixth centuries, but no keys were identified.

Tymms (1853: 316, 318) reports that cremations were found within urns, but only one is recorded as definite. One cremation was found at the head of one of the inhumations, while the other two are recorded as only urns without cremated remains (Tymms 1853: 318). The two empty urns could be grave goods for the inhumations or poorly excavated cremation urns. Two other ceramic cups were found within the inhumation grave goods.

Crabtree, P. 1993. "The Economy of an Early Anglo-Saxon Village: Zooarchaeological

    Research at West Stow." *Case Studies in European Prehistory*. CRC Press,

    Florida: 287-307.

Johnson, S. 1982. *Britain Before the Conquest: Later Roman Britain*. Granada

    Publishing Ltd.

Tymms, S. 1853. "Anglo-Saxon Relics from West Stow Heath." *Proceedings from

    the Suffolk Institute for Archaeology* I: 315-326.

West, S. 1985. *West Stow: The Anglo-Saxon Village Volume 1: Text.* East Anglian

    Archaeology Report No. 24. Network Archaeology Ltd, Lincoln.

Westgarth Gardens, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk is a sixth century cemetery, one of four in the area with at least two contemporary cemeteries. Westgarth Gardens is located at the foot of a hill next to the river Linnet; the location is unusual for an early Anglo-Saxon settlement in west Suffolk, and the site varies from others in the region in a number of ways. Westgarth Gardens includes 65 inhumations and four cremations. The inhumations are oriented differently than those at Spong Hill with a preference for males to the west and females west-northwest (West 1988: 8). There were a total of 25 males, 24 of which had grave goods, 22 females, 17 accompanied by grave goods, and 18 juveniles, grave goods found with 10 (West 1988: 8).

The cemetery was in use for around 250 years and was partially divided based on gender and age; a group of ten women was buried to the north-west, a mixed group to the north-east, a group of 10 juveniles in the center of the cemetery, and four males were found as

foundation burials of a nearby structure (West 1988: 8). Two cremations, identified as female, were also found within the female group to the north-west (West 1988: 8). The stratification of the cemetery was maintained and linearly arranged.

The grave goods found in the burials are reflective of typical Anglo-Saxon practices. There are two swords found at the left shoulder of two males, spears were found in fourteen graves, and eleven shields found in different burials (West 1988: 8). One shield was found within a juvenile burial along with a spear, a rare find within a juvenile's grave (West 1988: 8). Weapons were found in a total of 30% of the burials, all with males; the percentage of weapons is higher than the average of 10-20% in East Anglia (West 1988: 11). There were fourteen female burials with grave goods, all including brooches and, in varying numbers, the other accompaniments of adult women: beads, knife, chatelaine, buckles, and pots (West 1988: 8). Westgarth Gardens displays the characteristics of a fully Anglo-Saxon burial ground.

West, S. 1988. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Westgarth Gardens, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk: Catalogue. East Anglian Archaeology* 38. Witley Press Ltd.

The Cemeteries of Kent:

Kent is a county immediately south of East Anglia and east of the Straight of Dover. The county has twelve districts including Thanet, which approximately coincides with the historic Isle of Thanet. The Isle of Thanet was once a tidal island separated by the Wantsum Channel, which made it a strategically significant location for the Saxon Shore.

The Wantsum Channel was negotiable for small boats until the sixteenth century. Today, it is separated by two branches of the Great Stour River, and the Thames Estuary. The North Downs are a series of chalk hills that run west to east and separates the marshy region of the north to the area of sand and clay to the south. The south is known as the Weald and is heavily wooded. The coastline is known for its chalk cliffs at Thanet, Dover and Deal, Kent is known for its gardens in the Medway valley and the north. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, London expanded into boroughs that were historically located in Kent, the regions were redefined, and Greater London was created.

While the foundation myth of Kent, recorded by Bede (*EH*) and others, links the Jutes to Kent from the fifth century onwards, Jutish material is more commonly found in the sixth century (Richardson 2005: 250). Before the sixth century, there are Angle, Saxon and Frankish materials in Kent (Richardson 2005: 250). The Jutish material of the sixth century could be explained by new craftsmen or an increase in importation (Bakka 1958, Sørensen, Richardson 2005: 250). The Jutes had a tradition of burying without grave goods and with east-west orientation on the Continent, which is a problem when assessing the burials since an east-west burial is characteristic of later Chrisitan burials. The populations of the fifth and sixth century cemeteries are richer indicating that inhumation burials were reserved for the upper class (Richardson 2005: 250). This pattern changes in the seventh century, when there are more inhumations with less valuable materials (Richardson 2005: 250).

Cremation burials are not unusual in west Kent but still not a common burial ritual. Early Anglo-Saxon East Kent has very few cremation burials; only one site has confirmed cremations: Ringlemere. Ringlemere has eight urned and two loose cremations (McKinley 2014: 267). The lack of cremation burials indicates that the group residing in the area was distinctly different from the rest of the island.

The grave goods in Kent are distinctly different from those of East Anglia explained, in part, by the dominance of Jutish culture in the sixth century over Anglian or Saxon and the predominance of Frankish imports and contact. However, the frequency of crystal balls and perforated spoons are markers of more ritual specialists than in East Anglia, perhaps indicating a more regulated ritual landscape than is found elsewhere in England.

Kent was chosen for the evidence of contact with the Continent, in particular Gaul, which for part of the period in question remained a part of the Roman Empire. Contact with the Continent is demonstrated through the imitation of Frankish dress among Anglo-Saxon women, imported goods such as brooches, and the contemporary texts that record the marriages of the upper class Kentish men to Frankish Christian elite. Kentish burials vary from those of East Anglia due to a clear Frankish influence. The burials have a high number of Frankish imports, and a different dress style is apparent within female burials beginning in the early sixth century (Richardson 2005: 15). The Frankish influence is further confirmed by the stories of Æthelberht and Bertha. In turn, St Germanus was a monk in Gaul who traveled to Britain in the fifth century. The ties between Kent and Gaul are both historically documented and archaeologically confirmed.

Bifrons, Patrixbourne is located in the valley of the Stour on a chalk surface on the side of a hill. The inhumation cemetery initially revealed 120 rich burials in the 1867 excavation. The inhumations are all remarkably well outfitted. The majority of burials are oriented north-south, with only a very few aligned east-west (Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 298).
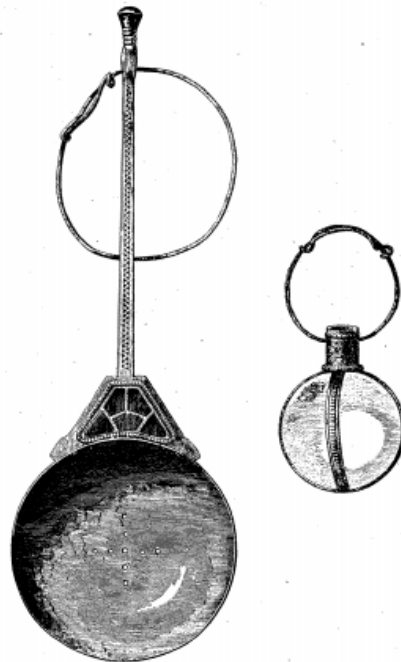
Figure 27: Spoon and crystal ball from Grave 42 (Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 315)

The cemetery is unusual due to its large number of crystal balls and spoons found in the burials. If the view that these items are evidence for ritual specialists is true, there are a remarkable number buried at Bifrons. Graves 6, 42, 51 and 64 all have crystal balls within their burials along with a number of other items often found associated. The crystal balls were all found at the waist and suspended in some manner. The crystal ball in Grave 6 was unusual because the crystal itself was perforated for hanging rather than

suspended in a silver sling as the other three were (Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 303). The crystal of Grave 6 was also suspended on a string of beads that were green and blue, with one large amber piece found behind the spoon that was suspended above it. Graves 6, 42 and 51 had spoons found immediately above or adjacent to the crystal. The spoons are all very similar with nine holes in the form of a cross with silver gilt and decorative features (Godfrey-Faussett 1876, 1880). Grave 64 is the only one without a spoon. Despite Grave 64 not having a spoon, the burial is very rich with a gold pendant and gold wire from some sort of cloth at the head (Godfrey-Faussett 1880: 553).

Roman coins are found in Grave 29, 32, 41, and 42, none of which were perforated for hanging. Grave 32 is a female burial with evidence for a coffin and only a handful of grave goods including two small Roman coins on her chest (Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 311). Grave 41 is a female burial with four small copper-alloy Roman coins (Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 313). Grave 42 in addition to having a crystal ball and a silver gilt spoon, has one small copper-alloy Roman coin (Godfrey-Faussett 18: 315). All three of these burials are female, based on the associated grave goods.

Grave 29 is a female burial with a possible infant burial that was only recognizable in the sand shadow left over. It has one bronze Roman coin on the left side of the torso that was associated with a large number of other grave goods. The burial had two hammer shaped brooches at the waist, along with three iron keys, a knife, a bronze buckle and two iron rings (Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 309). Around her right arm was a bracelet of bronze. At her neck, she had four gold circular pendants in Style 1A: two had dancing men and the

third had a man kneeling with his arms raised (Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 310). This

pendant is similar to a number of pieces on the Continent, which are generally interpreted

as an enemy defeated or a kneeling man associated with animals (Haigh 1872: 197).

Figure 28: gold pendant from Grave 29 (Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 310)

It is interesting that the coins are found in varying numbers, not perforated, and only in

female burials at Bifrons cemetery. The coins are all small and not decipherable apart

from their Roman nature. These coins are found on the chest, or at the left side, and not

near the eyes or mouth, as associated with the Roman tradition of Charon and the

crossing of the River Styx.
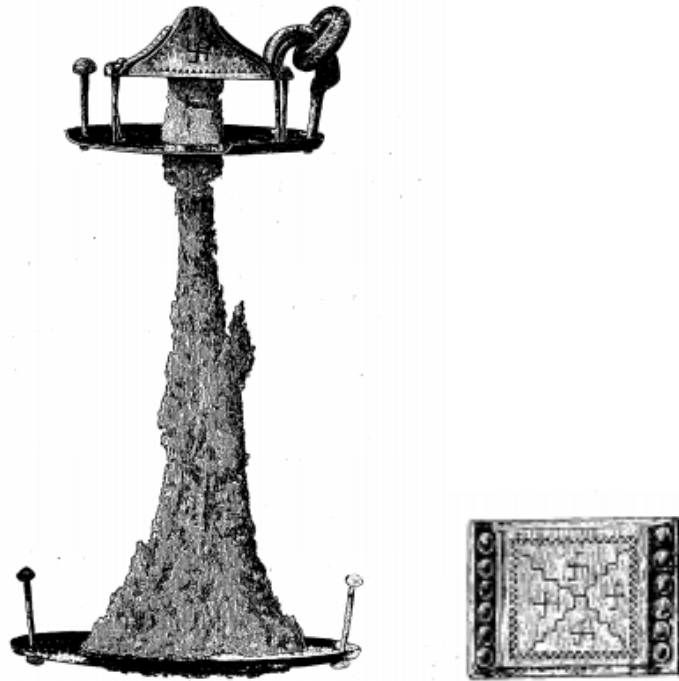
Figure 29: Sword and belt plate with swastika engravings from Grave 39 (Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 313).

The final grave with unusual ritual items is Grave 39, which has a swastika engraved on a sword pommel and belt plate. It is a male burial with evidence for a shield, a sword with a bronze hilt and silver-gilt, and three silver ornaments and two bronze around the waist where the belt would have lain (Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 313). At his feet are two knives, two iron nails, and another iron buckle. Near his shoulder is a spearhead. Between his knees is a buckle of bronze plated in silver with an additional three ornaments of silver and four bronze tags, likely related to the belt above (Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 313). The sword pommel and one belt plate have clear inscriptions of swastikas, while an additional belt plate has an inscription similar to the swastika, but in a zigzag pattern resembling lightening (Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 313).

Godfrey-Faussett, T.G. 1876. "The Saxon Cemetery at Bifrons." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 10: 298-315.

Godfrey-Faussett, T.G. 1880. "The Saxon Cemetery at Bifrons." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 13: 552-556.

Haigh, D. H. 1872. "Notes in Illustration of the Runic Moments of Kent." *Archaeologia Cantiana*:164-270 (196-197).

Buckland, Dover was excavated in two stages: the initial excavation, conducted by Vera Evison from 1951 to 1953 finding 171 inhumations, and the 1994 excavation uncovering a further 244 inhumations. The site is located on Long Hill at the east bank of the Dour not far from modern Dover. The cemetery dates from AD 400 to 750 (Evison 1987: 137-140). The majority of burials are oriented roughly west-east (Evison 1987: 16). Of the inhumations, only twenty date to before AD 600, as identified by Richardson (2005). These twenty burials conform to the characteristics of typical rich early Anglo-Saxon east Kentish burials. The site contains an unusual amount of silver gilt brooches and a large number of amber beads. From earlier periods, the site contains a Romano-British pit and a single associated post-hole (Evison 1987: 15).

Only one burial, Grave 14, dated from between AD 560/70 to 580/90; it contained a Roman coin and bone playing piece. Grave 14 is interpreted as a female burial, with a silver gilt disc brooch, a perforated Roman coin, 27 amber beads, 12 glass beads, two bronze strap-ends, fragments of keys, a bronze playing piece, a bronze wire and stud, a knife, and iron buckle loop. The inclusions of the perforated Roman coin and bone playing piece are unusual.

Grave 35, dating to the end of the sixth century, contained a scutiform pendant with a cross design and an additional cross that was roughly scratched into the pendant (Evison 1987: 3, Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 82).

Grave 204 is assumed to contain a female based on grave goods and is dated to the end of the sixth century. At the upper chest, there were 130 beads including six glass beads and fold bracteates and an iron pin (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 286). At the right humerus, a silver gilt Kentish disc brooch with garnets was found. Three shoe-shaped studs, copper alloy strap ends, an iron and copper chatelaine with two keys and suspension rings were found at the waist along with a worn copper Roman coin (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 286). The left hand had a silver finger-ring with four garnets. A collection of unusual materials was found at the left femur without any clear evidence for a bag or box; they included a copper alloy Roman coin of Vespasian (AD 69-79), a fragment of a shale spindle whorl, a small grey oval stone pebble with a yellow stripe, and a fragment of a shell (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 286).

Grave 217 is dated to the second half of the fifth century. It contains a poorly preserved skeleton with a rock crystal bead, three amber beads, and eight glass beads at the neck. At the waist, a copper alloy buckle loop was suspended with an iron knife below it and a fragmentary iron rod (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 288-289).

One of the richest graves in the cemetery is Grave 250, containing likely a female. At the neck, a pair of silver scutiform pendants were suspended along with a silver wire finger

ring, five amber, one gold and 139 glass beads (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 399). Finger

rings suspended at the neck are unusual, one example of which is found at Morning

Thorpe (Green et al. 1987: 149). At the lower left arm, there was a copper alloy ring with

a clip constructed from a modified annular brooch, and a copper alloy mount (Parfitt and

Anderson 2012: 399). Not far from the lower left arm near the pelvis was an antler burr

pendant with a square hold at the center for suspension, an iron chatelaine with a cluster

of four keys and three keys hung on two suspension rings and a series of associated iron

and copper fragments (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 399-400). At the left femur, there was

an ivory purse ring, seven loose cut garnets, an iron pierced lozenge and a copper alloy

bucket pendant with wax inside it (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 399). An iron sword-

shaped weaving batten with the remains of the leather strap was found at the left foot near

to a green glass bowl and two green glass bell beakers, similar to the one found at

Holywell, Grave 11 (Lethbridge 1931: 4-8).

A series of burials contained interesting natural crystal stones. Grave 257, a female

burials lying on her side, had a small unperforated iron pyrite nodule along with a copper

alloy small-long brooch, copper alloy pin, and four glass beads (Parfitt and Anderson

2012: 403). Grave 266 was another female burial, aged 30-35 years, with a fragment of

dark green prohyry that was beveled on one edge placed on the left side of the pelvis

(Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 407). The burial also contained a pair of silver gilt radiate-

headed brooches with garnets, fragments of a Roman bottle, an iron rod that was likely a

key, an iron buckle, a copper alloy ring and two iron knives (Parfitt and Anderson 2012:

407). Both burials are dated between AD 450 and 510/530 (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 403, 407).

In addition to the natural stones, fossils are also found in several necklaces including Grave 296 and Grave 349 (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 412, 424). Fossils are more commonly found in amuletic groupings associated with other unusual items not as beads.

Figure 30: Materials from Buckland Grave 290 (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 480)

Grave 290 dates from AD 450 to 510/530 and likely contained a female skeleton based on the grave goods (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 410). The grave goods included an iron pin and gilt copper alloy button brooch at the left chest. At the left hand, there was a gilt

copper alloy finger ring. At the left waist hung a silver perforated spoon with a copper alloy suspension ring with a copper alloy strap beneath it. Directly below the waist, a rock crystal bead and two amber beads were suspended (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 410). While spoons are usually associated with crystals, it is unusual for them to hang below with two amber beads.

Coins are found in a number of burials. Grave 331 is dated to the very end of the sixth century based on grave goods, approximately between 550/60 and 580/600 (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 418). The burial contained 81 amber and 28 glass beads, a copper alloy buckle, iron knife, copper alloy tweezers and an Iron Age coin. The coin dates to the first century BC and was placed at the left femur (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 418). Grave 351 was a double burial with poorly preserved skeletons: the upper burial of unknown sex contained an iron knife, copper alloy ear-ring found at the right pelvis, an iron pin, and a copper alloy Roman coin with silver gilt identified as from the reign of Magnentius, AD 350-353 (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 425). Grave 392 was a young child, whose skeleton was poorly preserved, and buried with three amber and 42 glass beads at the neck, a D-shaped copper alloy buckle and iron knife at the waist, and a copper alloy sheet and a copper alloy coin of Constans, AD 347-348, between the femurs (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 438). At the left ankle, a ceramic biconical vessel was placed. Another coin was found in Grave 408, which was a female burial with a Roman coin that was hammered and thus lacks any distinguishing marks (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 441).

Grave 427 had two Roman coins, a Tetricus I (AD 270-4) and a Constantine I (AD 310-312) at the left humerus in a female burial (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 448). Grave 428 was also a female burial with two copper alloy Roman coins, one from the late third century and the second from AD 330-335 under the left arm (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 448). Grave 428 also had a Roman copper alloy belt-plate (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 448). Another coin dated to AD 330-335 was found in Grave 440, which is dated to the sixth century (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 451)

One Roman coin was found in a male burial. Grave 437 was dated to the second half of the sixth century and the poorly preserved skeleton was identified as a male between 35 and 40 years old (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 451). The skeleton is identified as male based on the grave goods, which include an iron sword, knife, fauchard, glass bowl, iron pursemount, and copper tweezers (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 450-451). The Roman coin (AD 286-293) was found beneath the sword with the pursemount and knife (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 451).

Grave 372 dated to the early sixth century contained a female skeleton that was poorly preserved but aged to between 30 and 35 years old (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 430). The burial is unusual because of the inclusion of two collections of sheep bones placed over the right femur. The sheep bones were placed in two sets; 19 bones from four feet and seven ribs that are possibly all from one sheep (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 430). The collection likely represents the remains of a graveside feast or an offering with the meat still on it to the deceased. In addition to the unusual amount of sheep bones, she was

buried with a glass claw beaker next to her skull along with a series of brooches at her shoulders; Two copper alloy annular brooches, a silver gilt great square-headed brooch atop a silver and iron inlaid disc brooch were placed at the shoulders along with one amber and ten glass beads around the neck. At the waist, there was an iron knife and an iron buckle. The burials is that of a rich adult female and an unusual deposition of sheep.
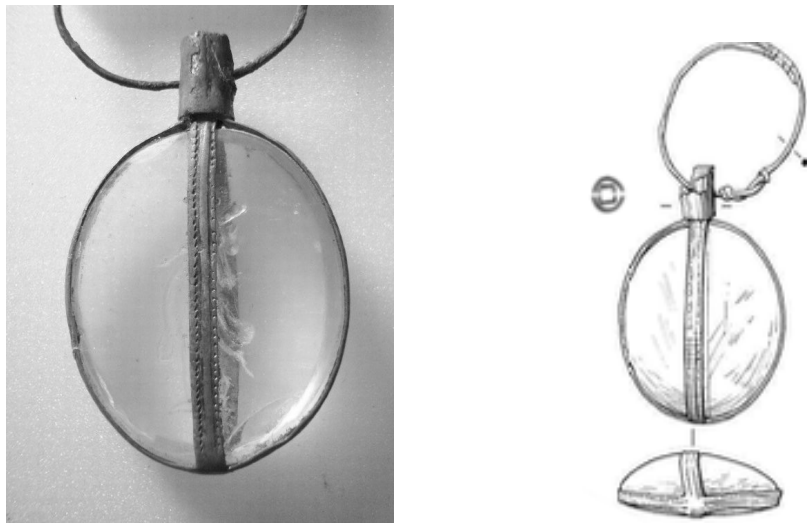
Figure 31: Modified intaglio with Omphale from Grave 391 (Left: British Museum, accessed 3/21/2019, Right: Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 506)

Grave 391B was dated by radiocarbon to AD 405-535 by Parfitt and Anderson (2012: 436) and narrowed stylistically by Richardson (2005) to between AD 500-530/40. The burial contains a moderately preserved skeleton, which has evidence for legs crossed at the ankle. The burial is that of a female aged between 20 and 25 years old (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 436). To the left of the skull, a bucket was placed with repoussé dots on the copper alloy fittings. A pair of silver gilt and garnet rosette brooches were found at the upper left side of the body. A necklace of 115 amber beads and 62 glass beads across the chest was accompanied by a Roman intaglio of Omphale set in a silver sling similar to that of the crystal ball, a gold pendant, a silver pendant and a silver wire slip-knot ring.

At the chest, there was an iron pin, two silver gilt Kentish square-headed brooches, one with garnet inlay, a third smaller silver gilt Kentish square-headed brooch. At the waist was one large chalk bead. A crystal ball with silver gilt sling, which was not found at the waist but instead at the right lower leg. At the left lower leg, a collection of items including two copper alloy Roman coins both of Tetricus I (AD 270-274), four iron nails, a lead fragment, a silver rivet, three iron strips, an iron knife with a beech handle, an iron knife with a horn handle, pair of copper alloy rings, and two iron chain link fragments. The combination of items suggests that there was originally a box, possibly containing the coins next to two knives that were suspended on the iron chain.

Grave 407 contained an adult female dated to the second half of the sixth century (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 440). The grave goods include 24 amber and 52 glass beads, a matching pair of silver gilt bow brooches on the upper body. At the waist, an iron knife, copper alloy buckle, copper alloy Iron Age toggle, copper alloy Roman coin of Crispis (AD 323-324), a Roman intaglio with a beveled edge, iron pin, and the iron and copper alloy parts of a chatelaine (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 440). The Roman intaglio is worn with a partial "S" shape incision in the face.

Grave 417 contained a poorly preserved skeleton and is one of the only burials in the Buckland cemetery with a suspended crystal ball. The quartz crystal ball was in a silver sling with two silver slipknot rings between the knees along with a pair of strap-ends. In addition to the crystal ball, the burial contained a silver gilt Kentish square-headed brooch with garnets and a copper alloy radiate-headed brooch with garnet both at the

waist (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 444). At the neck, there was a silver gilt miniature bow brooch with garnets along with a string of 30 amber and 24 glass beads (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 444). Two copper alloy buckles, and an iron knife were found at the waist.

Evison, V. I. 1987. *Dover: The Buckland Anglo-Saxon Cemetery. Historic Buildings & Monuments Commission for England*, Archaeological Report 2.

Green, B., A. Rogerson and S. G. White. 1987. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Morning Thorpe, Norfolk, Vol. I: Catalogue. East Anglian Archaeology* No 38, Vol 1. Norfolk Archaeological Unit.

Lethbridge, T.C. 1931. "The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Holywell (or Hollywell) Row, Suffolk." *Recent Excavations in Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk, A Report*. Bowes & Bowes, Cambridge.

Parfitt, K. and T. Anderson. 2012. *Buckland Anglo-Saxon Cemetery, Dover: Excavations 1994*. Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust.

Richardson, A. 2005. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of Kent, Vol. 1.* BAR British Series 391. John and Erica Hedges Ltd, Oxford.

Cliffs End Farm, Isle of Thanet is located at the southern end of Thanet north of the eastern entrance of the Wantsum Channel, which would have been navigable during the Anglo-Saxon period. The site dates from eleventh century B.C. until the modern era. In addition to the large Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery, the site has 74 contemporary pits that cut into the Bronze Age ditches (McKinley et al. 2014: 267).

The Anglo-Saxon cemetery dates from the early sixth century AD until the eighth century, with a few burials suggesting a burial presence in the eleventh century. The earliest phase of the cemetery is located near the three early Bronze age barrows. The sixth century burials include 21 inhumations, 17 of which have grave goods. Five burials have weapons, eight have jewelry, only one with amber (McKinley et al. 2014: 265). Amber is thought to have a ritual role and is found in many female burials in the early Anglo-Saxon period. The burials are arranged into clusters, the majority aligned east-west.

McKinley, J., M. Leivers, J. Schuster, P. Marshall, A. J. Barclay and N. Stoodley. 2014. *Cliffs End Farm, Isle of Thanet, Kent: A mortuary and ritual site of the Bronze Age, Iron Age and Anglo-Saxon period with evidence for long-distance maritime mobility*. Wessex Archaeology Report 31, Salisbury.

Darenth Park Hospital is a smaller inhumation cemetery from the fifth to the late sixth century. The site is located on a chalk ridge on the North Downs west of the Darent Valley. It has only 23 inhumations excavated since the site was discovered in 1954 (Wilson 1956, Batchelor 1990, O'Brien 2015: 72). There were likely more burials uncovered, but they were destroyed in the 1970s (Walsh 1980). The graves are oriented north-south and east-west in two different groupings (Batchelor 1990: 41). The site is only 9.6 km from the Lullingstone Villa, where there was a Roman Christian space. The small number of inhumations at Darenth Park had two burials of interest.

Grave 8 is a female burial aged 35 to 45 years, the richest burial of the site. The grave goods include a bronze disc brooch on each shoulder, an iron pin and a bone pin, an iron knife at the left hand, sixteen irregularly shaped amber beads around a bronze Roman coin, a fossil bead, and twelve other beads (Batchelor 1990: 46-51). The Roman bronze coin is what makes the burial interesting. It is perforated for suspension and surrounded by the beads suggesting a very ornate necklace. The coin is an antoninianus of the emperor Allectus dating from AD 293 to 296 (Batchelor 1990: 47). The coin is markedly worn on the obverse side suggesting that one side was touched more regularly than the other (Batchelor 1990: 47).
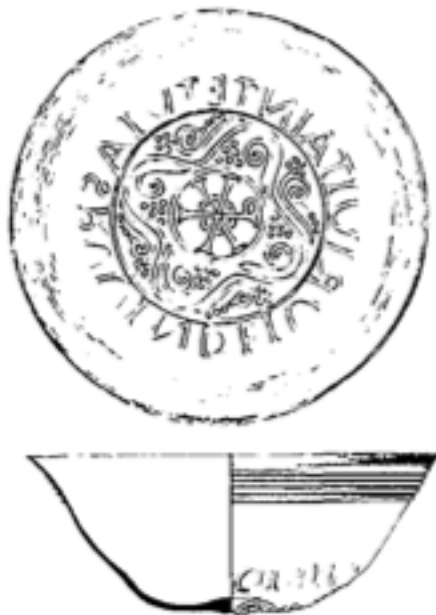
Figure 32: Glass bowl with Christian inscription from Grave 4 at Darenth Park Hospital (Walsh 1980: 311).

Grave 4 is a male skeleton oriented east-west. The burial was plough damaged and contained only two grave goods. The first item is a grass-tempered ceramic pot with incised lines, stamped circle and dot decorative motif (Walsh 1980: 310). The second item is a glass bowl placed inverted over the left shoulder. The bowl was mould-blown,

tinged a green-brown color and measures 13 cm in diameter and 5 cm in height (Walsh

1980: 310).   The bowl is decorated on the base with a Chi-Rho monogram with a vine

scroll design and a Latin inscription that could reference a Saint Rufinus (Walsh 1980:

310, DDAG 1986: 15). The glass Chi-Rho bowl is the only of its type in England (Walsh

1980: 310). The closest parallel is from southern Belgium (Walsh 1980: 312). It is likely

Frankish made and imported into Kent, which suggests that the bowl could be valued for

the religious association or the import value, or both (Walsh 1980: 312, O'Brien 2015:

72). However, the Roman villas of Otford and Lullingstone are both in close proximity

and have Christian associations indicating that Christian symbolism and practice would

have been common knowledge at the end of the fourth century (Walsh 1980: 312).

Batchelor, D. 1990. "Darenth Park Anglo-Saxon cemetery, Dartford." *Archaeologia
    Cantiana* 108: 35-72.

Dartford and District Archaeology Group (DDAG). 1986. *Rediscovering Dartford*. Kent
    Archaeological Society: 15.

O'Brien, L. 2015. "An early Anglo-Saxon cemetery at St Edmund's Church and
    Vicarage, Temple Hill, Dartford." *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and
    History* 19, Oxford: 1-121.

Walsh, R. 1980. "Recent investigations at the Anglo-Saxon cemetery, Darenth Park
    Hospital, Dartford." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 96: 305-320.

Webster, L.E. 1981. "Appendix I. Preliminary report on glass and pottery from Grave 4."
    Archaeologia Cantiana 94: 315-316.

Wilson, D.M. 1956. "An Anglo-Saxon grave near Dartford, Kent." *Archaeologia*

    Cantiana 70:   187-191.

Finglesham, east Kent is one of the largest excavated Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in the region with an approximate 260 burials. The cemetery is dated from AD 500 to 725 (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 27). Of the 260 burials, only 243 were recorded (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 30). It was a high ranking cemetery that continued to be used after the conversion into Christianity, which is marked by an obvious change of burial orientation (Chadwick Hawkes 1976: 51). The majority of burials date from 580 to 750, in accordance with the phasing practiced with the analysis at Buckland; The majority of burials at Finglesham are attributed to the seventh century (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 27, Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 323). Only the burials definitively dated to the sixth century are discussed below.

The site is located a mile from the Roman road that leads from Dover to Eastry, and the Roman fort of Richborough is not far (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 27). The site itself is located near many small streams in the area and on the edge of a chalk pit, which slopes down to the marshes. There are twelve ditches inclosing graves, all of which appear to post-date AD 600.
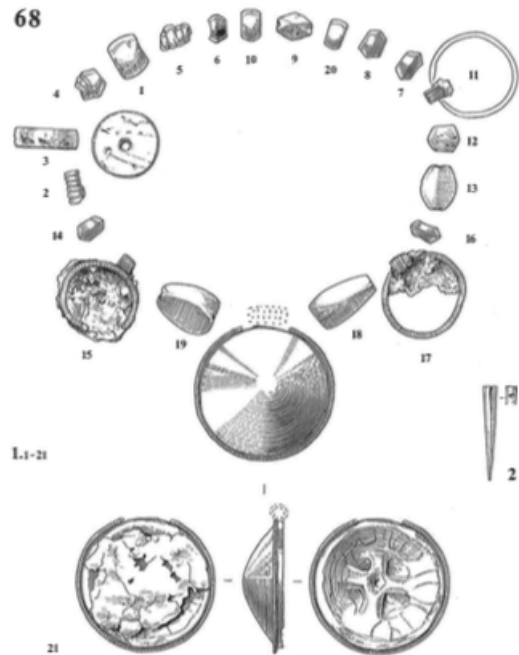
Figure 33: Necklace and glass disc pendant with cross from Grave 68 (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 256).

In Grave 68, a young female, approximately six years old, was buried in the supine position within a coffin (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 70). At the neck, there was a string of beads with 13 glass beads, two amber, and two amethyst with three copper alloy pendants and a glass pendant. The three copper alloy pendants are flat and circular with an indication of dot repoussé ornamentation that failed to survive (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 70). The glass pendant was in a silver setting and was at the center of the necklace. The glass pendant was lying with the silver back-plate up and an amber-colored glass disc with a convex surface with an equal-armed cross with a central triangular depression (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 70). The cross would not have been visible to others, as it was worn with the plain silver backing visible. The burial lacks any diagnostically datable materials but the glass pendant with a cross inscribed on it is reminiscent of the crystal balls found in many female burials in the sixth

century and perhaps represents a later modification of this practice with Christian symbolism.   The only other item in the burial was a bronze lace tag, or shoe fitting.

Grave 95 is one of the few burials in the cemetery firmly dated to the second half of the sixth century (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 21). The grave contains a male skeleton extended in the supine position in a coffin. The skeleton was aged approximately 18 years old, with one of the best known early Anglo-Saxon belt buckles (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 78). The burial was accompanied by a wheel-made ceramic bottle that was modified for reuse after the neck was shortened that was laid at the left ankle (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 79). A bucket with copper alloy fittings and an iron handle was placed at the right foot, possibly outside the coffin (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 79). At the right shoulder, there was an iron spearhead that had the remains of an ash shaft (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 79). At the left waist, there was an iron knife with a goat/sheep horn handle and the remains of a sheath with fabric preserved (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 79). Near the knife, there were the remains of a small iron buckle with more preserved fabric from both the shirt and the possible remains of a pouch (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 79). The burial also has a series of shoe fittings of copper-alloy.

Figure 34: Photograph of the belt buckle from Grave 95 (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 413).

At the center of the waist, a gilt copper alloy buckle was placed. The buckle is copper alloy on the front piece, and gilded on the top and sides. The buckle features a horned male figure facing forward with his legs slightly bent. The horns may be attached to a helmet and the terminus of the horns is reminiscent of beaks from birds of prey (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 80). He holds a spear in each hand and a belt around his waist has an oval buckle (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 80). His hands only have four fingers, perhaps due to space constraints (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 80). The reverse of the buckle is silver gilt decorated with small circular punches used to create diagonal crisscrossing lines. The loop and tongue of the buckle give the impression of an animal head (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 80). The buckle has no obvious signs of ware suggesting it was made for the burial (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 80).

Grave 138 is an elaborate outfitted female burial, approximately 25 years old, in the supine position in a coffin. At the foot of the coffin, there was a wooden box with iron fittings and no trace of what was inside it. At the right of the waist there was a long necklace of

35 glass beads, one of which is suspended in a silver slip-ring, four shell beads, two copper alloy beads, two copper alloy pendants with repoussé dots in a cross formation, nine silver rings, and one glass pendant in a copper alloy setting with out any visible imagery (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 98-99). In the mouth below the mandible, a copper alloy pendant was placed. The pendant features a horned face, similar to that found in the buckle in Grave 95. The pendant has a male face with a helmet with two horns that terminate in beaks, similar to those found on birds of prey (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 100). The pendant was likely originally attached to something else, like a chatelaine, and was modified during a later period. Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger (2006) suppose that this burial dates to after the sixth century, when Christian practice was dominant and an image of the horned man would have been less favorable. However, similar imagery persist well into the Conversion period. The copper alloy pendants with repoussé crosses are found before the conversion and might not mark a post-600 burial.
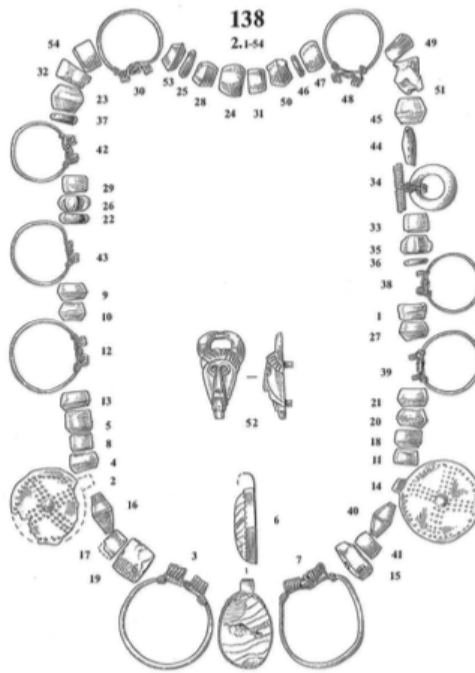
Figure 35: Drawing of pendant from Grave 138 (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 279)

The burial was also accompanied by a bone comb, copper alloy and iron chatelaine, with at least one key, a leather pouch with copper alloy fittings that was attached to the chatelaine, an iron knife and a pair of shears (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 100-101).

Grave 174 contained a female, aged 17 to 20 years old, in a coffin with her head turned left and left arm bent with her hand at her pelvis (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 119). At the neck, there was a necklace composed of four copper alloy rings, one copper alloy disc-stud, a glass bead suspended from a copper alloy rod, a mercury gilded copper alloy rectangular fragment, a silver disc pendant with a cross motif, five glass beads and four shell beads, and two silver rings (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 119-120). At the left femur, there were a series of copper alloy fittings from a small box or bag. At the waist, there was a copper alloy buckle and strap fittings, an iron knife, and an iron

chatelaine. The iron chatelaine was at the left side of the body with an iron ring, iron key, an iron spoon, and six iron rod fragments that were likely keys as well (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 120-121). The spoon is the only of its kind at the site from the sixth century, which is unusual for a rich Kentish cemetery in the early Anglo-Saxon period.

Grave 203 is dated to the first half or middle of the sixth century. It contained a female, 25 to 35 years old, in an extended supine position within a coffin (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 136). The burial was accompanied by a bone comb and a weaving batten placed outside the coffin as graveside offerings (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 136). Inside the coffin, to the right of the skull, was a yellow-brown glass claw-beaker that has signs of wear before deposition (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 137). At the neck, there was a double strand necklace composed of one strand based around a gold Frankish earring that was modified to serve as a pendant surrounded on either side by two silver beads, two gold bracteates, 21 shell, colorful glass beads and two gold disc pendants creating a symmetrical pattern on either side of the Frankish pendant secured on either side by silver pins (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 137-138). The second strand is based around another Frankish earring that was modified to serve as a bead, it is garnet set within silver, four colorful glass beads are clearly associated with this strand (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 138). A series of other beads were found scattered around the mandible, which may have been from the second strand or are from a third strand (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 138). Two small square-headed brooches, and one silver great square-headed brooch around the upper body. A silver gilt

rosette brooch with garnets was found above the mandible suggesting that it was used to secure a headdress (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 143).

At the waist, there was a copper alloy buckle with a garnet and four copper alloy studs with garnets (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 144). At the left waist, there was a tinder pouch with a small ball of iron pyrite and firesteel, an iron knife. There was a chatelaine or pouch that was associated with a brass wheel, bone/antler ring, iron key, ring and diamond strap-tags, broken copper alloy tweezers, and a bronze gilt pendant (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006:144-145).
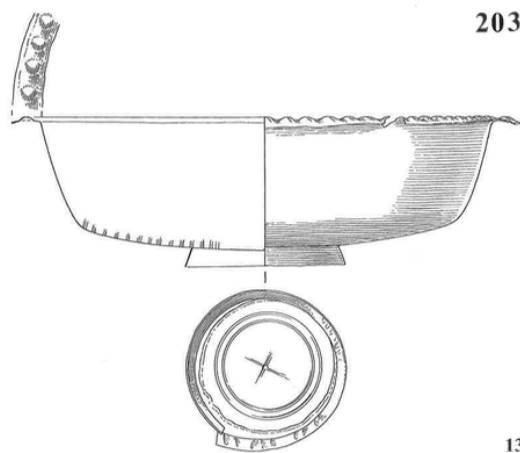
Figure 36: Equal arm cross graffiti on the base of a copper alloy bowl that held the remains of a lobster in Grave 203 (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 306)

At the end of the coffin, near the right ankle, a copper alloy bowl that likely was placed atop the coffin before falling in. The bowl contained fragments of a large lobster claw, which is an unusual offering to preserve in an Anglo-Saxon burial (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 146). The copper bowl and lobster were wrapped in a textile and linen, although the linen may be from a coffin lining (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 146)

Finglesham has four unusual burials with possible Christian iconography and two with the horned god. The combination of representations, Christian and a male with either horns or a horned helmet, is a recurring theme in the early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries with Christian materials. They are rarely found in isolation without other representations.

Chadwick, S. 1958. "The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Finglesham, Kent: a Reconsideration" *Medieval Archaeology* 2: 1-71.

Chadwick Hawkes, S. 1976. "Orientation at Finglesham: Sunrise Dating of Death and Burial in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery in East Kent." *Archaeologia Cantiana 92*: 33-51.

Chadwick Hawkes, S. and G. Grainger. 2006. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Finglesham, Kent.* Oxford University School of Archaeology, Monograph No. 64, Oxford.

Parfitt, K. and T. Anderson. 2012. *Buckland Anglo-Saxon Cemetery, Dover: Excavations 1994*. Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust.

Whiting, W. 1929. "Jutish Cemetery near Finglesham, Kent." *Archaeologia Cantiana 41*: 115-125.

Lyminge became a royal estate at the end of the sixth century but had already had an active cemetery for a century (Thomas 2005, 2008). The cemetery, which is actually two inhumation cemeteries, appears to have been the main burial center for the region (Thomas and Gray 2010). In addition to the main burial center, there are a series of isolated burials in the surrounding area that were identified in the nineteenth century,

which likely played a different role in the ritual landscape (Thomas 2008: 3). In the seventh century, a monastery was founded, which is traditionally attributed to Ethelburga, the sister of Edbald (Kelly 2006).

The sixth century Jutish cemetery of Lyminge I had a total of 44 inhumations found in the rescue excavation of 1955. The demographics of the 44 inhumations included eighteen males, seventeen females and six children, all with east-west orientations (Warhurst 1955: 5). The burials do have some cross-cutting suggesting insufficient markers (Warhurst 1955: 5).

There is one burial with a Roman coin, Grave 3. Grave 3 is an inhumation burial of a female around 60 years old (Warhurst 1955: 8). The burial includes a bronze buckle with animal head decoration, an iron knife, a bronze-gilt stud, a copper-alloy tube, and a bronze Roman coin. The coin is dated to the fourth century AD (Warhurst 1955: 8). The buckle was concluded to be a late Roman buckle of Hawkes and Dunnings type IA (Richardson 2005: 36). The burial was dated by Evison (1987) to between AD 425-500, due to the nature of the items; the items that can be definitively assessed are late Roman and one Quoit style decorated copper-alloy tube (Richardson 2005: 36). The items are such to suggest a non-Germanic individual, or at least someone who did not identify visually as an Anglo-Saxon migrant (Richardson 2005: 36).
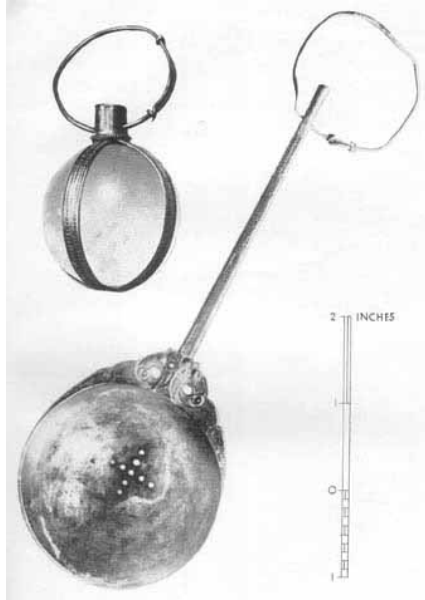
Figure 37: Lyminge Grave 44 crystal ball and spoon (Warhurst 1955: plate xii)

Grave 44 is another rich female burial, aged between 40 and 45 years old. The skeleton has osteological anomalies suggest both a female and male, along with multiple age estimates (Wilson 1992: 96). She was placed within a coffin, as marked by coffin clamps and nails (Warhurst 1955: 28). Her grave goods include two silver-gilt disc brooches with garnet and gold foil, two silver-gilt square-headed brooches, a silver-gilt spoon between her knees near a suspended crystal ball, and fragments of gold braid that suggest a bag. The silver spoon and crystal ball combine to suggest she was a ritual specialist. Similar to the other silver spoons from contemporary burials, this one has nine holes in the head in the shape of a cross, but it is more elaborately decorated than others. The spoon is decorated with animal beak and eyes that were filled-in with garnets (Warhurst 1955: 31).

Evison, V. 1987. *Dover: Buckland Anglo-Saxon Cemetery*. HBMC Archaeological

Report 3,London.

Kelly, S. 2006. "Lyminge Minster and its early charters." *Anglo-Saxons; Studies*
    Presented to Cyril Hart. Four Courts Press.

Thomas, G. 2005. *Lyminge: An Archaeological Research Agenda for the Pre-Viking*
    Minster and its Associated Settlement. University of Reading.

Thomas, G. 2008. *Uncovering an Anglo-Saxon Monastery in Kent: Interim Report*
    on University of Reading Excavations at Lyminge, 2008. University of Reading.

Thomas, G. and D. Bray. 2010. *An Archaeological Evaluation at Lyminge, Kent.*
    For Pentland Homes Ltd. University of Reading: 1-40.

Warhurst, A. 1955. "The Jutish Cemetery at Lyminge." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 69: 1-
    40.

Wilson, D. 1992. *Anglo-Saxon Paganism*. Routledge, New York.

Orpington is a site along the river Cray, adjacent to the Darent Valley. There is an

associated Romano-British settlement dating from the late first to fourth century, which

could explain some of the Roman material found in the cemetery. The Anglo-Saxon

cemetery, dated from the fifth and sixth century, included 16 cremations and 29

inhumations. The inhumations are oriented with their heads to the west.

 In addition to the inhumations, there were four empty pits, and a fifth with an unusual

ritual deposit. The fifth pit was fairly small, only 1 foot across and 3.5 feet deep, filled

with flint nodules, a part of a Roman imbrex and a broken ox jaw (Tester1968: 128). The

ritual pit is similar to others associated with Anglo-Saxon sites.

Figure 38: (Left) pierced Roman coins from Grave 32 (Tester 1968: 140). Figure 39: (Right) Bronze Roman key from Grave 39 (Tester 1968: 144).

Two burials contain Roman grave goods, but otherwise the cemetery conforms to traditional Anglo-Saxon practice. Grave 32 is the skeleton of a child of undetermined sex buried with fourteen beads at the chest and two pierced Roman coins. Grave 39 is a female of unknown age, buried with two keys including a bronze Roman key and an iron key (Tester 1968: 143). These two burials are the only exception to the Anglo-Saxon practice at the site.

There are also a series of female burials that present a suggestion of a purse being included among their grave goods and containing a jumble of materials, none immediately recognizable as ritualistic, which Tester (1977) indicates as amulets. These items may be amuletic or they may have a value not otherwise indicated.

Tester, P.J. 1968. "An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Orpington: First Interim Report." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 83: 125-150.

Tester, P.J. 1977. "Researches and Discoveries in Kent: Further Notes on the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Orpington." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 93: 201-202.

Saltwood Tunnel, is composed of three contemporary cemeteries uncovered during an excavation in advance of the Saltwood Tunnel construction in Kent. The cemeteries date from the mid-fifth century to the seventh. The three cemeteries are located within the vicinity of an early Bronze Age ring ditch and a prehistoric trackway that runs through the three cemeteries.

The three cemeteries include the Eastern, Western and Central. The Eastern Cemetery contains 17 graves all of which date from AD 500 to 600 and are focused around a Bronze Age barrow. They are in two rows aligned to the west. The Western cemetery contains 59 graves, 45 of which include grave goods, and one possible cremation. This one cremation is unusual in eastern Kent. The central Cemetery was composed of 141 graves divided by the prehistoric trackway.

Two graves are unusual within the cemeteries. One is Grave C3762 which contains a crystal ball identified as an import from Gaul (Riddler and Trevarthen 2006: 33). It is surprising to find only one crystal ball within the large number of graves at the site and the presence of a rich Kentish site. Grave C3762 was a female burial with stones on either side of her head and one at the foot of the burial. It is dated to between AD 550 - 600 (Riddler and Trevarthen 2006: 34). It was along the eastern side of the Western Cemetery (Riddler and Trevarthen 2006: 53). The grave goods include two keystone garnet disc brooches, a number of amber beads, the crystal ball, and a ceramic jar (Riddler and Trevarthen 2006: 62, 63, 91). The crystal ball was suspended in a similar manner to the others found in Kent.

Figure 40: Intaglio from Grave C4699 (Riddler and Trevarthen 2006: Plate 11)

The other is Grave C4699, which was located in the Western Cemetery, and is dated to

the late seventh century. The grave is noted here because of the inclusion of an Intaglio of

the Virgin Mary, which dates to the late fifth or early sixth century (Riddler and

Trevarthen 2006: 36, 62).   The burial is that of a female with traces of a coffin and

includes amethyst beads, two garnet pendants in silver mounts, the intaglio, and pendants

of gold, glass and gemstone.

Riddler, I. and M. Trevarthen. 2006. *The prehistoric, Roman and Anglo-Saxon*

> *funerary landscape at Saltwood Tunnel, Kent. CTRL Integrated Site Report*
>
> *Series: Channel Tunnel Rail Link London and Continental Railways Oxford*
>
> *Wessex Archaeology Joint Venture*. Archaeology Data Service: Grey Literature,
>
> accessed 30 October 2018: http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/
>
> sltisr_ctrl_2009/index.cfm.

Sarr (Sarre) is a cemetery dated to the fifth to seventh centuries AD with a total of 187

inhumations. The site is located between the Roman forts of Richborough and Reculver,

on the Wantsum River. The site is associated with an early church dedicated to St. Giles,

which was first recorded in the Domesday Book, and known to be of an earlier as yet undetermined origin (Brent 1863: 307). The site is also located along an Iron Age or Roman road, which connects to the coast (Brent 1863: 307).

Of the inhumations, eleven can be firmly dated to the fifth and sixth centuries identified by Richardson (2005). Grave 4 is the richest burial in the cemetery and mirrors that of a cunning woman in the sixth century, most similar to Grave 54 at Temple Hill, which is dated from AD 520-550 (O'Brien 2015: 36-38). Sarre's Grave 4 contained a small silver ring, small gold braid at the right hand, six circular gold pendants at the sternum, 140 beads, and two small circular bronze fibulae, all at the top of the burial near her head. At her waist, the inhumation had a large knife and a smaller one with ornamented crosswise pattern, an iron key and a bronze key, a pair of sheaths, a silver spoon, a large crystal ball mounted in silver, two long fibulae, two Roman coins, and a fossil echinus. Also in the burial were two fragments of bronze that are usually associated with a wooden vessel, a bronze buckle, two small tags, fragments of an ivory or bone comb, and a bronze pin. The six gold pendants feature the classic Style A imagery of a dancing man and twisted serpents (Brent 1863: 314). Wearing all six pendants would have been a striking combination when seen in flickering light. The grave goods point in several different directions due to the ritual imagery.

The spoon of Grave 4 has a silver handle with a perforation so that it could be suspended from the waist (Brent 1863: 316). The head was decorated with six garnets and gold foil that ends in two rough heads of a bird or serpent, where the head connects to the handle

(Brent 1863: 317). The spoon head is constructed from silver with the gold riveted to the handle (Brent 1863: 317). Of interest to this study are the piercings at the center of the spoon head, which has nine circular holes in the form of a cross. Brent (1863: 317) determined that the small holes' diameters were not large enough for use as a strainer and could instead have been used to distribute small amounts of liquid for rituals.
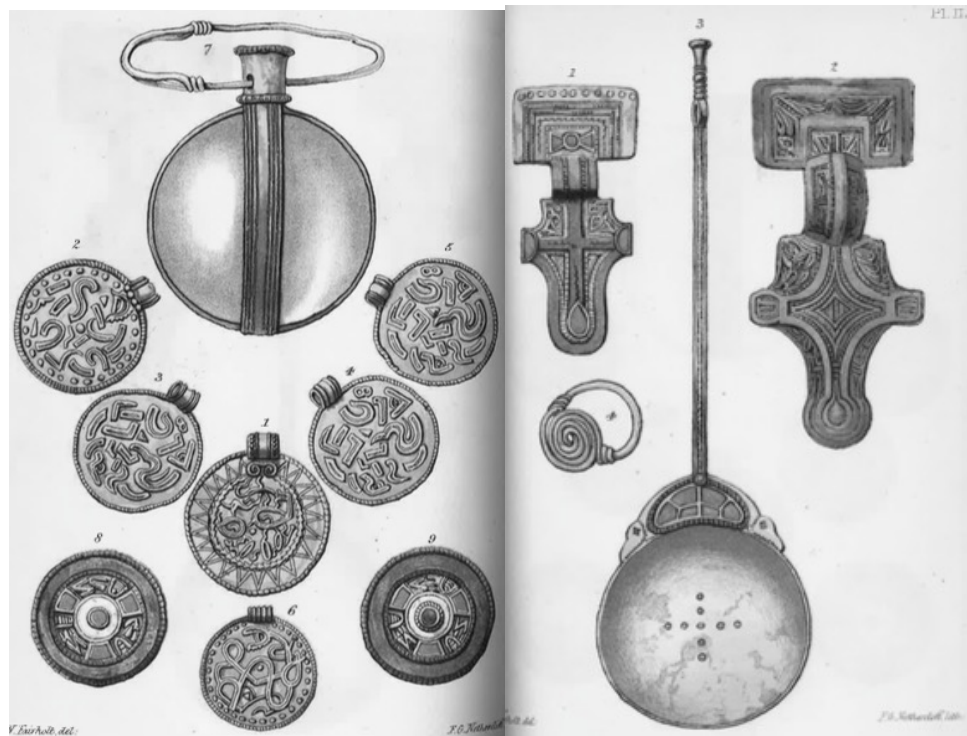
Figure 41: Grave goods from Sarre, Grave 4 (Brent 1863: Plate 1 and 2)

The crystal ball of Grave 4 is one of the largest recovered in Britain with a diameter of 2.5 inches (Brent 1863: 317, O'Brien 2015: 63) for suspension at the waist. It and the associated spoon, keys, polished fossil echinus, and Roman coins, constitute unusual materials. The burial is clearly that of a rich female, associated with ritual practices. The two Roman coins of Grave 4 are unusual in that they are not perforated. One is a large brass of Aurelius dated to the mid-second century and the other too decayed to identify (Brent 1863: 314).

The cemetery contained a number of other rich burials but nothing comparable to Grave 4. Grave 115 was a female burial with two glass vessels between her feet, two bronze keys and one iron, two carbuncle pendants set in silver, a circular fibulae of bronze with garnets and ivory, and beads made of clay and ceramic (Brent 1866: 175-176). This burial is certainly rich, but lacks the unusual nature of Grave 4. Grave 286 was also a female burial that contained a Roman coin of Justinian I from AD 527 with a pendant and amber beads that dated from AD 530-600 (Richardson 2005). The most striking aspect of the fifth and sixth century burials in the Sarre cemetery is the clear dominance of rich female burials instead of male.

Brent, J. 1863. "Account of the Society's Researchers in the Saxon Cemetery at Sarr." *Archaeologia Cantiana: Being Transactions of the Kent Archaeological Society, vol. V.* Printed for the Society by John E. Taylor, London: 305-322.

Brent, J. 1866. "Account of the Society's Researchers in the Saxon Cemetery at Sarr." *Archaeologia Cantiana: Being Transactions of the Kent Archaeological Society, vol. VI.* Printed for the Society by John E. Taylor, London: 157-181.

Brent, J. 1868. "Account of the Society's Researchers in the Saxon Cemetery at Sarr." *Archaeologia Cantiana: Being Transactions of the Kent Archaeological Society, vol. VII.* Printed for the Society by John E. Taylor, London: 307-321.

O'Brien, L. 2015. "An early Anglo-Saxon cemetery at St Edmund's Church and Vicarage, Temple Hill, Dartford." *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 19, Oxford: 1-121.

Richardson, Andrew. 2005. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of Kent, Vol. 1*. BAR British

Series 391, John and Erica Hedges Ltd, Oxford.

Strood is located in northern Kent adjacent to Rochester and Temple Farm. A skeleton

was excavated adjacent to a Roman cemetery located between Strood and Temple Farm

in 1846. The site contains two excavated Anglo-Saxon burials. The first burial excavated

was identified as a male inhumation in his sixties based on an analysis of the skull (Page

1974: 376). The second burial contained an item with Christian iconography (Page 1974:

376). The inhumation, interpreted as a male based on the grave goods, included an iron

sword, fragments of a wooden scabbard, a spear head, knife, shield boss, a bronze buckle,

and a unique bronze cylinder.
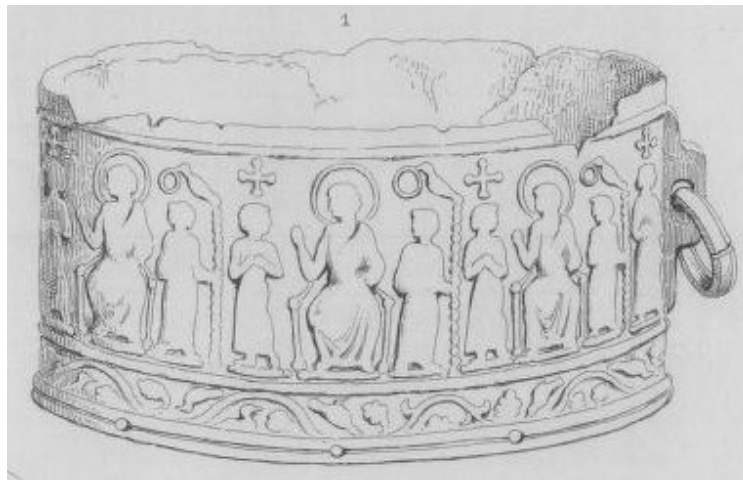
Figure 42: Drawing of bronze cylinder from Strood (Smith 1848: pl xxxvi)

The bronze cylinder had a series of three repeating figures: one seated with a hand raised

and a circle around his head, and two standing on either side of him with their hands

crossed over their chests; one stood with a cross hovering above his head, and the second

holding a staff with a bird perched on it carrying a circle, perhaps a wreath (Page 1974:

377, Smith 1848: 157 -159). This trio repeated six times around the cylinder. Below the

figures was a border of vines, leaves and birds (Smith 1848: 159). The cylinder consisted of a series of thin bronze plates riveted together, with a ring attached for suspension. The cylinder lacks a base and a lid suggesting it was attached to an organic material, such as a drinking horn, box, or a quiver (Smith 1848: 159, Page 1974: 377). The cylinder was tentatively dated to the fifth or sixth centuries and likely imported from Gaul or Italy (Smith 1848: 159). The cylinder has since been lost.

Page, W. 1974. *The Victorian History of the County of Kent, vol. 1*. Dawsons of Pall Mall, Folkestone.

Smith, C. R.. 1848. "Anglo-Saxon Remains found in Kent, Suffolk, and Leicestershire" *Collectanea Antiqua: Etchings and Notices of Ancient Remains, Illustrative of the Habits, Customs, and History of the Past Ages*. Vol. II. JR Smith, Soho Square: 155-170.

Temple Hill is an inhumation cemetery with 56 graves and 59 individuals from the early fifth to the late sixth/early seventh century. The site is located on a high gravel terrace off the Thames River within the grounds of the modern St. Edmund's Church. The site contains late Bronze to early Iron Age features and a series of Roman features. Unusually, there is no evidence that the graves have been disturbed by plowing or modern activity (O'Brien 2015: 5). The burials are all aligned west-east or south-north in clear rows that do not overlap, suggesting above ground markers. The majority of burials face toward Darent marshes, which as of yet has no discernable meaning. Three burials are located within ditched enclosures, one of which also had post-holes around it that

suggest a structure above it (O'Brien 2015: 5). The cemetery includes two burials with unusual items.

Grave 43 was an adult male, around 45 years old, dated to the sixth century. The skeleton had a fractured right ulna with the arm fused in an extended position (O'Brien 2015: 32). The burial had an iron spear head, iron knife, iron nail, a copper-alloy binding that may have been part of a knife handle, a sheep or goat humerus that was likely a funerary offering placed within the grave, and an interesting coin. The coin was found between his legs and was not perforated. The coin was iron plated with copper-alloy and was an imitation of a coin issued by Tiberius to commemorate Augustus, between AD 14-37. The question is when it was forged as an imitation, although an original must have been accessible to inspire the copy.

Figure 43: Umbonate disc brooch from Temple Hill Grave 54, featuring a series of humanoid faces (O'Brien 2015: 102).

Grave 54 is an example of another cunning woman, similar to Sarre's Grave 4 or Grave 44 at Lyminge (Brent 1863, Warhurst 1955), dated to the early sixth century, specifically to AD 520-550 (O'Brien 2015: 36). The skeleton was poorly preserved and so the female identification is based on the grave goods. The burial included an iron knife, a small silver square-headed brooch, a silver umbonate disc brooch, and twenty beads (O'Brien 2015: 37). At her pelvis, there was a crystal sphere bound in silver with a copper-alloy suspension ring, a pierced eagle talon, two iron keys, a cosmetic brush case, and a possible second brush casing (O'Brien 2015: 37). There was also preserved textile at the pelvis (O'Brien 2015: 38). The combination of items indicates ritual amulets included in the burial.

Brent, J. 1863. "Account of the Society's researches in the Saxon cemetery at Sarr (Sarre), Part 1." *Archaeologia Cantiana 5*, 305-322: 318.

O'Brien, L. 2015. "An early Anglo-Saxon cemetery at St Edmund's Church and Vicarage, Temple Hill, Dartford." *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 19, Oxford: 1-121.

Warhurst, A. 1955. "The Jutish cemetery at Lyminge." *Archaeologia Cantiana 69*: 1-40.

Chapter 9: The Ritual Spaces of East Anglia and Kent

Introduction

Identifying Romano-British, or non-Anglo-Saxon, ritual in the fifth and sixth centuries relies on the identification of Christian spaces. The identification of ritual spaces that are not Christian or Anglo-Saxon in the post-Roman landscape is difficult because so little is known about them in the fifth century. As seen in Chapter 7, the identification of Anglo-Saxon ritual spaces has relied on the association of ritual deposits or cemeteries. Post-Roman ritual structures that are not Christian spaces have not been identified. The Anglo-Saxons did not reuse Roman spaces for ritual activities until after St Augustine's arrival, apart from a few instances.

Over 160 churches are associated with Roman structures across Britain after the seventh century to modern day (Bell 1998: 4). The reuse of these sites could be attributed to geographic factors in addition to drawing on the Christian past of the region; Roman churches in particular are often reused in seventh century Kent (Bell 1998: 5). The possibility of continuity between the Roman and Augustinian periods has been discussed by Bell (1995). The coincidental reuse of Roman churches two hundred years after their apparent abandonment suggests that knowledge of their original use survived through that time:

> Could one, however, maintain an ephemeral, passive presence in the landscape –
> that is a non-material continuity in the community which could possibly exist for
> several generations, even after the structure's physical demise? The evidence
> seems to suggest that these non-material associations did exist and were

demonstrated in a developing early-medieval association of Christianity with

Roman structures. (Bell 1995: 5)

Several churches in Kent display this type of long-term continuity. St Martins in

Canterbury certainly maintained an active identity within the region for almost two

hundred years, as it was used by Bertha in the late sixth century. The Lullingstone Villa

had a house-church, and hundreds of years later a late Saxon or Norman church was built

at the site (Ward 2004: 388-9).

There is no evidence for Christian ritual spaces within early Anglo-Saxon settlements or

spaces. The practice appears to have relied on Roman spaces, where Christianity had

been established before Roman forces left. This practice is in accordance with the idea of

religious continuity within former Romano-British groups. If there were Christian

practitioners within the area, then they would likely continue their practice in the same

spaces. It is apparent that the number of practitioners decreased after Rome's withdrawal,

as the evidence for use is not at the same level as before. There is evidence for use or

awareness of the spaces in the fifth and sixth centuries that resulted in their use in the

seventh century. Roman churches, or ritual structures, were characterized by stone

construction and apses. In the seventh century, when the Roman structures were reused,

Augustine favored simple construction with an eastern apse (Ward 2004: 24).

Hoard deposits with Christian materials dating to this period are also included on the off

chance that they represent the use of open natural spaces for ritual activities. These non-

constructed spaces utilize natural features, such as access to water, open spaces, high

locations, or groves. They are sometimes the only physical evidence of possible ritual activities in a place. Hoards can encompass a wide range of possible activities, including economically motivated caching, ritual depositions, and concealment for later collection in times of strife. For the purposes of this study, hoards in the fifth and sixth centuries with materials associated with Christianity are considered here to encompass the possibility of ritual practices.

East Anglia

The traditional location discussed in relation to post-Roman Christian practice is that of St Albans, but apart from that one pilgrimage center, there are few markers for Christian spaces. Despite the presence of St Albans, there are is not as much evidence for Christian practices as there is in Kent. The reuse of Roman spaces for churches occurs in the seventh century, which suggests that Roman spaces continued to hold an important association with Christianity. The evidence for continuing use of churches in the fifth and sixth century is dependent on stray finds found in the vicinity and a few suggestions of ritual deposits.

Colchester Butt Road is a Roman cemetery with an adjacent Christian Church. Over 700 graves were considered in the excavation from the Roman period (Crummy et al. 1993). The Butt Road cemetery had two phases. The cemetery began in the third century in a series of plots defined by ditches. In the late third to fourth centuries, the burials changed to east-west orientations from north-south, and the cemetery expanded beyond the ditched barriers. The church was built in AD 330 and appears to correspond with the

shift in burial orientation. There are few grave goods in the cemetery, which leads to a limited interpretation.

The church, or basilica, was first excavated in the nineteenth century and again in 1935. The structure has a rectangular stone foundation, 18m by 7.5m. The structure is aligned east-west with an apse on the east along with three graves and a deep pit. An assemblage of 515 coins was found at the site, which indicates a large amount of activity post-294 (Crummy et al. 1993: 182, 159, Martin 1995: 452). After AD 313, basilicas were repurposed as Christian churches. Millett (1995: 453) identifies the *narthex* opposite the altar as the only defining feature of most early fourth century churches. The *narthex* is missing from the Colchester church.

There are three distinctive finds from the basilica/church: the large coin assemblage, an unusual number of chicken carcasses, and the materials found in the pit inside the structure (Crummy et al. 1993: 175-179). The pit was excavated in 1935 and included a human skull and high bones, iron knife, two fragmented iron vessels, and dates to the Roman period (Hull 1958, Crummy et al. 1993: 173). Millett (1995: 453) favors the interpretation of this space not as a church, but as a banquet hall because of the non-Christian characteristics of the deposits. These deposits are characteristic of Anglo-Saxon ritual deposits and could represent a traditional Anglo-Saxon ritual space.

Icklingham, Suffolk is only a few miles from West Stow. Icklingham was a major Roman settlement that peaked in the later Roman Period (West 1985: 5). The site dates

from AD 350 to 400/420, when the buildings were dismantled and a hoard was deposited

with coins dating to Honorius (Johnson 1982: 168). In 1982, the site was described as a

group of buildings identified as a church complex due to the presence of a small

rectangular building facing east-west with a cemetery attached (Johnson 1982: 168). Only

three years later, Stanley West (1985) produced the official report on the nearby West

Stow and presented a different interpretation of the site of Icklingham, reaching beyond

the presence of a possible church site and establishing it as an economically important

site in the region.

The first discovery at Icklingham was a series of coins, pottery sherds and fibulae in a

field south east of the village along the River Lark in 1720. A total of four pewter hoards

have been discovered in the area. Two hoards were found in the nineteenth century and

were not properly recorded (West and Plouviez 1976: 63).The first contained nine vessels

discovered in 1839. Fourteen years later, the second hoard had twenty-two vessels and

may have included a bronze cauldron, which is believed to have come from the region.

Later in 1956, a hoard of nine pewter vessels and a saw blade was found. The fourth

hoard consisted of a bronze bowl, a clay bowl and a pewter platter. In addition to the

pewter hoards, there were five coin hoards found in the vicinity of Icklingham containing

silver and bronze coins from the Late Roman period (West and Plouviez 1976: 64).

The nineteenth century excavation revealed the outlines of the Roman villa, while the

twentieth century excavations uncovered the layout of the settlement. The first excavation

was in 1877 of a suspected Roman villa. The excavation uncovered a large hypocausted

room with walls standing a meter high and traces of smaller rooms to the south-east. This early excavation revealed the only confirmed building found before the 1970s. Not far from the main occupation, from Rampart Field to beyond the villas in Horselands Field, two small buildings in enclosures were found within the Anglo-Saxon cemetery, excavated in 1947 and identified as a Roman mausoleum (West and Plouviez 1976: 65). During the excavations of the later 20th century, three lead tanks, three pottery kilns and the main occupation of Icklingham were found (West and Plouviez 1976: 65). Three lead tanks were found near the church with a chi-rho symbol inscribed upon them (West and Plouviez 1976: 65, Johnson 1982: 168). The third tank, found in 1971, contained a number of iron objects, such as a fragment with a perforated lug, door hinges, nails and small fittings and two roman saws (West and Plouviez 1976: 65). The three pottery kilns are dated to the 3rd century based upon the pottery (West and Plouviez 1976: 65). The supplemental evidence supports the interpretation of the site not only as a religious complex but as an active settlement as well.

The main occupation of Icklingham was found south east of the modern village above the River Lark by the 1974 excavation directed by R.J.C. Mowat of the Suffolk Archaeological Unit (West and Plouviez 1976: 67). The site is large and open without any visible defenses and does not resemble a hierarchical settlement with defined manufacture areas (West 1985: 5). The archaeological remains of the settlements primarily consist of timber framed foundations and occasional mortar foundations (West 1985: 5). West addresses the possible presence of a church briefly existing atop an earlier pagan site and consisting of a free standing church with an attached cemetery and lead

tanks with Christian symbols (West 1985: 5). Three phases were identified during the excavation. Phase 1, found below the layer of chalk, contained pottery from the second to fourth century and three pits. One large pit contained six human skulls, a complete decorated limestone pillar and fragments of decorated roofing tiles from the 3rd to 4th century: it was deliberately filled in and sealed with a layer of chalk, broken tile and rubble. The pottery and tile were found heavily burnt. Phase 2 is represented by the chalk layer separating the two phases of occupation and may have been a deliberate "cleansing" of the site (West and Plouviez 1976: 119). This layer of chalk and pits, which contained burnt and broken materials, could have been from the destruction of the earlier settlement. Phase 3, above the layer of chalk, held a number of features and material deposits. The features of the site include two small ditches, seven post-holes and five pits. Building B is the only structure confirmed to be in the post-chalk phase and contained two graves cut close to the south side. Building B is interpreted as a Christian Church based upon the apse. The two unstratified buildings, A and C, are very different from one another. Building C was a small apsidal structure built with coarse tiles, while Building A was rectangular with a mortared flint foundation and traces of white plastered walls.

In addition to the features of the site, 41 inhumations were found in two groups; only three contained grave goods, and seventeen had evidence for wooden coffins. The graves from the western section of the cemetery cut through the chalk, five of which contained a total of nineteenth coins in the fill dating to between 270 and 375 AD, providing a possible date for the chalk layer (West and Plouviez 1976: 120). The cemetery has been interpreted as Christian based upon the east-west orientation, supine position, lack of

grave goods and association of one of the lead tanks in the vicinity (West and Plouviez 1976: 121). The presence of the lead tanks and church at Icklingham supports the original impression of the site as holding an important Christian role.

The settlement of Icklingham ended abruptly with the dismantling of structures and deposition of hoards. The two coin hoards from the Honorian period (393-423 AD), the pewter hoards and the deposition of door hinges and nails into one of the lead tanks support the concept of a quick, perhaps violent end to the settlement (West and Plouviez 1976: 122). The deposition of the items suggests that by 420 AD, the settlement was gone, perhaps in response to the Germanic migration.

St Albans, Hertfordshire or Verulamium, is known for its religious association and possible early Christian presence. It is included in this study in full due to its historic role in British Christianity, despite the paucity of early Anglo-Saxon finds.

There was already an Iron Age settlement along the south-west side of the valley occupied by the Catuvellauni. This settlement was in the vicinity of what would later become Verulamium in the late first century (Niblett 2001: 2). It then developed into a Roman town, becoming a municipium by the Flavian period (69-96 AD). There are burn horizons from the Boudiccan Revolt in 61 AD and another fire in 155 AD (Niblett 2001: 2). The city maintained its importance throughout the Roman period. During the late third century, the town center was dominated by an extensive religious complex on Oysterfields Hill, which offers the most prominent view of the city. From the end of the

first century until the end of the third, Oysterfields Hill was dominated by a large Romano-Celtic temple located close to the public baths, a theater and three other temples. Between the Branch Road bath house and the Folly Lane temple over 40 pits and wells have been identified, including one that contained a young man's skull which had been struck, scalped and defleshed before being deposited (Niblett 2001: 3). Six other pits contained broken face pots with the faces removed, and another three pits contained animal skulls at the bottom. The similarities of these deposits suggest a ritual or votive activity surrounding a head cult (Niblett 2001: 3). There is evidence for several diverse ritual activities including a water cult associated with the marsh area, along with the head cult and the more substantial temples on Oysterfields Hill. Between the first and fifth centuries, over twelve hundred burials have been recorded between the south-east and north-east boundaries of the town (Niblett and Thompson 2005: 138). The Roman town was not densely occupied, despite the active ritual landscape, which suggests that it was catering to a large outlying population (Niblett 2001: 4-6).

By the fourth century, Verulamium is believed to have been the site of an early Christian martyrdom, yet several markers of an active Christian community or site of pilgrimage are absent. In fact, there have not been any small portable items of Christian significance found in the area at all (Niblett 2001: 6). There are three buildings in the settlement that have been identified as Christian Churches. In the early twentieth century, a Romano-Celtic temple was found in Insula XVI which, after a period of neglect in the fourth century, was remodeled at the end of the century. The remodel moved the original entrance, which connected to the theater, to the opposite side in the south-east. This door

change often signals the evolution of a temple into a church (Niblett 2001: 6). The second

church, in Insula X, is a small rectangular enclosure with a small projection to the north

end. It is interpreted as such based only upon the building outline and is not corroborated

by any Christian items (Niblett 2001: 6). The third possible church was found beyond the

town inside an earlier ditched enclosure, which contained mid-first century burials and a

votive pit with a fragmented military cuirass (Niblett 2001: 7). The possible church is an

apsidal building with a flint and mortar foundation from the later Roman period (Niblett

2001: 7). The identified churches are all based upon the building outline and features;

none of them contain Christian artifacts.

The evidence for occupation of Verulamium from the fifth to eighth century is sparse.

Sheppard Frere's excavation between 1955 and 1961 revealed that occupation did

continue into the fifth century (1972, 1983). The excavation of a large house between the

Forum and the Insula XVI temple was replaced by a large building, similar to a hall,

during the fifth century (Niblett 2001: 7). There are numerous slots and post-holes

associated with timber buildings from the fifth century (Niblett 2001: 7). Several large

ovens have been found, linked with bread production, dating to the mid-fifth century but

without any datable finds in the area. The dating is based upon the belief that the

occupation post-dates any period with coins and well-made pottery (Niblett 2001: 8).

The few pieces of pottery recovered from the mid-fifth century are poorly preserved

chaff-tempered pottery. The later occupation of Verulamium into the eighth century is

focused around the Roman roads leading into and out of the earlier city (Niblett 2001: 8).

St Albans' Norman Abbey is found above the River Ver upon a hill and contains possible evidence for continuation of the occupation of the era and the Christian cult. Underneath the Norman Abbey is a third to fifth century cemetery, supposedly containing Alban's burial (Biddle and Kjolbye-Biddle 2001: 45). The cemetery contained fifty Romano-British graves, some within nail or peg wooden coffins and others without any surviving features. Only two contain remarkable grave goods; Grave 58 and 65 both include scrolls along with other elite goods. Grave 58 contain a female between 17 and 20 years old within a nailed coffin with her head raised on a pillow, two bracelets, thirty-one green glass beads and a pewter scroll tightly rolled (Biddle and Kjolbye-Biddle 2001: 57). The scroll was found at her waist to the right, and based upon the locations of the green beads, it was likely covered by a decorative string of beads (Biddle and Kjolbye-Biddle 2001: 58). Grave 58 was placed within the pit of Grave 64, which contained a middle aged female and a coin from between 350 and 360 AD, placing Grave 58 no earlier than the third quarter of the fourth century (Biddle and Kjolbye-Biddle 2001: 58).

Grave 65 was comprised of a female between thirty-five and forty-five years old within a nailed coffin. Her burial contained a tightly rolled pewter scroll found next to her left hand and three sherds of pottery. Grave 65 is dated to the second half of the fourth century (Biddle and Kjolbye-Biddle 2001: 59). These two scrolls are the only ones to be found in Romano-British graves out of over 240 lead or lead-alloy scrolls found in Britain (Biddle and Kjolbye-Biddle 2001: 59). Several rolled gold or silver sheets buried in protective containers within a grave are found in the Mediterranean from the first to seventh centuries. Of those scrolls that are readable, all of them concern the protection of

the owner during life; as such, they are widely interpreted as protective magic (Biddle and Kjolbye-Biddle 2001: 60). The inclusion of these scrolls in two female graves emphasizes a possible high status role for these women either in ritual or social activities. While the Abbey cemetery reveals several interesting burials, it does not provide evidence for an early church or continuation past the Roman period.

St Alban himself is not visible on the archaeological record at Verulamium, despite his renown and famous association with the site. The earliest reference to the dramatic conversion of St Alban in the face of Roman oppression is from *The Life of St Germanus*. No tablets or statues have been found that could be associated with St Alban. Verulamium included at least one church in the city by the end of the Roman period (Niblett and Thompson 2005: 99). While it is believed that a shrine exists atop St Alban's grave, it has not been found, and it could be beneath the Norman Abbey.

The Roman town of Verulamium does not contain much evidence for an early Saxon invasion. The city was not deliberately destroyed either before or after the Anglo-Saxon migration; instead there are hints of continuing activity within the city. One late seventh century Saxon cemetery was identified to the south of the town but that is the only burial site associated with the Saxons (Niblett 2001: 8-10). There are few examples of early Saxon pottery and brooches. Additionally, there are no surviving Anglo-Saxon place-names within twenty kilometers of Verulamium (Niblett 2001: 9-10). The Saxon settlement could be found on the opposite side of the river, partially submerged by the modern course of the river (Niblett and Thompson 2005: 178).

The archaeological evidence surrounding St Alban's Verulamium further supports the possibility of an alternative location for the martyrdom. There was not an obviously Christian population in the area to care for and cater to pilgrims. Christianity had spread through Britain, and many churches were constructed by the end of the fourth century.

Wade-Evans in 1905, Hugh Williams in 1912, Wilhelm Levison in 1941, and Charles Thomas in 1981 all support the idea that the martyrdom was located in Caerleon. Gildas wrote that the martyrs Julius and Aaron were men of Caerleon, while Alban was a man of Verulam, suggesting that they were possibly not in their place of origin – or so Wade-Evans infers. Levison puts forth Mount St Albans' north of Caerleon as the location of the martyrdom due both to the name of the site and the lack of evidence in the region surrounding Verulamium.

While Romano-British Christian practices would have adapted, the pilgrims present a different problem. Gildas, Bede and Constantius all record pilgrims to St Alban's shrine. Some of these pilgrims would have been from the Continent, including St Germanus, and their practice of Christianity is much better understood and recognizable.

Hoards

There are few hoards with Christian materials dated to the fifth or sixth centuries. The hoards that are dated to the early Anglo-Saxon period are believed to be evidence of late Romano-British practice. However, any evidence of Christian materials in the early fifth

century indicates that Christian practice was active after the Roman withdrawal. Ritual deposits indicate special places in the landscape; an individual may pick the most convenient location or choose a place that has ritual importance. The deposits are not composed of items, like the later Staffordshire Hoard, which suggest military victories and are instead primarily composed of feasting equipment.

The Hoxne Hoard in Suffolk is an example of a fifth century deposit containing Christian items. The hoards has materials similar to those found during the Roman period and in seventh century rich burials, as at Sutton Hoo Mound 1. The Hoxne Hoard is composed of coins, gold materials and silver. The deposit contained 14,865 coins, 29 gold necklaces, rings and bracelets, and more than 115 silver tableware and personal grooming items. The silver materials include five statuettes that were originally part of vessels, two small decorated vessels, five undecorated bowls, 20 ladles, 78 spoons, three small strainers, a strainer funnel, four toothpick/ear cleaners, a possible brush, and several unidentified silver toilet implements.

There are 52 inscriptions on the materials found in the treasure (Johns and Bland 1994: 172). One gold necklace has a chain with a clasp with a small monogramed cross; one set of ten silver ladles had a cross engraved on the handles as do eleven matching cochlearia spoons (Johns and Bland 1994: 172). The other inscriptions are of personal names. Spoons are usually associated with Baptismal gifts during this period, and the inscription of personal names is common.

The Hoxne Hoard was packed into a wooden box indicated by the iron fittings recovered that suggest a box of 60x45x30 cm (Johns and Bland 1994: 165). The box featured a few silver fittings including two padlocks and 150 bone inlay pieces. Textiles used to back the items were partially preserved. The large hoard was packed with care, shown by the traces of organic materials between the silver bowls, indicating that the burial of these items was planned and deliberate (Johns and Bland 1994: 165).

Kent

The evidence for ritual spaces of the Romano-British during the fifth and sixth centuries comes from sites in Kent. This may be the result of Kent, or Canterbury, being the area where the conversion led by Augustine began at the end of the sixth century. Bede the Venerable records the story of Augustine reusing Roman spaces, constructing his own monastery, and contacting the practicing Christians in the neighboring area. Bede reinforces the narrative that the Christians of the time were poor practitioners, but he still does refer to them as Christian and near enough to visit Augustine when he called (*EH* II.2).

There are several churches associated with St Augustine's early practice in Kent that are believed to predate his arrival and to have been in use during the Roman period. These churches include one beneath St Augustine's Abbey, St Mary's, and St Pancras' all in Canterbury, St Andrew's in Rochester, St Mary's in Lyminge, and St Mary's in Reculver (Fletcher 1965). Kent, either through contact with the Continent or simply as a result of bias from surviving contemporary records, has evidence for more Roman churches

recorded in the seventh century. The recording of these churches is largely attributable to Bede and his contacts in Canterbury. However, these churches do not all have evidence for immediately Post-Roman use.

The Lullingstone Villa was first constructed as a winged-corridor house around AD 80 and converted around 150 to a Governor's Palace. The villa was substantially expanded in the later second century with a bath suite and additional rooms. The cult room, also known as the Deep Room, with its well preserved wall plaster paintings of nymphs, was constructed in the second century (Painter 1969: 135). The cult room featured a small well in the middle of the floor, further cementing the correlation between the villa and water rituals. The cult room had inner doors that were blocked off, and access was only available through the outside doors; the bath suite had similar access constrictions, suggesting that both rooms were meant to be accessible for more than just the villa's residents (Painter 1969: 135-138). In the third century, the villa was again modified, including a Temple-Mausoleum (Meates 1950: 9). The Temple-Mausoleum contained the burial of a young man and woman. The man was buried in a decorated lead coffin (Pearce 2016: 348). The burials contained pottery, two silver spoons, a set of 30 gaming pieces, a bone carving of Medusa, bronze, glass bottles and bowls (Pearce 2016: 348). The inclusion of the silver spoons links to later burials during the Conversion period, as in the Sutton Hoo burial.

The additions to the villa suggest the building taking on a greater role in the region and the local need for a constructed ritual space. The exterior access to both the cult room and

the baths implies that people other than those residing in the villa were using the space. The construction of the Temple-Mausoleum indicates the same.
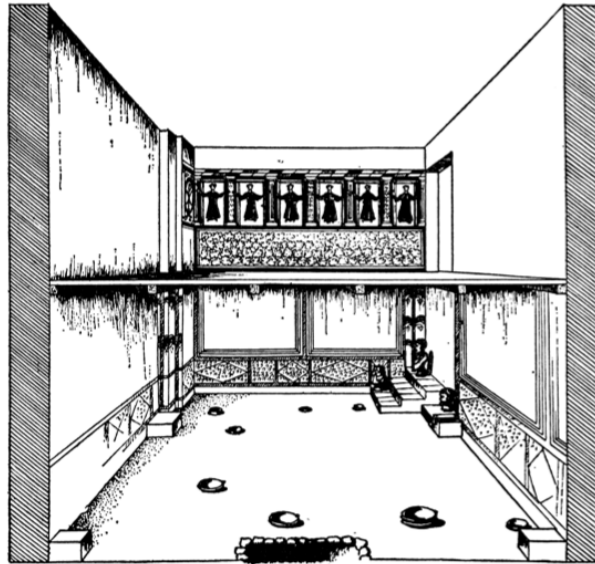
FIG. 6. The Deep Room, with the Christian Chapel above, shortly before the final fire.

Figure 44: The two ritual rooms of the Lullingstone Villa (Painter 1969: 138)

In the fourth century, a house-church was constructed similar to those found in early forms of Christian practice. The house-church was located above the Romano-British cult room. The cult room seems to have been closed during this time and perhaps used for storage. After AD 300, perhaps 330, the villa was remodeled and a mosaic featuring the Rape of Europa and Bellerophon added (Radford 1971: 5). Around AD 350, the northern end of the villa was decorated with paintings featuring Christian motifs (Radford 1971: 5). The area was then blocked off with a new wall and given a separate entrance from the outside. The separated area was composed of an outer room, a vestibule and an inner room. The outer room of the house-church had paintings including a large Chi-Rho with an Alpha and Omega surrounded by a wreath (Radford 1971: 5). The inner room had a similar motif on the southern wall and on the western wall; the painting featured figures standing with their hands raised in prayer typical of the Christian orantes (Radford 1971:

5). The rooms were not large; the outer room was only 16 ft. by 10 ft., while the inner room was 15 ft. by 20 ft. The house-church was clearly intended to serve a small number of local practitioners.

During the fifth century, there was a fire, and the villa was abandoned (Painter 1965: 131, 135). The structure began to gradually decay, and few materials are found dating to the later fifth century, suggesting that it was not occupied again (Painter 1965: 131).

The villa, however, has evidence for use in the fifth century after abandonment in the fourth century. There is some suspicion that the house-church was used during the Anglo-Saxon period, based upon a few stray finds and the recovery of a hanging bowl in 1859. The hanging bowl has been dated based on the stylistic features to the seventh century, but Kendrick (1932: 173) argues that the bowl is no later than AD 500 because of the residual influence of Romanized features. The bowl was found with " weapons [and] ornaments" by workmen and suggests that it was associated with a burial not an isolated find (Tyler 1992: 76, Geake 1999: 4). The materials are not definitive evidence for use of the house-church, but they are evidence for activities in the vicinity of the villa without any evidence for occupation of the ruins.
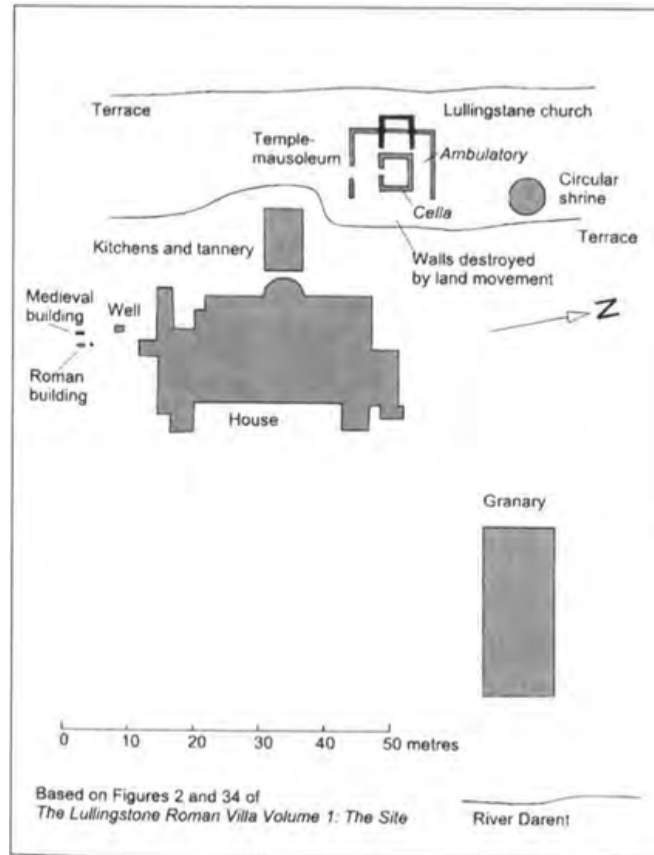
Figure 45: Lullingstone Villa Roman and Medieval phases (Ward 2004: 385)

The late Saxon church of St John the Baptist is located above the villa on a ridge above the earlier Romano-British Temple-Mausoleum. The Temple-Mausoleum was partially demolished in the fourth century, and the tomb beneath it was robbed sometime afterwards (Ward 2004: 386). The church is first mentioned in 1115 (Ward 2004: 388). The church reuses the masonry stones from the Roman structure, which provides it with few diagnostic features to identify a secure date for construction.

Richborough, or Rutupiae**, on the Saxon Shore in Kent was a Roman fort before it was abandoned in the early fifth century. The site is situated on the isle of Thanet. While today Thanet is connected to the rest of Kent, in the Roman period and early Anglo-Saxon the site would have required a bridge for access. The site had a road that ran from

the fort directly into Canterbury, passing St Martin's church, and another that connected Richborough to Dover. The site was important both for its tactical advantage and its role as a major port.

The site has two distinct phases of activity. The first phase was simply a town with an active port, but this changed when a military fort was constructed to defend the Saxon Shore, which marked the second phase (Bushe-Fox 1926: 6). Beginning in the second century, Richborough was one of the most important forts, which is indicated by the large storehouses and granaries (Johnston 1979: 11). The first phase of settlement in the town and port ended with a period of burning between AD 285 and 305. The destruction event may have resulted from conflict with the Saxons or Franks: Carausius may have established Richborough as his naval headquarters when he declared himself emperor of Britannia, and then the structure was used again by Allectus after him (Bushe-Fox 1926: 7). The fort was built to defend the coastline from Saxon raiders in the third and fourth centuries and organized by the Count of the Saxon Shore, an official title within the Roman military, assigned with defense of the southeast coast (Johnston 1979). The *Notitia Dignitatum* records that the Second Legion was quartered there in the late fourth century (Bushe-Fox 1926: 4).

The fort had two temples outside the walls that were out of use by AD 380, overlapping with the construction of the church (Watts 1998: 43). Inside the fort, an apsidal church reused earlier construction materials including a fragmented relief of Fortuna (Brown

1971, Watts 1998: 43). This church is one of three dated to the period of AD 360-390 including Brean Down and Lamyatt Beacon (Watts 1998: 64).

The only area with evidence for continuing activity is that of the Roman church and its baptistery font. The early excavation uncovered a structure that was hexagonal measuring 7 ft. 4 in. by 6 ft. 6 in. with a pink plaster, tiles in mortar and a lead pipe providing an outlet on the east side (Brown 1971: 225). This structure is unusual and suggestive of a tank or baptismal font, as it was intended to contain water in large amounts (Brown 1971: 225). The hexagonal structure is similar to the fonts identified at Cologne, dated to the fourth to sixth centuries, which is octagonal and at Boppard where the font is heptagonal, dated to the fifth century (Brown 1971: 227). The font likely had a superstructure surrounding it as indicated by a series of post holes around it (Petts 2016: 8). It is unusual to find a structural font in Britain, as lead tanks are more commonly found with Christian iconography (Petts 2016: 9). In the early fifth century, a timber and daub structure was built near the font, which was likely a church (Johnston 1979: 51, Petts 2016: 6).

A number of coins were found on the site dating to AD 402-410, which is unusual when compared to the other Saxon Shore forts and suggests a higher level of activity within the fort (Johnston 1979: 51). The coins have been explained by Johnston (1977) as evidence for currency control at the end of the fourth century and early fifth, when the fort would have provided protection. Richborough continued to be associated with a large number of coins in the eighth and ninth centuries, when a large number of sceattas were deposited

there (Rigold 1977: 70). Bede records that Richborough was known as Reptaceaster by the Angles (*EH* I.1).

St Martin's in Canterbury was originally built in the Roman period, although there is no evidence for Roman burials in the immediate vicinity (Jenkins 1965: 15). Three cremations were found approximately 300 yards from the structure. There is an early third century cemetery to the east and another to the west (Jenkins 1965: 15). The church was likely not originally dedicated to St Martin as he died in 397, which did not leave much time to dedicate the site to him posthumously.

The evidence for ritual spaces of the Romano-British during the fifth and sixth centuries comes from sites in Kent. This may be the result of Kent, or Canterbury, being the area where the conversion led by Augustine began at the end of the sixth century. Bede the Venerable records the story of Augustine reusing Roman spaces, constructing his own monastery, and contacting the practicing Christians in the neighboring area.

> "There was nearby, on the east of the city, a church built in ancient times in honour of St Martin, while the Romans were still in Britain, in which the queen who, as has been said, was a Christian, used to pray" (*EH* I.26)

The church that is always discussed in relation to post-Roman practice, St Martins in Canterbury. It is meant to be one of the few churches that demonstrates use from the Roman era to the present day. The bricks of the chancel are dated to the Roman Era. However, the actual archaeological evidence for use of the structure in the fifth and sixth centuries, before Bertha's arrival, are sparse. The evidence comes from some rough

repairs and additions dated to the Anglo-Saxon period, but not with any defendable certainty (Ward 2004).
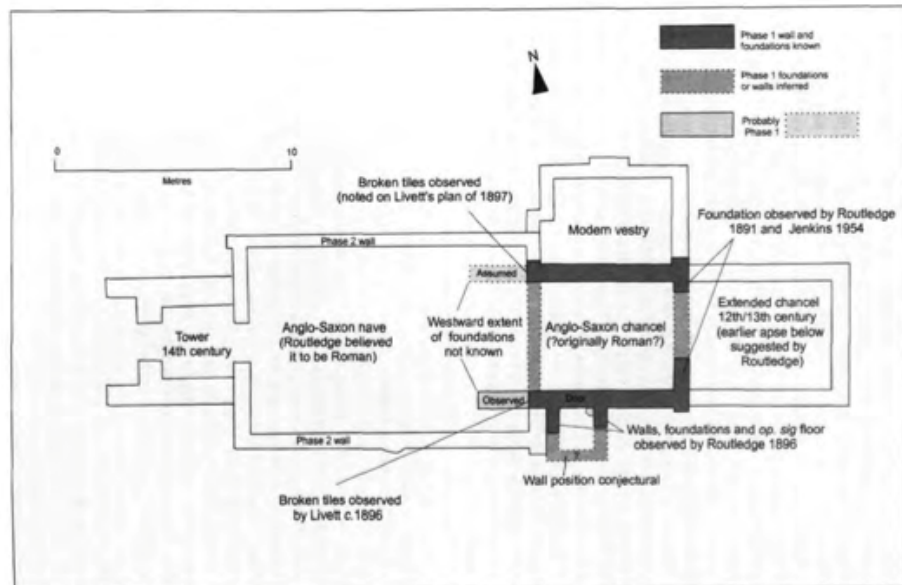
Fig. 1   St Martin's Church Canterbury: summary of archaeological information based on various plans and texts.

Figure 46: Phases of St Martin's construction (Ward 2004: 380)

The most convincing evidence for the continuing use of this church in the fifth and sixth century comes from Bede (*EH* I.26), when he mentions that Bertha, a devout Christian Frankish princess married to King Æthelbert, and her Bishop Luidhard used the space for her devotions. A pendant with Luidhard's likeness and name was found in the 19th century supporting Bede's story. Her Christianity was, of course, newly imported from the continent; the significance from the fifth and sixth century comes from their users' awareness of the structure as a church. It had been a church in the Roman period and almost two centuries later was recognizable as a church again among Æthelbert's Kentish realm. Æthelbert could have placed Bertha in a newly constructed church, a Roman temple, or any of the various ruined Roman structures, but they chose a place that was a church during the Roman occupation.

St Pancras in Canterbury may have been the original church used by Bertha, and not St Martin's. The structure was built in the late fourth or early fifth century (Hope 1902: 232, Ward 2004: 383). The first phase was characterized by a clay floor, walls built of Roman brick, four Roman columns and a nave (Fletcher 1965: 20). The first two phases were separated by a short phase of abandonment but no evidence for destruction during that time (Ward 2004: 383). Phase two consisted of a concrete floor, which might have been part of the later Norman structure (Ward 2004: 383).

Stone-by-Faversham is a Roman church that is within a contemporary cemetery and along a road that led to London. The Roman church is located half a mile from the cemetery of Ospringe, which contained 387 burials, and associated with the Anglo-Saxon cemetery of Faversham (Fletcher and Meates 1969).   The Roman road, known as Watling Street, runs from Dover to London (Taylor and Yonge 1981).

The structure is constructed of tile and sandstone, dating it to the fourth century (Radford 1971: 6). The Roman building measures 20 feet by 19 feet with walls that were three feet thick (Fletcher and Meates 1969: 276). Buttresses on the sides suggest vaulted ceilings originally. The features of the structure suggests that it was built on top of a Romano-Celtic *cella*, although only one square footprint was found (Fletcher and Meates 1969: 276). The structure has an Opus Signum Floor and red painted wall plaster. A podium or altar was located three feet from the eastern wall, similar to that found in Silchester (Fletcher and Meates 1969: 281).

Beneath the floor was a layer of carbonized material found within the former trenches from the Kent Society excavation in 1872. The layer was radiocarbon dated to between AD 440 and 660, indicating a post-Roman modification to the structure (Fletcher and Meates 1969: 279).The carbonized wooden fragments likely represent a Saxon event that was disturbed by the nineteenth century excavation.

There are several signs of burning on the site, including burn marks found on the clay packed into a pit cut through the Roman floor, and the floor above the Roman level (Fletcher and Meates 1969: 280). The Saxon floor was then covered by a white concrete layer that averaged a thickness of one inch and covered a large quantity of human bone packed into the south end (Fletcher and Meates 1969: 280).

A number of burials were placed within the immediate vicinity of the structure. A child was buried to the south, five feet from the exterior wall. The body was not accompanied by any grave goods, and radiocarbon dated it to between AD 350 and 570 (Fletcher and Meates 1969: 281). To the east, beneath the medieval chancel but outside the exterior Roman wall, six inhumations were identified, including two infants, an adult and three comingled adults (Fletcher and Meates 1969: 281). One burial was radiocarbon dated from AD 1030 and 1250, while the chancel was constructed in the thirteenth century (Fletcher and Meates 1969: 281).

In the early Saxon period, the church was modified and used again as a Christian ritual space (Watts 1998: 65). Two sherds of early Anglo-Saxon pottery were found in the

vicinity of the structure, which would have been largely intact at this time (Fletcher and Meates 1969: 284, Radford 1971: 6). The two sherds are from different types of vessels, indicating that two different vessels from the fifth and sixth century were in the vicinity. An eighth century sceatta was deposited near the structure in a manner similar to a ritual offering (Radford 1971: 6). In the late medieval period, the coin was incorporated into the chancel.

Conclusions

The use of Roman Christian spaces in the fifth century is all circumstantial, but the consistent discovery of similar evidence provides a clue into the post-Roman practice. There are few indications of ritual spaces related to Christian practice in the fifth or sixth century apart from the stray finds or burials. The paucity of evidence suggests that if there was a large active Christian community, then they were not using traditional spaces, i.e. churches. It is also possible that the practice of Christianity was not materially visible and that the trace evidence found associated with the churches is the only material marker of the fifth and sixth century Christian activities. Walking into a church and sitting there does not leave much trace but we would expect to see more stray finds within the structures and repairs to the space, if a large group was using it. In the next chapter, the cemetery and church evidence will be correlated to determine the extent of practice in East Anglia and Kent.

V. Analysis and Interpretation

Chapter 10: Christianity in early Anglo-Saxon East Anglia and Kent:

Patterns and Analysis

Introduction

Kent and East Anglia have different histories and connections with Christianity despite being neighboring regions on the North Sea coast of England. Kent had strong social, economic, and political ties to Gaul, evidenced by Bede's recording of elite Kentish connections and the archaeological materials that indicate trade. Gaul had an active Christian community during the Roman period, and the Merovingians began to be converted to Christianity in the late fifth century (Wood 1994: 41). East Anglia is further from Gaul, and there are fewer Gaulish imports found in burials there, indicating less direct interaction or influence. The practice of Christianity developed into a new practice after AD 410. The varying evidence for Christian practice in East Anglia and Kent is assessed below.
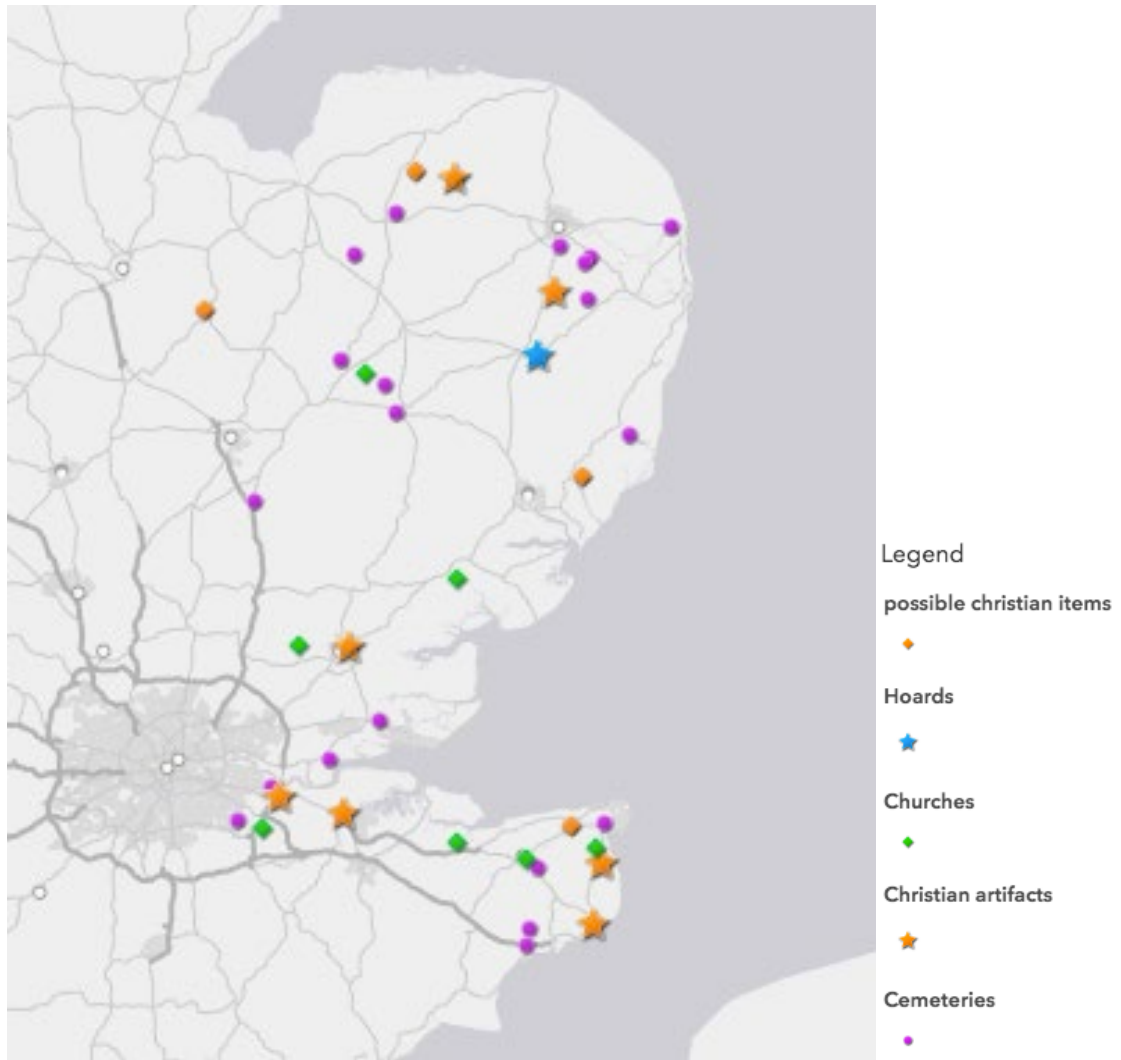
Figure 47: Map of cemeteries, churches, hoards, and identified Christian artifacts discussed in this study

Churches

None of the churches identified in this study have conclusive evidence for use in the fifth

and sixth centuries. The intrigue centers around the churches reuse two centuries later;

this reuse suggests a continuation of knowledge. Many post-600 churches reuse Roman

building materials. The sites discussed here include both Roman and post-Augustinian

churches. This suggests that there must have been a continuation of local tradition and

knowledge that led to their reuse.

The Christian materials identified in this study associated with Christianity and those that have more definitive links are distributed across the landscape and not clustered around the churches. The lack of a pattern or cluster suggests that there may be multiple practices occurring. The use of Christian ritual spaces was not a widespread practice or isolated to a region, in contrast to practices identified in eastern Kent.
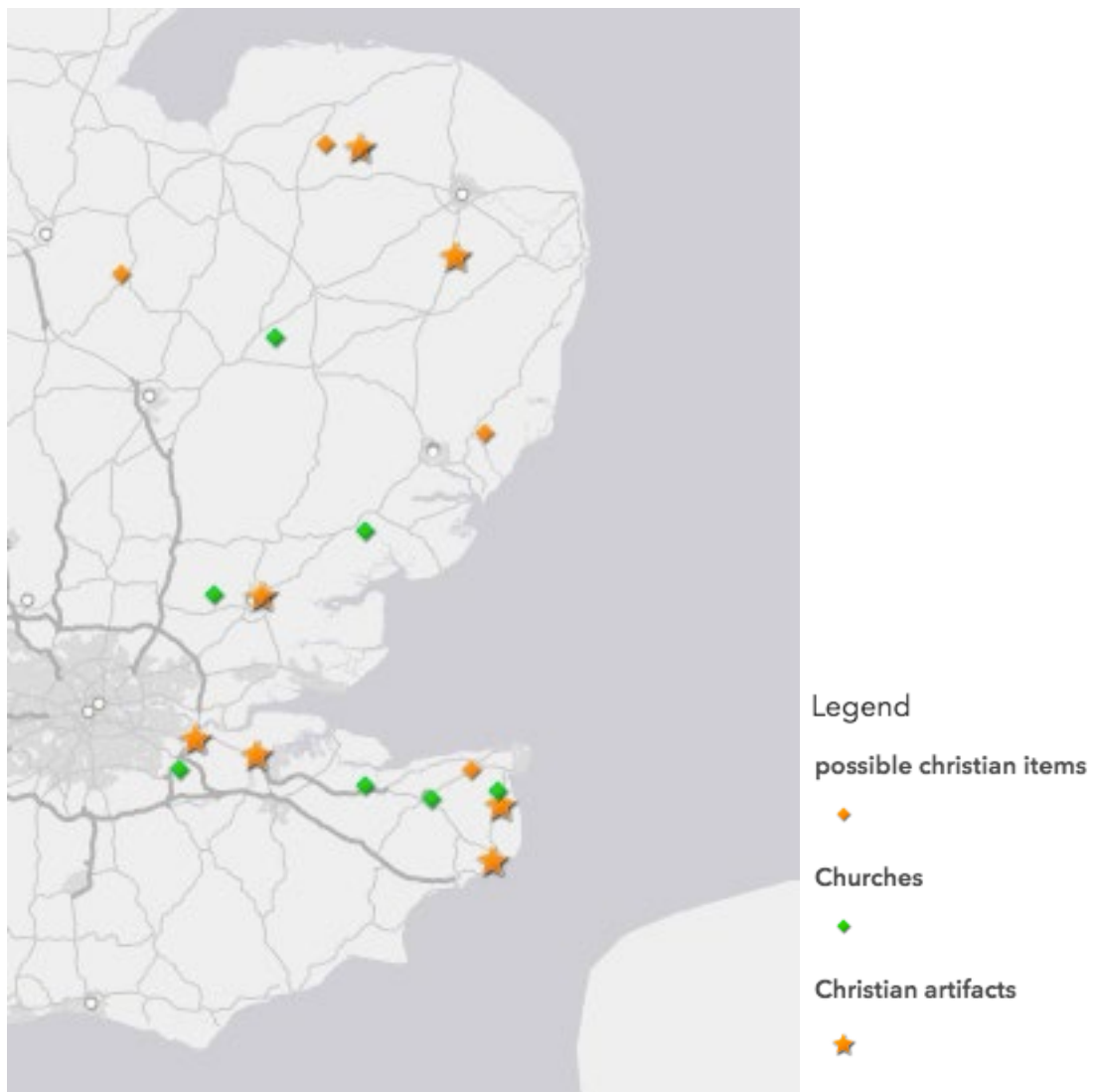
Figure 48: Distribution map of churches with evidence for post-Roman use and the Christian, and possibly Christian, materials identified in the study

A site in East Anglia and one in Kent have significant historic and archaeological value. In Kent, St Martin's has the most convincing evidence for continuing Christian practice due to the documented evidence from Bede of Christian practice in Kent and Bertha's use of the church (Jenkins 1965, Ward 2004). The archaeological evidence from St Martin's indicates an undated Anglo-Saxon modification. St Pancras, another church in Canterbury, may have been the original church used by Bertha, but as a result of later construction in the Norman period, any Anglo-Saxon evidence has been lost (Hope 1902: 232, Ward 2004: 383). In contrast, the St Albans in East Anglia presents the most confusing archaeological and historical data. The contemporary records all agree that St Albans shrine was a place of pilgrimage in the fifth and sixth centuries, however, the archaeological record does not support this activity (Niblett 2001). The site of St Albans, or Verulamium, does not have any evidence for a fifth century shrine or any materials associated with Christianity in the fifth or sixth centuries. The lack of evidence offers two options; St Albans' shrine is located elsewhere, or it has not been identified in Verulamium.

The paucity of evidence for the use of Roman churches in the post-Roman period in Kent and East Anglia indicates that Christian practice changed. The evidence for Christianity in East Anglia and Kent that has been identified in this study certainly indicates that the practice modified. It was developed into a form of Christianity identifiable by other Christians while demonstrably different in practice.

The Hoxne Hoard

The Hoxne Hoard may be evidence for a Christian practice at the end of the Roman period (Johns and Bland 1994). Ritual deposits, or hoards, likely were a trans-religious practice (Petts 2003a). The lead tanks buried at Icklingham may represent the same practice; three tanks are not necessary to service one church and the burying of them may represent the ritual ending of the use of a tank (West and Plouviez 1976). The Hoxne Hoard with its Christian materials, could have been either an attempt to safeguard the materials until the owner could return, or a ritual deposition. The Hoxne Hoard could also represent a ritual deposit in an important ritual space. The inability to identify definitive markers of use of Roman Christian spaces may be the result of a change in the form of ritual space. The use of non-constructed ritual spaces with natural features in a field in northern Norfolk would represent a combination of Christian and polytheistic Anglo-Saxon or Romano-British practice.

Identifying Christian Spaces

The individual is often overlooked in reconstructions of ritual activity, particularly within constructed spaces, where the repetitious nature of ritual obscures the signature of individual variance. Ritual actions are attributed to a group or community; even burials are not the action or pure representation of an individual. Hence, identifying the individual within a ritual practice highlights the variance accepted within a culture. In this case study of early Anglo-Saxon Britain, the identification of individual practice demonstrates the degree of integration between two cultures: the Anglo-Saxons and the Post-Roman British. Ritual continuance from the Roman period is evidenced through Christian practices within the Anglo-Saxon cultural framework. The use of Roman ritual

spaces, such as churches, provides insight into the role of cultural continuity, where the remnants of actions can be attributed to a small number rather than large groups of practitioners.

It is unusual to be able to identify the individual in the archaeological record. In most religious spaces and rituals, the individual is usually invisible, and only through singular unusual events can we see the impact. One route to recognizing the individual that has not been thoroughly explored, in theoretical terms, are the singular events where we can suppose either an individual or a very small group engaged in an activity that was different from the normal ritual form. These events can be seen in unusual ritual deposits where the break from the norm in style, placement, or composition indicates variance. The signals of individual variance are important to explore since they indicate the degrees of variance accepted within a culture.

When Britain transitioned from a Roman province into an area dominated by Anglo-Saxons, a major portion of the transition was a reversion from a literate society to a society based on oral traditions. Writing leads to a greater emphasis on the individual, while oral traditions reinforce a group identity (Ong 1982, Olson 1994). The historical sources, namely Constantius' fifth century work, *The Life of St Germanus*, Gildas' sixth century *De Excidio Britanniae*, and Bede's eighth century *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, all identify the British as practicing Christians following the Roman occupation. They each describe the island's residents as dominantly Christian and yet struggling to retain the practices that defined Christianity within the Roman Empire and

later in Gaul. Constantius records heretical Christian movements within British practice that were corrected for a brief time by Germanus (see Chapter 4). The key point found within the contemporary historic records is that there were self-identified Christians of some variety within Britain who were recognizable to Christians from the Continent.

Christian Materials

Materials considered here are items with recognizable Christian iconography, which does not automatically translate to the individual buried with them was a Christian practitioner. However, the items were valued and deposited with the deceased for a reason. There is a wide range of types of materials deposited that could be associated with Christian practice.

Iconography
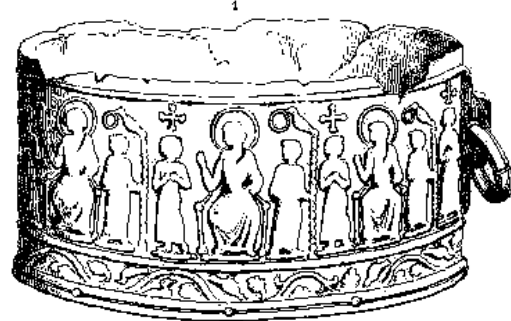
Figure 49 (left): Glass bowl from Grave 4, Darenth Park Hospital (Walsh 1980: 311). Figure 50 (right): Bronze vessel from Grave 2, Strood (Smith 1884: 159 PL XXXVI).

In Kent, two burials contained vessels with scenes that are undeniably Christian in nature. Interestingly, the vessels were found in relative proximity, roughly 16 km separate the two cemeteries, and were deposited in male warrior burials. These two items are remarkable finds because of their explicit Christian iconography.

The glass bowl from Grave 4 in the Darneth Park Hospital cemetery is an import from Gaul. The bowl is blue with a Chi-Rho monogram, vine scroll and unintelligible Latin inscription of *Vitaintetuisruuindeiuri* (Walsh 1980: 315). The bowl was placed above the left shoulder. The construction of the bowl has been dated to between AD 425 and 500 based on 14 similar bowls found in southern Belgium (Batchelor 1990: 43). The burial is dated to the late fifth century based on the bowl and a Jutish style pot (Batchelor 1990: 43). The bowl may indicate direct contact with the Continent and exchange of religious materials from the North Sea along the River Thames.

The bronze cylinder from Grave 2 in Strood is another unique item in the early Anglo-Saxon period. The bronze cylinder was likely originally attached to a drinking horn (Smith 1848: 159, Page 1974: 377). The scene may be that of Christ seated with a halo featuring Peter and Paul on either side of him; the floating cross is a clear marker of Christianity (Smith 1848: 157-159). The bird and circle are too vague to definitively determine, while the staff may be a bishop's staff. The burial has been dated broadly to the fifth or sixth century. The cylinder was likely imported from the Continent, but the evidence of production cannot be assessed as the materials from Strood have been lost. The cylinder is clearly Christian in origin and is interestingly located not far from Darenth Park.

Figure 51: Map of Darenth Park Hospital and Strood in northern Kent not far from the river Thames and the Lullingstone Villa

Darenth Park is less than 10 km from the Lullingstone Villa and 16 km from Strood. The proximity of these two imported artifacts to each other and the river Thames suggests that imported materials with Christian iconography were valued in this area. The proximity of the two vessels could be linked to the Lullingstone Villa and the memory of local Christian activity present in the region. The Lullingstone Villa has evidence for an Anglo-Saxon hanging bowl deposited in its immediate vicinity. The location was reused in the late Saxon period. Sometime in the eleventh century, a church was built overlooking the villa ruins (Ward 2004: 388). The church reused stones from the Roman villa site in its construction, a common occurrence in the later Anglo-Saxon periods (Ward 2004: 388).

The placement of two clearly Christian items within male warrior burials that lack other defining religious features not far from each other is intriguing but not suffecient to prove a pattern of practice. They are anomalies from the other Christian materials from the fifth

and sixth centuries predominately found in female burials. These two male burials with

imported Christian goods suggest the possibility of a continuing Christian community

residing in close proximity to the Lullingstone Villa, where an active Christian

community was known before the fire at the end of the fourth century closed the villa.

The two male burials were both accompanied by swords, shields, and other items

associated with Anglo-Saxon warrior burials. This accompaniment, in turn, suggests that

Christian practice or the valuing of elite imported Christian goods was integrated into the

more traditional Anglo-Saxon style of burial (see Chapter 2).

Crosses

Crosses inscribed on materials are the most commonly identified motifs within this study.

Do they indicate maker's mark, decoration, or evidence of religious belief? Fennel (2003)

labeled the Christian cross as an emblematic symbol that could be recognized in any

context because of its strong association and definite identity. He asserted that

emblematic symbols could be reduced to only their core elements and still be

recognizable (Fennel 2003: 149). However, Fennel was referring to the significance of

the cross over ten centuries after the early Anglo-Saxon period. Christianity and the cross

had not yet taken on the role adopted a few centuries later. Crosses, or X's, are simple

marks to inscribe. The cross or an X-shape is used in both Christian and other religions to

represent important concepts to their belief systems (Joseph 2011: 149).

The cross, due to its simple nature, is perhaps the easiest to make but most complicated to

interpret. On materials that required a concerted effort to construct, such as jewelry, the

placement of a cross cannot be considered an accident or simple maker's mark. On pottery, simple equal-armed crosses are used as a motif on cremation urns and other vessels on the Continent bordering the North Sea, where the Anglo-Saxons originated, before the region was converted to Christianity. As a result, identification of Christian crosses on vessels is challenging. Crosses can be difficult to associate with Christianity, when they do not display a degree of deliberate intent.

On Pendants

In East Anglia, in Grave 384 at Morning Thorpe, there was one remarkable find of a silver Roman ring with a cross inscribed on it. This ring was found around the neck of a juvenile female and was next to a pendant with a representation of a horned face; the ring has been dated to the late fourth or early fifth century (Green et al. 1987: 149). In Spong Hill, Grave 11 has a burial with three bronze pendants with crosses in repoussé from the mid-fifth to late sixth centuries (Hills et al. 1984: 58). The cross repoussé pendants resemble later pendants identified with Christianity in the seventh century (Williams 2007: 226). The two instances of burials with pendants that feature crosses in East Anglia were deposited with an unknown intent. The Morning Thorpe ring was an heirloom at the time and could have been valued for the association of an earlier time. In contrast, the three pendants from Spong Hill were deposited in an interesting way; one pendant was found associated with a fairly plain female burial, and the other two identical pendants were found at different levels of the grave fill (Hills et al. 1984: 58). The distribution of pendants may be the result of bioturbation or a deliberate graveside ritual. The motivations behind these two deposits is unknown and not definitively Christian.

Kent offers very different cross representations. The pendants identified at Buckland and Finglesham are not heirlooms or early versions of later personal ornamentation. A scutiform pendant with a cross design and an additional cross roughly scratched onto it was discovered at Buckland cemetery, Grave 35 (Evison 1987: 3, Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 82). At Finglesham, in Grave 68, there was an amber-colored glass disc with an equal-armed cross pressed onto it with a silver backing. The pendant from Finglesham was worn on a necklace that contained a number of other beads including amber and amethyst; the large glass pendant was worn at the center of the necklace with the cross facing inward. The cross would not have been visible to people passing and could only be deliberately displayed by the wearer turning it around. Unlike the Buckland pendant's two crosses, one of which was a deliberate late addition, the Finglesham cross was designed to be hidden. Buckland and Finglesham have evidence of a deliberate intent to display a cross.

On Vessels

On pottery, the cross symbol is frequently used and marked by pressing, inscribing, or scratching. The use of crosses to decorate vessels is found on both sides of the North Sea (See Chapter 2) and suggests a more casual representation that was not tied to Christianity. Crosses scratched on vessels present a different phenomenon than pendants. Springfield Lyons has three cremation urns with equal armed crosses scratched on the base (Tyler and Major 2005: 35, 37, 44), while at Finglesham, Grave 203 has a copper-alloy bowl with a cross scratched on the base (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 306). Mucking Grave C367 is a cremation of an older adult male, based on preserved

bone fragments, and the urn has another scratched X on the base (Hirst and Clark 2009: 261). The clumsy addition of crosses on the hidden base of vessels indicates a later modification after the vessels were otherwise completed.

The problem with scratched crosses on the base of vessels is at various times in different cultures, they have been related to maker's marks. In Edgefield, South Carolina, in the second half of the eighteenth century, three different potters' marks were identified, all of which were variations of crosses or X marks sometimes accompanied by the name of the potter. In the context of South Carolina, the pottery production was primarily conducted by African American slaves, who could have associated a cross-like symbol with the BaKongo cosmogram, or *dikenga dia Kongo*, representing the ties between the afterlife and the present (Fennell 2007: 31, Joseph 2011: 134). The Edgefield potters' marks, including one intended for the Rev. John Landrum's pottery, which had clear ties to Christianity through the owner's profession, could be used to convey Christianity or as marks of the potters. The crosses could be either Christian or BaKongoan, and even covert markers of BaKongoan faith that could be mistaken by non-practitioners as a Christian cross (Joseph 2011: 151).

However, the practice of inscribing Christian symbols on vessels has been identified in fourth century Britain. In urban contexts, vessels with Chi-Rhos inscribed on the base have been found in Colchester, Exeter, Caerwent, and Kelvedon (Petts 2003b: 163). At Colchester, grey ware storage jar had a Chi-Rho inscribed on the rim, while at Exeter, a Chi-Rho on the shoulder sherd of a black ware jar (Petts 2003b: 163). A bowl from

Kelvedon had a Chi-Rho on the base similar to the post-Roman cremation urns (Petts 2003b: 163). At Caerwent, a pewter bowl had a Chi-Rho scratched on the base, similar to bronze bowl from Finglesham that had an X inscribed (Petts 2003b: 163). In the fourth century, these few instances of Chi-Rhos inscribed on vessels set a precedence for the practice, and the Chi-Rho could have been replaced by the cross when the religion changed after the Roman withdrawal or the change in ceramic technology, since the potters wheel ceased to be used in the fifth century. Petts (2003b: 163) argues that the carving of the Chi-Rho on vessels could be protective symbols that are not necessarily Christian demonstrative of a Christian use, but familiarity with Christian symbolism.

In early Anglo-Saxon England, the cross marks inscribed on the bottom of pots could be makers' marks, symbols associated with an unknown idea, or covert marks of Christianity. There is no evidence that Christianity was persecuted during the Anglo-Saxon period. The cross became a common image within Christianity in the fourth century, which means it had ample time to become an established symbol in Britain (Petts 2003b). The cross inscriptions do not occur with enough frequency in Kent or East Anglia to definitively recognize the pattern of practice.

On Spoons

Spoons and strainers represent a probable continuation of Roman rituals. Spoons and strainers have very different functions. Spoons are often found in pairs and are linked to christenings and baptisms. Spoons are found often with Christian symbols or inscriptions at the end of the Roman period in hoards. Strainers are used to filter impurities from wine

or to distribute oils in small amounts during rituals. Strainers are found in female

inhumations at the waist, often accompanied by a suspended crystal ball. The strainers

present an interesting combination of cross imagery and ritual use. Strainers could have a

non-ritual use in removing impurities from liquids; the association of strainers and other

ritual items suggests that they had an important function in the assemblages found in

female burials. The deposition of strainers in female burials is characteristic of east Kent

and is not identified in west Kent or East Anglia. This phenomenon is one of the distinct

practices that separates east Kent from the other regions of England.
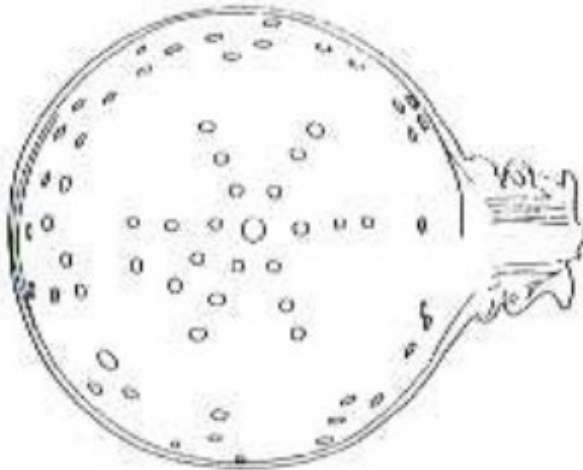
Figure 52: Silver strainer from Traprain Law Hoard (Petts 2003b: 123 taken from Curle 1923)

The Traprain Law hoard contained a strainer with a Chi-Rho and the phrase "IESUS

CHRISTUS" on it, but the perforations were not in a cross shape, as were the early

medieval strainers (Toynbee 1953: 22). The Traprain Law hoard was found east of

Edinburgh and is dated to the later fourth century or first decades of the fifth. The strainer

is important because it explicitly links Christian ritual with strainers. The cross

perforations on the early medieval Kent strainers appears to have been a modification of

this Roman tradition.
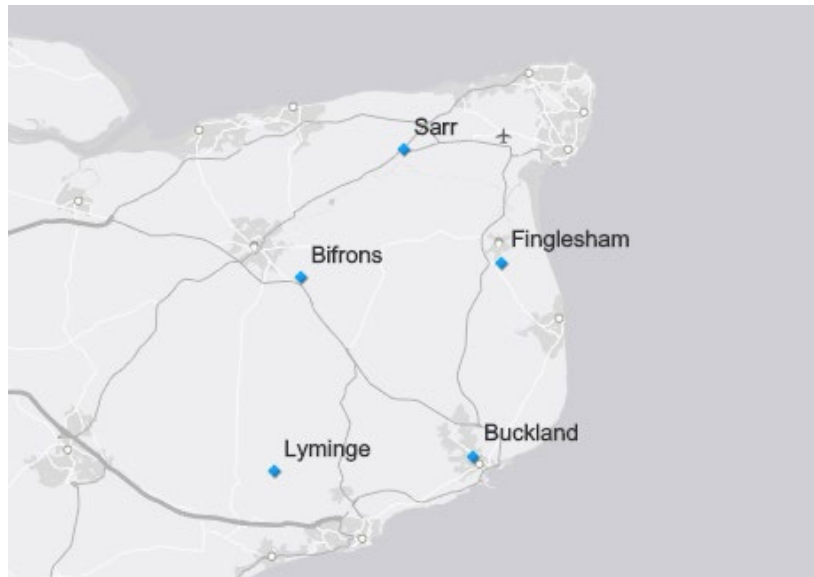
Figure 53: Cemeteries with Strainers in Burials

A total of six bronze strainers were identified at four cemeteries in Kent. Sarr, Lyminge, and Buckland; all have one burial with a strainer and a crystal ball (Brent 1863: 317, Warhurst 1955: 31, Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 480). Bifrons is the exception with three female burials with a crystal ball and silver strainer (Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 315). These spoons, with the possible exception of Finglesham, all have a cross representation at the center of the bowl.
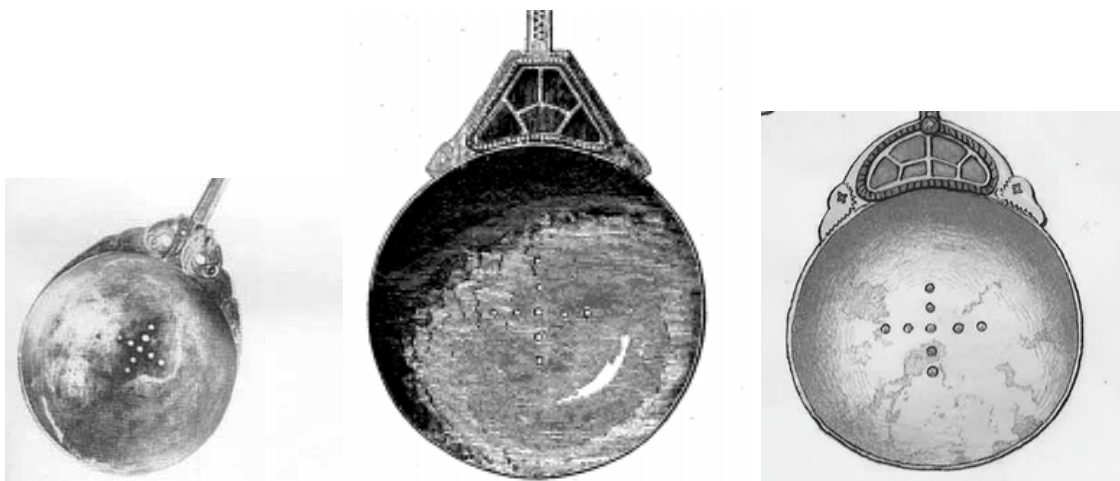
Figure 54: (left) spoon detail from Lyminge Grave 44 (Warhurst 1955: plate xii), (center) Spoon detail from Bifrons, Grave 42 (Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 315), (right) Spoon detail from Sarr, Grave 4 (Brent 1863: Plate 2)

Sarr, Lyminge and Bifrons have nearly identical spoon bowls with perforation patterns in the form of a cross. There is no practical reason for a cross-shaped perforation. The nine perforations limit the amount of liquid that could pass through it, which would make straining a slow process. If straining, they would be remarkably slow, but for distributing small amounts of oil, or another liquid, they would work well. The cross pattern appears to be deliberate, which is illustrated best by the Buckland spoon.

Figure 55: Spoon detail from Buckland, Grave 290 (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 164, 480)

The Buckland spoon has an inscribed cross in the center and perforations around it. The deliberate inscription of the cross without the use of perforations indicates that the cross representation on the strainer has a value and is necessary. The Buckland spoon adds more meaning to the cross-shaped perforations on the other spoons.

The fifth site with a spoon is Finglesham. Finglesham is the only site to have a burial with a spoon without a crystal ball and is the only burial to have an iron spoon rather than a bronze one (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 120-121). The iron spoon does not have any perforations that suggest it was a strainer and is hung on an iron ring with three or four other fragments of iron keys (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 120, 291).

The significance of this association is not yet clear. It represents a distinct variation from the burials at Sarr, Bifrons, Lyminge, and Buckland, but resembles the same grouping of materials as in the other burials with strainers. The composition and intended use of the Finglesham spoon are different. The degradation of the iron makes it impossible to tell if there was once a decoration inscribed on the bowl of the spoon.

Distribution of Christian Materials

The distribution of materials with symbols or iconography associated with Christian practice is inconsistent with a society that is supposed to have an active Christian community, as indicated by the contemporary texts. The Christian materials of the early Anglo-Saxon period are clustered into groupings and found only in a handful of burials. The map below, displaying the distribution of materials that have Christian associations, indicates no clear overarching patterns.
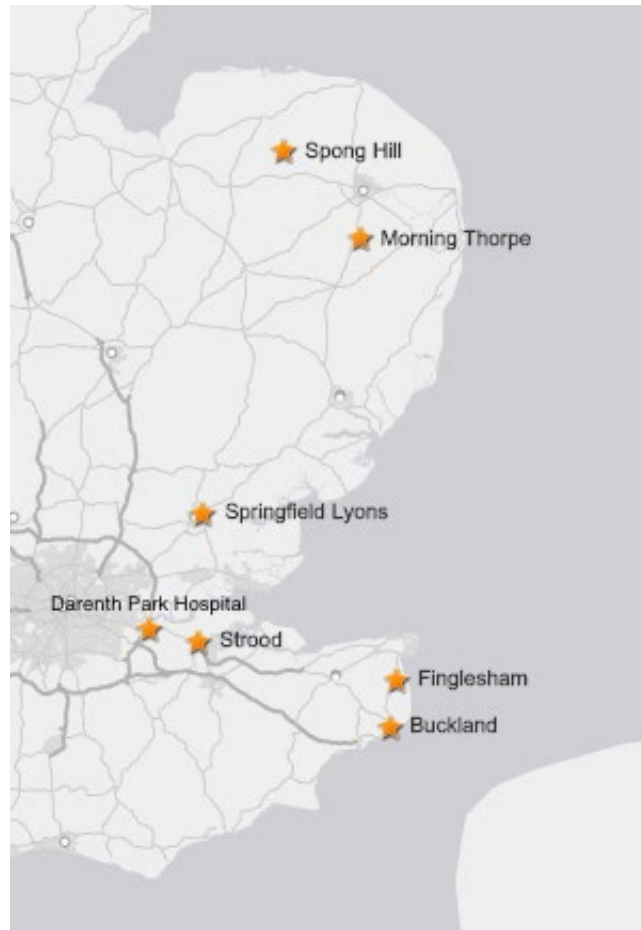
Figure 56: Map of sites with Christian materials

In summation, the materials are found in a small number of burials with Christian items. Finglesham, Buckland, Morning Thorpe and Spong Hill have five female inhumations with pendants with cross symbols. The burials at Darenth Park Hospital and Strood are the only male inhumations with clear Christian materials. The cross inscriptions on the bases of the three cremation urns at Springfield Lyons and the bronze bowl at Finglesham represent an inconsistent practice of marking vessels. The finds are not consistent with a larger unified practice, but rather indicate materials that are popular in different areas. These patterns indicate that the Angles and Jutes, who settled East Anglia and Kent

respectively, adapted their practices differently and Christians practice changed in response.

Analysis of Christian Materials

The most obvious question when reviewing these materials is "Are they all heirlooms?" Heirlooms are valued for their familial associations, their past meanings, and their appearance. While the jewelry could all represent heirlooms that were finally deposited in a burial when they lost meaning for those living or given to the deceased because they represented something central to their identity, the spoons present a different dilemma. None of the spoons appear to be significantly older than the burial and all the bronze spoons, apart from the two at Buckland, have both the cross perforations and a number of Anglo-Saxon visual motifs, such as a bird of prey (Sarr Grave 4, Brent 1863: Plate 2).

Could the use of Christian symbols and iconography have lost its primary Christian meaning? Some symbols almost lose their meaning in the process of reuse. The use of traditional Roman motifs adjacent to Christian imagery does not necessarily indicate a syncretic practice, but rather the universality of the imagery in the culture. While traditional Roman symbols and iconography, like Bacchus, had clear meanings within Roman culture, the use does not indicate adherence to the associated religious beliefs in the fourth century. The Anglo-Saxon use of crosses may have been similar. Christian symbolism may have been valued for its positive ritualistic associations. This connection could also explain why Roman materials with Christian symbols are valued as they would be important heirlooms for the association.

The swastika is the perfect example for the reuse of a symbol that is assigned value, but reassigned meaning over periods of time. The first instance of a swastika representation is on Mesopotamian pottery (Freed and Freed 1980). The swastika was used by the early Greeks and was found on their coins and pottery, and also found on statues of the Buddha (Romilly 1887: 97). The swastika is more popular within Scandinavian religion, as a sign of Thor's lightening bolts (See Chapter 3). Within Christian practice, it was one of many variations of cross imagery. It was found in fourth century catacombs in Rome, and on later inscriptions in Britain, including the Newton Stone in Aberdeenshire, but it was never a popular symbol within Christianity (Romilly 1887). The identification of swastika representations as Christian is difficult and more complicated in the post-Roman period by its use within Anglo-Saxon religion.

Are the Roman materials deposited in Anglo-Saxon burials valued only as heirlooms without the added Christian meaning? The silver Roman ring with a cross in Morning Thorpe Grave 384 was made at least 100 years before it was placed in the burial (Green et al. 1987: 149). The same could be said for the coins found in burials. These items take on a greater importance because of their age and association, but not necessarily their original meaning. Materials become heirlooms due to their association with social reproduction; they are valued, inherited, and maintained in circulation for a period of time before deposition (Lillios 1999: 241). Heirlooms are endowed with the characteristics of their owners; these items are known as biographical objects (Kopytoff 1986). Among the Maori, their heirlooms are flax cloaks that need to be passed down

through the generations to maintain their community (Lillios 1999). Lillios (1999: 243) links heirlooms to traditional dances, songs, and genealogies that within non-literate societies needed to be memorized. When heirlooms lose their meaning, they become commodities that can be deposited. Lillios defines heirlooms as dating to an earlier period than the context in which it is found, the items that become heirlooms are similar within a culture, the material is variable, and they are portable (1999: 252). The meaning of an heirloom can be changed when it goes through the process of cremation or shows signs of age (Gilchrist 2013: 171). The Roman materials identified above certainly qualify as heirlooms, however, the materials made during the Anglo-Saxon period with Christian symbolism, including the strainers, do not.

This theory would be more compelling if we did not have surviving contemporary accounts of the practice of Christianity in England in the fifth and sixth centuries. Christian practice must have been modified after the influx of the Anglo-Saxon migrants, but we know from Constantius, and Bede that it was still an active religion on the east coast. From Gildas and the saints of the eastern region, we know that Christianity was well established with monasteries and communities in contact with Gaul and Ireland. Bede's complaints about the local Christian population on Augustine's arrival indicates that there was an active Christian populations. Their invisibility in the archaeological record suggests that they adapted their practice after the Anglo-Saxon arrival.

Possible Christian Evidence

The following section reviews the distribution of materials that are possible indications of Christian practice. The assumption of Christianity associated with the following materials and motifs is based upon the evidence from the Roman period and Continental contact or transmission where these materials are used. Keys, crystal balls, fish and Roman coins are all linked to ritual practices and unusual burial themes that may indicate a continuation of the Roman identity or Christian practices imported from the Continent.

Crystal Balls

Crystals are often associated with ritual performances accompanying predictions or communication with deities or spirits (Kunz 1913: 176). This association is fairly modern and cannot be transposed onto early Anglo-Saxon uses, given that most of our knowledge about the uses of rock crystal comes primarily from the Roman Empire, the Renaissance, and modern superstitions. Despite this constraint, there are a series of physiological responses to looking at rock crystals for prolonged periods that could explain their value through time. Gazing into a crystal ball for prolonged periods produces an interesting effect in the optic nerve. The light reflecting from the polished surface fatigues the optic nerve and eventually ceases to transmit accurate images to the brain (Kunz 1913: 176). This fatigue allows the brain to interpret impressions and fill in the missing visual input (Kunz 1913: 176). Gazing for too long into a reflective surface will, after enough time, stun the optic nerve and prevent gazers from seeing their surroundings clearly (Kunz 1913: 176).

Rock crystal have had important amuletic roles and religious associations for a long period (Kunz 1913, Mack 2007). The association of Christianity and rock crystals comes from several different periods. At the end of the Roman period, the engraving of precious and semi-precious stones became associated with curative powers at the same time that Christianity was gaining followers and soon became the state religion (Mack 2007: 177). Within Frankish Christianity, crystals became representative of the Virgin Mary and the Immaculate Conception because of how the light passes through it (Owen-Crocker 2004: 94). The rainbow a crystal can produce was thought of as representative of God's promise after the flood (Owen-Crocker 2004: 94). In the medieval era throughout Europe, rock crystals were worn touching the body as a way to prevent fevers (Mack 2007: 176).

Later in the Mediterranean region, rock crystal was used for reliquaries and carved religious images. Rock crystals were carved to depict images from the Bible. For example, an engraved crystal with the crucifixion was found in Paris, at the Abbey of Saint-Denis, dating to AD 867-877 (Mack 2007: 176). Several centuries later, during the Renaissance in Italy, devotional images were carved into crystal and given to women when they married to serve as charms to aid conception and childbirth (Mack 2007: 178). The combination of healing, or preventing of illness, and aiding in female reproduction, alongside religious representations of gods, indicates that rock crystal held many different roles within superstitious practices and formal religious representations.

During the fifth and sixth centuries, there are a series of burials with crystal balls that suggest they had an inter-religious appeal, or were valued for perceived ritualistic use and

not associated with any one belief system. The last non-Christian leader of the Merovingians, Childeric (AD 436-481), whose tomb was found in Tournai, Belgium, was buried with a crystal ball along with other rich grave goods (Werner 1964: 202). Childeric was surrounded by a set of pits full of sacrificed horses (Welch 2011: 869). Childeric's burial is unique because it represents one of the few male burials with a crystal ball. In contrast, there was a Merovingian era princess burial excavated from beneath Cologne Cathedral, which also contained a crystal ball and crystal beads that hung from her waist (Werner 1964: 203). The princess burial, a foundation burial for a cathedral, offers an example of both a presumably Christian burial with a crystal ball and the association of crystal beads with a crystal ball at the waist,similar to the burial from Buckland.
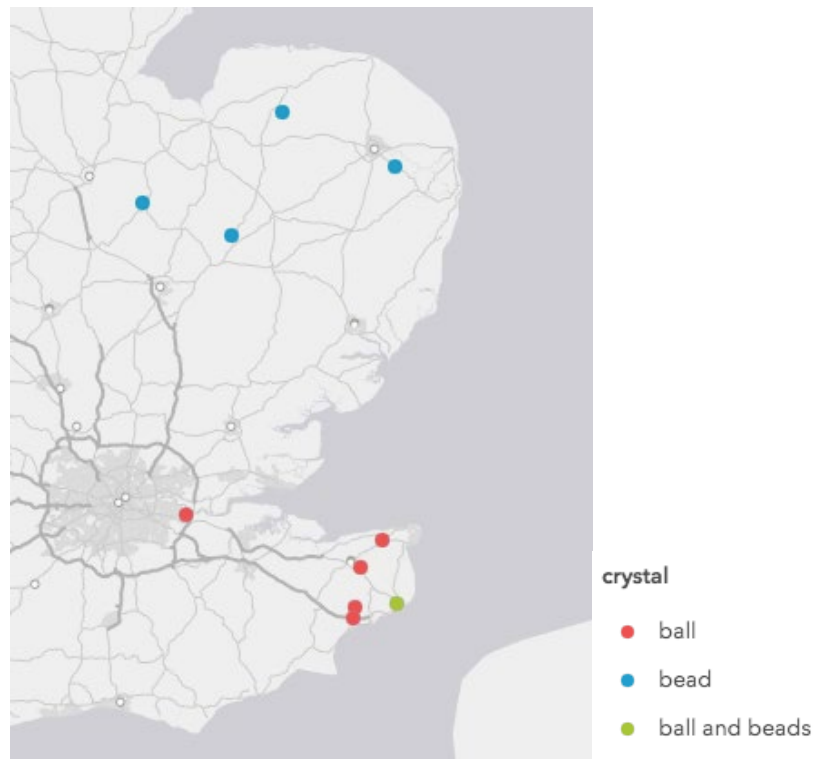
Figure 57: Distribution map of cemeteries with rock crystals

In this study, crystal balls are found only in Kent and worn crystal beads are found in East Anglia and at the site of Buckland. The wearing of a crystal ball suspended in a silver sling is found in Kent and the Continent. Crystal Balls represent a curious case among Late Antique and early medieval burials. They are ambiguously identified as amulets and generally found with several other unusual materials in a female burial. No male burials have been identified with crystal balls in early Anglo-Saxon Kent and East Anglia.

The East Anglian cemeteries of Edix Hill, Holywell, Tittleshall and Bergh Apton contain five female burials with large worn crystal beads. These crystal beads were worn on necklaces with other beads of amber, glass, and bucket beads (Lethbridge 1931: 6, Green and Rogerson 1978: 27, Malim and Hines 1998: 80-81, Rogers 2013: 43, 102). The Bergh Apton necklace was in Grave 34; the necklace is composed of 150 amber beads, one blue cylindrical glass bead, 32 other glass beads of varying color, nine copper-alloy beads and two large crystal beads (Green and Rogerson 1978: 27). Holywell Grave 11 had a necklace of 100 amber breads, three jet beads, two Roman glass beads and two crystal beads (Lethbridge 1931: 6).

At Tittleshall, two burials had crystal beads and are different from the others identified in East Anglia because they show a disproportionate amount of wear compared to the other beads (Rogers 2013: 43). This wear suggests that they were either older than the others or touched more frequently. Tittleshall Grave 11 had a necklace of 168 amber beads, one crystal bead, and 43 glass beads. Tittleshall Grave 15 had 27 amber beads, 73 glass, a perforated Roman coin and three crystal beads. These crystals ferment the importance of

the crystal beads in East Anglia because they were clearly used differently than the others on the necklaces.

The Edix Hill, Grave 91, crystal pendant is a cross between a crystal bead and a suspended crystal ball. The irregularly formed crystal is suspended in silver like the crystal balls identified in Kent, but worn as a pendant (Malim and Hines 1998: 80-81). Grave 91 has been dated to after AD 600, which places it beyond the time frame of this study, but provides a link between the East Anglian crystal beads and the suspended crystal balls of Kent.
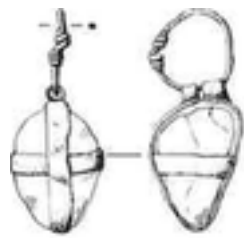
Figure 58: Crystal pendant from Edix Hill, Grave 91 (Malim and Hines 1998: 128)

Crystal balls are found in female burials in Kent suspended and hung around the waist, usually on the left side. In Kent, suspended crystal balls were found in female burials at Temple Hill, Sarr, Bifrons, Lyminge, and Saltwood Tunnel. Lyminge Grave 44, Saltwood Tunnel Grave C3762, Sarr Grave 4, and Temple Hill Grave 54 all were female burials with the same style crystal ball in a silver sling that was suspended from the waist (Brent 1863: 314, Warhurst 1955: 31, Riddler and Trevarthen 2006: 34, O'Brien 2015: 37). Each cemetery had only one female burial with a suspended crystal ball.

Bifrons and Buckland both had more than one burial with a suspended crystal ball. Bifrons had four graves with crystal balls: Graves 6, 42, 51 and 64. Three of the four

inhumations with crystal balls were accompanied by strainers (Godfrey-Faussett 1876: 303). Grave 6 is unusual because the crystal was not suspended in a silver sling but perforated and strung on a string with green and blue beads, and a large amber piece was suspended above the large crystal bead.

Figure 59: Cemeteries in Kent with crystal balls in burials

Buckland cemetery has a series of variations on the location and manner of suspension of the rock crystals. At Buckland, Graves 217, 290, 391B, and 417 each had a different variation of a suspended rock crystal. Grave 217 had a perforated rock crystal bead strung on a necklace with three amber and eight glass beads at the neck (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 288-289). Grave 290 had a rock crystal bead and tow amber beads suspended from the waist next to a perforated strainer (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 410). Grave 391B had a unique example of a Roman intaglio of Omphale suspended in a silver sling and worn as a pendant at the neck (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 436). Grave 391B also had a crystal ball in a silver sling placed at the lower right leg (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 436). Grave 417 had a more traditionally suspended crystal ball in a silver sling (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 444).

Fish

One of the earliest symbols associated with Christianity is the fish, but it is also an animal used in Anglo-Saxon symbolism. Within Anglo-Saxon culture, fish representations can be pike, a very aggressive animal. Pike is separate from Christian fish and fish found in traditional Roman iconography, similar to the dolphins associated with Dionysus, Delphi, Apollo, and many heroic tales. Spong Hill, Grave 31, had a pair of gold fish emblems identified as pike, which were shield mounts (Hills 1977). Tranmer House Grave 21 had similar shield mounts of a fish and a bird of prey with gold and silver gilt (Fern 2015: 53). The fish representations are more likely to be representative of Anglo-Saxon symbolism rather than Christianity.

Keys

In early Christian practice, women had an important role in the spread of belief. Within the practice of Christianity, keys took on a important role fairly early in the practice. They are representative of the "Keys to Heaven" as given to St Peter by Jesus (*Matthew* 16:19). Keys also took on a more practical association with women and Christian practice when the house-church was in use. The house was the domain of the wife and representative of her area of power; thus, access to a house-church was dependent upon her (Toriesen 1993: 7). The presiding female would be the woman with keys, thus linking the domestic arena to the practice of Christianity. At the beginning of Christianity, women took active roles in spreading Christian practice and conversion (Toriesen 1993: 7). It was not until much later that Christianity led to the loss of power and agency among female practitioners. It is currently unclear when keys began to be symbolically used

among practitioners, but it has been suggested by Gräslund (2003) to have a role in female burials marking conversion to Christianity in eighth century Germany.

Within early Anglo-Saxon burials, keys are predominantly buried with adult females. Many of the site reports for cemeteries lump small keys, latch-lifters, and Roman keys into the same categories, however, they likely represent very different practices and uses. As such, they will be discussed here together, despite their notable variations in use; what ties them together is the location on the body at the time of burial. Latch-lifters, smaller keys, and Roman keys are all commonly found at the waist in female burials, with a scarce few notable exceptions. Roman keys are heirlooms of a different time and were valued for either their association of "Roman-ness," their antiquity, or their resemblance to the smaller Anglo-Saxon style keys. Regardless of the reason for their value, they were not valued for their functionality. Small keys were used to lock small boxes, at times deposited in the burial, and contain amulets or small unidentified metal fragments. Occassionally, small keys are found in pouches at the waist instead of hung from a girdle or chatelaine. Latch-lifters, if that is indeed their use, are always found suspended from the waist, usually on the left side, and frequently in groups of two or more. The latch-lifters are long iron rods differentiated by hooked teeth at the end that differentiate them.

Keys are found with accouterments to aid their suspension from the waist and are used to provide more visual information about the wearer; this includes girdle-hangers and chatelaines. Girdle-hangers are often found accompanying keys in burial during the early sixth century. Girdle-hangers are decorated and reflect the traditional motifs of the early

Anglo-Saxon period from style A1. They are usually found in elite adult female burials
and are accompanied by more than one key.

Interestingly, many of the keys found in burials are thought to be ornamental, without the
signs of wear expected from regular use (Penn and Brugmann 2007: 30). From a
practical perspective, not burying the keys that opened your front door or the box
containing heirlooms is probably a wise decision. Penn and Brugmann (2007: 30)
postulate that boxes with corresponding wooden locks may have been deposited with the
burial, however, in the sixth century there is little evidence for that practice. In the
seventh century, more small boxes are identified in burial due to their iron handles (Penn
and Brugmann 2007: 30).

Figure 60: Examples of latch-keys in the early medieval burials (Meaney 1981: 179)

The demographics of the burials that include keys indicate that they did have an
important symbolic role in fifth and sixth century England. Keys are used to assign
gender in burials where the diagnostic skeletal features have degraded, which means that
they could have been buried with males that are misidentified as female. In East Anglia
and Kent, a number of burials containing keys were of young children, including infants

and girls between seven and thirteen years old, fairly young to be responsible for a household. The keys are predominantly found with adult women with rich burials, but the identification of keys in younger burials indicates that they were not only indicators of domestic control.

Cemetery	Inhumation Number	Burials with 1 or more keys	Percentage of burials with keys
Bergh Apton	63	5	8%
Brooke	15	0	--
Caistor-by-Norwich	60	2	3.33%
Edix Hill	73	8	11%
Flixton	51	5	10%
Great Chesterford	161	12	7%
Holywell	101	3	3%
Morning Thorpe	365	19	5%
Oxborough	11	0	--
Snape	48	0	--
Spong Hill	57	2	3.5%
Springfield Lyons	139	3	2%
Tittleshall	25	1	4%
Tranmer House	19	1	5%
Westgarth Gardens	65	4	6%

Figure 61: Cemeteries in East Anglia with keys

Cemetery	Inhumation Number	Burials with 1 or more keys	Percentage of burials with keys
Bifrons	91	8	9%
Buckland	414	17	4%
Cliffs End Farm	21	0	--
Darenth Park	23	0	--
Finglesham	260	3	1%
Lyminge	44	1	2%
Orpington	29	2	7%
Saltwood Tunnel	217	1	0.4%
Sarre	294	2	0.68%
Temple Hill	59	5	8.5%

Figure 62: Cemeteries in Kent with Keys

The frequency of keys in burials in East Anglia and Kent suggests that they have an important cultural role. They are not found in every cemetery, and are not geographically confined (see map below). The frequency and prevalence of keys in female burials indicate that they are important to the female identity, but do not provide an answer as to why.
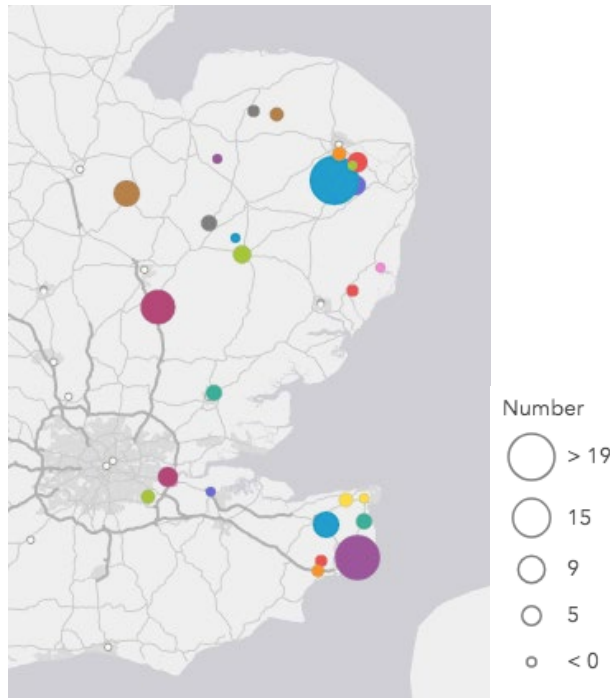
Figure 63: Map of key distribution in the fifth and sixth centuries in East Anglia and Kent

Other Materials

Christianity was not the only religious practice identified within the study. As noted

above, the majority of materials linked with Christian practice or iconography were

accompanied in the burials with items that indicate other ritual practices. The inclusion of

coins, bucket pendants, images of the horned god and Roman representations, all indicate

variations in ritual behaviors. The horned god is linked to both British traditions and

Anglo-Saxons, while the Roman deities may indicate continuing traditional Roman

beliefs. Christianity was not the only religion practiced in fourth century Britain, which

means that it was not the only religion to be influenced by the Anglo-Saxon migration.

These materials are included here in the analysis to demonstrate the breadth of ritual

practice, and because some are included in the amulet assemblages identified below.

Coins

Coins are separate from the previous examples as they have a clear origin among the polytheistic Greek and Roman traditions as a bribe or payment to cross the River Styx. Coin burials are a common practice spread across the Roman Empire and with evidence of practice beyond Roman borders. There is evidence of it continuing in the area of the "*Germanii*" and in early Anglo-Saxon England. The practice is not exclusive to early medieval England but is found in other regions of Europe, and the coins are interpreted as amuletic items (Meaney 1981: 220, Rogers 2013: 44). What is not clear is the nature of the continuing practice; is it the adoption of a Roman tradition, an adaptation, or a completely new practice?

The practice may have originated in the Roman religious tradition, but it was changed after the Anglo-Saxon adoption. The majority of Roman coins identified are from the earlier Roman periods and not the end of Roman coin production in Britain (Rogers 2013: 44). Rogers (2013) argues that due to the use of early Roman coins in post-Roman burials, these coins cannot be talismans or heirlooms that were treasured at the end of the Roman presence because they were already old. The predominance of early Roman coins suggests that they were perhaps valued by the Anglo-Saxon groups before their arrival in Britain. The coins were saved for a long time and not used to purchase imports from the Roman Empire on the Continent. In general, Roman coins are found in female Anglo-Saxon inhumations at the neck or waist in the fifth and sixth centuries, but there are variations in this practice (Green et al. 1987: 54-57, Evison 1987: 49, Timby 1996: 56-7, Archibald et al. 1997: 215, Rogers 2013: 44). While Roman coins are predominately

found in adult female burials in Kent, the same cannot be said with confidence when

examining East Anglia.

Figure 64: Coins in Kent Cemeteries

Site	Burials: Inhumation/ Cremation	Sex M/F/U/J/I/A*	How Many Coins	Perforated? Y/N	Location
Bifrons	Inhumation 29	F	1	N	Left side
	Inhumation 32	F	2	N	Neck/Chest
	Inhumation 41	F	4	N	?
	Inhumation 42	F	1	N	?
Buckland	Inhumation 14	F	1	Y	Neck/Chest
	Inhumation 204	F	1	N	Waist
			1	N	Left femur
	Inhumation 427	F	2	N	Left humerus
	Inhumation 428	F	2	N	Under left arm
	Inhumation 440	F	1	N	?
	Inhumation 437	M	1	N	Beneath sword with pursemount
	Inhumation 391B	F	2	N	Found in a cluster of other items at left lower leg
	Inhumation 407	F	1	N	Waist
Cliffs End Farm	----				
Darenth Park Hospital	Inhumation 8	F	1	Y	Neck/Chest
Finglesham	----				
Lyminge	Inhumation 3	F	1	N	---
Orpington	Inhumation 32	J	2	Y	Neck/Chest
Saltwood Tunnel	-----				
Sarr	Inhumation 4	F	2	N	Waist
	Inhumation 286	F	1	Y	Neck/Chest
Strood	----				
Temple Hill	Inhumation 43	F	1 (Fake)	N	Between legs

*Male/Female/Unknown/Juvenile/Infant/Adult

In Kent, there is no question that coins are found predominantly in female inhumations,

due to the scarcity of cremations. The coins are more often found without perforations.

Coins are placed at the neck, chest, waist, legs, and beneath arms. The predominance of

unperforated coins suggests that they were placed after the body was laid out or located

in bags. Buckland and Bifrons, two of the larger richer cemeteries, have the largest

number of burials with coins. The only male burial with a coin was in Kent, the coin

located in a purse beneath a sword (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 451). The coin would not

have been visible in the burial. Of the 11 cemeteries examined in this study of Kent, only

three did not have coins and of those three, Strood was composed of only two

inhumations. Cliffs End Farm and Saltwood Tunnel cemeteries are located some distance

apart, and not representative of an area that practiced coin deposition.

East Anglia has evidence for a very different practice: the coins are found in infant and

male burials, and cremations. Coins are found in larger numbers in burials, as in Grave

136, Great Chesterford, which had nine coins, all unperfortated and placed at the feet

(Evison 1994: 110). A coin was also found in a dog's burial at Great Chesterford (Evison

1994: 27). Coins are found in a wider range of burials in East Anglia, which resembles

the Roman practice more closely than Kentish practice does.

Figure 65: Coins in East Anglian Cemeteries

Site	Burials: Inhumation/ Cremation	Sex F/M/U/J/I/A*	How Many Coins	Perforated? Y/N	Location
Bergh Apton	----				
Bloodmoor Hill	----				
Brooke	----				
Caistor-by-Norwich and Markshall	Inhumation 17		2	N	In the grave fill
	Cremation Y40	U	1	Y	with an iron knife
Edix Hill	Inhumation 3	F/A	2	N	In a purse
	Inhumation 109		2	N	
Flixton II	----		2	N	unstratified
Great Chesterford	----?	I	1	Y	Neck/Chest
	Inhumation 29	J	1	Y	Neck/Chest
			1	N	Under fingers of left hand
	Inhumation 34	F/I	1	Y	Beside the body
	Inhumation 71	I	1	N	On left side
	Inhumation 111	I	1	Y (2)	Neck/Chest
	Inhumation 122	M/A	1	N	Near the skull
	Inhumation 132	F/A	1	N	Outside right elbow
	Inhumation 136	I	9	N	Clustered at feet
	Inhumation 149	M/A	1	N	Near the skull

	Cremation 26	U/A	1	N	Near the cremation but not inside the urn
	Cremation 29	U/A	2	N	Near the cremation but not inside the urn
	Dog Grave 2	--	1	N	Above a glass fragment
Holywell	----				
Morning Thorpe	----				
Mucking	Inhumation 552	F	1	Y	Hung with a toilet set at right chest
	Inhumation 789	M	4	N	Waist, inside a purse
	Inhumation 935	U	1	N	Suspended at left waist, inside a pouch
Oxborough	---				
Rayleigh	----				
Snape	----				
Spong Hill	----				
Sporle with Palgrave	----				
Springfield Lyons	Inhumation 4741	F/A	2	Y	Neck/Chest
Tittleshall	Inhumation 3	C	1	Y	Neck/Chest
	Inhumation 15	F/A	1	Y	Neck/Chest
Tranmer House	---				
West Stow	NR* Inhumation	NR	4	NR	Associated with burials – locations unrecorded
Westgarth Gardens	-----				

*Male/Female/Unknown/Juvenile/Infant/Adult, NR = Not Recorded

The Horned Man

The representation of a male figure wearing horns or a horned helmet appears on both British and Anglo-Saxon materials. The horned man is important because representations of him are found in burials with Christian items. In particular, Morning Thorpe Grave 384 had both a pendant of the horned face and a silver Roman ring inscribed with a cross (Green et al. 1987: 149-150). One of the more impressive Anglo-Saxon buckles is from Finglesham Grave 95, dated to the second half of the sixth century (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 21, 80). The buckle has a depiction of a standing male with a horned helmet and holding two spears. Grave 138 in the same cemetery has a pendant with a horned face found in a female inhumation (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2006: 100). The necklace in Grave 138 had two disc pendants with repoussé cross formations in

addition to the horned face pendant. The representations of a horned man in burials that also have Christian symbols suggest a type of syncretism.

The Iron Age is the first time period in which specific supernatural figures are identified. The Horned God is a recurring imagery and is even identified in the early Anglo-Saxon period. The assumption has been that the Iron Age peoples worshiped deities that were similar to those of the Roman Empire because they were transmuted into the Roman pantheon through *interpretatio Romana* (Dawson 2018). Caesar described the male deities of Gaul as Mercury, Apollo, Mars and Jupiter *(GW* IV.17). These names were probably used by Caesar because the local deities held similar roles and characteristics to the Roman gods, as with Cernunnos (Hutton 1996: 156, Ross 1996: 188).

The Horned God image is the most plentiful of the Iron Age and continues into the medieval period. The images are unlikely to represent the same deity, but instead represent a common theme in the role of deities in the Iron Age. First identified in Bronze Age Denmark, the horned god is a common representation in northern Europe, peaking in the Iron Age (Ross 1996: 172, 176). The first definitive evidence for a cult of a horned god comes from 400 BC in northern Italy where there is a rock carving of Cernunnos at Val Camonica (Ross 1996: 177). The carving features a large figure with stag horns accompanied by a horned serpent and a smaller male figure interpreted as his worshipper (Ross 1996: 177). The horned god is found cross legged, as on the Gundestrup Cauldron, a Cernunnos that is equated with Jupiter, Mars or Mercury during the Roman period, when male gods took on Roman identities (Ross 1996: 181).

In Britain, representations of the Horned God are found mainly focused around Hadrian's Wall but also spread throughout England (Ross 1996: 173). In Britain, there were two distinct horned gods: the stag god and the bull-horned god (Ross 1996: 190). Imagery of the bull-horned god is focused in northern Britain (Ross 1996: 190). In a bog near Newry, Ireland, an Iron Age stone image was identified with horns (Ross 1996: 192). Several stone figures of the horned god were found in Lanchester, Durham, Corbridge, Northumberland, and Cortynan, Armagh, all appearing to date to the Iron Age. The strongest evidence for the presence of a horned god cult, specifically, a bull-horned god in Iron Age Britain comes from the Brigantes (Ross 1996: 201). While the stag god and the bull-horned god may have originated as the same deity, they appear to have taken on different roles, while maintaining their associations with snakes.

The horned figure continues to be prevalent after the Iron Age, indicating a continuing tradition. Two images of a horned man come from Cirencester in the Roman period and suggest a continuing regional cult in the Roman period (Ross 1996: 186). The horned god possibly takes on the role of Wodin in the Anglo-Saxon period and is found represented on pendants and belt buckles, as on the belt buckle Finglesham, Kent (Chadwick and Grainger 2006).

Roman Deity Representations

There are few representations of traditional Roman deities in the early Anglo-Saxon burials discussed in this study. In fact, there are only two. An intaglio ring with a

depiction of Bonus Eventus was found in Grave 1 at Snape (Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001: 19). At Buckland, Grave 391B had a glass intaglio with Omphale depicted and was modified to resemble a crystal ball and is discussed above (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 506). The scarcity of these representations, common during the Roman period, indicates that they were as rare are representations of Christianity.

Bucket Pendants

Bucket pendants, or bucket beads, are not markers of Christianity, but are discussed here because of the frequency of their burial in the area of study. Bucket pendants were found on the Continent before Britain indicating they were brought by the migrant groups (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 106). Bucket pendants are dated to the late fifth to first half of the sixth century. They are characteristic of East Anglia, but are found in small numbers in other regions.

Bergh Apton Grave 34 includes nine copper alloy bucket pendants in addition to two large crystal beads, discussed above (Green and Rogerson 1978: 27). Holywell Grave 10, an infant burial, has 11 bucket pendants (Lethbridge 1931: 4). The cemetery of Flixton has two burials with bucket pendants, Grave 20 and 27 (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 167, 170). Grave 27 has seven bucket pendants. Three bucket pendants were found in Grave 20, and one bucket pendant had a white material inside it identified as processed flax (Boulter and Rogers 2012: 218). This inclusion is not unusual and further ferments the idea that the grave goods have ritualistic roles. Grave 250 from Buckland was a rich female burial that had a small copper alloy bucket pendant with wax inside reminiscent of

Flixton Grave 20 (Parfitt and Anderson 2012: 399). The meaning of the bucket pendants is unknown.

Analysis

The patterns observed in the above synthesis of cemetery and church data indicate that the Christian practitioners recorded in the contemporary historic records must have adapted their rituals. The idea that Christians are absent from the archaeological record seems unlikely, it is more probable that they adapted their practices. The cemeteries vary in size from 3 inhumations to a mixed cemetery with over 2,000 burials. There is no evidence for any burial practices apart from inhumations and cremations. The evidence from the case study of East Anglia and Kent suggests that divisions of cemeteries between women, men, and children, or family groups do not have variations in burial style, and do not necessarily indicate religious differences. Christian burials in the Roman period lacked definitive markers of faith and the possible early medieval Christian burials have mixed assemblages. Christian burials in the fourth century were inhumations, as the body was necessary for the second coming, which explains why most of the evidence for Christianity is found in inhumation burials.

The materials highlighted in this study only take meaning when they are considered in context and within the historic framework; the process Pauketat (2013) termed bundling. The materials identified in this study are all placed together in burials. The keys, crystal balls, strainers, coins, and other materials identified as amulets are found primarily on the left side of the waist hung from the belt. This cluster implies that they are associated and

take added meaning through the clustering. Keys and coins are the only two burial items in the cluster of amulets that is found in both East Anglia and Kent in similar forms and locations in the burial. Crystal balls are one of the more complicated artifact types in this study that must take meaning through context and history. They are deposited in seemingly non-Christian contexts in eastern Kent, but beneath the Cologne Cathedral, dating to the Merovingian period, a foundation burial of a rich female several crystals was excavated (Werner 1964: 203). Their use in a Cathedral foundation burial, in amulet groups, and as a medium on which Christian images are inscribed indicates that they either were a material that was primarily used by Christians or were a ubiquitous ritual material that appealed to many different religions. The many possible uses of crystals indicates that they may be items that take meaning through what they are bundled with.

The multiplicity of meaning of the materials is important, because as Fogelin (2008) and many others have asserted (see Chapter 1), religious meaning and rituals can be intermingled with other activities. Burials and grave goods are the end product of a ritual activity where the many aspects of an individual's identity were emphasized. Keys are the best material type identified in this study that may have a complicated role in religion and female identity. They are primarily found in adult female burials in a bundle with the other amuletic items. Keys are a necessary item to protect privacy and claim ownership of a house, but the burial of a key in a cluster of amulets implies a more ritualistic meaning. The keys, specifically the latch-lifters, may have both a ritual meaning and a domestic use. These combined materials inform us about their use, association, and meaning through the context of their deposition. By examining the history and context,

the importance of the bundling can be interpreted and what it tells us about the individual associated with it and the community they lived in.

Communities and Religion

How would a small number of Christians integrate into the Anglo-Saxon community? Schiffels et al. (2016) genomic study suggests that the Romano-British population was integrated into Anglo-Saxon culture and in some instances thrived within it. Christianity is very different from the Scandinavian and Germanic religions. Christianity does not allow for participation in the rituals of other religions, which is what caused friction within the Roman Empire (see Chapter 6). Within the Roman Empire, the Christians refusal to sacrifice to the gods put the town's well-being in jeopardy, which led to violence against and expulsion of Christians. There is no evidence for a similar level of fear or distrust within the Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, or Scandinavian regions. The relationship between the Anglo-Saxons and their gods must have been different. The Romano-British Christians must have also adopted their practices, due to the lack of evidence for a frequently used Christian ritual space and mixed burial assemblages.

The process of integrating a minority religion into the practices of the Anglo-Saxons was likely difficult. The process of Christianizing the Continental Germans in the eighth century hit a snag due to the differences between the Christian and German values, specifically concepts of courage, strength and masculinity (Russell 1994: 121). Germanic cultures did not have a concept of sinfulness in their pre-Christian religion resulting in difficulty during the conversion of the Continental Germans (Russell 1994: 27). In

Germanic poetic traditions, heroic individuals were valued over the group, because they embodied the qualities and deeds valued by the society, also emphasized in Beowulf (Pollington 2011: 23-24, 26). Apart from rare heroic figure, the Germanic and Scandinavian religions emphasized the group over the individual, the opposite of Christianity (Gräslund 2003: 493). In Germanic custom, the mead-hall united a community (Pollington 2011). The Germanic mead-hall mirrors the feasting traditions studied by Pauketat (2002) at Cahokia. Feasting, and mead-halls, were a stage where society was able to renegotiate the social relationships through a peaceful ceremony (Pauketat 2002). Feasts were a ritual space where people either accepted or protested the group identity and organization (Pauketat 2002: 275). Large public rituals, including feasting, serve to unite communities and would have been important opportunities to communicate with the gods.

Minority Religions

The practice of a minority religion is observable in the archaeological record but not always recognizable. In all likelihood, many of the deviant burial practices and unusual ritual practices are representative of minority religious practices, and perhaps even separate religions. The maintenance of a minority cultural practice and the re-affirming of a belief requires some kind of support. Hernando (2017) posits the possibility of a shared identity among the Bell-Beaker culture, where the males identified with one another across long distances, as they maintained their relational identity. This long distance connection presents an intriguing possibility for understanding the religious minorities of Britain, who might have shared a relational identity that allowed for the maintenance of

religious belief systems. We know that Christians in Anglo-Saxon England were in contact with Christian communities in Gaul and in Rome (see Chapter 4). Practicing a minority religion could isolate the practitioners, and not necessarily be visible archaeologically, but would impact the cohesion of the community. It could be that a minority religion was able to continue within the Anglo-Saxon cultural framework.

Adapted Christian Practice

Could it be that Christian practice had changed to the degree that it is not materially visible? There are only a handful of burials that have traits related to either Romano-British or Iron Age practice suggesting that the Romano-British population adapted to Anglo-Saxon culture, including the Christians. During a time, when most of the British culture was impacted by the withdrawal of Roman forces, the adoption of Anglo-Saxon practices and material culture would be a reasonable response after they arrived.

The cemeteries and churches of East Anglia and Kent provide evidence for a heavily adapted form of Christian practice. The historic sources are clear on the presence of Christians in Britain, however poorly they are practicing. The complaints of Gildas in the sixth century provide an alternative explanation to explain the mismatch of archaeology and contemporary texts: Christianity had adapted to fit within the Anglo-Saxon culture and perhaps we are seeing people with dual identities; people who identified as both Christian and Anglo-Saxon pagans. The adapted nature of the Christian practices would explain the lack of evidence, if in a Anglo-Saxon context. The practicing Christians were heavily adapted to conform to the framework of Anglo-Saxon ritual practices. The

Anglo-Saxon materials and cultures quickly dominate the landscape of Britain following the migration and the adaptation of British practices would include their religious practices.

The inclusion of either Christian or Anglo-Saxon religious materials in burial may not reflect an adherence to the belief system. Aspects of religion can lose their religious meaning and become integrated into cultural practices. Hopkins (2011: 533) determines that "Taken-for-granted traditions and customs were reconstrued as merely 'cultural' and not genuinely 'Islamic'" in his analysis of Webner's (2000) case study of Muslim women in the UK. This idea is important because it highlights a practice that is not easily observable; rituals and actions that were once religious can become so common that they lose their religious significance. Grave goods that were once related to a religion may be valued for their associations and cultural meaning not their religious use. This idea could apply to Anglo-Saxon representations; the representations of Anglo-Saxon deities or ritually important items could have become cultural markers and not necessarily indicators of religious practice.

The same juxtaposition of Christianity with a polytheistic religion is found in eighth century Anglo-Saxon burials; the Sutton Hoo Mound 1 burial containing evidence for Christian belief and traditional Anglo-Saxon practices (Carver 1999: 304). Mound 1 is the most notable burial due to its wealth; it was an inhumation burial housed within a burial chamber in a buried ship from the early seventh century. The burial is linked to a figure similar to that of Raedwald, King of East Anglia, who died in 625 AD and is

recorded by Bede (*EH* II.XV, Carver 1999: 304). The burial is certainly fit for a ruler

with the amount of wealth found within it: a well decorated set of weapons including a

sword, shield and helmet, silverware, a lyre, drinking horns, clothing, buckets, a large

cauldron and more. The value of Mound 1 is based upon the wealth and the mixture of

Christian and Pagan materials, such as the silver spoons with Christian engravings. This

inclusion along with the pagan motifs found on the helmet suggest an individual, like the

Raedwald of Bede's writings, who practiced both Christianity and a pagan religion (*EH*

II.XV).

Estonia and Hybridity

Estonia was Christianized in the thirteenth century through a violent conquest yet there

was evidence for continuing pagan practices. The burial practices and orthodox crosses

indicate an earlier infiltration of Christianity. There are a number of sacred sites including

churches, chapels and sacred natural sites that continued in use into the nineteenth

century (Valk 2003: 573). There are around 400 holy or offering stones from Pre-Roman

or Roman Iron Age and around 416 holy springs (Valk 2003: 573). The personal healing

sites were maintained and used until the nineteenth century (Valk 2003: 574). The local

burial grounds appear to be only semi-Christian, since they included grave goods into the

nineteenth century, and cremations occurring into the sixteenth century (Valk 2003: 575).

The grave goods included coins, a needle or vodka which they believed were needed in

other world (Valk 2003: 575). Valk (2003) asserts that there have been three ideologies

existing side by side in Estonia; Christian, local non-Christian and semi-Christian.

Estonia presents a similar state of hybridization as Anglo-Saxon England, but in reverse;

In post-Roman Britain, Christianity was one of the native religions; the Anglo-Saxons introduced a new religion that was adopted resulting in modified practices that varied within the culture group. Estonia's Christian, local non-Christian, and semi-Christian could translate well to contexts in early Anglo-Saxon England.

Ritual Specialists

One of the themes of the preceding data analysis is the identification of possible ritual specialists. The majority of evidence linked to Christianity comes from female burials accompanied by materials associated with ritual specialists in later periods. Items identified as ritualistic or amuletic by Meaney (1981), such as spoons, keys, crystal balls, cowrie shells, fossils, teeth, claws, tusks, and miniatures, are used as markers of ritual specialists. In this study, a series of amuletic items have been identified.

In the first century AD, Tacitus (*Germania* 43) recorded a male priest dressed in female clothing. Few burials in early Anglo-Saxon England have been identified as biologically male with female gendered grave goods. One possible male ritual specialist burial is Grave AX from Yeavering, but due to the decomposition of the bones, the sexing of the skeleton is not possible (Welch 2011: 871). Grave AX is identified as a ritual specialist, or a "priest" as Welch (2011: 871) refers to him due to the inclusion of a staff and a goat skull. Staffs are included in female Viking burials in Scandinavia and the Isle of Man, albeit stylistically distinct from that identified at Yeavering (Welch 2011: 871).

Geake (2003) identified the "cunning women" in the burial record of the seventh century. These cunning women are just another name for a female ritual specialist. Female ritual specialists described in the tenth century by Ibn Fadlān (see Chapter 3) are respected, feared, and responsible for the burial ritual. Ibn Fadlān described a woman with an incredible amount of power within her community. Based upon Geake's (1981) list of Anglo-Saxon amulets and the burials identified as "cunning women" in the later periods, are identified in fifth and sixth century burials as well. Amulets are most often identified within inhumation burials in this study.

Figure 66: East Anglian Burials with Amuletic Items

Site	Grave	Sex M/F/U	Amber Beads	Roman Coins	Crystal Bead	Crystal Ball	Spoon	Keys	Knives	Disc Pendants	Bucket Beads	Horned God	Christian Item	Other Amulets	Other
Bergh Apton	34	F	150		2						9				
Bloodmoor Hill	11												Cruciform pendant		Wood/iron woolcombs
Brooke	---														
Caistor-by-Norwich and Markshall	Cremation Y40	U			1					1					
Edix Hill	9	F				1				1 cross form/gold					antler comb, iron nail
Flixton II	20B	F									3				
	27A	F						1			7				
Great Chesterford	121	M													3 eggs
Holywell	10	F	4								11				
	11	F	100		2			2 girdle-hangers		3					1 bronze bowl, 3 jet beads, a strike-a-light, two silver bracelets, 1 silver finger ring
Morning Thorpe	384	F	17					2	1			1 pendant	1 ring	4 silver bells	
Mucking	552	F	2	1				1	1						
	843	U	2											1 crystal spindle whorl	1 green glass claw beaker
Oxborough	---														
Rayleigh	---														
Snape	---														
Spong Hill	---														
Sporle with Palgrave	---														
Springfield Lyons	4741	F		2											a spindle whorl of dark purple glass
Tittleshall	11A	F	168		1			1	1						
	15	F	27		3			1							

Site	Grave	Sex M/F/U	Amber Beads	Roman Coins	Crystal Bead	Crystal Ball	Spoon	Keys	Knives	Disc Pendants	Bucket Beads	Horned God	Christian Item	Other Amulets	Other
Tranmer House	---														
West Stow	---														
Westgarth Gardens	---														

Figure 67: Kentish Burials with Amuletic Items

Site	Grave	Sex M/F/U	Amber	Roman Coins	Crystal Bead	Crystal Ball	Spoon	Key	Animal Bones	Knife	Disc Pendant	Bucket Pendant	Horned God	Christian Item	Other Amulets	Other
Bifrons	6	F	1		1		1									
	29	F		1				3		1	4 with men					
	42	F		1		1	1									
	51	F				1	1									
	64	F				1					1 gold					
Buckland	14	F	27	1				1		1					1 bronze and 1 bone playing piece	
	204	F	124	2				2							a fragment of a shale spindle whorl, a small grey oval stone pebble with a yellow stripe, and a fragment of a shell	
	217	F	3		1			1		1					seven loose cut garnets	
	250	F	5					7				1 with wax inside			Antler burr pendant	iron weaving batten, glass bowl, two glass beakers
	266	F						1		2					1 fragment of dark green prohyry beveled	
	290	F	2		1		1									
	331	F	81							1					1 Iron Age coin	

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	372	F	1								1						Sheep bones from feasting event? And 1 glass beaker
	391	F	115	2			1 Roman intaglio modified				2					1 large chalk bead,	1 bucket, and fittings for a wooden box
	407	F	24	1							1					1 Iron Age toggle, 1 Roman intaglio	
	417	F	30				1				1						
Cliffs End Farm	---																
Darenth Park Hospital	8	F	16	1												1 fossil bead	
Finglesham	68	F	2												1 glass pendant with cross	2 amethyst beads	

	No.	Sex																
	138	F						1		1				1 pendant with face with horns that end in beaks	2 pendants with cross repousé	4 shell beads	Box at foot of burial with nothing surviving within it, a bone comb, a leather pouch with copper alloy fittings attached to the chatelaine, and a pair of shears
	174	F					1	1+		1					1 silver disc pendant with a cross	4 shell beads	Small box or bag at left femur and iron chatelaine
	203	F						1		1					gold Frankish earring modified as pendant, shell beads, a brass wheel, bone/antler ring	Weaving batten and bone comb outside coffin, at waist tinder pouch with a small ball of iron pyrite and firesteel, copper bowl with lobster in it

Site		Sex															
Lyminge	3	F		1						1							Gold braid suggests a bag
	44	F				1	1										
Orpington	32	F		2													
	39	F						2									
Saltwood Tunnel	C3762	F	1+			1											Stones on either side of skull and at feet
Sarr	4	F	133	2		1	1	2		1						1 fossil echinus, 6 gold pendants with dancing men and serpents	
	115	F						3								2 carbuncle pendants	2 glass vessels at feet
	286	F	?	1													
Strood																	
Temple Hill	54	F				1		2		1						1 pierced eagle talon,	1 cosmetic brush case, and a possible second brush casing

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The distribution of materials that have important ritual uses within burials, including amber, keys, crystal balls, Christian materials, spoons, and Roman coins, is different in East Anglia and Kent. In Kent, there were significantly more burials in each cemetery that included amuletic materials. Keys were considered indications of female domestic status, and are found only in select burials. Knives are not found in every adult burial suggesting that they indicate a specific role held by individual within their community. Grave goods and dress are selected for the deceased with deliberate intent to convey their perceived identity. Keys, knives, Christian materials, crystal balls, and everything else are meant to convey specific aspects of the deceased's identity.

Figure 68: Burials with Amulets in East Anglia

Cemetery	Burial Number Inhumation/Cremation	Burials with amulets*
Bergh Apton	63	1
Bloodmoor Hill	26	--
Brooke	15	--
Caistor-by-Norwich and Markshall	60 / 400	1
Edix Hill	73	1
Flixton	51	2
Great Chesterford	161 / 33	1
Flixton	51	2
Holywell	101	2
Morning Thorpe	365/9	2
Mucking	336/480	2
Oxborough	11	--
Rayleigh	1 / 145	--
Snape	48 / 52	--
Spong Hill	57 / 2,262	--
Sporle with Palgrave	7	--
Springfield Lyons	139 / 143	1
Tittleshall	25 / 2	2
Tranmer House	19 / 13	--
West Stow	100	--
Westgarth Gardens	65 / 4	0

*Amulets are those identified by Meaney (1981) including spoons, crystal balls, fossils, Roman coins, etc.

Figure 69: Burials with Amulets in Kent

Cemetery	Burial Number Inhumation/Cremation	Burials with amulets*
Bifrons	120	5
Buckland	414	11
Cliffs End Farm	21	--
Darenth Park Hospital	23	1
Finglesham	243	4
Lyminge	44	2
Orpington	29 / 16	2
Saltwood Tunnel	217 / 1	2
Sarr	187	3
Strood	2	--
Temple Hill	59	2

*Amulets are those identified by Meaney (1981) including spoons, crystal balls, fossils, Roman coins, etc.

The distribution of these burials is significant. In East Anglia, only one or two burials are found in each cemetery, while in Kent, the numbers are much higher. Kent also has a wider range of materials in graves that would be considered amuletic. Crystal balls and strainers are confined to eastern Kent indicating a separate tradition, perhaps influenced by Continental practices, since crystal balls are found in sites pre-dating the Anglo-Saxon examples. The similarity of the style of strainers and crystal balls suggests that the ritual specialists using them are serving the same roles in their communities and reinforcing the same rituals that involve the amulets, strainers, and crystals.

The only materials found in both male and female burials are knives, representations of the horned god, and Roman coins, which could be a cross-gendered ritual material. The representations of the horned god are prominent features of the female and male burials representing the clearest contradiction to the possible Christian identities of the individuals, whereas, keys, crystals, strainers, and amber beads are found only in female burials.

Women and Christianity

There has been a long held belief that women lost power with the adoption of Christianity, however this idea has been disproven. Christianity was not a disaster for women in early medieval northern Europe: women did not lose their power until the twelfth century (White 2003: 324, Gräslund 2003: 483). Women were the first of a family to convert to Christianity since the concepts of Christianity primarily appealed to women (Gräslund 2003: 484). The appeal of Christianity to women has been attributed to a number of traits. The first reason is that the conditions in the afterlife are more peaceful (Gräslund 2003: 493). The second is that the Christian method is less violent (Gräslund 2003: 493). The third is that infanticide was forbidden and women were responsible for the children (Gräslund 2003: 493). The final is that there was a stress on the individual and not the collective (Gräslund 2003: 493). These four traits represent what the modern societies believe should appeal to women but may not truly be what attracted them to it. It also assumes that females were unhappy with their cultural norms before Christianity arrived. If they were responsible for ritual maintenance they would have had an active role in their society and a voice to encourage change. There was a gradual change so that by the twelfth century female roles were gradually taken over by men corresponding to the consolidation of the Christian Church (Gräslund 2003: 493).

Gräslund (2003) examines the site of Birka for the role of women in the spread of early Christian practice. Birka has nine burials that contained a reliquary or a cross, all of which were found in female burials (Gräslund 2003: 485). One double grave from the site

had a women with a cross and a man with a Thor's Hammer amulet which, in turn, leads

to even more intriguing interpretations about the division of religions (Gräslund 2003:

485). The separation along the gendered lines is similar to what has been identified in

early Anglo-Saxon England in this study.

Women had active roles in the spreading of Christian practice and commemorating their

faith before the twelfth century (Gräslund 2003: 483). There are a number of inscriptions

on rune stones in Scandinavia indicating female agency in the Christian world (Gräslund

2003: 490-492). Over 55% of the inscriptions that mention "the building of bridges for

the souls of the dead" have a female component in the text (Gräslund 2003: 490). The

Church promoted the building of roads and bridges in the eleventh century as an act of

faith, comparable to completing a pilgrimage (Gräslund 2003: 491).

Most of the evidence for Christianity in the fifth and sixth centuries have been identified

in female burials. These female burials often also include amuletic materials, which

suggests a link between Christian items and the ritual specialists within the Anglo-Saxon

communities. If Christianity was most appealing to women, and these women were the

religious leaders within their communities, it would make sense that they have burials

with both Christian and traditional Anglo-Saxon materials.

Conclusion

How Christian was fifth and sixth century Britain? The contemporary historic records are

clear that Christian practice continued after Roman withdrawal, but the archaeological

evidence does not indicate a large community practicing in the same Roman churches. The evidence for Christian practice supports a small wide-spread community that had adapted its practices and ritual materials. The forms of Christian practice varied across East Anglia and Kent, with more clear indications of Christianity in Kent. The religious practices across England varied and while the basic features of burial were consistent, the variations in ritual materials indicate regional differences. The variations likely reflect continuing differences between the Angles, Saxons, Frisians, Jutes, and other migrant groups. Kent was predominantly occupied by the Jutes, while East Anglia was settled by the Angles. The different migrant groups fostered different relationships with the local Romano-British communities.

Christianity was only one identity available to the early medieval people (Petts 2011). The early Anglo-Saxons and former Roman-British could also have been aware of the political advantages to favor Christianity in their interactions with groups from the Continent where Christianity was the favored religion. Political and social advantages in trade are powerful motivators for the acceptance of a religion with in a culture, a good reason for integrating the iconography into the ritual specialists repertoire. Whatever the reason for continuing Christian practice within the early Anglo-Saxon period, the adaptations to the practice influenced the process of conversion in the seventh century. Bede records that the different beliefs and practices of the bishops in Britain at the end of the sixth century led to a hostile meeting with Augustine (*EH* II.2). Christian practice continued but material culture and ritual spaces indicate that it adapted within the Anglo-Saxon cultural framework explaining why it is difficult to recognize archaeologically.

Chapter 11: Interpretating Religion in Post-Migrational Contexts

Introduction

The case study of religion in fifth and sixth century eastern England highlights a series of

larger themes: religious adaptation, the impact of migration on a society, and how a

minority religion is practiced. One of the threads that runs through all of these themes is

the role of the individual in society. Christianity emphasizes the individual more the

Germanic, Scandinavian, or Anglo-Saxon religions. Individuals join groups and choose

to express different aspects of their identity based on the situation. In post-Roman

Britain, Christianity was a minority religion that was practiced within the adopted Anglo-

Saxon culture. The size of the Anglo-Saxon migration is not necessarily important given

that the culture spread so quickly and completely through eastern England. The new

Anglo-Saxon culture in the fifth century was the dominant "lender" to the weak

"borrower" of Romano-British society, resulting in change over a short amount of time

(Ackermann 2012: 15-19). The regional variations evident in Kent and East Anglia

indicate that the practice of Christianity varied as did the interactions between the various

culture groups. In post-Roman Britain, Christian practitioners adapted. The

archaeological evidence suggests that either early Anglo-Saxon Christians chose not to

use traditional ritual spaces, display their religion in their burial, or they practiced

religious plurality.

Religious Plurality

Religious plurality can be simply explained as religious groups co-existing within a

society that are able to express separate identities, or as the ability to practice multiple

religions at once. Social psychology offers more insight into the process of self-categorization theory and the role religion in society. Self-categorization theory states that the individual will highlight different aspects of their self based on the social circumstances of the moment (Hopkins 2011: 530). Individuals will shift between the personal and group-based social identities suggesting an underlying behavioral change between individual and group behavior (Hopkins 2011: 530). Evidence of group-based identities are expected to be found within cultures that emphasize the community over the individual, as in pre-Christian Scandinavian and Germanic groups (Gräslund 2003: 493). Whereas in contrast, Christianity emphasizes the individual (Gräslund 2003: 493).

The identities displayed in the burials of East Anglia and Kent in the early Anglo-Saxon period suggest that the common cultural identity shared among the regions was primarily on display but aspects of other group identities were as well, whether female or male, and warrior or wife. Many of the group identities visible in the burials are not understood, but the conflict between Christian and traditional Anglo-Saxon religion is evidenced in the conflicting iconographic materials in some burials. This conflict may be the result of religious plurality allowing for individuals to belong to more than one group at a time, or possibly that a syncretic religion had developed.

Often religious identities are represented as fixed, eventhough individuals may also go through stages of internal conflict (Hopkins 2011: 533). Uncertainty-identity theory describes how individuals search out group membership to fulfill a basic need to reduce uncertainty about who they are and what others think of them (Hogg et al. 2010: 72).

Religion is one of the main types of groups that assuages that need. Anglo-Saxon religion and Christianity both value different characteristics in its members as discussed above. Since the Anglo-Saxon culture was dominant, the political and social motivations for joining the group was numerous. Christianity has always been clear about the rules of membership and practicing another religion at the same time violates them. However, there have been many instances historically, when Christian practitioners have adapted within new cultures.

Ackermann (2012) describes how the dynamics of power influence the practice of a religion and the changes to visible markers of that religion. In China, the Jesuit missionaries had to adapt to Chinese culture to such a degree in order to try to convert them, consequently, they were often accused of going native (Ackermann 2012: 19). In this instance, the Chinese culture was the dominant "lender" that was not easily susceptible to change. While in Africa, there have been several misunderstandings between various Christian missionaries and local religions; the Christian missionaries thought they had converted a group only to find that the local rulers were attempting to integrate aspects of Christianity into their religion (Ackermann 2012: 19). In contrast, the African slaves appeared to publically practice Christianity, while privately maintained their traditional religions (Ackermann 2012: 19). Ackermann uses these examples to illustrate the importance of understanding the power dynamics in the spread of religion and the adaptations of the minority religion.

Christianity and Romano-British religions were minority practices in the fifth and sixth centuries following the Anglo-Saxon migration. The individuals who continued to practice Christianity attested to in all of the contemporary texts, must have adopted many aspects of Anglo-Saxon culture in order to appear largely invisible in the archaeological record, similar to the Jesuit missionaries in China. The ritual specialists of the early medieval period adopted Christian materials into their repertoire of amulets which could represent an adaptation of Christian practice to appeal to the Anglo-Saxons, or an integration of Christian materials as charms within polytheistic practices.

There were political advantages to identifying as Christian in the early medieval period. The Mediterranean world was predominantly Christian by the end of the fifth century, as was Gaul, which meant that identifying as Christian could facilitate trade and political agreements. Kent demonstrates strong evidence for contact with Gaul, which was Christian while part of the Roman Empire, and later the Merovingians began to convert to Christianity in the early sixth century (Wood 1994: 41). These political advantages could have influenced individuals into choosing to identify as Christian. An individual's identity is built through a combination of characteristics that unites groups including religious beliefs, and political leanings. These group identities, including Christianity in the Early Anglo-Saxon period, together create individual identities along with the influences of the society's culture, which is one of the largest groups of which an individual can be a member.

Religious Plurality or Syncretism? BaKongo Ritual in New England

Syncretism is similar to hybridity, and is in fact often used interchangeably. Specifically, syncretism is the merging of two cultures into a third new culture. This is possibly what occurred through the process of ritual plurality in the early Anglo-Saxon period. This change varies from hybridization, since instead of the integration of one culture's practices into another culture, in a syncretic religious change a third distinct practice is produced. Syncretism can be seen in the formation of slavery culture of the United States. Religion, namely Christianity, within slavery contexts is changed to be integrated into their imported ritual practices. They practiced Christianity visibly in public spaces.

Within slavery contexts, the African American ritual deposits demonstrate the adaptations of their religious practices in response to the European influences. The integration of features from the dominant European culture into the African American ritual process is similar to the evidence found in the Anglo-Saxon materials. The BaKongo water cults in South Carolina have modified the Colono ware pottery with crosses on the interior or exterior of the pot. The crosses are remarkably close to the BaKongo sacred sign for the cosmos (Ferguson 1992, Wilkie 1997: 98). The crosses would not have drawn attention to the pottery in the same negative manner that a sign that could not be related back to European culture would have. This use is similar to the process of ritual adaptation observed in Anglo-Saxon England, where the Christian materials are integrated into the dominant Anglo-Saxon ritual practices. Private spaces within slavery contexts were adapted to create a syncretic religious use.

Crystal balls have a similar ritual value to these found in early medieval England in other contexts including Carroll House in Maryland. Underneath a house at the Nash site, an African American household dating to the 1870s, a cache of six crystals, a quartz projectile point and a piece of galena, a lead sulfide mineral (Galke 2000: 21). At the Carroll House, four similar caches were identified. The largest cache included 12 quartz crystals and a number of other materials including two coins, broken fragments of window glass and bottle glass, tobacco pipe stems, bone disks, straight pins, cuff liks and a polished stone covered by a pearlware bowl (Galke 2000: 23-24). The caches are similar to those found in African BaKongo contexts called *minkisi* (Galke 2000: 24). The minksis are charms to prevent adversity, illness, or death, which were spiritually influenced (Galke 2000: 24). The crystals are believed to have symbolized water, while anything circular, including coins, rings, and bone disks, were symbolic of the continuity of life and the afterlife or the movement of the sun within the BaKongo and other African religions (Galke 2000: 26).

African Americans in the United States in the eighteenth or early nineteenth century were expected to practice Christianity. The continuing practice of BaKongo rituals and utilizing symbols indicates either a syncretic practice, rebellion, or an instance of religious plurality. In public, they identified as Christian due to the social pressures, but in private, traditional BaKongo beliefs and rituals were conducted. The opposite scenario may have occurred in early Anglo-Saxon contexts where Christian practiced their religion privately and appeared visibly Anglo-Saxon to visibly conform to the dominant culture.

Viewing Religion: The role of personal ornamentation in interpreting identity

The visual representations of Christianity in the post-Roman period are few. Despite all of the contemporary authors agreeing that the residents of Britain were identifiably Christian, this association is virtually archaeologically invisible. The post-Roman landscape of Britain was changing in response to the introduction of a new culture from the Migratio and subsequent new ritual practices. The Christian identity of post-Roman Britain was recognizable to contemporary visitors and representatives of the Christian organization, such as Germanus, Prosper of Tiro and Gildas, yet Christian identity is not manifesting in a recognizable manner to modern archaeologists.

The lack of material leads to the obvious question of what aspects of identity are interpretable through personal ornamentation and which are not? What motivates individuals to display their identity through badges, brooches, buckles, weapons, pins and pendants? How does one decide what needs to be displayed? Archaeologists depend on burials and burial assemblages to provide glimpses into the identity of individuals. Burials provide circumstances in which the individual is separated from the community in a recognizable manner, albeit the individual's identity is filtered through the community managed burial ritual. Personal ornamentation within a burial is assigned by the community or family that was responsible for the burial and reflects their interpretation of the individual's identity.

The lack of Christian personal ornamentation can be explained in a variety of ways; the items were there but made of organic materials that would not survive, Christian beliefs were not displayed openly due to the nature of the practice, or the contemporary accounts dramatically overstate the role of Christian practice within fifth and sixth century Britain. Personal ornaments have always been assessed as physical representations of individuality, and the process of deciding what to display is equally important. Group identity is often the primary explanation in the attempts to decipher the ornate Style 1 decorations of the early Anglo-Saxon period (Flowers 2012). This theory is closely followed by attempts to read a myth or legend from within the twisting scrolls, ferocious animals and dancing men (Flowers 2012). Each day, a decision must be made to wear the message and reinforce the association. In modern cultures, this same decision making process is engaged daily. The same decision would have to be made with any ornament associated with Christianity in early Anglo-Saxon England. Individuals selected their outfits and the messages with care, even when it is unconscious including items that are not visible when worn can reinforce identities (Eicher 1999: 5).

The Anglo-Saxon dress style quickly dominated England indicating either that the Anglo-Saxons replaced Romano-British population in much of the island or the dress style was popular and conveyed a cultural currency that made it advantageous in its spread. It is interesting to note, possibly foreshadowing to the later psychological studies of the role of female fashion, that women's dress styles changed several times during the Anglo-Saxon period, while men's fashion changed relatively minimally during the same time frame (Owen-Crocker 2011: 2). Women's dress style changed to mirror clothing styles in

Gaul, when there was evidence for increased imports (Owen-Crocker 2004). Two male burials identified in this study in Kent had Christian grave goods that were vessels and not personal ornaments. While the personal ornaments that featured Christian imagery are found only in female burials. This difference reflects distinctive social and ritual roles within their culture.

Anthropology of Clothing Selection

Clothing and personal ornaments are the physical projection of an internal identity and creates a silent dialogue within a community. Every individual will select different items to visually signal the key aspects of their role within a community, social group, and family. The items selected in this visual projection of identity indicate the importance of these roles to the individual. These items of visual identity allow an anthropologist, or archaeologist, to read what was important to the individual and community. Usually, the only time individual identity can be assessed is within the burial context. There are rare exceptions such as Ötzi, where an individual died in unusual circumstances and was preserved. Burials represent individuals clothed and decorated in the manner that the community interprets their identity (Pader 1982). The variation within burial clothing and ornamentation demonstrates the individuality visible within burials. For if identity was not important in the death, then the individuality of burials would not be visible. As such, the interpretation of identity based upon personal ornamentation or clothing is an interpretation of how the individual was perceived. This interpretation of a deceased's identity relies on how the individual displayed themselves in life. The visual projection of

identity in life and the selection of items allows for the understanding of how identity was constructed including what aspects were important to display.

The majority of anthropological and psychological studies of clothing selection has focused on females and the social influences of appearance. Studies conclude that clothing is a social agreement: a society must agree on the message conveyed by specific articles of clothing and ornament (Gibbins 1969, Hill and Hurtado 2009, Kuhn 2013, Mendoza Straffon 2016). Clothing is socially agreed upon to communicate a specific message that is understood, consciously or unconsciously, by observers (Gibbins 1969: 302). Clothing is chosen to display desirable traits and an ideal self-image: the degree of separation of the ideal self-image and the individual's reality is bridged in the clothing selection (Gibbins 1969: 302). Keith Gibbins (1969: 304-305) conducted a study involving fifty subjects between fifteen and sixteen years old, all of whom made consistent judgments of others on the basis of their clothing. These young individuals were prepared to make judgments about education, morals, personality and wealth. The fashionable nature of a clothing selection relies on the group "liking" it (Gibbins 1969: 302). The selection of the message displayed through clothing indicates the values held both by the individual and the group. Dress choices can reinforce boundaries even when the item is not visible, such as religiously mandated undergarments (Eicher 1999: 5). The identity displayed must be one that the individual is comfortable with embodying.

The interpretation of visual materials relies on a familiarity with the message. The message is only meaningful when encountered by individuals outside the immediate

group (Mendoza Straffon 2016: 366). Presumably, the immediate group would be aware of the individual's identity and what could be displayed through visual representations was already known (Mendoza Straffon 2016: 366). Cultures too far removed from the individuals would not be able to interpret the message as a result of cultural differences (Mendoza Straffon 2016: 366). The message is intended for individuals that are not regularly encountered, not individuals within their immediate community or family. Identification of identity is important when interacting outside of the community.

Assertive vs. Emblematic Grave Goods

The archaeological interpretation of personal ornamentation relates to memory production and the conveyance of essential information. Material mnemonics are key to the reinforcement of stories and lessons. The meaning of an ornament is entangled with their biographies, the identity of the individual wearing them, and their intended purpose (Skeates 2010). A mnemonic device may become an heirloom when its social meaning is transmuted, conversely, an heirloom can acquire a mnemonic identity in reference to the past. Due to the regularly incomplete preservation of organic material, the majority of archaeological identity reconstruction within burials relies on the ceramic, stone, and metal materials that are preserved. Within the materials that preserve within a burial, personal ornaments contain the most information about the individual.

The form of signaling can be divided into *assertive* or *emblemic* style. Assertive style represents the information of a person's identity indicating status, membership or affiliation (Mendoza Straffon 2016: 366). Emblemic style represents group norms and

values that allow for the reinforcement of social structure and power (Mendoza Straffon 2016: 366). These two different styles of personal visual representation are key to understanding the dynamics of a culture and the placement of the individual within that culture. The importance of the status, values or affiliations of the individual would be displayed in whether it was important for those aspects of identity to be displayed (Mendoza Straffon 2016: 366). Within local interactions, assertive style is expected to dominate the messages displayed visually (Mendoza Straffon 2016: 366). Investing time and resources into a successful display of assertive style and identity can be interpreted within the group as a positive reputation builder (Mendoza Straffon 2016: 366). The group views the individual positively because they are displaying appropriate visual identity. Emblemic style, representing the norms and morals of the group, is used within larger groups where collective identity needs to be reinforced.

The display of religious affiliation, such as Christianity, through personal ornamentation would be an assertive style. The affiliation of religion would be an aspect of identity that needs to be continually affirmed within smaller groups, similar to the trope of the small American town where the residents take note of who misses Church every Sunday. In contrast, within a larger community, the religious affiliation is less important than the correct visual appearance to fit into the dominant culture group. The external storage and visual display of a portion of an individual's identity allows for the partial understanding by an outsider before meeting.

Madeleine Albright and Meaningful ornaments

"Sometimes the finest jewelry is accompanied by moral complexity" (Albright 2009: 33). Conveying complex meaning through personal ornaments is not confined to past societies. Personal ornamentation in modern culture is best described in Madeleine Albright's *Read My Pins* (2009). In her role representing the United States of America, as both Secretary of State and Ambassador to the United Nations, she used decorative pins to convey important messages. As a diplomat, she needed all the tools at her disposal, including the imagery of her pins. Her deliberate use of decorative items was intended to provide advanced warning to others about her approval, disapproval, comradery, aggression, and other emotions with only a pin on her lapel.

Albright's discussion of her most important pins highlights many of the themes found in Anglo-Saxon burials. At different stages of her life, pins held different meanings, which changed as her relationships with the people who gifted them to her evolved. When she was young and in college, women wore men's college pins to display that they were in committed relationships (2009: 39). The message conveyed by an ornament is not always meant for public display, as she concealed her beau's pin while wearing it in order to avoid a public announcement of intent (2009: 39). A pin crafted out of clay by her daughter became her favorite and was a visual representation of her motherhood (2009: 43). This personal pin illustrates the role of jewelry to connect one generation to another, which can be seen archaeologically in the use of heirloom. These pins are examples of a negotiable social identity, where different aspects of her identity were visible in different situations.

Albright's anecdotal evidence of the importance of personal ornamentation in the formation of visual identity demonstrates in practical form of the theoretical motivations behind them. Personal ornamentation inevitably becomes entangled with the identity of the wearer, it can the become an integral aspect of the wearer's self-ascribed identity (Skeates 2010: 74). This is certainly true for Albright, who became known for her dramatic pins (2009).

Conclusion

What did it mean to be Christian in post-Roman Britain? As established in previous chapters, the contemporary texts agree that there were Christians in England, but they do not explicitly explain how that identity was defined. From this case study of East Anglian and Kentish cemeteries and Roman churches, it has become clear that Christian identity changed after the Anglo-Saxon migration. The lack of Christian materials in burials relates to the social position of Christianity within a predominantly non-Christian community. If clothing choice represents attempts at "good reputation building" and Christianity was unpopular, then the participants are less likely to display it openly or in their burial, which constitutes the final social interaction with the community (Mendoza 2016: 366).

Christian materials were clearly integrated into the rituals of the Anglo-Saxons, whether this represents a syncretic practice or an adapted form of Christianity is not clear. The practice of a minority religion within a dominant "lender" culture lead to many adaptations demonstrated by the lack of evidence for use of Roman Churches. While

burial traditions were flexible in many ways in the early medieval period, apart from the necessity of a body in burial, the use of a sacred space, a church or house-church, was not optional. Churches were essential for uniting the community and conducting rituals; even when Christianity was persecuted in the Roman Empire, practitioners met regularly. The archaeological evidence for the use of Roman churches is small, even St Martin's in Canterbury lacks sufficient evidence to prove it was used in the sixth century. The site of St Alban's martyrdom in Verulamium, if that is indeed its location, lacks any secure evidence for fifth century activity. The positive identification of Christians by St Augustine at the end of the sixth century combined with the archaeological data indicates that while they were Christians, their burial and ritual behaviors had changed. Their visible identity in burial reflected a predominantly Anglo-Saxon identity.

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