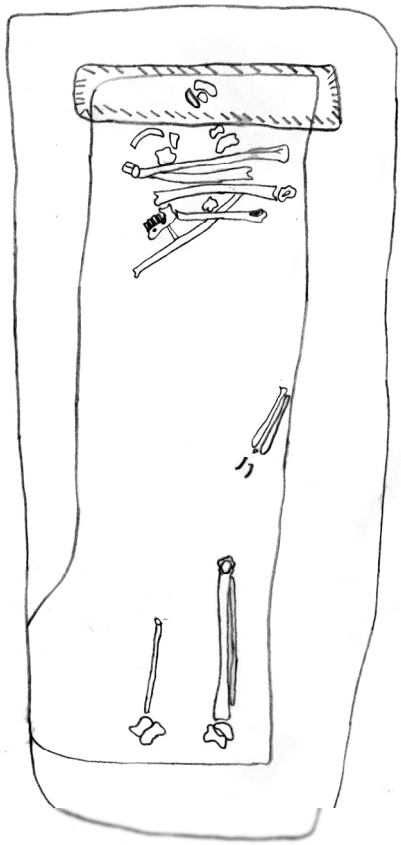
Whodunnit?
Grave-robbery in early medieval northern and western Europe

AM Klevnäs

Girton College

University of Cambridge

Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy



This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text.

This dissertation does not exceed the limits set by the Archaeology and Anthropology degree committee.

Whodunnit?
Grave-robbery in early medieval northern and western Europe

AM Klevnäs, Girton College, University of Cambridge, 2010

Abstract

This thesis brings together all that is currently known of early medieval grave reopening in northern and western Europe. It investigates in detail an intensive outbreak of grave-robbery in 6th-7th century Kent. This is closely related to the same phenomenon in Merovingia: an example of the import of not only material goods but also a distinctive cultural practice. Limited numbers of similar robbing episodes, affecting a much smaller proportion of graves in each cemetery, are also identified elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon England.

Although the phenomenon of grave-robbery is well-attested in Merovingia, this research is the first study at a regional level. The aim is to advance the debate about early medieval robbery from general discussion of interpretative possibilities to evaluation of specific models and their compatibility with the archaeological evidence. The conclusions have significant implications for the interpretation of grave-robbery across early medieval Europe.

In Kent robbing is at a level that must be considered in any discussion of cemetery evidence. The poor publication record has inhibited recognition and analysis of robbing in the county. However, by using extensive archive material, this thesis has shown that the practice of ransacking graves was on a similar scale in East Kent as in Merovingia. This research identifies over 200 reopened graves across Kent, with at least 15 sites affected. At the most intensely robbed sites, an average of over 20% of burials were disturbed. Robbing is likely to have had a significant impact on artefact finds, especially from the late 6th century onwards.

Grave-robbery opens a window onto the wider meanings and values of grave-good types within the early medieval period. The analysis in this thesis demonstrates that the main motive for reopening was the removal of grave goods. However, straightforward personal enrichment was not the goal. A deliberate, consistent selection of certain grave-good types were taken from burials, while other apparently covetable possessions were left behind. The desired grave-goods were removed even when in an unusable condition. It is argued that the selection of goods for removal was related to their symbolic roles in the initial burial rite. Their taking was intended to harm living descendants by damaging the prestige and strength of the dead.

In addition to the robbed graves, there is a small number of graves spread across the sites which were reopened for bodily mutilation or rearrangement of skeletal parts. These closely resemble the better known deviant burial rites which were applied to certain corpses at the time of initial burial and are interpreted as a reaction to fear of revenants.

In modern Britain burial is a finite and final process: the definitive disposal of a dead body. The archaeological and ethnographic records contain many examples of more complex series of events to enable the dead to move on from the living. The material remains of such processes can be seen in revisited and reopened graves, and in myriad manipulations of human bodies. This case study is a detailed, contextualised investigation of the after-history of burial monuments focused on the early middle ages.

Contents

List of tables

List of figures

Acknowledgements

My warmest thanks to my supervisor Catherine Hills for her advice and support throughout the process of devising and completing this thesis. Likewise Neil Price, who supervised my initial MA dissertation on robbed Scandinavian boat-graves and has given encouragement throughout.

Access to pre-publication material has generously been given by the following: Leslie Webster and Sonja Marzinzik (St Peter's Tip and Bradstow School, Broadstairs, Kent), Chris Scull and Sam Lucy (Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville and Buttermarket, Ipswich), Frank Meddens (St Margaret's at Cliffe, Kent), Helena Hamerow (Sonia Chadwick Hawkes' archive), Stuart Brookes and Sue Harrington (ASKED database), Natasha Dodwell (Westfield, Ely), Markus Blaich and Michael Geschwinde (Werlaburgdorf, Lower Saxony), Dave Perkins (Ozengell, Kent), Keith Parfitt and Astrid Schröder (Lyminge, Kent), and Gil Burleigh (Baldock, Hertfordshire).

Much valuable information, advice, and discussion are gratefully acknowledged from Sam Lucy, John Blair, Martin Welch, Sonja Marzinzik, Stephanie Zintl, Howard Williams, Martin Jones, Charlie French, Stuart Brookes, Keith Parfitt, Andrew Richardson, Dave Perkins, Frank Meddens, Peter Biehl, Edeltraud Aspöck, Susanne Hakenbeck, Ian Hanson, Paul Blinkhorn, Becky Farbstein, Alice Stevenson, Lee Wilson, Katharina Rebay-Salisbury, Adolf Fridriksson, Natalie White, Tom Birch, David Klingle, Jo Appleby, James Holloway, Andy McLaren, Isabelle Vella Gregory, Naomi Farrington, Mark Evans from BAAC and the Midland Aircraft Recovery Group, and Giles Guthrie and the staff of Maidstone Museum.

In addition, I thank Jane Woods, Casey Synge, and Mark Newman for their administrative help, along with the staff of the Haddon Library in Cambridge, who make toddlers and their student parents welcome.

I am grateful to the AHRC, the John Templeton Foundation, and Girton College for the funding which enabled this research.

Lastly, I have received a great deal of practical and moral support from friends and family, especially Gillian Draper, Stephen Draper, Ulla-Karin Klevnäs, Folke Eklund, Hebe Gouda, Abi Wills, Yousef Ghazi-Tabatabai, and most of all my husband Per Klevnäs.

1 Introduction

This thesis has grown from two roots. The first grew out of discussions on training digs run by the Kent Archaeological Society in which I took part as a teenager in the 1990s. Several excavators talked about local Anglo-Saxon cemeteries where they had found curiously disturbed graves. Some of the finds were gruesome: many burials had evidently been reopened and had body parts rearranged soon after burial, while corpses were still fleshed. It looked as though early reopening of graves, presumably for robbing, had been rife in early medieval Kent. So many graves had been robbed that it seemed implausible that the burying population was not aware of or even involved in the reopening. Although grave-goods were thought to be missing from the reopened burials, some of the rearrangement of body parts appeared deliberate. Might there be a ritual element? Many of the affected cemeteries dated from the 7th century period of the conversion to Christianity. Had new believers returned to the old cemeteries to destroy furnished burials? Or could there be a pious motive, to bring the remains of dead parents or grandparents into the new Christian burial settings? Then there were the cautious voices: was the robbery just rabbit damage? Coffin collapse? Over-interpretation?

The second root to this research reaches back to Gamla Uppsala in the Mälar valley of central Sweden. Here my MA research focused on a small group of Viking Period boat-graves buried in a mixed-rite cemetery just north of the famous monumental mounds (Nordahl 2001, Klevnäs 2007). When four boat-graves were excavated at the site in the 1970s, only one was found intact. This was the earliest datable grave, holding the bones of a woman with beautiful jewellery and a range of grave-goods. The other burials had been thoroughly robbed. Two were almost empty, with only strewn bones and boat rivets as witnesses to their ransacking. The fourth grave had also been robbed, but here the reopening was carried out within days or weeks of the funeral, while the corpse was still fully articulated and the boat intact. The body of the dead man had been rolled to one side, probably by lifting and tipping the bearskin rug on which he lay. The sacrificed animals and unwanted artefacts had all been heaped together to clear the boat for a careful search and selection of grave-goods. In order to reach the burial chamber, the robbers had removed a layer of large boulders which marked the graves. Robbing must have involved several hours' labour, yet was carried out within a stone's throw of habitation.

I was struck by the audacity of the almost immediate robbing, and no less by the matter of fact way in which it was presented in the excavation report. Why was such a lavish burial ransacked before the body had even started to decompose? Who were the perpetrators? What did the

ransacking mean for the mourners who had created the monument? Was robbing like this common? What were its implications for the meanings of grave-goods, for funerary ritual, for power and law?

My MA dissertation explored the robbing at Gamla Uppsala and a selection of further boat-burial sites in the Mälar valley, alongside references to grave opening in the Scandinavian written sources. It established that it is possible to reconstruct much of the robbers' activities and to make strong inferences about their aims. Robbing of boat-graves is common, nearly ubiquitous in central Sweden and elsewhere in Scandinavia. However, the disturbance is not a unified phenomenon: monuments were attacked in different periods and for a variety of motives.

My interest in Scandinavian grave-robbery led me to the 1978 volume edited by Herbert Jankuhn, which established grave-robbery as a research topic within German-language archaeology. This opened up a window onto Merovingian grave-robbery, for which evidence had been accumulating from nearly every site excavated during the course of the 20th century. Robbery was both intense and widespread in the continental row-grave cemeteries, with whole sites ransacked in some areas. Many of the questions about the motives for reopening, the degree of violence or respect involved, and possible ritual elements in the evidence, were similar to those I had been asking in Scandinavia, along with the technical approaches to identifying and dating disturbance.

Encountering the wide literature on Merovingian grave-robbery, I realised that the rumoured East Kent robbing must almost certainly be related to the phenomenon seen over the Channel. At that time the connection had not been made, and only one of the heavily disturbed Kentish sites had been published. I set out to find the rest of the evidence: was early medieval robbing in East Kent a real phenomenon? Was it connected to the Merovingian practice? Was it confined to Kent, or had similar finds been made elsewhere in the country?

On the basis of these interests, the original intention for this thesis was to compare the three areas of Scandinavia, Merovingia, and Kent. In Scandinavia I extended the range of inquiry, looking at a range of first millennium high status burials. The Migration Period chamber-graves of the Mälar valley, for example, nearly all show signs of early disturbance. Here reopening occurred soon enough after burial that the chamber roofs were intact. Straightforward robbing is unlikely to have been the motive, since bodies were removed and many grave-goods, including gold objects, were left behind.

Another case study focused on the parish of Vendel in central Sweden, where famous helmet and weapon finds were made in a boat-grave cemetery at the end of the 19th century. These finds are much-celebrated, but would have been ten times more impressive, had not all but four of the fourteen boat and chamber-graves been systematically emptied in antiquity. My research showed that this robbing probably took place in conjunction with the building of the nearby early church. It was a unique event in the district, with none of the hundreds of other pre-Christian monuments elsewhere in the parish being targeted. It is my contention that it was the symbolism of these particular graves that demanded their emptying, either to destroy their contents or to reincorporate them into the new Christian burial context.

As discussed, the intention was to cover all three areas in this thesis. However, during the course of my research it became evident that there was considerably more early grave-robbing in early medieval Kent than has previously been recognised. Significant evidence of both this and other forms of early reopening was also uncovered elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon England, and demanded full consideration.

In Kent my research identified at least 15 sites with signs of ancient robbing, several of them with significant numbers of graves affected, in line with the proportions seen in Merovingia. With access kindly given by the British Museum to the full archives of the two major unpublished Broadstairs cemeteries, by Heinrich Härke to data from Lyminge, and the Finglesham results published in 2006, there was suddenly a substantial quantity of fresh material through which to investigate early medieval grave-robbing.

Despite the high numbers of disturbed sites reported on the Merovingian-period continent, there has previously been only limited synthetic research. Almost all discussion has been confined to single sites, usually a brief section in each excavation report. Some reports have detailed analyses of the evidence, but in many reporting is still minimal. Recent reviews of the research have focused on the breadth of theoretical interpretations which might be possible, rather than on evaluating ideas against the growing body of data.

This thesis therefore focuses on thorough investigation of the multi-site evidence from Anglo-Saxon England, and on its comparison with what is known of the reopening practice on the continent. This is the first time that the robbing evidence from the sites of a whole region has been considered as a whole. The aim is to learn from the questions that have arisen from the several decades of continental research. It is hoped that the results produced here will able to advance the debate on the nature and causes of grave-robbery more widely.

It was therefore decided to publish the Scandinavian material separately. This is mainly for reasons of space, but also because it describes an effectively different practice, or rather set of practices, from the disturbance seen in the large community burial grounds on the continent and in Kent. That is not to say that useful comparisons cannot be made. The same questions, methods, and often interpretations appear in the investigation of grave-robbing in widely different areas and periods. Some elements in the Scandinavian robbing may be closely related in time and intention to the Merovingian disturbance. This thesis shows that there are broad patterns seen across northern Europe, for example in the selection of artefacts taken by robbers, which probably reflect long-term themes in the symbolism of the furnished burial rite.

Thesis structure

The rest of this introductory chapter explores how the case study of early medieval robbing in the community burial grounds of Merovingia and Kent relates to wider themes within burial archaeology.

Chapter 2 is a critical review of the history of research into grave-robbery in Merovingia and in German-language archaeology more widely. It identifies key interpretative themes, with the emphasis on narrowing down the contenders to those which find support in the material evidence. Significant new evidence has emerged since the last major review in the 1970s, so that there is considerable potential to move interpretations forward. This chapter provides the background and sets up the questions for the Anglo-Saxon material which forms the main body of the thesis.

Chapter 3 introduces the Anglo-Saxon material and my approaches to it. An intensive period of grave disturbance is identified in 6th-7th century Kent, with limited numbers of similar robbing episodes seen across the country. In Kent robbing is at a level that must be taken into consideration in any discussion of cemetery evidence. In the most heavily robbed cemeteries an average of around 20% of graves are affected. We can infer a major distorting effect on previous archaeological analyses of wealth distribution, especially as there is evidence that the better-furnished graves were targeted.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 present detailed inter-site analysis of where, when, how, and why the Kentish robbing was carried out. The disturbance is examined in terms of geography, date, gender, age, grave types, grave markers, grave size, spatial distribution, grave-good provision, multiple burials, and reopening methods.

This analysis is based on the evidence set out and evaluated on a site by site, grave by grave basis in Appendix 1 and Tables 6-16. Archived excavation records are used to supplement published data wherever possible. Throughout the detail is as forensic as the recorded evidence permits. Appendix 2 is a checklist compiling excavators' experience of how disturbance can be recognised, dated, and recorded.

Chapter 7 presents the evidence from the twelve sites in Anglo-Saxon England beyond Kent which have been identified as showing signs of early reopening. It shows that in Anglo-Saxon England as a whole there was a sporadic practice of grave opening, some of which may have been driven by the same fears of revenant corpses as lie behind many deviant burial practices. Disturbance closely resembling the Kentish phenomenon, although at much lower levels, is seen at sites in Hampshire and East Anglia.

Chapter 8 sets out the results of the investigation: what has been established about the extent and nature of early medieval grave-robbery, and what remains unclear. It evaluates previous interpretations against the much larger body of data analyzed here and suggests new lines of investigation. Robbing is argued to be a destructive, mal-intentioned practice with the aim of removing certain symbolically-loaded grave-goods from burials. It is interpreted as carried out between local communities, as part of the conflicts arising from the 7th century rise of kingly power.

Reopening, ransacking, robbing

Early medieval grave-robbery is a case study into the reception and life history of ancient monuments: how the material remains of the past were used by past peoples to manipulate their presents and futures. It is also an exploration, in a limited and focused context, of the extended interactions between the living and the physical remains of the dead that are almost forgotten in modern Britain, but which are a feature of so many cultures known from the archaeological and ethnographic records.

Grave reopening, for robbery or other motives, is reported in a huge variety of contexts around the world. Revisiting graves and manipulating their contents is part of extended burial rites in ethnographic and archaeological contexts including the recent past of Madagascar (Bloch 1971), Neolithic Malta (Malone et al 2009), Neolithic Britain (Beckett & Robb 2006), and early Bronze Age Peru (Isbell 2004). Such rites are often interpreted as contributing to the lengthy process of separating the dead from the living, or reforming them from individuals into communal ancestors (e.g. Bloch 1971: 213). As discussed in Chapter 2, Martin Bartelheim and Volker Heyd (2001)

have recently argued that grave reopening is just the most archaeologically visible of many post-funerary activities carried out at burial sites, a broader field which they consider demands greater attention from prehistorians.

Turning to reopening for explicitly material motives, the example which always comes most readily to mind is ancient Egypt, with its richly furnished monuments in which plundering is well-attested in both archaeological and written sources from the time the graves were created up to the present day. Stephen Savage (1997) has recently shown that grave-robbers were already targeting monuments in the Predynastic period, sometimes directly after burial had taken place. Despite the popular image of Egyptian treasure-hunting, he argues that only part of the motive for early robbing was to despoil graves of valuables. The second reason was an ideological one: to damage or destroy the corpse in order to deny the deceased an existence in the afterlife. The targeted graves were of the elite, and plundering may have been carried out either by lower echelons or by rival high status groups. In either case, Savage sees robbing as some of the best evidence of competition between different subgroups in Predynastic society. He calls plundering the "underside" of competitive emulation through burial displays, an interpretation which is echoed in the model proposed for the early medieval period in the conclusion to this thesis.

It would be wrong, however, to dismiss the economic aspect of grave-robbery. Mining ancient burials supports the livelihood of some communities to this day in Jordan (Rose & Burke 2004). In such contexts, graves can be seen as a resource exploited by local people over centuries. Martin Carver's (2005) reconstruction of the post-medieval robbing episodes at Sutton Hoo in Suffolk is reminder of the generations who have profited from ancient monuments in the centuries between their creation and our own investigations. The Kentish burial grounds which are the main dataset for this thesis bear the physical scars of widespread unrecorded activity in the early modern borderland between looting and research.

The Sutton Hoo work is also a benchmark demonstration of the potential to understand long-past site disturbance through excavation. The excavators there were able to build up a detailed picture of the robbers' activities, including the paths they trod as they removed spoil from the mounds and the length of time robber pits remained exposed to the elements before back-filling. Further similarly detailed investigations of ancient robbing are reviewed in Chapter 2.

Otherwise, the most detailed analyses of how grave reopening can be recognised and reconstructed in the field generally come from forensic and post-conflict archaeology (e.g. Mant 1987, Haglund & Sorg 1997, Skinner et al 2001, Hanson 2004, Cheetham et al 2008, Cox 2008).

Reopening may be evidence of attempts to conceal crimes, looting, or reburial of relatives. The types and quantities of surviving evidence are much more plentiful in these recent contexts, but the approaches and the taphonomic knowledge built up from forensic investigations are drawn upon in several ways in this thesis.

Heading into the early medieval context, reopening of graves features in written as well as archaeological sources. Motivations range from the most honorific to the basest expressions of contempt. Early Christianity in particular featured close physical interactions with the remains of the dead which are almost unrecognisable in today's practices. Exhumation of remains and translation to a higher status burial place was a key rite in the creation of an early medieval saint (Geary 1986, 1990, Thacker 2002). Recently similar processes involving the transferral of secular elite bodies have been proposed – and contested – for several major monuments during the conversion of northern Europe to Christianity (Krogh 1982, Andersen 1996, Musin 1998, Staecker 2005, Herschend 2001). Chapter 7 of this thesis highlights three examples of the apparent transferral of lay bodies during the development of early churches in Anglo-Saxon England.

A major focus for explorations of reopening in early medieval northern Europe has been Scandinavia and Iceland during the period of the conversion to Christianity. The main stimulus here is the series of horror stories in the Icelandic sagas featuring *haugbrot*, or mound-breaking. The core theme involves a heroic character entering a grave and wrestling with a supernaturally strong revenant known as a *draugr*, before "killing" the unquiet ghost and escaping with valuable grave-goods, often swords. Variations on this evidently popular and widespread genre appear in several sagas, plus the *Griplur* verses, and Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* (Grammaticus 1886, Kelchner 1935, Ellis 1943, Aðalsteinsson 1998).

Although far from literal accounts, these tales give us a picture of a mentality that saw overcoming fear of the dead and physical repulsion at contact with corpses as a brave and braggable act. They should be seen alongside, for example, the runic graffiti left by Vikings at Maeshowe, Orkney, boasting of breaking the Neolithic mound there (Barnes 1994), an act which can have brought little if any material reward.

The *draugr* genre is almost inevitably referred to in any discussion of early medieval disturbed graves and frequently in circumstances more distant in time and space. A more contextual approach to these stories would be fruitful. On the other hand, as discussed in Chapter 6.4, the

Nordic tales are part of a strikingly widespread revenant theme in European folklore, with modern descendants in the vampire horror genre.

The saga tales are most frequently cited with reference to the disturbance of the "royal" mounds at Oseberg and elsewhere in western Norway. The Oseberg mound is the largest and most impressively furnished burial ever found in Scandinavia, containing the bodies of two Viking Age women in a boat nearly 22m long (Brøgger et al 1917, Brøgger 1945, Christensen et al 1992, Gansum 1999, Holck 2006). Its reopening, after the bodies had skeletonized but while the wooden boat and grave-goods were still whole, has given rise to a stream of interpretations and counter-interpretations in the century since its excavation.

A.W. Brøgger's early twentieth-century work first linked mound-breaking to ghost beliefs at Oseberg, Gokstad, Borre, and other Norwegian mounds (Brøgger et al 1917, Brøgger 1945). As well as the sagas, Brøgger pointed to a number of early Scandinavian law codes which prohibit attempts to communicate with the dead at burial mounds, implying the existence of an actual pagan practice. More recently these ideas have been expanded by Jan Brendalsmo and Gunnhild Røthe, who connect grave-robbing with the "waking the dead" motif in several Eddic poems, and argue for a necromantic element in grave-opening (Brendalsmo & Røthe 1992).

More recently the Norwegian mound-robbing has been explained by Björn Myhre (1994), also with reference to the early literature, as attacks on the power symbols of competing dynasties. Although the details of dynastic struggles as described in literature should perhaps be treated with greater caution, a destructive motive fits well with the archaeological evidence. The Oseberg robbing must have been a public affair, and the treatment of the bodies and grave-goods seems to indicate deliberate disrespect. There is also evidence of violence: at Oseberg the beds were chopped to pieces with axes, while the Gokstad robbers attacked the ship and wooden furniture (Brøgger et al 1917, Brendalsmo & Røthe 1992: 91).

The violence used in the Oseberg and Gokstad reopenings is a compelling argument against the interpretations which have appeared in recent years featuring transferral into a church or churchyard of the bodily remains of pre-Christian royal figures (Krogh 1993, Herschend 2001). There is an episode in *Heimskringla* Ch.143 in which a marauding army robs what seems to be a combination of burial-mound and pagan shrine; such stories may provide a more likely context for the damage. A related archaeological find is seen in the destructive positioning of Viking graves over the Christian burials of the defeated population on the Isle of Man (Tarlow 1997). Plundering of graves during warfare or as destruction of the monuments of a defeated elite are

interpretations which have been put forward in a number of contexts, including the Early Bronze Age of southern Scandinavia and northern Germany (Randsborg 1998) and early medieval continental Europe (Chapter 2).

The focus on reopening motivated by *draugr* has drawn attention away from other relevant themes in the literature. One particularly relevant strand is the role of heirlooms. High status early medieval graves frequently contain objects which were already centuries old at the time of burial. In Scandinavia, it is often ancient swords which are found in this way, for example in Valsgärde grave 6 (Arwidsson 1942) and the boat chamber grave at Hedeby-Busdorf (Staecker 2005: 9), in both of which there seems to be deliberate pairing of one old and one new sword. In Anglo-Saxon England, significant quantities of Roman objects are found in pagan graves, and are either heirlooms or recycled from disturbed cemeteries (Meaney 1981, White 1990, Williams 1998, Eckhard & Williams 2003). The cultural biography of such artefacts extends well beyond the chronological divisions drawn by archaeologists. Using ethnographic examples, Katina Lillios (1999) has explored how heirlooms may be used in chiefly ideology to objectify memories and histories and remind the living of their link to a distant, ancestral past. In the early Middle Ages, it may sometimes be the act of burial itself which gives an object its significance and makes it worth retrieving from the grave.

Countless written sources attest the symbolic value of certain early medieval treasures, especially swords, and in many cases it is their history which gives them significance. In some sources, including the eerie *Waking of Angantyr*, valuables are actually recovered from the dead in their mounds. Written down as part of a 13th century saga, the poem probably has much earlier roots (Terry 1990: 253). In the poem, Angantyr's daughter, Hervor, sails to the Isle of Samsey to find the mound in which her father and his brothers are buried, in order to recover her father's sword, Tyrfing, and avenge his death. Tyrfing is cursed, and has already brought about the deaths of many men. Hervor threatens the mound-dwellers until they reluctantly give up their possession, warning her of the consequences.

By contrast, a few sources describe mound-dwellers willingly handing over treasures, often with magical powers, to descendants or other deserving characters (e.g. *Þorskfirðinga saga*, *Reykdæla saga*, and *Þorsteins saga víkingssonar* (Kelchner 1935)). Most relevant here is the saga episode of Olav Geirstadalv and King Olav the Holy (Brøgger 1945, Røthe 1997), in which the dead King Geirstadalv appears in a dream and demands that his mound be opened so his sword and belt can be present at the birth of the boy who will become King Olav. The story can be seen as a

claim to personal legitimacy by Christian King Olav, through a gift from the grave of his pagan predecessor. In a similar vein, it has been argued that the Old Icelandic prefix *ár* is used in poetry to describe ancient heirlooms linked with myth and legend, as in King Hákon's *árhjálmi* in *Hákonarmál* (Norr 2005). These possessions can be seen as the material equivalents of the royal qualities – beauty, skill, luck – which marked out predestined rulers.

The symbolic roles of grave-goods are a central part of the interpretative framework for the Merovingian-period grave-robbery developed in this thesis. The Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon literature gives important background, especially for the significance of swords as inherited and presented objects. However, the intention here is to show that sufficient archaeological evidence exists to go beyond the cultural elements recorded in the written sources and to extend our understanding of the symbolic values attached to a wider range of possessions.

Above all, the aim in this thesis is to demonstrate that the physical evidence should be the first port of call for convincing interpretations of grave reopening. With burial archaeology traditionally focused on recording whole, in situ grave assemblages, evidence that can shed light on the activities of grave-robbers has frequently been overlooked. Post-excavation, there is a tendency to dash to the readily available explanations in written sources or ethnography, without detailed consideration of whether they fit the material evidence in a specific context. It is the hands-on details of how and when graves were opened which hold the keys to the identities and motives of the openers.

2 Merovingia and Beyond

This chapter presents a critical review of research into grave-robbery in western and central Europe. It traces the development of academic interest in this area, identifying the key publications and main points of debate. Interpretative themes are explored and evaluated against the growing body of archaeological evidence. The questions which arise from the continental material here will inform my approach to the Kentish material in the chapters which follow.

The main focus is the epidemic of robbery reported in the early medieval row-grave cemeteries of Merovingia. Considerable previous research into this disturbance has been carried out on the continent, mainly within German-language scholarship. High levels of early robbing have been recognised in Merovingian cemeteries since the 19th century. Set against the ostentatious investment in grave offerings that characterized the period, and the severe penalties for grave robbers in numerous law codes, this widespread reopening of graves is a longstanding interpretative puzzle. From the mid-20th century onwards the grave-robbery debate has formed an active satellite to the archaeology of early medieval burial on the continent.

To date the most systematic review of the range of interpretations for early medieval grave reopening is that provided by Edeltraud Aspöck (2002, 2003). She uses written sources and ethnography to show the spectrum of potential explanations which might apply, from ritual reopening as part of funerary rites to greed-driven robbing. Holger Baitinger (1992) has done the same in an Iron Age context, evaluating different interpretative approaches against the evidence from the robbing of a high status chamber grave. A similar approach is taken by Christoph Kümmel (2005, 2008), although his ability to move interpretations forward is limited by the scope of his study, from the Neolithic onwards, and the distance from the archaeological material. The approach here is the opposite: rather than exploring the breadth of interpretations which might be possible, the aim in this chapter and in the thesis as a whole is to narrow down the contenders to those which find support in the material evidence.

Excavation reports from disturbed burial grounds have been the main forum for discussion, and their evidence forms the basis for this chapter. Over 100 robbed sites are listed in Table 1 and mapped in Fig. 1. Most are of early medieval date, but some Bronze and Iron Age sites are also included. Interest in grave-robbery has developed in parallel in prehistoric and early medieval research on the continent and there are useful comparisons to be made. One caveat: the mapped sites should not be taken as indicative of the range or intensity of robbing evidence; rather their

distribution reflects where research has been carried out and is accessible to the western European, particularly German-language, academic network.

Beyond excavation reports there is also a smaller body of secondary literature with the investigation of grave disturbance as its primary aim. Some of this material is based on observations from single sites (e.g. Koch 1974, Kokowski 1991, Baitinger 1992, Thiedmann & Schleifring 1992, Dannhorn 1994, Sprenger 1999, Aspöck 2002, Aspöck 2003), but there are significant wider-ranging studies (e.g. Adler 1971, Jankuhn et al 1978, Rittershofer 1987, Randsborg 1998, Plum 2004, Kümmel 2005, 2008). Principal here is the 1978 collection of papers from the Göttingen colloquium (Jankuhn et al 1978), which first brought the study of grave disturbance to prominence and did much to direct future research. In addition, with grave-robbery now an established theme in continental research, the phenomenon increasingly features in broader discussions of burial custom (e.g. Steuer 1982, Bartelheim & Heyd 2001, Effros 2002, 2003).

The 1978 colloquium took as its starting point grave-robbery in Germanic legal history, so written sources predominate, and only a minority of papers have their foundations in archaeology. The legal theme has been a recurrent feature of continental research into grave-robbery, since prohibitions against robbing are found in Church and other law codes (below). In terms of geography, the colloquium expansively construes "Germanic" to include papers on Bronze Age central and northern Europe (Raddatz 1978, Thrane 1978), Iron Age central Europe (Driehaus 1978), the Roman Empire and Merovingian kingdoms (Behrends 1978, Krüger 1978, Nehlsen 1978, Raddatz 1978, Roth 1978, Schmidt-Wiegand 1978), and Viking Age Scandinavia (Beck 1978, Capelle 1978, Düwel 1978).

Roth

By far the most significant paper in the 1978 collection, in terms of the depth and enduring relevance of its research, is Helmut Roth's survey of grave-robbery in the Merovingian kingdoms (Roth 1978). Roth reviewed the first stages of research into early medieval grave-robbery on the continent, from the 19th century observations by the Abbé Cochet and Ludwig Lindenschmidt to a stream of mid-20th century excavations of robbed cemeteries (Cochet 1854, Lindenschmidt 1889). His main focus was on Germany, but he also used examples from Austria, Switzerland, France, Hungary and the Czech and Slovak lands. He discussed the range of interpretations then current, expanding on some in a separate article (Roth 1977). Roth's key contribution was in

bringing together evidence from nearly sixty sites, and so demonstrating the prevalence and intensity of early disturbance in Merovingia and the surrounding regions.

Most of Roth's sites are what are known as row-grave (*Reihengräber*) cemeteries. These are found in western and southern Germany, Switzerland, northern France, and Belgium. First defined by Joachim Werner in 1950, they are characterized by W-E alignment, graves in rows, or approximations of rows, and the regular inclusion of grave-goods. The earliest appear during the mid 5th century and most are gradually abandoned through the 7th century, persisting into the 8th century in some areas. More than 100,000 row-grave burials are recorded, making an outstanding dataset. However, as Ross Samson (1987: 120-121) shows, the extent to which such widely spread sites can be seen as a cultural unit is questionable. At a broad level there are shared tastes, values, and ritual practices, but considerable local variation can be seen in the range of goods placed in graves and in the likely meanings with which these objects were imbued.

Roth's survey was not confined to the *Reihengräber* zone. He included evidence, where it is accessible in German, from sites as far away as Hungary. He also included earlier cemeteries, notably those attributed to Lombards in Austria, in which robbing dates to the 5th and 6th centuries. This broad approach brings the advantage of abundant comparative material, but leaves open the question of where the boundaries of the grave-robbery phenomenon should be drawn – if indeed the widespread evidence can be seen as representing a single phenomenon. That Roth was able to find so much evidence for robbery over so wide an area significantly reduces the likelihood of any single satisfactory interpretation being put forward. Yet studies after Roth have tended to avoid this question, frequently because they focus on limited geographical ranges and are therefore able to treat grave-robbery as a coherent practice with particular meaning in their context, without considering the boundaries of the interpretation.

Within the core row-grave cemetery zone there is a broad consensus on the date range of robbing. Roth showed that Merovingian reopening affects a limited number of graves of the later 6th century, increases in intensity into the middle of the 7th century, and is almost unknown by the end of the 7th century (Roth 1978: 61-64). This still holds true, although Roth's dating is hampered by the assumption that disturbance was always close to burial. He assumed, for example, that disturbed 6th century graves mean that robbing took place in the 6th century. Several subsequent authors have demonstrated that this not the case, and that the bulk of robbing activity is probably limited to the mid-late 7th century. As the more recent case studies

presented in this chapter demonstrate, close analysis can show whether reopening occurred repeatedly over several generations, or was concentrated in one particular phase.

Within his sample of almost 60 disturbed sites, Roth found a mean rate of robbing of 39% of graves. However, there is huge underlying variation in the proportion of graves affected, from just a few at some sites (e.g. Stößen, Marktoberdorf) to almost all in others (e.g. Merdingen, Pulling). Roth used the different reported percentages of robbed graves to draw conclusions about the geographical spread of grave-robbery and rates among different ethnic groups (Roth 1978: 61-65, 73). In this he overstated the precision of the data. In the first place, and as he acknowledged (Roth 1977: 287), the local variation in robbing levels within regions competes with any inter-regional patterns. Considerable discrepancies in reported robbing rates between even nearby cemeteries have been noted, and are discussed below. It seems likely that some of this variation reflects real differences in levels of ancient robbing, but at least some is due to the series of taphonomic filters between robbing and reporting.

As Roth discussed, there are two main ways through which grave-robbery comes to the attention of excavators: "robber cuts" (*Raubschächte*) into the soil of the grave fill, and disordered skeletal parts in the fill or on the grave floor. To these may sometimes be added disorder in the dress accessories and grave-goods. Skeletal disorder is the most commonly noted indicator of robbing. Bones are heavily displaced, often into the fill, and a proportion of each skeleton is frequently missing. Robber cuts are less frequently noted. There are reasons for thinking that they are more often seen than reported, but at sites where their presence or absence is explicitly discussed it is evident that they are discernable in only a minority of rifled graves, and that their visibility depends on the nature of the subsoil (e.g. Codreanu-Windauer 1997, Dannheimer 1998).

Recognition of robbing is therefore reliant on good bone preservation, the right soil conditions, and a high standard of excavation (Plum 2004: 23). Site publications from the last 25 or so years generally discuss the limitations of the evidence encountered, and sometimes give an estimate of how accurately robbing levels were established. At Rödingen, for example, Walter Janssen (1993: 52-54) emphasized that his figure of 10% is only a conservative minimum. Poor bone preservation in the rest of the Rödingen graves made it impossible to say how many others had been disturbed, and variable standards of excavation in earlier campaigns left information gaps. Janssen cautioned that the find circumstances must be fully taken into account before comparisons are made between cemeteries.

Ruth Plum (2004: 23-24) went further in her recent comparison of five cemeteries in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Uniquely, Plum divided the graves in each of her study cemeteries into those that had clearly been robbed, probably robbed, probably not robbed, not assessable, and not robbed. The two burial grounds with the fewest surviving skeletal remains, Siersdorf I and Merzenich I, have markedly low rates of definitely robbed graves at 10% and 6.2% respectively, and high numbers of graves which could not be assessed for robbing evidence. It seems likely that variations in bone preservation are also responsible for a considerable part of the inter-site disparities in robbing rates elsewhere.

Similar points about the subjectivity of robbing reports have been made in an Early Iron Age context by Holger Baitinger (1992: 336-340). Baitinger argued that the apparent pattern of Early Iron Age robbing concentrated on princely graves reflects the state of research rather than the evidence (*contra* Driehaus 1978). He also pointed out that preservation factors such as soil type vary geographically, creating misleading distribution patterns. For instance, he considered that poor local conditions for bone preservation are responsible for apparently 'robbing-free' areas such as much of Early Iron Age Switzerland. Also relevant to the early medieval period is Baitinger's observation that, particularly when bone preservation is poor, it is much easier to identify disturbance in richly furnished than in simple graves.

Such detailed discussions of the evidence are, however, only recently becoming standard. In 1978 Roth lamented the limited reporting of robbing evidence, so that "one rarely learns more than the fact that robbery occurred" (Roth 1978: 53). The reports available to him typically gave only an idea of the numbers of graves affected in the cemetery, plus some sparse comments on the appearance of the disturbance. Even today minimal recording and reporting of robbing evidence continues to limit analysis at many sites. This chapter presents evidence from a range of publications which demonstrate how much more can be reconstructed of the early medieval robbing practice. The data from many more are presented in Table 1.

Hailfingen

Roth identified Hermann Stoll's 1939 publication of the cemetery at Hailfingen, Baden-Württemberg, as the first time that information about grave-robbery was presented to a detailed standard, albeit not one always maintained by later writers. Stoll gave exact figures for the number of graves disturbed in the cemetery: 180 out of 600, with 21 damaged by secondary burials, 3 by intercutting burials, and the remaining 156 (26%) robbed in antiquity. Stoll's observations are precise, including his impression that the lower fill layers of disturbed graves had

been trampled down, which he interpreted as an attempt to conceal the robbery by preventing the formation of a conspicuous lump on the surface (Stoll 1939: 9).

Stoll concluded that robbing mainly affected the more richly furnished female graves, less frequently the less well-furnished male graves, and only exceptionally (8 cases, all female) the generally poorly furnished graves of children. He therefore believed that reopening was targeted and must have taken place soon after burial, while knowledge of the dead and grave assemblage was still current.

Further, he considered that different parts of male and female graves had been targeted. Disorder in women's graves was said typically to be limited to the area from head to hips, where jewellery lay, whereas in male graves the whole burial was affected. Similar claims have subsequently been repeated many times in the literature, although – as at Hailfingen – generally without the presentation of substantiating data. The degree of foreknowledge which robbers had about the identity of the interred and the contents and layout of graves is one of the most persistent points of contention in the robbery debate.

Stoll was convinced that removal of artefacts was the robbers' motive. This is a consistent theme throughout the literature: although many other interpretations for early medieval grave disturbance have been put forward, reports from the excavations themselves are united in their impression that the primary purpose of almost all reopening was to take grave-goods. Stoll considered that artefacts of all kinds were missing from the disturbed graves, including beads, precious metals, bronze, and iron objects, especially weapons. He describes several graves which contained small pieces of otherwise missing objects, including at least three cases in which part or all of a scabbard remained to show the former presence of a cutting weapon.

Stoll appears to have concluded that removed objects were being reused within the burying community. He suggests that a number of anomalously early items appearing in the latest graves could be explained through robbery, mentioning in particular that among the necklace assemblages in some late female graves there were incongruously old beads, with the appearance of having been in the ground longer than the rest. This suggestion from Stoll has not been picked up in the later literature but, as discussed below, subsequent finds of apparently stolen objects being reused at other cemeteries support his impression.

At Hailfingen robbery appeared only in the middle of the 7th century: no 6th century graves were affected, and only a few from the earlier part of the 7th century. Stoll does not say so, but given the consistent layout of cemeteries of this type, there is every reason to think that the 6th century

graves were still visible at the time the 7th century graves were dug, and presumably also when they were reopened. The selection of only the most recent burials for reopening is therefore significant.

However, as Stoll is careful to note, there are also large numbers of well-furnished but undisturbed graves among the later group. It is not the case that all the later 7th century burials were reopened; some further selection was made. From Stoll's description it appears that some spatial clustering was evident in the distribution of robbing across the cemetery, although this is not fully explored. At other sites discussed below, especially at Pliening in Bavaria, such patterns have been central to interpretation.

Redlich

The most widely transmitted of Stoll's conclusions proved to be the idea that graves were robbed by people who knew their contents and layout. It was taken up by Clara Redlich, who in 1948 made the first systematic attempt to explain the high levels of Merovingian grave-robbery. Redlich saw the trigger in supposed changes to inheritance law in the 7th century, which meant that the kin group was suddenly entitled to possess valuable items which had previously been buried with the deceased as their inalienable property. The inheritance law route is now seen as a blind alley, but was followed for some decades. There is no evidence for a major change in law or customs relating to grave-goods in this period. However, the heritability of different types of grave-goods is one of the interpretative threads explored in this thesis.

Bülach

At Bülach, Switzerland, at least 44 out of some 300 excavated graves had been reopened in antiquity (Werner 1953: 7). As at most sites, there were also various sources of more recent disturbance, which are distinguished in the report from the early reopening. Joachim Werner followed Stoll in concluding that the ancient robbers were familiar with the graves. He had good grounds for doing so, since the cemetery contained one of a handful of examples of removed objects being reused and reburied. The undisturbed female in Gr 286, buried in the later 7th century, was wearing a belt fastening which appears to have been taken and adapted from the set of inlaid shoe buckles worn by the woman in robbed Gr 285 (Fig. 4). Gr 285 and 286 are not adjacent or parts of an obvious group, but are in the same area of the cemetery. It remains possible that this buckle was omitted from the Gr 285 set at burial and used by the Gr 286 woman, but Werner's conclusion that it had been removed from Gr 285 is highly plausible.

Similar examples of robbing and reuse have since been reported at Marktoberdorf and Pliening (Christlein 1966: 17, Codreanu-Windauer 1997: 32, below).

As at Hailfingen, the typical patterns were either for burials to be rifled in their entirety, or for disturbance to be confined to the area of the upper body, where the majority of grave-goods lay. Some female skeletons had traces of bronze staining, suggesting that dress elements had been removed – a feature seen at many of the disturbed sites of this and other periods (Chapter 4.9).

At Bülach it was mainly graves of the 6th and first half of the seventh century which fell prey to the robbers. The later 7th century burials were unrobbed, suggesting that disturbance had occurred during the middle of that century, and that burial at the site had afterwards continued.

In a somewhat disconnected final comment, Werner (1953: 7) attributes the plunder to a deepening scarcity of precious metals during the 7th century:

> "Since the graves of the 6th and the first half of the 7th century were particularly richly furnished with artefacts of solid bronze, or silver or occasionally of gold, materials which in the course of the 7th century became ever more scarce, they made a particularly profitable goal for the robbers, who had to work by night and in all secrecy under threat of severe punishment… The scarcity of metal in the later period is without doubt the main cause of the impious grave-robbery, from which hardly a Germanic row-grave cemetery escaped in the early middle ages."

These conclusions are surely at odds with both the chronology and the previously presented evidence. In particular, the reused find implies that at least some robbing was carried out by the burying population, and most significantly that public display of removed objects was possible, which seems incompatible with the claim of secrecy. Meanwhile the apparently broad selection of artefacts for removal at this and the other sites gives little basis for the suggestion of precious metal targeting.

Müngersdorf

Fritz Fremersdorf's publication of the Müngersdorf cemetery in Köln includes at least one example of a grave (Gr 97b) being robbed of its artefacts when an overlying burial was added (Fremersdorf 1955: 31). This opportunistic form of robbery is occasionally seen in a wide range of cemeteries, including one or two cases in Kent (Chapter 4.9). It is a minor feature of the robbing phenomenon, but shows conclusively that at least some reopening took place alongside burial.

Fremersdorf also believed that the planned robbing at Müngersdorf took place within the use period of the cemetery, while accurate information about assemblages was still current. He found that while most of the robbed graves were totally ransacked, in 18 examples disturbance was confined to particular areas of the skeleton. As at Hailfingen, many female graves were disturbed only in the chest area, where valuable brooches were worn. However, Fremersdorf also includes the possibly contradictory finding that in many cases stolen metal objects had left substantial rust deposits in the earth of the grave floor, showing that both they and the wooden coffins had substantially decayed during the time between interment and reopening. In Gr 135, for example, a rust stain and fragments of wooden scabbard showed the former position of a sword (Fremersdorf 1955: 30).

Merdingen and Güttingen

In 1971 Gerhard Fingerlin added considerable nuance to the picture with his dual publication of the cemeteries of Merdingen and Güttingen. He pointed out firstly that many rich graves remain unrobbed, especially at Güttingen, suggesting that robbers worked inefficiently and probably had only imperfect knowledge of the cemetery. This perception was supported by his evidence that the robbers did not work selectively in terms of gender or grave type and depth at Merdingen, and by Christiane Neuffer-Müller's work at Iversheim, where she showed that robbers sometimes opened unfurnished graves (Neuffer-Müller 1972: 11).

Fingerlin also raised the question of why neighbouring cemeteries had such different robbing rates. This led him to speculate that other factors beyond metal scarcity might contribute to the pattern. At Merdingen, for example, 85% of burials were disturbed, while less than half were affected at Güttingen (Fingerlin 1971: 16-54). As can be seen in Table 1, other nearby Baden-Württemberg burial grounds have robbing rates somewhere between the two, such as Donzdorf with 67% and Fridingen with 75%. Sontheim is much lower, with robbing evidence found in only 18% of burials (Roth 1978: 60). This marked local variation in robbing rates is repeated across the areas under discussion in this thesis and must be taken into account by any attempted interpretation.

Rübenach

Christiane Neuffer-Müller published several disturbed cemeteries, including Rübenach in the Rheinland, where she made some of the first systematic observations about the timing of robbing activity in a Merovingian context. At Rübenach she argued for a first wave of robbing during

which the earlier burials were disturbed, occurring while coffins were still intact and some ligaments survived, so that partially articulated body parts were found in the fill of disturbed graves. Despite this disturbance, burial continued at the site. After the use period of the cemetery there was a second robbing phase, once graves were no longer readily visible on the surface. Robber cuts to locate and open graves sometimes covered several interments, indicating a large scale search for graves to loot. Lastly there was evidence for antiquarian and modern digging (Neuffer-Müller & Ament 1973: 18-19).

Vörs

A related approach had in fact already been set out in the Lombardic cemeteries of Hungary, but was only brought to western European attention by Roth (1978: 58-59). At the completely robbed cemetery of Vörs, Károly Sági (1964) identified 3 distinct robbing methods:

Coffin completely decayed, burial completely excavated and desirable goods taken.

Shaft dug, hole smashed in intact coffin lid, goods fished out with a stick or hook.

Larger pit dug, intact coffin lid lifted off, desirable objects collected.

Since the choice of method appeared to be linked to the state of preservation of the grave contents, particularly the coffin, Sági believed that robbers had advance knowledge of the age and likely condition of the burial. This has subsequently been shown to be incorrect, as discussed below. It is much more likely that robbers adapted their methods to the state of the remains they found as they progressed. However, and notwithstanding the various elaborations proposed by later authors, Sági's basic grave opening methods are widely recognisable, including, as shown in Chapter 5, across the channel in the early medieval cemeteries of Kent.

All 37 excavated graves at Vörs were totally or partially disturbed, which Sági argued had happened in one episode immediately after burial had ceased at the site in *circa* AD 568.

Hemmingen

Hermann Müller's (1976) report of his excavations at Hemmingen, Baden-Württemberg, arrived too late to be considered by Roth. This is regrettable, since Müller showed conclusively that at Hemmingen, and probably elsewhere, the impression that grave robbers must have had personal knowledge of the buried individuals and their grave-goods is incorrect (Müller 1976: 121-125). His conclusions have not been taken universally on board by subsequent authors (e.g. Steuer

1998: 519, Effros 2002: 59), perhaps because they are missing from Roth's survey, but where used they have substantially added to the value of later work (e.g. Codreanu-Windauer 1997).

Twenty-six out of 59 graves at Hemmingen had been robbed. The homogenous humic soil meant that robber cuts could only be seen in one or two graves; disturbance in the others was evidenced by skeletal disorder. The degree of disturbance varied considerably from grave to grave, as at other sites, and there were some borderline cases where the skeletal disorder was slight enough that it might have been caused by animals.

The description of disturbance at Hemmingen follows the classic pattern repeated again and again in the literature: in 3 cases, disturbance affected the whole upper part of the skeleton to the pelvis; in 4 cases a femur was also moved; in 10 cases the upper part plus two femurs; in 5 cases the whole skeleton except for the extremities of the limbs. In 16 out of 26 cases bones lay in the grave fill.

At other sites, as we have seen, the fact that different parts of graves showed disorder has usually been taken as evidence of targeted opening, and thus prior knowledge on the part of the robbers about the gender and possessions of the dead. This belief has been supplemented by the impression in several cemeteries that richer graves were being chosen for looting. However by the time of the Hemmingen publication, scepticism had already been expressed about this thesis, by Frauke Stein (1961: 97), Gerhard Fingerlin (1971: 20) and by Helmut Schoppa (1950: 7) in his report on Eltville, Hesse, where he reasoned that robbers were going by the above ground appearance of graves, with rich burials in some way distinguishable on the surface.

Müller's crucial insight was that the pattern of skeletal disorder in each grave did not hold all the necessary information about the method used to reopen it, and that it could frequently mislead. Instead of focusing on mapping the disturbance to the static remains, Müller turned his attention to the process that created them and to the decisions made by the robbers as they worked. He argued that robbers first of all looked in the chest area, where they knew that female jewellery conventionally lies. Although he did not say so, this area could easily be guessed given the typical W-E grave orientation. If the grave turned out to be female, the robbers contented themselves with robbing the upper body. If they had happened upon a male grave, they could additionally extend the robber cut. That the cut was not all made in one go would not be visible to the later excavator, since only a matter of moments intervened between the initial upper body opening and the extension. Differential disturbance of male and female burials is therefore the result not of prior knowledge, but of information obtained during the process of robbing.

Moreover, Müller shows that partial disturbance of the skeleton does not allow the conclusion that only this part of the burial was exposed. In Hemmingen Gr 41, for example, only the bones of the upper body were recognisably disturbed. However, careful observation showed that a piece of shoe decoration at the other end of the grave had also been moved, and thus that the whole length of the burial had in fact been uncovered. It was simply unnecessary for the robbers to interfere with the bones lower down, since no desirable artefacts lay there.

This idea is corroborated in wealthy male Gr 25. Exceptionally at this site, a visible robber cut could be seen into this burial, stretching from the right shoulder to the right knee. It therefore dug out the area in which a sword could be expected, and indeed traces of left-behind sword ornament were found. However, despite the initial appearance, this was not a case of targeted opening for a sword the robbers knew to be present. Although the intrusive cut could only be seen in the part from which artefacts had been taken, this grave must also have been uncovered in its whole length, since outside the visible cut the right lower leg had been moved and the left femur was entirely missing.

Müller also argues that since certain valuable items, decorative studs and a large ivory bead with silver decoration, were left in this grave, the robbers cannot have had personal knowledge of the assemblage, or they would have taken care to remove all such items. Likewise the silver brooches overlooked in Gr 6 and 36. In this he follows observations made at the high status grave excavated at Baldenheim, Alsace much earlier in the century. Even though this burial was robbed of other more conventionally placed remains, the valuable helmet eluded the robbers, clearly because they did not know to expect finds beside the skull (Henning 1907: 4). Müller therefore agreed with Schoppa's observations at Eltville, that the grave robbers went by the aboveground form of the graves.

No preference for particularly wealthy graves could be demonstrated at Hemmingen. It could only be shown that about half the robbed interments had been originally well-furnished. Given all this and the high number of unmutilated graves with valuable finds, Müller considered any systematic targeting of rich burials improbable. Roughly equal proportions of male and female graves were robbed, but children's graves were less frequently targeted. Robbing was seen in one third of juvenile burials as opposed to half of adult graves. This may have been because children's graves were less clearly marked on the surface. Müller does not, however, consider the likelihood that disturbance was harder to detect amongst the less well preserved bones of children.

Müller notes a tendency for vessels to be left behind in disturbed graves, as reported elsewhere. In four graves vessels lay in specially-constructed niches, and none of these had been removed. It was not possible to conclude whether they had been overlooked, since they were peripheral to the main burial, or whether they had been deliberately left. Likewise the remains of shields were undisturbed in Gr 25 and 32, whether intentionally or because they lay at the edge of the deposit.

Turning to the question of date, at Hemmingen both earlier and later burials were robbed. However in every case the disturbance took place after the muscle and connective tissue had decayed. In addition, the metal oxidation process was so far advanced at the time of robbing that intensive rust marks were left by stolen objects. In some graves it could be seen that the organic materials holding together metal parts, such as in a sword sheath, had disintegrated by the time of robbing, so that the metal pieces were found separately. In some cases metal objects were sufficiently corroded to fall apart during robbing.

Müller therefore concludes that the robbing took place after the abandonment of the cemetery, since even in the latest graves the bodies were fully skeletonized. He recognized that this finding was different from the conclusions reached at most other sites, where at least some of the robbing typically took place during the use period of the cemetery (e.g. Werner 1953: 7, Böhner 1958: 281, Neuffer-Müller 1966: 10). This may well be because the Hemmingen cemetery was only in use for a relatively short time and was given up earlier than most row-grave cemeteries which span the 6th to 7th centuries. At Hemmingen a number of graves seem to have been reopened simultaneously, since bones were sometimes returned to the wrong trench. The backfill of Gr 25, for example, contains bones from Gr 8, about five metres away. Müller therefore sees robbing as taking place in a concentrated period in the 7th century, with rich earlier graves attacked at the same time.

To explain this ransacking of an ancestral burial ground, he turns to accounts in the written sources of war bands raiding graves in times of strife. His use of the Vita Severini in particular risks anachronism, but serves to show that such assaults could be used as acts of war, as also seen in the Scandinavian literature (Chapter 1). Müller saw grave-robbery as happening in times of exception rather than as an embedded social practice, connecting this more specifically to war bands, and above all the many feuds which disturbed the peace of the land: "*Wir haben daher Unruhezeiten, Kriegszüge, vor allem die zahlreichen Fehden bei fehlendem Landfrieden als wesentliche Ursache anzusehen - Zeiten, in denen die Gültigkeit bestehender Gesetze aufgehoben ist und in denen die Bevölkerung keinerlei Ordnungsfunktion ausüben kann.*" (Müller 1976: 125).

Friedberg-Bruchenbrücken

Andreas Thiedmann and Joachim Schleifring (1992) provide much-needed detail about robbers' methods in their presentation of the evidence from Gr 8 at the partially excavated row-grave cemetery of Friedberg-Bruchenbrücken, Hesse. The only complete artefact left in Gr 8 was a spearhead, lying outside the coffin. This spearhead dates the grave to the second half of the 6th century. The bones were of a male, about 35 years of age. The size and form of the grave suggest that the burial would originally have been better-furnished, probably with at least a sword and belt. These are thought to have been the robbers' plunder.

The grave was disturbed after the process of soft tissue decomposition had begun but not complete, perhaps 1-3 years after the man's death. The bones showed some disorder, especially in the central area, but the disturbance was not massive. A cone-shaped area of dark soil marked the robber cut into the right side of the pelvis, and contained bone and a piece of iron, probably a fragment of belt fitting.

Thiedmann and Schleifring argue that the initial appearance, that the robbers must have had prior knowledge of the burial in order to make their targeted cut, was incorrect. They had in fact used a probe to explore the grave before digging, in order to find the quickest and most economical route to the grave-goods. Evidence of this implement, probably a pick of some kind, could be seen in a square lesion cut into one shinbone (Fig. 6), and also in the slight displacement of bones outside the reopened area.

Thiedmann and Schleifring's deductions about the tool used at Friedberg-Bruchenbrücken are supported by discoveries at several other sites. Small boreholes into graves are reported at Eußenheim (Leinthaler 1995-6). Damage from probing was reported in the disturbed skeleton in Pantonville Gr 101, discussed below. There it was shown to have been inflicted some years or decades post-mortem, by a blunt-ended instrument (Wahl & Brunecker 2008). Coincidentally, this early medieval probing method is almost identical to that developed a millennium later by Kentish antiquarians (Appendix 1.4).

There have been various claims of finds in disturbed graves of metal instruments used as probes, although Stephanie Zintl (pers. comm.) cautions that some of the finds claimed as robbing hooks appear too fragile for the purpose and may be metal parts belonging to *Klappstühle*.

For the early medieval period, a metal implement in a disturbed grave at Unterfeld in Viecht, Bavaria was interpreted as this kind of probe and/or tool for hooking artefacts out of the grave (Dannhorn 1994: 300). It was a 45.5cm long iron stick with a ring at one end and a hook at the

other, found sticking vertically out of the burial stratum in Gr 65. The probing was not wholly successful, since two bird brooches and other grave-goods were also found left in the burial. Perhaps the robbers were disturbed in their work, causing them to forget the implement.

At Aubing, also in Bavaria, Gr 379 had the iron prong of some kind of tool stuck deep in the earth at the foot end of the grave. The suggested reconstruction resembles a wooden hay fork. The report suggested that once the burial level was reached, a tool rather than the hand was preferred for searching through the remains (Dannheimer 1998: 26-29).

Robbing tools are also documented in the widely robbed graves of the European Bronze Age. Henrik Thrane (1978) presents a number of examples in his paper on grave-robbery in Bronze Age Denmark. The exceptional wood preservation in many of these graves enabled finds of hook-ended sticks up to a metre or so long. The coffins were also in good enough condition that the holes through which the sticks had been pushed could be seen. The holes were small, at most 13 by 24 cm, so that the robbers could not see the grave contents, and could at best get a hand and an arm inside. In larger coffins it might not be possible to reach the whole assemblage. Thrane provides a reconstruction drawing of this method, which he considers shows robbing to be a hidden rather than official act, and highly irreverent (Thrane 1978: 16).

In central Europe, parts of a wooden spade found in the central chamber of the Iron Age mound at Magdalenenberg bei Villingen have been used to date the robbers' intrusion by dendrochronology. The spade reportedly dates to at least 47 years after the timbers were cut for the chamber, giving unusually precise information about the interval between burial and robbing (Hollstein 1973: 54, Baitinger 1992: 341-342). Additionally, since we can see that the disturbance there took place within the airspace of an intact wooden chamber, the Magdalenenberg evidence shows that this kind of construction could last for nearly half a century before the roof collapsed, which is a useful analogy for investigations of grave-robbery elsewhere.

Some of the most detailed information so far recovered about robbers' working methods comes from the late Roman or Migration period chamber grave excavated in 2006 at Poprad, Matejovce, in northern Slovakia (Pieta 2008). A heavy axe, a pick, and three wooden shovels were interpreted as the robbers' tools – although why they were left behind is unclear. A hearth and remains of torches imply that in this case the robbers worked at night. The inner chamber had been systematically robbed, leaving only a few uninteresting or overlooked items, including bronze arrowheads, playing pieces, and an awl. Nuts, the remains of leather and clothing, and a gold

pendant made from a solidus, perhaps accidentally dropped, were also found. In the outer chamber were intact grave-goods in the form of vessels and food remains.

Viecht-Unterfeld

Thomas Dannhorn (1994) made a study of robbing methods at Viecht-Unterfeld, Bavaria, where some 90% of the 278 excavated 5th-8th century graves had been disturbed in antiquity. Mapping the disturbed areas of each skeleton, he identified 13 different robbing patterns, from near complete disturbance and removal of some bones to much more limited disorder. However, it is not clear what conclusions can be drawn from these patterns, since Dannhorn makes the same observation as Müller (1976) and Codreanu-Windauer (1997), that the visible traces of robber shafts and the areas of skeletal disturbance do not necessarily match up, so that neither is by itself a complete guide to the activities of robbers in a given grave. More significantly, Dannhorn shows that use of a hook should not be thought of as a separate robbing method, but could feature in either total or partial reopening (Dannhorn 1994: 304).

Since the disturbance at Viecht-Unterfeld is so near complete, Dannhorn speculated that some motive beyond material gain may have underlain it. He tentatively suggested that this may be connected with the memory of social status represented by grave-goods, giving the living a motive to obtain them. In this model the value of the robbed artefacts lies not in their pre-burial worth, but in their former use as grave-goods and their associations with dead individuals. It is similar to the idea of recovering kingly valuables from graves in Scandinavia (Chapter 1), although on a more mundane scale. Although Dannhorn does not explore the idea this far, if social status were to be conveyed by stolen artefacts, it would have to be possible legitimately to display the goods.

At Viecht-Unterfeld Dannhorn presents one of a handful of examples of what look like attempts to propitiate the robbed dead through sacrificial rituals. In the half-filled robber cut of one grave at the site were placed the beheaded corpses of a fox and a dog. Dannhorn sees this as a strongly pagan ritual act (Dannhorn 1994: 209). Such finds are rare in the row-grave zone, but appear from time to time and may be reported more frequently as robbed graves and their backfill are increasingly regarded as worthy research objects.

Much more frequent and developed examples of an apparently similar practice are seen in the Masłomęcz group graves in Hungary (below). In addition, Ludwig Pauli (1975: 172) cites evidence presented by Joachim Werner (1962: 87) from a group of 6th century AD Czech and

Slovenian cemeteries in which robbed graves contain whole or partial deer antlers. Werner ascribes this to a magical, ritual form of early medieval grave opening.

Pliening

Silvia Codreanu-Windauer's publication of Pliening in Bavaria includes one of the most detailed appraisals of robbing evidence so far (Codreanu-Windauer 1997: 28-34). Like Müller, Codreanu-Windauer shows that in most cases robbers did not have detailed knowledge of the graves they opened. She presents evidence which puts into question the primacy of material gain as the main motive, instead interpreting grave-robbery as a weapon in social conflict.

Some 36-40% of the 260-270 excavated graves at Pliening showed signs of ancient robbing, with a few more in which disturbance might be due to animals or recent opening. Robbing predominantly affected adult male burials, with 32 men disturbed compared to only 19 women. This imbalance is unusual; more common are comments that roughly equal numbers of male and female graves were affected (as seen in most of the sites discussed above, also e.g. Périn 1980: 284-5, Verwers 1987: 187). It must imply foreknowledge of graves, or at least a partial ability to identify male burials on the surface.

As in other cemeteries the graves of children were largely spared. Codreanu-Windauer suggests this may hang together with the sparse grave assemblages accorded to children, if the robbers were aware of it. Alternatively, the smaller grave mounds over children's graves may have been more difficult to find and so overlooked.

In most cases robber cuts were no longer visible, so that disturbance could only be identified through skeletal disarray. In 24 graves the contents were totally dug through, with skeletal parts strewn throughout the grave cut or heaped together. Even in these thoroughly disturbed graves the skull and/or mandible sometimes remained in situ, perhaps due to their peripheral position. In the other graves the disturbance was more confined, with female skeletons usually showing disorder in the upper body down to the pelvis, and male ones on the left side, or less frequently the right.

As Müller demonstrated at Hemmingen, the few graves which had identifiable robber shafts showed clearly that the location of skeletal disorder is a poor guide to the route taken by the robbers into the grave. For example, in Pliening Gr 66 the skeletal disturbance was confined to the right leg, which would give the impression of a targeted cut. However, since the robber trench survived in this grave, we can see that they in fact opened and inspected a much greater area of the grave, from the head down to the right knee. Moreover, in many other graves the

bones found strewn through the grave fill are evidence that the plunder shaft was much larger than the observably disturbed area of the skeleton.

In another example, Gr 42, Codreanu-Windauer shows that the robbers initially opened a cut along the right hand side, in hope of finding a male grave with a weapon. Once they realised they had opened a female grave, they extended the cut over the upper body. However, only the bones of the trunk were disturbed, since that was the only area from which artefacts were plucked. This is the opposite approach from the one Müller proposed, suggesting that the robbers had different priorities at the two sites. Here at Pliening they aimed first for weapons, whereas at Hemmingen female jewellery was the main goal. These priorities may well reflect the dates and furnishing customs of the cemeteries, since later Pliening includes a greater preponderance of weapons than early Hemmingen.

Without better coffin preservation it was not possible to say much more about the robbing methods used. In two graves (42 and 67) the coffins seem to have been intact, and they may be cases of breaking through an intact coffin lid, probably using some form of the hook robbing technique. Still, in most cases the robbers evidently used the method of partially or entirely digging out the grave.

In most cases at Pliening, and as discussed at other sites, the robbers seem to have been able to dig straight down into burials. However in one case, Gr 183, the position of the robber cut showed that the robbers could not in fact see the alignment of the grave clearly on the surface.

The report remarks on the brutality with which some graves were opened. In Gr 64 the entire left arm lay in the grave fill and had evidently been still articulated at the time of robbing. On the basis of the spread of other bones, the robber cut had encompassed the entire grave. There appears to have been a solid coffin, from which the robbers removed the lid. Yet instead of simply removing the desired grave-goods, they ransacked the whole contents and mutilated the corpse.

Against this are a few other graves, such as Gr 66 and 67, where the robbers appear to have worked with "piety". The treatment of the bodies was thus conspicuously varied, from total or partial rifling to apparent care and avoidance of damage. This variety is probably present at other continental sites, though rarely commented on before Codreanu-Windauer, and is a feature of the disturbance of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries discussed in Chapter 5.

The degree of secrecy under which the robbers operated is one of the main points of contention in interpretations of grave-robbery, and has obvious implications for the robbers' identity and for

the legitimacy of their actions. At Pliening Codreanu-Windauer argued that the robbers needed both daylight and plenty of time to complete their work, pointing to the successful removal of even small grave-goods such as beads. She therefore postulates some toleration of robbing by society at large.

Codreanu-Windauer questioned whether material gain can have been the robbers' main motive at Pliening and elsewhere, in particular seeing little support for the hypothesis that a scarcity of precious metals fuelled robbing. She observed that the robbing mainly affected 7th century graves, which typically do not contain significant quantities of valuable non-ferrous metals. Silver earrings and bead necklaces were the most that could be hoped from the graves of this period, yet in some burials the earrings were actually left behind.

Certain 6th century graves were probably more productive, such as Gr 185, from which three brooches had apparently been removed from an original four part set. Gr 163 is also likely to have contained brooches, but all had been taken. However, in Gr 14 most of the valuables were actually left. Out of this clearly robbed grave only a bow brooch was missing; the bronze pendant and two silver brooches remained in the grave. Knives, combs, pendants, and bags do not seem to have roused the interest of the grave robbers, and neither did belt buckles, which are left in four robbed female graves.

Turning to the male graves, it is clear that the robbers had the sword in the first line of sight when they set to work. Parts of sword sheaths were found in 6 graves; Gr 70 showed rustmarks from the stolen weapon. However, could a sword in this condition possibly be put to use as a weapon? The tripartite belt sets were also liable to fall apart when lifted, and must in any case have been old-fashioned by the time of robbing.

Codreanu-Windauer's spatial analysis of the layout of Pliening identified family groups, one of which appears uniquely free from robbing. Only one grave (Gr 100) in this cluster is robbed, even though two well-furnished female graves Gr 102 and 109, sword grave Gr 103 and the only spear grave of the 7th century, Gr 107, are all found here. Codreanu-Windauer argued that their sparing from grave-robbery cannot be explained chronologically, but rather that this family was able to protect its graves from plunder. This implies that they knew the potential grave robbers, or perhaps even that the robbers were to be found in their ranks.

The latter may be indicated by the find in Gr 105 of a spiral inlaid belt buckle tongue which appeared to have been taken from robbed Gr 79 and reused (Fig. 5). Codreanu-Windauer takes this find as confirming that the grave robbers come from within the local population. Along with

the similar cases from Bülach and Marktoberdorf discussed above, this is another indication that robbed items at least sometimes stayed within the local community and were worn and displayed openly.

Codreanu-Windauer concludes that the violent approach and the targeting of weapons point to a motive in the spiritual realm, and were intended to diminish the power and prestige of the dead, rendering them unfit to support the living. She argues that the cause of the robbing is to be found in "local arguments, the character of which admittedly remains hidden from us". This, she suggests, is the reason why almost 80 percent of grave-fields like Pulling and Feldmoching fell victim to the robbers, while the cemeteries at Altenerding and Öxing remained as good as unrobbed. Her interpretation is thus along the same lines, although more specific, as that put forward at Hemmingen by Müller, who saw the origin of grave-robbery in the feuding that plagued the period (Müller 1976: 125, above). It is related to Dannhorn's model (above), but negative in the sense that the removal of artefacts was intended to remove status from the dead as much as to convey it to the living.

Codreanu-Windauer's work at Pliening is an example of how tightly robbing activity can sometimes be dated. Robbing at Pliening affected mainly 7th century burials, with at least 43 disturbed, but there are also 8 robbed 6th century graves. In almost all cases skeletonization was complete by the time of disturbance. However two bodies, in Gr 64 and 67, were still partially articulated. Both of these are artefact-dated to the middle of the 7th century. The other datable disturbed 7th century graves belong to the first part of the century. As at Bülach (Werner 1953: 5-7), the grave clusters from the later 7th century were undisturbed. Codreanu-Windauer therefore considered that the bulk of robbing at Pliening took place during a brief phase in the middle and the third quarter of the 7th century.

While earlier phases of robbing cannot be ruled out, there is no evidence that requires them. The 6th century disturbed graves were substantially decayed by the time of robbing, so were probably all robbed along with the others in the 7th century. This is clearly the case for Gr 163, which was uncovered and looted during the digging of Gr 162, which dates to the second half of the 7th century. Three further robbed 6th century graves were unusually deep, and given the correlation between grave depth and mound size evidenced at other sites, they probably also had uncommonly large mounds which would still have been clearly visible in the 7th century.

Further corroboration for the dating comes from the robbers' choice of graves to target. Although (as discussed above) Codreanu-Windauer shows that in most cases the robbers had no

knowledge of the grave contents before reopening, she argued that in the heavily disturbed south section, the selection of graves shows that the robbers possessed a rough picture of the burials near-contemporary with their own time. In this particular area all the untouched adult graves were poorly endowed or unfurnished. Meanwhile the surrounding graves were without exception robbed.

Aubing

Another a clear, recent discussion of robbing evidence is provided by Hermann Dannheimer (1998: 26-29) for the extensive cemetery at Aubing, Bavaria. At least 881 graves have been excavated at the site, with the remains of over 900 individuals, about half of whom had been disturbed in antiquity. Dannheimer noted that children's skeletons were almost entirely decomposed, and so could not be assessed for robbing.

In several cases older graves were robbed before the interment of an overlying burial, as seen at Müngersdorf and Pliening (above), and sites in Kent (Chapter 5). These do not seem to have been secondary burials, in the sense of a complete re-use of the same grave cut, but the juxtaposition with the earlier interments may have been deliberate. It is not clear that robbing took place in conjunction with the overlying burials, but it must have occurred before or during their interment. In some cases the later burials had also been subsequently robbed. For example, robbed male Gr 495 lay some 20cm under robbed adult Gr 494. The burial layers were not mixed; the burials had been robbed separately, Gr 495 before the deposition of Gr 494. Two important conclusions can be drawn from these examples: robbing took place while burial continued at Aubing, and there were multiple robbing episodes.

It was evident from several graves that reopening frequently occurred before skeletonization was complete. In at least 5 cases skeletal parts remained attached despite being dug out of and thrown back into graves. In a few cases the robber cuts could be clearly seen. In many cases the excavators had the impression that the robbers knew where they should search for the desired grave-goods. For example, in double grave Gr 676/677 only the female burial was disturbed, and only in the upper body area.

On the other hand, Dannheimer also observed that robbing could take place without any evident disturbance to the body. It is likely that Müller and Codreanu-Windauer's analysis applies here too: the disturbed areas of the skeletons are not the only ones viewed or explored by the robbers and cannot be taken as evidence of prior knowledge of grave contents. Then again, Dannheimer reported that the undisturbed graves at the site were poorly furnished or without gravegoods,

which may suggest robbers knew which burials to target, or were able to make deductions on the basis of their surface appearance.

Remseck-Pantonville

Some of the most up-to-date evidence for Merovingian-period robbing comes from the recently excavated row-grave cemetery of Remseck-Pantonville in Kreis Ludwigsborg, Baden-Württemberg (Bofinger & Przemyslaw 2008). Here the excavators were able to approach the material with a body of questions raised by previous research into grave opening. Their broad conclusion, like that at most of the early medieval sites discussed here, is that although motives might go beyond the purely material, removal of grave-goods was the central focus.

The use period of Remseck-Pantonville stretched from the early Merovingian period to the later 7th century, with the peak in the second half of the 6th century and the beginning of the 7th century. Nearly all the graves showed signs of "more or less brutal robbing".

The favourable soil conditions preserved unusually clear evidence of the robber cuts, which in most cases were visible from immediately under the topsoil. The cuts were seen as irregular discolourations within the areas of the grave cuts, continuing down to the grave floors. In most cases displaced skeletal parts were found in the robber cuts, thought to have been dug out with the earth and then thrown back into the pits.

The position of the robber cut is said to have been closely correlated with the sex of the dead at Pantonville, although no statistics are presented. The cuts were generally in the area of the upper body in female graves, where most jewellery and dress elements were found, and towards the middle and lower parts of male graves, where weapons and other equipment lay. It was therefore inferred that either the sex was evident from the aboveground grave marking, or the robbers knew who was buried in each grave.

In addition, the small number of graves which were spared robbing were generally shallow and lacking in valuables. They also lacked the traces of wooden coffins and other structures seen in many of the disturbed graves. The deepest graves and those with wooden chambers had reportedly been most completely disturbed and robbed out.

This effective targeting of wealthy burials is unusual. More common are comments such as those of Stoll, Fingerlin, and Neuffer-Müller, that the robbers had left some markedly well-furnished graves, while opening some apparently empty ones. On the other hand, although the Pantonville robbers seem to have had advance knowledge of assemblages, or at least to have been able to

make accurate inferences about them from grave markings, they were still not particularly selective in their reopening, if fewer than 10% escaped robbing. Both male and female graves appear to have been equally attractive; no claim that weapons were particularly sought after can be made here.

Secrecy was thought unlikely, on the grounds of the large size and depth of the cuts. There was considerable variation in the treatment of the skeletal remains. In some burials the bones lay in disorder on the grave floor, while in others the majority of the skeleton was missing. There were also some cases of bones piled in a corner of the grave, a pattern seen in other sites including Pliening (see above), Burgweinting-Schule (Stephanie Zintl pers. comm.) and cemeteries in Kent (Chapter 5).

In most cases the graves appeared to have been readily identifiable on the surface. However, in one area of the cemetery there were a number of pits similar to the robber cuts, but which did not correspond with any graves. These were interpreted as prospecting for burials, perhaps at a later period. Such have also been reported at Künzig-Bruck in Kreis Deggendorf (Hannibal-Deraniyagala 2007: 7). At Pantonville some graves in this zone seemed to have been disturbed more than once: Gr 577 had been cut by a robber pit, with the characteristic skeletal disturbance of the early period. It had then later been "sounded" by the use of a tool thought similar to the iron rod reported at Eching-Viecht, leaving small boreholes like those seen at Eußenheim plus puncture and scraping marks on the remaining skeletal parts (Dannhorn 1994: 300, Leinthaler 1995-6, Wahl & Brunecker 2008, above).

Lombards

Just outside the main Merovingian focus of this chapter, both in date and geography, lie the Lombardic cemeteries of central Europe. Widespread early disturbance has been recognized here since the 1930s (Seracsin 1936, Aspöck 2002, 2003, Tejral 2008), and was noted in brief by Roth, who featured the detailed observations about robbing methods made at Vörs, Hungary, by Károly Sági (Sági 1964, Roth 1978: 65-66, above). So common was the 5th-6th century ransacking, that the unusual depth of Lombardic graves has been interpreted as a deterrent to robbers (Adler 1970: 39 note 11, cited in Aspöck 2002: 27). Edeltraud Aspöck presents a recent overview of the Lombardic research as background to her investigation of the disturbed cemetery at Brunn am Gebirge, Austria (Aspöck 2002: 26-28, 2003: 239-240), so only the most relevant points are included here.

In this region interpretations have centred on the movements of ethnic groups, especially through historical accounts of migrations and other events. Mid-20th century authors saw robbery as a marker of migrations as incoming populations, especially Slavic tribes, replaced the inhabitants and raided the grave fields of their predecessors (e.g. Werner 1962, Sági 1964, Beninger & Mitscha Märheim 1966: 170, Adler 1970). Šaratice in the Czech Republic is one example. Here Čeněk Staňa identified two phases punctuated by a population change. At the end of the first, every single one of the 5th century pre-Lombardic graves was ransacked and left open. In the second burial phase, seven of the emptied graves were reused, but in a way not felt to respect the previous interment (cited in Tejral 1977: 84).

Lack of respect shown to the remains of the dead is also referred to as ruling out robbing by the burying population in Horst Adler's 1970 review of the regional evidence (Adler 1970: 138-147). However, Adler gives prime place to material gain rather than a destructive motive. Since weapons were rarely placed in graves of the Lombardic type, non-ferrous metals were thought the main goal (Beninger & Mitscha Märheim 1966: 170). Metal scarcity is suggested here too, as later in the Merovingian context: "*Der Grund für diese Beraubung mag sicherlich in der Gier nach dem rar gewordenen Edelmetall gelegen haben, auch eine gewisse Rohstoffknappheit dürfte dafür verantwortlich gewesen sein.*" (Friesinger 1988: 59).

More recently, István Bóna (1993) has strongly criticized Austrian research perspectives as unwilling to admit the written and archaeological evidence that their "own" populations carried out robbing. Bóna presents a varied picture of robbing in the Pannonian region – as opposed to the much more intensively raided cemeteries north of the Danube – pointing to the variation in robbing levels between sites. Such discrepancies between burial grounds are frequently remarked in several regions. In Bóna's case, the variation is explained as between "family burial grounds" (*Familiengräberfelder*) of which only parts are affected, and "clan burial grounds" (*Sippegräberfelder*), which are completely ransacked, presumably due to the looser personal connections between the cemetery users. That said, he too accepts systematic robbing in conjunction with certain 6th century population movements (Bóna 1993: 124-5, cited in Aspöck 2003: 240).

Brunn am Gebirge

Edeltraud Aspöck's recent publication of the 6th century cemetery at Brunn am Gebirge, Flur Wolfholz, Austria is one of the benchmark recent reports of Lombardic robbing evidence (Aspöck 2002, 2003, Aspöck & Stadler 2003). All 42 of the burials at Brunn had been disturbed in antiquity, with one possible exception. Aspöck classified the degree of disturbance to each

grave, plus the location of the robber cut where identified, and the state of preservation of the corpse at the time of disturbance. She made the crucial observation that in coffined burials it is frequently possible to tell whether the chamber was still intact at the time of disturbance, or whether it was earth-filled (Chapters 4.9, 5). Her approaches are drawn upon several times in the sections which follow on Anglo-Saxon reopening.

Aspöck's conclusions are limited by the small size of her sample, but she judges that the Brunn am Gebirge graves were probably successively, rather than simultaneously, reopened by the burying population. Reopening happened within about 35 years of burial, and in some cases much sooner. Many graves seemed to have been refilled only partially after robbing, so that their violation must have been plain to see. This is the opposite of Stoll's observation of attempts to conceal robbing in a Merovingian context (Stoll 1939: 9, above).

The exception was the group of burials which had been reopened before fleshy decomposition was complete: these had been fully backfilled. Aspöck does not speculate on the reasons behind this, but it seems likely that more care was taken in re-covering the partially rotted bodies, presumably because of the smell and disgust or a sense that this decomposition should take place out of sight. There is also a possibility that the early reopening was connected with fears of revenants (below and Chapter 6.3).

In several of the Brunn graves skeletal parts had been deliberately separated from the rest, which Aspöck saw as an indication of a destructive impulse behind the reopening. Disturbed skeletons were frequently damaged or incomplete, though this was probably frequently the accidental result of digging, rather than intentional removal. Then again, it is striking that the skull, despite its size and high recognition factor, was the bone most frequently missing, absent in 13 (38%) of burials.

Four out of the six burials where the skeletonization was still incomplete at time of disturbance showed skull manipulation. In two (Gr 9 and 20, Fig. 3), very similar burials, an extra skull had been added during the reopening. Stones were placed around the original skull in one of these. In another burial (Gr 5) the skull had been placed in the chest area. In the last (Gr 26) the skull had been removed. Two of these four burials showed signs of grave-goods also having been removed, but in the others this was not proven. Aspöck suggests that this treatment of bodies may be connected with the overcoming of *Wiedergänger*, especially as it occurred so soon after burial (Aspöck 2002: 67).

Aspöck notes another Austrian case of skull collection, at Erpersdorf where 4 skulls were found in one disturbed grave (Hampl 1964: 60, Aspöck 2002: 26). Similar tendencies deliberately to

rearrange skulls are also seen in the 7th century context. At the Viecht-Unterfeld burial ground in Bavaria Dannhorn considered this manipulation secondary to the main motive of removing grave-goods, but found that in 7 reopened graves the skull had been lifted and placed in the area of the lower body. The skull-moving pattern was marked enough to form one of his 13 robbing types (Dannhorn 1994: 303).

At Brunn am Gebirge small numbers of bones from a second individual were found in 4 disturbed graves. Such evidence may be taken as evidence for the simultaneous reopening of more than one grave, as at Bronze Age Gemeinlebarn F (below). However, Aspöck shows that it is crucial to think stratigraphically here, as bones, like other loose material, can find their way into hollows left after reopening and thus appear to be incorporated into grave fill. This was the case in two of the Brunn graves, while in the other two extra skulls had been deliberately added to the burial context during reopening. Due to poor bone preservation and the high proportion of emptied graves it was not possible at Brunn to reconstruct from which graves the extraneous material had come. (Aspöck 2002: 66).

Mixing of bone material between disturbed graves is a marked feature of the Bronze Age cemetery at Gemeinlebarn F, also in Austria. Johannes-Wolfgang Neugebauer (1991: 115, below) takes it as evidence of the disrespect with which graves were treated by robbers. It is much more limited in the Merovingian-period cemeteries, although seen at Rübenach (Neuffer-Müller & Ament 1973: 18-19) and Hemmingen (Müller 1976: 121-125). Hemmingen Gr 25, for example, contained extra bones believed to have been taken from nearby Gr 8, about five metres away. It was thought that the graves had been opened simultaneously, and the bones accidentally or carelessly returned into the wrong trench. At Künzing-Buck, Kreis Deggendorf three neighbouring graves, Gr 189, 196, and 197 were considered all have been opened at the same time because skeletal parts from Gr 197 ended up in the backfill of the other two burials (Hannibal-Deraniyagala 2007: 7).

There are a small number of similar cases in Kent (Chapter 5.2), although the evidence there highlights the difficulties of distinguishing this kind of admixture from material which has been redeposited during the reuse of a grave cut.

Masłomęcz

At the eastern edge of the study area is a group of cemeteries included here for their unusually elaborate ritual treatment of reopened graves. This is the Masłomęcz group of grave fields in

eastern Poland, dating to the last centuries of the Roman Empire and earlier part of the Migration Period, or the 3rd to 5th centuries AD (Kokowski 1991).

These cemeteries serve mainly as a counterpoint to the Merovingian burial grounds which are the main focus of this chapter. Ritual activity, such as secondary funerary customs, has several times been put forward as an alternative for the robbery explanation for early medieval grave reopening. The Masłomęcz cemeteries have evidence for such customs in abundance; they illustrate by contrast the near (although not complete) absence of ritual activity during grave disturbance in Merovingia.

Andrzej Kokowski (1991: 128) saw grave-robbery as the exception in the Masłomęcz cemetery cluster; most of the reopening being explained by the population's own burial rituals. At Masłomęcz itself 47 out of 290 graves were assessed as reopened in antiquity, at Gródek am Bug 17 out of 163, and at Moroczyn 2 out of 10. Kokowski identified three main grounds for reopening: (1) to cremate part of a body; (2) to symbolize family links by putting adult bones into a child's grave or vice versa; (3) to add vessels or animals to graves. There are also some unfurnished graves which had been reopened for reasons which are not archaeologically visible.

Twenty-one burials had only part of the skeleton lying in situ, but with cremated bone deposited in the fill. In some cases it could be shown that these secondary deposits were of the missing parts of the primary interment. The secondary cremated remains were often furnished with their own grave-goods (Kokowski 1991: 123).

Masłomęcz Gr 84, for example, was initially reopened in order to remove the bones of the upper body down to the pelvis. The upper parts of the wooden coffin were damaged and the robber cut went a little deeper than the grave floor. The second reopening took place in order to bury cremated bones, almost certainly the parts earlier taken from the body, in the grave fill. The cremated deposit was furnished with a brooch and beads, grave-goods which are normally found in the chest area and quite possibly those originally interred with the primary burial (Kokowski 1991: 124).

Twelve graves had added cremated remains or selected bones from second individuals. Some of these secondary depositions had their own grave-goods. In some cases bones of adult women were placed in children's graves, suggesting a kin relationship. There was also evidence for the concentration of ritual behaviour on skulls: the skeletal part added to Gr 287 at Masłomęcz was the complete head of an adult, while two skulls had been placed in the secondary cut in Gródek

Gr 22. This is notable since, as discussed below, the limited evidence for skeletal manipulation in the row-grave zone centres on skulls.

There were several interments with animals on the grave floor and cremated human remains in the backfill of reopened graves. One burial was of a hen covered with a vessel. In another a large goose lay in a wooden coffin with a comb, beads, belt parts and other grave-goods. Other such burials contained complete skeletons of hare, boar, and duck (Kokowski 1991: 122).

Some analogous practices, at least the partial inhumation burials, are known from neighbouring cultures, where a magical/cultic interpretation has been preferred. However, excavation and recording of these cemeteries tended to focus only on the grave floor, with little attention given to the fills. Kokowski expresses the hope that future study will reveal whether similar redeposition also featured there (Kokowski 1991: 124, 130). The backfill of early medieval graves in general may be considered neglected, notably as a source of evidence about recuts. Still, we can securely conclude that evidence of ritual activity on this scale is absent in Merovingia.

Christianisation

Merovingian grave-robbery is frequently linked with the spread of Christianity, substantially because of the broad chronological concord between the two. However, the nature of any causal relationship between the change of religion and grave-robbery is contested. The idea of a link largely originates with Roth, who made it a cornerstone of his interpretations. Roth saw a connection between robbery and Christian rejection of the furnished burial custom. In his 1977 article he argued that since grave-goods had no place in Christian thought, Christianity provided legitimation for grave-robbery in what remained an essentially pagan society (1977: 290). He concluded his seminal 1978 paper with the statement that:

> "During the Merovingian period, a distinctive sort of grave-robbery first made its appearance, a development that can only be explained as a consequence of the knowledge and further spread of Christianity and its ideas. A general familiarity with Christian belief systems, in which grave goods for the dead no longer had a place, caused these pagan customs and ideas to lose their unique efficacy".
>
> (Roth 1978: 74)

These ideas have since been criticised from several angles. Ludwig Pauli pointed to the implausibility of this one element of Christian doctrine, the modest poverty of the dead in the hereafter, being picked out to justify the snatching of resources from graves: "*Sie kann nicht einfach*

dadurch beschrieben werden, daß Langobarden, Bajuwaren oder Franken aus dem christlichen Lehrgebäude isoliert den Satz von der Bedürfnislosigkeit der Toten im himmlischen Jenseits herausgepickt hätten, um in einer Zeit der Metallverknappung die subjective Legitimation für Rohstoffgewinnung aus Gräbern zu erhalten" (Pauli 1982: 472).

Bonnie Effros (2002: 61) has shown that Roth's thesis rests on an outdated conception of grave-goods as a non-Christian practice. She points to the lack of evidence of clerical disapproval of furnished burial, contrasting this silence with the many law codes that show the efforts of the Christian hierarchy to protect grave-goods and integrity of the grave. The tide of opinion has more generally turned against the idea of Christian hostility to grave-goods during the conversion period (e.g. Geake 1997, Blair 2005).

On the other hand, Effros followed Roth in considering robbing "symptomatic not only of the breakdown of social fabric but also of less concern with or respect for the functions of grave goods" (Effros 2002: 59). This idea is contested here. In an English context, Helen Geake (1997, Chapter 3) in particular has shown that the cultural references of conversion period grave assemblages changed to maintain grave-goods as a meaningfully constituted part of the burial rite. The specific selection of objects for removal suggested on the continent (below), and demonstrated in detail in the Anglo-Saxon sections of this thesis, puts the basis of robbing in the meaningfulness, not irrelevance, of funerary artefacts.

Heiko Steuer (1982: 498) has argued that since large parts of the Frankish elite had been Christian since Clovis' time, the row-grave custom and Christianisation should be seen as parallel and not antithetical phenomena. However, he also considered the new religion as a factor in the robbery boom, suggesting that the spread of the cult of the saints contributed to an atmosphere in which less stringent mores allowed greater contact with the dead (Steuer 1982: 500).

Steuer saw grave-robbery as happening at times of radical social change, of breakage with the past: "*Umbruchzeiten*" with "*veränderten sozialen Verhältnisse*". In the Merovingian case he argued that graves were looted as a result of the shift from a "free" to a "dependent" manorial society, and the associated centralization of wealth. The majority could no longer afford to keep up the grave-good practice and families abandoned their ancestral graves, leaving them vulnerable to looting (Steuer 1982: 499).

Steuer refuted Müller's suggestion of robber bands or feuds on the grounds that such practices would not occur within or between closely related ethnic groups "*zwischen so kulturell verwandten Gruppen wie Alemannen und Franken, geschweige dem innerhalb einer Stammesgemeinschaft*", but could only

be expected in cases of mass migration or collision between "*völlig fremder Völkerschaften*", entirely foreign nations (Steuer 1982: 499).

As supporting evidence Steuer argued that smaller, structured cemeteries have lower robbing levels than larger, amorphous ones, and that this is because social ties are closer in the smaller communities. This possibility that will be investigated in Kent, but it is unlikely that the data are of sufficient precision to support this conclusion either in England or on the continent.

Aside from these criticisms, Steuer's model is undermined by the chronology. Where detailed recent analysis as been carried out, such as by Codreanu-Windauer (1997) at Pliening and Dannheimer (1998) at Aubing, we can see that cemeteries continued to be used for at least a generation after robbing ceased. The burials also continued to include grave-goods, even after major robbing episodes.

The chronology is a central objection to many of the arguments which have attempted to explain reopening in terms of Christianisation. Effros (2002: 57), for example, suggests that the steadily rising level of grave-robbery in the Merovingian kingdoms and adjacent regions actually contributed to the decline of grave-good deposition and the search for more effective means of commemoration. This is a plausible idea, but based on Roth's probably erroneous dating. As discussed above, it is more likely the case that robbery happened during a fairly concentrated 7th century period, with furnished burial continuing afterwards, admittedly in a waning form.

Frans Theuws (1999), in his review of settlement and burial evidence from the Meuse-Demer-Scheldt region of present-day southern Netherlands and northern Belgium, speculates that so-called robbery might be explained by newly converted Christians reopening the graves of heathen ancestors for rituals of posthumous Christianisation. Here again the chronology is incompatible, or at least suggests that there was considerable disagreement about the new religion within communities, if some were disinterring pagan relatives while others clung for decades to the old practices. More fundamentally, the physical evidence of how the robbing was carried out speaks against benign interpretations, while the consistency with which excavators report grave-goods as the target of the reopening argues against reburial as the motivation.

A central argument against a link between Christianization and grave-robbery, or at least against acceptance of the widespread robbing by the Christian elite, is the frequent appearance of severe strictures against disturbance in the early law codes. The early 7th century *Lex Alamannorum* (57.9), for example, stipulates a fine of 40 *solidi* for grave-robbery; the same amount as to be paid in compensation for rape (56.1) or for violating the safe asylum of a church (3.1) (Merkel 1863).

Codes more closely based on Salic Law were even harsher, giving fines of 200 solidi and threatening outlaw status (Nehlsen 1978, Effros 2002: 49-50).

The legal prohibitions and other continental written sources on grave disturbance have been dealt with extensively by other authors (Lindenschmidt 1880-9, Redlich 1948, Fremersdorf 1955, Genrich 1971, Behrends 1978, Krüger 1978, Nehlsen 1978, Raddatz 1978, Roth 1977, 1978, Effros 2002: 41-78, Aspöck 2002, 2003), so only additional points will be made here.

It is important to be clear about exactly which references relate directly to the phenomenon of the intense robbery of the row-grave cemeteries. The range of legal and literary references during the early medieval period give a broad picture of the evolving approach of the church and secular elites towards burial, grave-goods, and the integrity of the Christian corpse. However, there is a temptation to seize upon mentions of grave reopening in sources widely divorced from the row-graves in time, space, and social context.

In particular, tales of grave-robbery in an ecclesiastical context, such as most of the oft-quoted stories related by Geoffrey of Tours, can have little direct relevance to the row-grave robbing. They feature thieves entering churches to steal jewelled crosses or golden decorations from tombs. Although disturbing the peace of the dead may aggravate the crime, there is a strong element in these tales of cautions against stealing what is essentially church property. Likewise stories which focus on the theft of relics rather than on grave-goods originate in the fierce competition between churches and monasteries for saintly remains (Geary 1986, 1990), rather than in the lay plundering of the field cemeteries.

Although grave-robbery seems everywhere reviled in the post-Roman period, the precise angle taken by law codes and other sources exhibits considerable regional and temporal variation. This would be a more fruitful research direction than the rather blanket approach frequently taken. Effros (2002: 50-51) shows, for example, that while Roman penal laws and those of the 11th century link grave opening with necromancy, this view is not shared by the Frankish sources. The possible exception is Burgundy, where grave-robbery is bracketed with sorcery and adultery in providing grounds for divorce. This evidence finds substantiation in the archaeological material, which, as argued here, gives little support for a ritual element in the row-grave robbing.

Steuer (1982: 498) raises a further objection to the posited link between Christian beliefs and grave-robbery, in that it occurs in other areas, such as Viking Age Scandinavia, where the new religion cannot be the driving force. This is certainly a weakness of the Christianisation argument, since even if the Scandinavian robbing can be regarded as a rather different phenomenon, the

central European Lombardic discoveries are markedly similar to the Merovingian finds, but are not explained in terms of conversion. However, there are a small number of examples outside Merovingia which suggest that Christianization, especially where associated with forced conversion, may sometimes have given rise to grave-robbery.

Werlaburgdorf

The first is an inhumation cemetery at Werlaburgdorf in Lower Saxony, where 236 out of a probable original total of 260 graves were excavated in 2004 (Blaich & Geschwinde 2007). Bone preservation was excellent due to the chalky soil conditions, allowing the excavators to see that about 14% of graves had been robbed in antiquity. Precise dating of the use period was difficult, since grave-goods were few in the first place and robbing had removed many more. Only about 20% of burials were found with artefacts. However, a start date around AD 800 and use throughout the 9th and into the 10th century are probable. The robbing here is therefore of a significantly later period than the Merovingian phenomenon.

The excavators' preliminary analysis suggests that the robbing is gender-specific and targeted, so that only the particular area of the grave-cut where grave-goods were known to lie is opened. This would imply that the grave-robbers had good knowledge of which people with what assemblages lay in which graves. However, as we have seen, this impression is probably misleading. What is useful, in spite of this, is that in some cases the disturbance was specific enough that a reasonable conjecture could be made about what grave-goods had been taken from their customary position. In particular, when a male grave was robbed, it appears to have been the knife that was usually targeted. This stands out against the Merovingian robbing, in which knives are typically – possibly uniformly – left behind.

On the limited evidence currently available, it appears that the closely targeted, limited disturbance caused to the burials at Werlaburgdorf was exclusively aimed at removing objects, rather than damaging or desecrating graves. This is in contrast to sites such as Pliening, where excavators comment on the brutality with which some burials have been attacked (Codreanu-Windauer 1997: 32, above). The objects might be taken for some reason other than material gain, such as to remove heathen grave-goods during Christianisation (Michael Geschwinde pers. comm.), but the artefacts themselves seem to be the focus.

The Werlaburgdorf excavators suggest a link between the grave field and the historically attested forced mass baptism at nearby Ohrum in AD 780. There is a strong possibility that here, as has been suggested for the Merovingian sites, the reopening of graves is in some way linked to the

coming of Christianity, either directly through the new ideology and practice of burial or indirectly through the social upheaval it caused. In this region in particular there is historical evidence for the violent power struggles of the conversion.

Estonia

The second outlying site is the Pada field cemetery in Virumaa in north-eastern Estonia (Tamla 1998). In the 1980s 192 burials were uncovered here, of which 42 had been disturbed in antiquity. The cemetery is coin-dated with burials starting about the middle of the 12th century and continuing into the 13th century. It is contemporary with the better-known ringfort which lies alongside.

Despite the much later date, in important aspects the cemetery resembles the row-grave cemeteries of Merovingia. The bodies are buried in an extended supine position, mostly in single graves, with a few double graves consisting of an adult with a child. Most have their heads towards the west, with a minority towards the east. Most have several grave-goods and dress items. Men are buried with household and work tools, weapons, and jewellery and dress accessories. Women have jewellery, dress accessories, and tools in the form of scythes. Children have arm rings, beads, pendants, and spearheads. Only two burials were originally unfurnished.

Almost all disturbance was confined to the chest area of burials. In just 8 cases the whole grave contents was disordered, and there were 3 cases of disturbance at the foot end. Burials were disturbed after skeletonization was complete. Frequently enough time had passed for substantial bronze stains to bear witness to the original wealth of the robbed burials. However robbing seems to have taken place during the use period of the cemetery, since at least one undisturbed grave overlies a robbed one. Graves must have been visible on the surface, and probably the orientation was also still marked, since chest areas were apparently successfully targeted, even when burials faced east.

Tomas Tamla sees the robbing as an open act and locates the robbers amongst the local population. He emphasizes that the robbing happened right under the eyes of the fort dwellers. He argues that strangers, perhaps besiegers, would be much more probable culprits if a whole area of the grave field had been disturbed, instead of which the robbed graves are spread out amongst the undisturbed ones as though individually selected.

Against the idea of robbing carried out by enemies stand the unexpectedly high number of grave-goods apparently deliberately left behind in graves. Valuable grave-goods were left in the disturbed areas of a number of burials. They are a mixed selection including brooches, arm rings,

finger rings, buckles, and a silver coin. Unlike in the Merovingian evidence, there is no claim of Christian symbolism for any of them. However, it does appear that they were deliberately selected to remain in graves, suggesting symbolic significance overriding a plunder motive.

Tamla follows the earlier authors on Merovingia in ascribing the robbing to the desire to obtain metal objects. The pattern of robbing suggests that the targets were the bronze objects which are mainly worn on the chest and arms. He refers to a find made in Hämeenlinna Hattula in Finland in 1925 of a hoard of more than a dozen bronze items, brooches, armrings, belt fittings and so forth, most of them in some way damaged. This is seen as a bronzesmith's collection, taken from graves at the end of the Merovingian and start of the Viking periods. Perhaps a similar enterprise was going on here.

Underlying this profit motive, however, Tamla sees robbery as connected to the Schwertmission with which Christianity was brought to the region. He points out that all known examples of Estonian robbery are grave fields which were in use during the 13th century. This is the phase during which the greater part of the Estonian people were being forcibly converted to Christianity. In Tamla's argument, robbing is unleashed by upheaval, rather than being ideologically-based in the church's opposition to grave-goods.

He sees the causes of grave-robbery as lying in the loss of political independence, the coming of a new ideology, and the associated identity crisis which shattered accepted beliefs and the established world view, leading to hitherto respected graves being violated. Tamla therefore suggests that robbery can be seen as an index for the arrival of Christianity in the Baltic, just as Roth considered it to be centuries before in Merovingia.

Prehistory

Alongside the early medieval work is a growing body of literature on grave-robbery in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages. The 1978 colloquium first juxtaposed prehistoric and early medieval papers, and subsequent literature on either period habitually includes examples from the other (E.g. Pauli 1975: 172, Rittershofer 1987: 5-9, Neugebauer 1991: 113, 126, 128, Baitinger 1992: 314, Randsborg 1998, Bartelheim & Heyd 2001: 269, Aspöck 2002, Kümmel 2005, 2008). The benefits are considerable, with improvements in recognition and recording of disturbance shared between the periods. This is notably the case for Christine Neugebauer-Maresch and Johannes-Wolfgang Neugebauer's work at Gemeinlebarn and Franzhausen in Austria (Neugebauer 1991, Neugebauer-Maresch & Neugebauer 1997, Sprenger 1999), which has informed recent early medieval publications (e.g. Aspöck 2002, 2003).

Another common motive for quoting material from other periods is to extend the interpretative range. This is seen, for example, in claims of amuletic material being deliberately left in graves, where mention is frequently made of apparent instances in other times and places (e.g. Pauli 1975: 172, Bartleheim & Heyd 2001: 271). As in other contexts, the significance and representativeness of findings may be overstated as speculative initial interpretations are transmitted into secondary literature. There is also a risk of circularity of argument as interpretations are bounced back and forth between periods without necessarily being firmly grounded in either.

With these cautions, prehistoric material can substantially inform investigations of early medieval robbery. The same questions crop up in diverse times and places: how close in time and affinity the robbers were to the dead and their mourners, under what degree of secrecy or social sanction the robbers worked, how to work out what was taken, and whether straightforwardly material motives adequately account for the evidence. Interpretations of prehistoric grave-robbery feature several of the same themes as in the early middle ages, but without the change of religion as an explanatory option.

Tauberbischofsheim-Dittigheim

Publications since 1978 have shown how much more widely spread the phenomenon of grave-robbery is in European prehistory than previously recognized (e.g. Rittershofer 1987, Baitinger 1992). Holger Baitinger (1992), for example, sets out to demonstrate that (*contra* Driehaus 1978) disturbance affects a range of Hallstatt period graves, by no means only those of the highest elite. Baitinger's starting point is a single disturbed tumulus: Gr 607 from the partially excavated Iron Age cemetery of Tauberbischofsheim-Dittigheim, Main-Tauber-Kreis in southern Germany. This is one of the benchmark reports which establish the level of detail at which grave disturbance needs to be reconstructed, if solid interpretations are to be made.

The scale and form of the Dittigheim grave means that the most direct early medieval parallels are found in boat and chamber burials, rather than the row-grave cemeteries. In particular, the method of reopening bears striking similarities with the robbing of Viking Age boat grave Gr 1 at Gamla Uppsala, Sweden (Klevnäs 2007). Gr 607 consisted of an inhumation burial in a shallow wooden chamber about 1.85m by 1.20m and 0.30-0.40m deep. The body was of a young woman, clothed, with dress accessories and grave-goods. Over the chamber was placed a stone setting, itself covered by a mound estimated at some 3.50m across and 1.20m high (Baitinger 1992: 330).

Baitinger emphasizes that identifying signs of ancient grave-robbery with any certainty is not straightforward. There are other, non-anthropogenic sources of disorder in ancient tombs. Even

when deliberate human disturbance is established, there are a wide range of potential motivations beyond the strict sense of theft (Baitinger 1992: 336, 338, 339). However, there can be little doubt of post-burial interference in Gr 607. To enter the grave, first a hole must have been dug through the mound, although this does not survive. Then the stone setting was cleared from the exposed area, giving an access point measuring about 0.80m by 0.55m. The robbers must then have broken through the wooden grave cover. The wood-lined cist in which the body lay evidently held together at the time of disturbance, since displaced bones were pushed into free space (Baitinger 1992: 332).

As in the Viking Age Gamla Uppsala grave, skeletonization was far from complete by the time of disturbance in Dittigheim Gr 607. Significant portions of the upper body (spine, right arm and hand) remained articulated when moved. There were no signs that bones were separated by violence (Baitinger 1992: 334); the body seems simply to have held together in some places but not others. While admitting that decomposition is a highly variable process, Baitinger therefore estimates that reopening occurred within about 3 years of burial (Chapter 4.9).

Since the robbers dug directly for the upper body, where women's valuables typically lie, Baitinger concluded that they knew the grave inventory and had perhaps even been present at the funeral. He points to other Iron Age examples in the region which give the same impression (Baitinger 1992: 342). As Müller and others have shown, this interpretation may not be necessary, if the robbers could work out the position and orientation of the grave on the surface. However it cannot in this case be ruled out, especially given the short timescale between burial and reopening here.

Baitinger did not consider this a hurried or violent intrusion. Rather, he felt that care had been taken in the way the remains of the upper body were moved and some of them arranged on top of the ceramic vessels. He uses this to argue that the robbery may have been carried out by relatives of the dead woman (Baitinger 1992: 333).

On the basis of the description and grave plan, that conclusion is contested here. Since the chamber was so shallow and the robbers' access hole quite small, the remains must have been pushed rather than lifted when moved, as indeed their appearance in a line along the side of the grave suggests. They were evidently considerably disordered during their displacement, or perhaps during an initial search for valuables, since the bones are jumbled with the skull nearest the pelvis. Presumably the remains of clothing interfered with the search, given that many of the postulated valuables would have been worn as dress items.

Given the state of the corpse, it is difficult to imagine the intruders doing anything more meticulous than using some sort of tool to try as quickly as possible to separate the most obvious valuables from the tangle of rotting flesh, bone and putrefied fabric. Perhaps they did it by shifting parts of the body in turn, in as large pieces as held together, and picking up the valuables which were left behind. This would explain both the jumbled body portions and the near complete emptiness of the original resting place. Notably the robbers did not pick up all the amber beads from the necklace which they broke during the ransacking, suggesting that these would have been more trouble than reward. Perhaps they were using a tool like the hooked sticks described above which could not lift a round bead.

Although the signs of special care or respect paid to the corpse are doubtful, Baitinger's evidence that the grave was fully backfilled after opening is more convincing (Baitinger 1992: 333-334). He also points out that in order to reach the burial, a maximum of only about 0.5m3 of earth had to be shifted (Baitinger 1992: 333). For larger mounds more than one robber would be needed, but a lone plunderer could manage a small monument like Gr 607 in a matter of hours (Baitinger 1992: 343). Baitinger does not consider that one needs to think in terms of "robber bands", or to assume that that the robbing took more than a day (Baitinger 1992: 333).

Since the Dittigheim skeleton was essentially all present, there is also no reason to think that the robbers were targeting bones or body parts. On the other hand, artefacts probably had been removed, since much less jewellery was found in Gr 607 than is expected in graves of this type. Corroboration was given by copper alloy stains on various bones which showed the former presence of costume items. Slight discolouration on the right radius, for example, came from a removed object. However Baitinger suggests that these stains were fewer than expected because soft tissue decomposition was incomplete and not all the metal objects were yet lying directly against bone (Baitinger 1992: 332). He cites information given to Karl-Friedrich Rittershofer (1987: 14, note 71) that bronze stains could appear on bone within a year of burial, but I am unaware of any experimental or other data on this, which is a question relevant to post-burial disturbance more widely. Copper alloy staining on bone is also frequently cited in the early middle ages as evidence for removed objects. For the Bronze Age, Silvia Sprenger (1999) has produced a substantial study reconstructing the original grave furnishings at heavily robbed Franzhausen I on the basis of the high numbers of bronze stains left on disturbed skeletons.

Back at Dittigheim, the objects left in Gr 607 were a simple bronze ring on the little finger of the displaced right hand, two iron pins and two bronze wire earrings among the disarticulated bones,

along with 38 amber beads, some fragments of metal artefacts, and a collection of 3 ceramic vessels (Baitinger 1992: 332). Baitinger suggests that the iron pins may have been left behind deliberately, perhaps indicating some amuletic character. He points to a grave at nearby Werbach, where a special significance has been argued for the belt ornament and bronze pins left by robbers (Baitinger 1992: 335, Wehrberger 1984: 183). Pauli (1975: 172) gives the example of the Iron Age tumulus at Kleinaspergle near Stuttgart, which was reopened while the wooden chamber still held together, with artefacts of apparently amuletic character remaining inside.

However, in Gr 607 there is no evidence of any special treatment or placing of these artefacts: the pins were found mixed up with the rest of the displaced bones and grave-goods. It seems more likely that they were entangled in clothing and either too awkward to remove or simply overlooked. The ceramics, on the other hand, must surely have been deliberately left, either because they were of too little value to the robbers, or because they were ineligible for removal for a symbolic, ritual, or simply hygienic reason.

Given the close relationship which he envisages between the dead woman and the robbers, Baitinger finds it paradoxical that they chose to reopen the grave at a time when the fleshy decomposition was not finished, since they not only had to come into direct contact with a half-rotten corpse, but also ran a great risk to their "spiritual wellbeing" (Baitinger 1992: 335). There is an assumption here, widespread in the literature but rarely explored in detail, that the period of soft tissue decomposition was seen as spiritually dangerous as well as physically disgusting. This is connected to the idea of a "decent interval" after which grave-goods might legitimately be removed, which is discussed below.

Bronze Age central Europe

The most direct analogies for the Merovingian material come from the large inhumation cemeteries of the central European Bronze Age. The reopening described at Lower Austrian Gemeinlebarn F (Neugebauer 1991), Franzhausen I (Neugebauer-Maresch & Neugebauer 1997, Sprenger 1999), Pottenbrunn (Blesl 2005), and similar sites is astonishingly like the early medieval evidence in its intensity, the variable proportions of each cemetery affected, and the apparent selection of only certain objects for removal. Just as in the Merovingian burial grounds, the Bronze Age sites typically have a minority of graves totally dug out, and the rest disturbed in the area between the head and pelvis. One minor difference is that the removal of metal can more readily be demonstrated in the Bronze Age context, due to the extensive bone staining. As in Merovingia, ceramics seem often or always to have been left behind. Children's graves, which

have relatively few artefacts in a Bronze Age context, as in Merovingia, are less affected by robbing.

In 1987 Karl-Friedrich Rittershofer surveyed the evidence from a number of heavily disturbed cemeteries of Bronze Age central and eastern Europe, including Dolný Peter, Nové Zámky, and Nesvady (Dušek 1969), Veľký Grob (Chropovsky 1960), Mintraching, Regensburg (Ruckdeschel 1985), and Raisting am Ammersee (Koschik 1981). He concluded that grave reopening was a widespread practice, with selected grave-goods removed within a few years of burial by members of the same social group. Skeletal manipulation also featured, especially removal or displacement of the skull.

He argued that since only selected artefacts were removed, it is wrong to see disturbance as solely for personal enrichment. Taking of jewellery and dress accessories from women was most common, with fewer men affected and almost never children. Ceramics were left in graves along with objects of an amulet-like character, finger rings, dress pins, and sometimes tools and weapons.

Mezőcsát

The idea of socially-accepted reopening is most pronounced in the analysis of the disturbed Bronze Age cemetery at Mezőcsát in North East Hungary carried out by Bernhard Hänsel & Nandor Kalicz (1986: 51-52). They saw "grave emptying" as a ritual practice, with descendants or other relatives routinely returning grave-goods into the community of the living once bodies had skeletonized: "*die den Gräbern entnommenen Gegenstände habe der Tote nur eine gewisse Zeit behalten dürfen, nämlich solange siene Körperhaftigkeit in concreto gegeben war*". This reopening did not, however, involve all graves, since only 18 out of the 35 inhumations at the site were affected.

The idea of a 'decent interval' after which it was no longer disrespectful to reopen graves and remove grave-goods is brought up in an early medieval context by Aspöck, amongst others (e.g. Grünewald 1988). The proposal is that once grave-goods had played their part in the competitive display of the burial rites, it would be understandable to reintroduce them to circulation: "*In diesem Fall sind Begräbnisrituale vor allem auch ein Schauplatz von Machtspielen, bei denen es darum geht, die Vorrangstellungen innerhalb der Gruppe auszuhandlen. In einen solchem Rahmen wäre es verständlich, dass Beigaben, haben sie ihre Funktion bei den Begräbnisritualen erfüllt, wieder zurückgeholt werden*" (Aspöck 2003: 264). Similarly in Anglo-Saxon Kent David Perkins has suggested that so-called robbery might represent the recovery of artefacts whose "spirit identity" was thought to have departed the grave (Perkins 1991).

Gemeinlebarn

Back in the Bronze Age, this model of accepted grave-good retrieval is significantly undermined by the evidence from Gemeinlebarn F, where Johannes-Wolfgang Neugebauer emphasizes the destructive nature of much of the robbing. Bones were taken out and strewn over the site or ended up mixed in with other burials. He points out that semi-articulated bodies were pulled apart – so the reopeners had not waited for skeletonization to finish – and characterizes the grave opening as destruction (*Zerstörung*) or defilement (*Schändung*) (Neugebauer 1991: 127).

A similarly destructive approach has also been noted in early medieval cemeteries (e.g. Adler 1970: 138-147, Codreanu-Windauer 1997: 30-31, Aspöck 2003: 252), and there too blackens the portrait of accepted reopening. However, Neugebauer's replacement model, of grave-robbery carried out by armed bands (Neugebauer 1991: 127-128), is not compatible with the early medieval evidence either. Two of the most recent and detailed reports of early medieval disturbed sites, by Codreanu-Windauer at Pliening and Aspöck at Brunn, comment on the variation within the cemeteries in the degree of care with which graves were treated, from destructive brutality to "piety" (Codreanu-Windauer 1997: 30-31, Aspöck 2003: 264). As will be shown the chapters which follow, these discrepancies are also seen over the channel in Anglo-Saxon Kent, and give the impression of a near-individualized approach to graves.

At Gemeinlebarn F in many cases bones from disturbed graves had been mixed up during the robbing and had found their way back into neighbouring graves. This showed that much of the reopening had happened simultaneously; it is not compatible with Hänsel and Kalicz's model of routine reopening of individual graves at a regular interval after interment. In the early medieval cemeteries there is only very limited evidence of mixing of bones between graves. When it occurs in the Kentish burial grounds, it is not between neighbouring graves, but between graves at some distance from each other, as though bones had been purposefully carried across the cemetery and reburied together (Chapter 5.2).

More fundamentally, the model of accepted grave-good retrieval after a decent interval is unreliable because it makes a nonsense of the furnished burial rite itself. As Aspöck says, funeral display on the scale in question is currently viewed as a stage for power play, for social competition within a society (Aspöck 2003: 264). Row-grave cemeteries are "the location for a frequently competitive discourse between families" (Halsall 2003: 66). Specifically, the conspicuous consumption of artefacts as pyre or grave-goods sends a spectacular signal about the superfluity of resources which the burying party commands. If everyone expects that the artefacts

will soon be reintroduced to circulation, then the costliness of sending the signal is removed, and (to borrow the language of game theory) a cost-free signal is worthless. In other words, burning or burying an array of valued objects is a costly and impressive boast, but would be rendered idle in the face of the knowledge that the wealth was not actually being relinquished.

It might be possible to argue that in times of economic stress communities could use cemeteries as banks, raiding them for artefacts which they regretted giving up. If sufficiently rare, this could be seen as an exceptional act which did not interfere with the validity of the funerary display. This would, however, require a rather particular form of economic crisis during which there was ready access to markets through which the looted goods could be exchanged for life's necessities.

Inhumation, as opposed to furnished cremation, has the inbuilt loophole that although body and grave-goods are ritually cut off from the living, they are still physically present in this world for anyone with the stomach to disinter them. The need to maintain this ritually-induced separation, to uphold the validity of the funerary rite, underlies what are referred to as "taboos" about grave opening.

Another perspective is given by Martin Bartelheim and Volker Heyd (2001), who see grave-robbery as just one aspect of post-burial interactions with the dead. Post-funerary activities at grave sites, they argue, are a neglected field amongst prehistorians, a point which might also be made for the early middle ages. They suggest the primary reason for this neglect is that ancestor cult is a surface activity which rarely leaves substantial archaeological traces. However they also argue that when finds are made which might represent the remains of post-funerary ritual activity at burial sites, such as potsherds in the fills of tumuli, these receive too little attention (Bartelheim & Heyd 2001: 261).

Bartelheim and Heyd see mistrust of the dead as a common feature in the Central European Bronze and Iron Ages, and emphasize measures to keep the dead in their graves and to protect the grave-opener. In this argument, the total devastation of some graves is interpreted as a preventative measure against revenge from the occupants. Similarly, artefacts apparently deliberately left within the disturbed areas of graves are seen as intended to "fix the dead in their graves" (Bartelheim & Heyd 2001: 271).

Many cases of apparently significant objects left behind in disturbed Bronze Age graves have also been presented by Rittershofer (1987, above). Bartelheim and Heyd concentrate on Gemeinlebarn F (Neugebauer 1991) and Franzhausen I (Neugebauer 1997), both in Lower Austria. In 33 graves across these two cemeteries, at least one solid bronze or other metal object

was left in the disturbed area. Most were axes or daggers, but in some cases diadems, pins and even gold earrings were left. Bartelheim and Heyd argue that these objects had a special importance for the dead. They suggest that "doubts remained in the minds of the plunderers as to the wisdom of disturbing the dead".

Revenants

Fear of the dead, or more specifically of *Wiedergänger* or revenant bodies, has been a widespread theme in interpretations of unusual burial rites across Europe in recent decades. It is frequently cited as an explanation for *Sonderbestattungen* or deviant burials, which are a feature of both the early medieval and Bronze Age cemeteries under discussion here (Reynolds 2009, Blair 2009, Aspöck 2008, Taylor 2008, Tsaliki 2008, Griffiths 2003, Caciola 1996, Barber 1988, Lecouteux 1987, Harman, Molleson & Price 1981, Meaney & Hawkes 1970: 30-31).

The term deviant is used for the minority of burials in which the bodies have been treated strangely, especially when there is an element of apparent hostility or "over-kill" in the burial method. Bodily mutilation, tied limbs, staking down of the body, face-down burials, and heavy stone layers may be used as criteria for defining deviancy. At Franzhausen, for example, the *Sonderbestattungen* include a prone burial of a violently killed male with his left forearm apparently pinned to the grave floor with a large wooden peg (Neugebauer-Maresch & Neugebauer 1997: 35).

These kinds of measures are often interpreted as attempts to keep the potentially unquiet dead in their graves. Certain individuals seem to have been thought at particular risk walking again, perhaps due to incomplete or badly lived lives. There is both ethnographic and historical evidence for this idea in a number of contexts, but a substantial weakness of the interpretation is its wide application. A recent article by Sebastian Brather (2007) argues strongly against the over-ready identification of deviant burials in Slavic cemeteries of the 9th to 12th centuries, and specifically against the idea that they can all be due to fears of revenant bodies. However, there are good grounds for thinking that fear of the revenant dead played a part in deviant burial rites in early medieval period of northern Europe, where written sources anchor the idea in the belief systems of the age (Chapter 6.3, 6.4).

Problems with revenant bodies have been cited as a motive for grave reopening in several contexts. The link is most explicitly made in the Icelandic and Scandinavian literature, in the well-known trope of heroes entering graves to do battle with revenants who have been spreading disease and strife (Chapter 1). Treasure was taken from the graves at the same time, so there is a

close link to reopening motivated by robbery. The similarities between these ancient hauntings and modern vampire horror stories based on eastern European folklore are startling. These were evidently persistent myths, with a well-known and still-recognisable repertoire of anti-revenant measures: stakes through the heart, beheading, and exhumation and burning of troublesome bodies.

Recognising this kind of reopening archaeologically is not straightforward. Returning to Dittigheim Gr 607, Baitinger (1992) speculated whether the reopening there might have been aimed at making safe a revenant. He pointed out that the taking of the jewellery still has to be explained, although it is possible that walking again was considered sufficient justification for the possessions of the dead to be confiscated, as in the Norse tales (Chapter 1). However there no any signs of unusual treatment of the body that might indicate ritual action against a revenant: the way the body parts have been moved can adequately be explained as motivated by a desire to access grave-goods with least effort.

For the early medieval period, the possibility has been discussed at Unterthürheim, Bavaria by Grünewald (1988) and at Brunn am Gebirge, Austria, by Aspöck (2002, 2003, above). Aspöck identifies six graves opened soon after burial in which reopening to deal with revenants may have been a motivation. Some of these burials had gravegoods removed, and some not. In four the heads had been interfered with: extra skulls were added to two burials; one had the head placed on the chest; in one the skull was taken away; and in another stones were placed around the head (Aspöck 2002: 66-7). Skull manipulation is also a feature of Bronze Age reopening, as discussed above. In the early medieval context it is seen both in deviant burials and in the rearrangement of some primary burials when secondary interments were added. The possibility of identifying reopening to combat revenants in the Anglo-Saxon material is discussed in Chapter 6.3.

Selection of artefacts

Evidence for manipulation or removal of bodies is cited in only a small minority of the material. For the overwhelming majority of graves, as discussed above, reports are agreed that the archaeological traces of disturbance were indicative only of rifling of graves for artefacts. The former presence of removed artefacts is frequently demonstrated by metal stains on bone, or by fragmentary remains such as the sword sheaths at Hailfingen and Pliening (Stoll 1939, Codreanu-Windauer 1997, above). However, the broad consensus on removal of artefacts as the main motive for reopening does not extend to agreement on which types of artefacts were targeted, or why.

The possibility of certain "amuletic" types of artefact being deliberately left behind in disturbed graves has been put forward several times for the early medieval period, as in the Bronze and Iron Ages. Foremost here are claims of artefacts with apparent Christian symbolism being left behind. This was raised by Ursula Koch at Berghausen, Baden-Württemberg, where objects with Christian decoration such as crosses seemed untouched by the robbers (Koch 1973a, 1973b, 1974). She was of the opinion that the position of the amuletic objects showed that they had not been accidentally overlooked but were deliberately left, concluding that "*Das Verhalten der Grabräuber beweist, daß seit dem späten 7. Jahrhundert die Preßblechfibeln zugleich als christliches Amulett geachtet und gefürchtet und die darauf erscheinenden Motive als christliches Symbolgut verstanden wurden*" (Koch 1973: 2).

Roth (1977: 289, 1978: 68) gave further examples of explicitly Christian artefacts being left behind by robbers at Rübenach and Sasbach Behans, but also went further, suggesting that a wider range of symbolically-loaded artefacts were rejected by robbers. These include, for example, decorative plates from a wooden bucket with depictions of two faces and an animal in Gr 159 at Junkersdorf, and a gold *Scheibenfibel* with a representation of a bird from a site in Alamannia. Many of the items he identifies were of apparently high value, as in the examples of gold leaf crosses, which are only found in the richest graves. Roth acknowledges the difficulty of assessing in each case whether objects were deliberately left or accidentally overlooked (Roth 1978: 68, 72).

Effros (2002: 59-60) suggests that "Some of these artifacts may still have had recognisable religious and amuletic significance, serving to identify the deceased as Christian and protect his or her body from harm. If so, this practice resulted from the fact that Christians in the West continued to attach great significance to the physical well-being of the dead." She argues that despite the teachings of Augustine, the general population continued to be concerned with the physical integrity of the dead body for resurrection. However, one of the most marked features of the robbing is that in most cases it left bodies partial, and almost always in disorder. Robbers may have left behind amuletic objects in a small minority of graves, but they showed no other regard for the integrity of bodies or their resting places. Nor are there reports of the amuletic or explicitly Christian objects being specially treated or arranged in graves; they seem to be scattered like the rest of the contents.

Dannhorn's (1994, above) evidence from Viecht-Unterfeld, in which grave-robbery appears to have explicitly pagan ritual connections, may point towards artefacts with Christian symbolism being left behind through aversion, rather than respect. High status weapon grave Gr 131 at

Viecht was almost completely emptied of both human bones and grave-goods (Dannhorn 1994: 299). Some of the only remaining artefact remains were decorative parts of a sword, which dated the grave to the 2nd third of the 7th century. Six of the fragments showed cross symbols, suggesting the possible interpretation that they were deliberately left out of respect for Christian symbolism. However, Dannhorn argues that this explanation is incompatible with the apparently pagan animal sacrifice buried in the backfill. The motive for leaving these pieces behind, if deliberate, is more in the nature of a taboo during a cultic act than respect for Christianity.

Beyond the artefacts with Christian or other symbolic designs, several other categories of object have been claimed as deliberately left behind in graves. Plum's (2004: 23-24) evidence from cemeteries in Nordrhein-Westfalen raises the question of whether such objects might even have been added to some graves at the time of robbing. Two graves in her study included artefacts which were thought later introductions. In the case of Gr 20/1939 from Froitzheim, this was a later 7th century bronze bell (*Bronzeschelle)*, which gives an indication of the likely date of reopening in line with the evidence from Pliening and elsewhere. In Lamersdorf Gr 78 parts from a sheath were thought to post-date the original burial. The bell is an unusual grave find, and raises the question of whether it might have been deliberately added with symbolic intent. At Pleidelsheim in Baden-Württemberg grave robbers had apparently added a coin of the late 7th century to one burial (Koch 1991), suggesting a lapse of about a hundred years between burial and reopening, and confirming the broadly late 7th century timeframe for robbing suggested at Pliening and elsewhere.

Roth (1978: 67-68) claimed a number of examples where single parts of multiple sets of artefacts are left behind, suggesting such items might be left for fear of raising revenants (Roth 1978: 73). In two Junkersdorf graves the rejected objects are embellished pins, with one taken and one left in each grave. Most of Roth's examples, from Rübenach and Eich, refer to one brooch being left from a set of four. This is necessarily difficult to prove, since the original grave contents can only be postulated. Effros (2002: 61) takes the view that Roth's conclusion was based on a presumption of much greater uniformity in contemporary costume than is likely. Subsequent examples of the practice are not forthcoming. At Brunn am Gebirge, for example, Aspöck found no evidence of parts of sets being left; in Gr 13 she could show that all the brooches had been taken (2002: 60).

Roth also noted the high numbers of female disturbed graves in which beads still remain, in either the grave or the backfill, and argued that this showed that beads were rejected by robbers

(Roth 1978: 69, 73). A closer look at the evidence (e.g. from Pliening, Codreanu-Windauer 1997: 32, and Brunn am Gebirge, Aspöck 2002: 58, 59) suggests that it is not usually the case that the entire bead assemblage remains untouched, but rather that bead groups were incompletely collected by robbers. At Brunn beads remained in eight graves, but could only represent the whole necklace in only three of these (Aspöck 2002: 58-60).

Beads are small and easily scattered, particularly if their necklace string breaks on lifting, and were apparently not of sufficient value to be worth searching for, although probably removed when they came to hand. In the absence of any contrary evidence, it seems likely that beads remain on purely practical grounds. The same probably applies to the finger rings which Roth also noted are found in disturbed graves (Roth 1977: 289, 1978: 69). In these kinds of examples we can see revealed the actual values placed on categories of artefacts by early medieval grave openers, and find where the curves of effort and worth met in practice.

At Aubing Dannheimer (1998: 26-29) found little support for claims of objects with Christian symbolism being deliberately left behind in graves. Some significant pieces of jewellery were left behind, one of which was a gold bracteate with an image of a person praying, but these were thought to have been overlooked, and it was considered likely that other similar objects had been taken. In Gr 361 the man had rust staining, presumably from a sword, on the femur. The clearest evidence for robbing at Aubing is for the removal of swords, with parts of baldrics or scabbards left behind in several cases.

Likewise at Brunn am Gerbirge no evidence was found for amulet-type objects being deliberately left in graves. Aspöck pointed out that different robbing methods give quite different results in terms of their effectiveness in removing artefacts. So although valuable objects were left in female graves Gr 13 and 15, they had simply been missed by the hook method used to raid the graves, rather than intentionally left behind (Aspöck 2002: 60).

The same argument was made at Remseck-Pantonville (Bofinger & Przemyslaw 2008, above). As at other sites, in a small number of graves objects considered valuable by the excavators had been left behind. In some cases, notably Gr 112, they had apparently be missed due to the inefficient robbing methods, with objects fished haphazardly out through a hole in the wooden coffin. Various small items were thus left behind, and a glass beaker remained standing in its niche.

Christoph Grünewald (1988: 38-39) made the related point that a deliberate choice of grave-goods can only be made if the complete grave is revealed. Any ritual reopening that requires a representative selection of artefacts or particular types of artefacts must therefore use this

method. This would include, for example, Roth's suggestion that parts of sets of objects were taken. By contrast, Grünewald sees robbing with a hook as indicative of an entirely material motive. Perhaps this should not be taken as a complete division, since even during a hook robbery artefacts might be examined and replaced in the grave. However, the degree of disturbance to the burial assemblage and human remains caused by the hook method does seem likely to imply a lack of respect for the dignity of the dead.

Working out which grave-goods were taken is necessarily difficult, since it involves arguing from absence. Nevertheless most commentaries include an attempt to assess what is missing, either from traces of removed artefacts or from a lack of expected gravegoods. Both Roth's 1977 and 1978 articles considered the question, although with rather anecdotal data. Roth did not consider robbing for material gain to be the sole motive for reopening, not least because the custom of leaving grave gifts was abating in the 7th century, so that fewer and fewer objects were available for theft. However, he did think it significant, especially in female graves which more frequently include non-ferrous metals and precious stone inlays (Roth 1978: 67).

Roth judged brooches and other dress accessories the robbers' main targets in female graves, with the caveats that parts of brooch sets, many beads, and finger rings may have been left behind, as discussed above. In male graves he considered pecuniary reward a lesser incentive, since they contain much smaller quantities of non-ferrous metals, and usually only as decoration firmly bonded to ironwork (Roth 1978: 70). However, he did not expand on the form of the more spiritual motive which he envisaged (Roth 1977: 289).

Aspöck (2003: 263) took justifiable exception to the implication in Roth's interpretations that only male grave-goods carry symbolic value, while female artefacts were desired for material worth. If artefacts were chosen on the basis of their symbolic associations, rather than for their raw materials or as objects for gift or exchange, then there is every reason to think that these considerations play a similar part in the selection of objects from women's graves.

For male graves, Roth was of the opinion that swords, knives, and belts (as represented by buckles) were the principal objects missing, and that shield buckles, spear heads, and arrowheads were left behind by robbers. This assessment finds support in the subsequent literature, as some of the site discussions above have shown. Reports of stolen swords in particular have been noted at several sites in this review, including at least six evidenced by broken sheaths and rustmarks at Pliening (Codreanu-Windauer 1997, above).

Aspöck's work at Brunn am Gebirge included the most detailed investigation of grave-good removal so far (2002: 56-61). Although the Brunn robbing dates from the century before the main phase of Merovingian reopening, the selection of artefacts taken appears to correspond closely with the later pattern as shown in both Roth's observations and the more recent excavations. Aspöck found that in the 41 disturbed burials at the site, belt buckles tended to be left in female but not male graves, which accords with Roth's evidence. A probable (but empty) sword sheath was represented by metal and wooden remains in one grave, Gr 28. This burial also included a shield buckle, whose position in the robber fill suggested that it had been intentionally left behind, as Roth argued. On the other hand Gr 8 had rivets from a removed shield, suggesting that these artefacts, or part of them, might sometimes be taken. Two bags and their contents plus a comb were among the other small objects left in graves. At least parts of girdle-hangers were left in 8 female graves, a pattern which is strongly reflected in the Anglo-Saxon evidence presented in this thesis.

Spearheads remained in five Brunn graves, but due to their peripheral position it was unlikely they had been seen by the robbers. Here the evidence from Remseck-Pantonville evidence is useful (Bofinger & Przemyslaw 2008, above). There it was shown that the avoidance was deliberate: spearheads were left even when the entire grave had been ransacked, and in some cases were found thrown back into the robber fill. The report authors suggest that the reluctance to remove spearheads was connected to the symbolism of this weapon type. It is certainly otherwise difficult to understand why these objects, even if of relatively low worth, were of no use at all to the reopeners.

The selection of specific artefact types for removal is the strongest argument against robbing being driven by scarcity of either iron or precious metals, both of which have been recurrent suggestions for both the early medieval and prehistoric robbing outbreaks (e.g. Werner 1953, Beninger & Mitscha Märheim 1966, Driehaus 1978). There can be little doubt that metal grave-goods formed at least part of the robbers' loot. For one thing, these were more or less the only artefacts which could be in a condition to reuse. Organic materials, especially clothing, would be irretrievably soiled by bodily decomposition, and must in many cases have been in an advanced state of decay by the time graves were reopened. However, artefacts made of metal of all types are variously taken and rejected: the selection of artefacts is not made on the basis of raw materials.

As Aspöck (2003: 236-7) has shown, the evidence for greater metal scarcity in the 6th and 7th centuries than in the surrounding periods is unclear. In any case actual scarcity is not necessarily required as a driver. It would be necessary only for recycling metal from graves to accrue sufficiently lower costs than obtaining it by other means. These costs might be in terms of labour or social sanctions – or indeed emotion, if close contact with the decomposing dead was similarly regarded as today. A reduction in any of the costs associated with robbing, such as a removal of social sanctions in time of war, might tip the balance in favour of grave-robbery just as well as a rise in the cost of metal. Differential access to more legitimate sources of metal or other wealth by different groups in society might well also give some an incentive to rob. Indeed, if we accept any involvement of a material motive in grave-opening, and consider the pervasive evidence for the practice, the conclusion must be that the balance of profits and costs required for artefacts to remain in graves is extremely fine.

Back at Brunn am Gebirge, three ceramic vessels and bronze fittings from a wooden one were found in disturbed graves (Aspöck 2002: 58). This avoidance of vessels of all kinds is one of the most persistent patterns in the selection of graves for robbing. Even the large bronze dishes found in well-furnished graves in certain regions and presumed to be highly valuable were left untouched. Roth observed, for example, that out of 200 bronze dishes then known between Lake Konstanz and the Lower Rhine, 154 came from disturbed and only 46 from undisturbed graves. Such vessels could hold cushions, fabrics, and combs as well as the more usual foodstuffs (Roth 1978: 70). Vessels typically lie in peripheral positions in graves, but if they were an object of desire for robbers, surely an effort would have been made to look for them.

Ceramic vessels were left behind in several disturbed graves at Remseck-Pantonville, one of the most recently excavated sites in this review (Bofinger & Przemyslaw 2008, above). The report follows Grünewald (1988: 37) in suggesting that ceramics may have been left on the grounds of a hygienically motivated taboo. There is probably no need for an actual taboo to explain why vessels from graves made unappealing kitchenware, but perhaps this avoidance is another piece of evidence that removed objects were intended for intra-community reuse, rather than exchange with outsiders who would not have known the source of goods.

Through all the various perspectives on grave-good removal from Roth's work onwards runs a common thread: that the careful selection of artefacts and in particular the rejection of large numbers of apparently valuable objects make straightforward personal enrichment an inadequate explanation for the widespread robbing. A symbolic element in robbing, so that objects are taken

for their meanings and associations rather than to be exchanged, has been suggested many times from different points of view, although nowhere fully developed. Codreanu-Windauer's (1997) observation at Bavarian Pliening, that many grave-goods were in extremely poor condition by the time of robbing and could hardly have borne any use value, is of crucial importance; it is remarkable that this point has not previously been made explicit. The condition of each artefact is dependent on several factors, above all its material, but there is ample evidence that many objects were in a poor state of preservation when removed. Vessels, at least those used for food preparation and presentation, may have been unappealing for hygienic reasons, but in the other choices of artefacts for removal we may well have a glimpse of some of the symbolic values which linked the myriad variations on the barbarian weapon assemblage of northern Europe in this period.

Discussion: Merovingia and Beyond

This chapter has identified a series of key areas of contention which will form the basis for the analysis of the disturbed Anglo-Saxon sites in the chapters which follow. The Kentish material presents an opportunity to investigate the evidence for grave-robbery at the level of a whole region, an approach which has previously been lacking, and to undertake that investigation fully informed by the several generations of research which have been carried out in the Merovingian kingdoms.

The foremost area of contention is the purpose of the grave opening. This review has emphasized that the strongest interpretations emerge from detailed consideration of the archaeological evidence. In almost all cases on the continent excavators report disturbance as robbery, intended to remove goods from graves. Subsequent commentators have put forward other more immediately exciting explanations, such as reopening as an extended funerary rite or as a Christianizing ritual, but these are not backed up by data. Where the evidence is seen, the archaeological footprint of disturbance is principally indicative of the ransacking of graves for objects.

The Kent analysis will consider in detail the physical process of grave reopening and how the methods reveal the goals. Further sections will reconstruct robbers' approaches to grave opening and investigate how they vary within and between cemeteries. As this chapter has shown, the authors who have explored robbing methods as a dynamic process rather than simply classifying the appearance of the static remains have thrown considerable doubt on the idea that robbers had detailed knowledge of grave contents before beginning work.

The extent of robbers' foreknowledge about the age and gender of buried individuals and about their grave assemblages will be a key area in the chapters which follow. This is closely related to the question of how individual graves were selected for reopening. In Kent as in Merovingia only a proportion – a highly variable proportion – of burials in each cemetery were disturbed. It has frequently been claimed that, for example, robbers were able to select wealthy graves for reopening. This proposition will be investigated, along with the possibility of other selection criteria.

The research presented here demonstrates that the dating of robbing is crucial to its interpretation. This applies both to the absolute dating of robbing episodes and to the chronology of burial and reopening within individual cemeteries. The most thorough excavation reports presented here suggest that the bulk of robbing was concentrated in the middle or third quarter of the 7th century. Furnished burial continued in many of the same cemeteries after robbing ceased. The Anglo-Saxon material offers the chance to reconstruct the dating of robbing using a much larger sample of disturbed graves and to make inter-site comparisons.

As demonstrated at Pliening, the spatial distribution of disturbed burials across cemeteries is a neglected but potentially highly significant area. There it was shown that part of the burying community suffered heavy robbing, while other burial groups were unaffected and may even represent the kin of the perpetrators. More broadly, exploring the spatial distribution of robbing is crucial to the question of whether robbing within each burial ground represents one major event or many single reopenings. This is an under-exploited aspect of the Merovingian evidence.

Another question in need of fuller consideration is the selection of artefacts for removal from graves. Numerous reports note that many apparently valuable objects were rejected by robbers, but there has been no systematic investigation of patterns in grave-good choice. Crucial here is the observation, explicitly made only by Fremersdorf and Codreanu-Windauer, that many grave-goods were in extremely poor condition by the time they were taken. This has considerable implications for interpreting the ways in which they were desirable to the reopeners.

The material reviewed in this chapter demonstrates that the information needed to reconstruct early medieval grave-robbery exists, if there is the will for full excavation, documentation, and analysis. Recording of disturbed graves has improved, with some benchmark publications now in existence. It is time to go further than just setting out a range of possible interpretations: the data are available at least to rule out a number of interpretative lines, and to start to develop archaeologically-grounded interpretations for the reopening phenomenon.

3 Kent and Beyond Introduction

Reports of ancient robbing in Kent

Kent has been chosen as the focus for this case study because of the sporadic but persistent reports of early grave-robbery which have emerged during the long history of excavation in the county. Kent is frequently cited as the one area of Anglo-Saxon England with substantial evidence of grave plunder (Härke 1992: 65, O'Brien 1999: 86, Härke 2000: 391, Lucy 2000: 102, Welch 2007: 222-3). Disturbed graves have been noted at intervals since the first excavations in the county (Faussett 1856, Brent 1868), with robbing levels as high as 50% of graves claimed at some cemeteries (Perkins 1985, Perkins 1991).

Such reports typically describe robbing as having taken place "in antiquity" or "soon after burial". Various grounds for an early date are cited, the strongest being that some graves were apparently reopened while the bodies were still partially articulated (Hawkes, Hogarth et al. 1974, Perkins 1985, Hawkes & Grainger 2006). Further, several excavators and other commentators have suggested that robbers had prior knowledge of grave assemblages and were able to target wealthy burials (Perkins 1985b, Schröder 2007, O'Brien 1999: 57). It has also been argued that grave-robbers preferentially opened graves containing iron weapons (Härke 1992: 65, Härke 2000: 391-2 and Table 5, Welch 2007: 222-3).

Yet despite the recurrent reports and potential significance of the phenomenon, there is by no means consensus amongst excavators about the existence, let alone the extent, of genuine robbery in Kentish cemeteries. Archaeologists currently working in Kent have quite different opinions of the evidence (Stuart Brookes, Keith Parfitt, Dave Perkins, Andrew Richardson, pers. comm.). A key area of doubt is why such high levels of disturbance are claimed in some cemeteries, while close neighbours report no signs of early robbery at all.

Until now there has not been any systematic attempt to collate reports of robbery, nor has the evidence from different sites been compared or evaluated. The overall numbers of sites and graves involved are undetermined, beyond an impression that the eastern part of the county is mostly affected, particularly the Isle of Thanet. A central problem here, as in any synthetic work in Kent, is the persistently poor publication record for excavations. Only two of the cemeteries where substantial levels of early robbery have been recorded are fully published to date.

This thesis is the first time the full extent of the evidence has been set out, thanks to access kindly granted to archive material from all the key sites, notably the two large unpublished sites in

Broadstairs, St Peter's Tip and Bradstow School (a.k.a. Valletta House), the archives of which are held by the British Museum. These two sites contribute between them nearly one third of the robbing evidence, including much of the most detailed raw information.

Even where publication has taken place, details given about robbing evidence are typically sketchy. Most excavation reports, including recent ones, make only brief mention of grave disturbance and often omit plans of disturbed burials. A typical minimum standard is to note that a grave is or appears to be robbed, often with the comment that this is believed to have occurred 'in antiquity'. The reasoning behind this diagnosis is not generally stated, though there are positive exceptions. For these reasons it has been necessary to go back to the original field records, where available, for all sites where robbing is suspected.

Part of the reluctance to accept reports of grave-robbery in Kent can almost certainly be attributed to their never having been placed in the wider geographical context of the pervasive disturbance in contemporary cemeteries across the channel (Chapter 2). The likelihood of a link here has recently been pointed out but not yet explored (Welch 2007: 222).

Although grave-robbery is a well-established phenomenon in Merovingia, this case study is the first time data about grave-robbery has been intensively compared between early medieval cemeteries at a regional level. It provides an opportunity both to look at the Kent cemeteries in the light of the growing body of comparative material from the Merovingian lands, and in turn to reflect back on the ways in which the continental robbing is interpreted.

Contemporary grave-disturbance on the scale claimed in Kent raises major questions about the meaning of burial and grave-goods in the period, and about the power structures within which grave-openers acted. Such high levels of re-opening seem bound to lift the phenomenon from a hidden transgressive act to a public practice, and one whose context demands exploration.

Early medieval burial in Kent and beyond

Early medieval burial across England, and in Kent in particular, has been the subject of a wide range of studies over the last ten or fifteen years. This thesis draws on diverse recent work on funerary rites, grave-goods, the organisation and appearance of field cemeteries, and the social structures represented in them (O'Brien 1999, Lucy 2000, Lucy & Reynolds 2002, Crawford 2003, Stoodley 1999, 2000, 2007, Williams 2004a, 2005a, Semple & Williams 2007, Sayer 2009, 2010). Crucial are several recent studies of the conversion period, with which much of the robbing coincides, drawing on both historical and archaeological sources (Geake 1997, Carver 2003, Blair 2005).

Approaches to burial archaeology in all periods over the last decades have emphasized the active role of death rituals in creating, not merely reflecting, social order. Recently the emphasis has been on the spectacle of the funerary ritual and the memories and associations created by the display of body and grave goods (e.g. Halsall 2003, Williams 2005). Moving away from calculations of overall grave wealth, there has been a resurgence of interest in the specific roles of types of grave goods and how their presence in the ritual was understood by the audience (e.g. Crawford 2002, 2004, Eckhardt & Williams 2003, Williams 2003a, King 2004, Osborne 2004, Lee 2007, Devlin 2007). This is perhaps particularly the case for the culture of weapon-bearing (Härke 1990, 1992, 1997, 2000, Shepherd 1999, Theuws & Nelson 2000).

Interest in grave-robbery should be seen in the context of a rise in research into burials outside the norm more generally. Where once the focus was on trying to build up a picture of the typical burials of a period and thus of community life, there has lately been increasing focus in exceptional and deviant practices. For the Anglo-Saxon period recent research has focused in particular on deviant burials in the context of necrophobia and judicial violence (Murphy 2008, Reynolds 2009, Chapter 6.3). Both deviancy and grave-robbery involve themes of transgression, violence, and tightening authority during the process of kingdom formation. There is also a closer connection: some graves may have been reopened on the basis of similar concerns as motivated the deviant treatment of other bodies at the time of their original interment.

Within Kent the last decade has seen the publications of some major sites, especially Finglesham and Updown, Eastry (Hawkes & Grainger 2006, Welch 2008). There has been intensive work on cemetery data and on trade and landscape (Sørensen 1999, Brookes 2002, 2003, 2007a, 2007b, Richardson 2005a&b, Welch 2007, Sayer 2009). These have added considerable detail to

understanding of Kent's distinctive material culture, and of the differences which are seen in the gravegood assemblages and broader burial customs across the county.

Recent studies by Stuart Brookes (2002, 2003, 2007a, 2007b) and by Duncan Sayer (2009) are concerned, from different angles, with the considerable changes seen in Kentish archaeology in the broad 7th century, but without conversion as the main explanatory force. Trade and the tightening of elite authority are instead brought to the fore. Relevant themes in Brookes' work include trade, the extent of monetized exchange, and control of imports. Sayer focuses on the role of kindreds in 7th century politics, and their conflicts with rising royal power.

A division is traditionally made between the east and west regions of the county, as divided by the River Medway, based on both the historical sources and the archaeology. East Kent has marked and well-known artefactual links to Francia from the 6th century (Welch 1991, Wood 1992, Brugmann 1999). Many of the imported items were adapted to Kentish fashions, but others are indicative of adoption of continental customs, such as the row grave cemeteries which are a much stronger feature of this area than the rest of the country (Stoodley 1999: 128). East Kent cemeteries are also known for their range of intriguing but poorly understood structural features suggestive of various kinds of superstructure over some graves (Chapter 4.5).

Andrew Richardson's recent compilation, disambiguation, and analysis of the Kent's nearly 300 known 5th to 8th century burial sites has been of great practical use for this study (Richardson 2005a&b). Richardson provides a site gazetteer, brief details of nearly 3000 graves, and analysis of a great number of variables of burial custom. Particularly relevant to this study, he includes analysis of the proportions, dates, and age, sex, and status associations of all types of Kentish grave-goods, both at the level of individual artefacts and in their typically associated assemblages. All subsequent analyses of early medieval burial in the county will owe a debt to his work.

The Anglo-Saxon Kent Electronic Database (ASKED) is another important newly-arrived research tool (Brookes, Harrington, et al 2006). Developed by Sue Harrington and Stuart Brookes at UCL, the database is now available online through the Archaeological Data Service. It brings together details of all the excavated burials from 52 Kentish Early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries into a single searchable corpus. Nuance is lost in transferral to a database format, but the tool provides fast entry into a huge amount of information and the ability to identify and test patterns on a regional scale.

At the time of writing, the dating of Anglo-Saxon burials is liable to revision as largescale precision radiocarbon dating is carried out for the first time. This is particularly true of late 6th to

late 7th century, the main period relevant to grave-robbery. There are indications that graves previously dated towards and immediately after the end of this period may have been placed too late (Scull & Bayliss 1999, Sayer 2009). This means that the absolute dates – and quite possibly the relative ones – discussed in this chapter should be considered only working hypotheses, although the best currently available ones (Chapter 4.9). The sources and grounds for each significant date are as far as possible set out in the relevant sections. New artefact studies crucial for dating are Birte Brugmann (1999, 2004) on 6th century Kentish chronology and on glass beads and Sonja Marzinzik (2003) on belt buckles.

Grave disturbance may in theory affect cremations just as well as inhumations. This is the case even if robbery is the primary motive: although gravegoods in Anglo-Saxon cremations were frequently burnt (Lucy 2000: 108), and thus presumably unattractive to plunderers, burnt bodies could also be accompanied by unburnt artefacts. This is certainly the case in Kent, as in the two cloth-wrapped swords, spearhead, beads and brooch that were buried with the (undisturbed) double cremation at Coombe (Ellis Davidson & Webster 1967). It is therefore necessary to be open to the idea of finding deliberately disturbed cremation graves. Besides, if early grave disturbance has a motive beyond material gain, cremations may be targeted even in the absence of retrievable grave wealth.

In practice, however, this study is dominated by inhumation graves. Inhumation was by far the dominant method of corpse disposal in Anglo-Saxon Kent, unlike in other areas of eastern England. Cremations make up less than 1% of known burials in the county, even when the new finds from Lyminge and Ringlemere are included (Richardson 2005a: 91). At the non-Kent sites with higher numbers of cremations, such as Worthy Park in Hampshire and Spong Hill in Norfolk, it proved impossible to distinguish any deliberately disturbed or robbed cremations from the mass of cremated material displaced by later inhumations, rabbits, and agriculture (Chapter 7).

Items of terminology: the terms "early medieval" and "Anglo-Saxon" are used interchangeably here to refer both to the typical forms of burial and to the period from the 5th to 11th centuries AD, with no specific ethnic attribution intended. A distinction is made between "grave" and "burial", whereby the latter is used to refer to an individual corpse placed in a grave, thus a double grave contains two burials. Bronze, copper alloy, silver, and other terms for grave good materials and types are used according to the site reports and archives.

Previous research into Kentish grave-robbery

Grave-robbery in Kent, or indeed elsewhere in the British Isles, has not previously been the subject of any broad survey. However, it has sometimes formed one variable in multi-site analyses of burial rite, mainly to assess its impact on sample integrity. As will be shown, these reviews do not tally either in numbers of disturbed cemeteries or in the particular sites identified as robbed.

Disturbance, ancient and modern, is briefly covered in Richardson's wide-ranging study, with guarded scepticism expressed about the reported phenomenon of early grave-robbery. He notes robbing in antiquity in only 30 graves, 23 of these from the Isle of Thanet, and states further that all the Thanet examples were reported by a single excavator, David RJ Perkins of the Thanet Archaeological Trust (Richardson 2005: 95). Perkins has taken a particular interest in early robbing, as will be discussed below.

	Site	Grave numbers
Thanet	185. Minster III, Hoo Farm	Gr 1(A), 8 (C)
	186. Minster IV, Thorne Farm	Gr 2
	192. Monkton I, Primrose Hill	Gr 21, 22
	209. Ramsgate IV, Ozengell	Gr 7, 9, 17, 18, 34, 65, 229
	213. Ramsgate VII, Chalk Hill	Gr 1 (106) (double burial)
	231. Sarre	Gr 276, 279 (four burials), 281, 283, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289
Rest of Kent	95. Dunton Green I, Polhill	Gr 52a, 83 (double)
	197. Northbourne I, Finglesham	Gr A3 (4), 205

Table 2: Kent graves identified as disturbed in antiquity by Richardson (2005b)

Brief discussion of grave-robbery is also found in Heinrich Härke's study of Anglo-Saxon weapon-graves (Härke 1992: 65). Härke examined 47 cemeteries across eastern England, including 7 in Kent. He found a total of 67 robbed graves in 6 cemeteries in Kent, plus 4 "not entirely unambiguous cases" in 3 cemeteries outside the county. Since robbery was only peripheral to his work, Härke did not enter into discussion of his basis for counting graves as robbed. The force of Härke's argument is, justifiably, that disturbance is not at a high enough level to bias his sample and affect the validity of his analysis. As he points out, several of the Kent cemeteries at which high levels of robbery have been reported do not fall within his sample. It also seems likely that only partial details of some sites were available to him, since the subsequent publication of Finglesham and the archive from Valetta House/Bradstow School in Broadstairs record much higher levels of robbing than he lists.

Site	Graves	Grave numbers
Bekesbourne II	1 of 38 inhumations – 2.6% (no weapon graves robbed)	?Gr 12
Broadstairs I	3 of 113 inhumations – 1.8% 2 of 24 weapon graves – 8.3%	Gr 12, 67, 98
Finglesham	9 of 256 inhumations – 3.5% 2 of 28 weapon graves – 7.1%	Gr 22, 38/2, 44, 78, 93, 110, 126, 205
Lyminge II	9 of 64 inhumations – 14.1% (no. of robbed weapon graves uncertain)	Gr 40, 45, 50, 49, 48, 49, 56, 57, 59, 63
Polhill	1 of 130 inhumations – 0.8% 1 of 17 weapon graves – 5.9%	Gr 83
Sarre	43 of 293 inhumations – 14.7% 12 of 70 weapon graves – 17.1%	no plan

Table 3: Kent graves identified as disturbed in antiquity by Härke (1992)

As mentioned above, several prominent reports of robbing originate with one local archaeologist in particular, the recently retired DRJ Perkins, who worked in Thanet for many years. However, the apparent association of Perkins with robbed sites is largely the result of publishing bias: the majority of disturbed graves have been found by other excavators, but not so promptly published. Perkins also contributes significantly more information and analysis of robbing than is typical in excavation reports (Perkins & Hawkes 1984, Perkins 1985, Perkins 1987, Perkins 1991, Perkins 1992).

In addition, Perkins' BSc dissertation at the North-East London Polytechnic (Perkins 1985) used statistical techniques to compare the robbing evidence from his excavation at Ozengell with data from five other sites. Perkins found an association between grave size, or more specifically width, wealth, certain types of grave structures, and disturbance. These findings are discussed below (Chapters 4.4, 6.1). Unfortunately this dissertation is now only partially extant, in a letter in Sonia Chadwick Hawkes' archive in Oxford. The Ozengell records are not published, nor fully available to researchers, so the analysis is not reproducible.

A possible link between disturbance and better-furnished graves does not necessarily mean that robbing, in the sense of theft by people with no right to ownership, should be assumed to be the universal motive. Perkins suggested as alternative interpretations the removal of objects whose

"spirit identity" was thought to have departed the grave, or partial exhumation, perhaps as a Christianising ritual.

Likewise Martin Welch (2007: 222-3) has suggested that the practice might represent households seeking secretly to recover items that it felt obliged to placed publicly in a family burial, avoiding loss of face. This interpretation has also been put forward in Merovingia (Chapter 2). If simple theft is the motive, Welch proposes that the stolen goods may have been sold on to foreign traders at the beach markets of the period, access to which might explain the concentration of robbing on Thanet and in the eastern coastal region.

Beyond the above, data on Kentish grave-robbery are available in published cemetery reports, interim excavation reports often in journals such as *Archaeologia Cantiana*, and on-site documentation. This last category has proved the most fruitful for this thesis, especially the detailed but unpublished records from St Peter's Tip and Bradstow School in Broadstairs. The drawings, photographs, diaries, and context sheets held in site archives preserve the contingency and uncertainty of archaeological interpretation in the field in a way that is almost always edited out through the publication process.

Aims and Methods

The initial aim of this case study was to collect, quantify, and map as much as possible of the reported early robbing in the county. The second was to establish on what basis robbery had been identified at the various cemeteries, to evaluate the evidence, and to develop criteria for future identification and reporting of grave disturbance. Next come attempts to understand why these particular cemeteries, and these graves within them, have been subjected to robbing. Are we are dealing with a coherent custom or with isolated incidents? A reverent ritual or a violent transgression? Is disturbance in Kent part of the same phenomenon as the better-known continental robbing? What observations here can contribute to the ongoing debate there?

There are as many as 300 known or probable pre-Conquest burial sites in Kent, but the majority are find spots, accidental unearthing, or poorly recorded work, unsuitable for the purposes of this case study. Graves have been excavated and recorded at only about 120 sites (Richardson 2005a: 87). The first step was to assess these burial grounds for data quality. All 120 were reviewed in order to identify sites where the scale and standard of excavation produced data useful for this study. A total of 32 cemeteries were selected in which the quality of excavation and recording indicated that any robbing was likely to have been both observed and documented. In addition, a further group of antiquarian sites with passable data are discussed in Appendix 1.4.

Records of the 32 selected burial sites were searched for evidence of reopening, whether or not recognized as such by the excavators. Other forms of disturbance were also noted, including plough damage, unrecorded antiquarian excavation, recent robbing, and animal damage. Particular attention was paid to how excavators identified, described, and distinguished between different forms of disturbance. Appendix 2 (Checklist: Recognising Ancient Robbing) brings together their experience. It presents, with reference to specific graves, all the various ways robbing in antiquity has been recognised and dated, what features may exist for recording, and the confounding factors which can blight interpretations.

The cemeteries were divided into three groups: 8 sites with considerable evidence of early disturbance (Table 6), 10 sites with limited or doubtful evidence (Table 7), and 14 sites with no evidence of early grave-robbery (Table 8). The distribution of disturbed and undisturbed sites is shown in Fig. 9. Appendix 1 sets out the evidence for each cemetery and discusses its reliability, often at the level of individual graves. All available details of each disturbed and probably disturbed grave are presented in Tables 9-15. Plans of the disturbed cemeteries and graves, many previously unpublished, are included as Fig. 12-120. This appendix and these tables, site plans, grave plans, and maps form the basis for the inter-site analysis below and are referred to frequently.

The chapters which follow focus on the sites with significant numbers of disturbed burials. There is qualitative and quantitative analysis at an inter-site level of reopening and its potential correlates in gender, age, grave types, grave markers, grave size, date, spatial distribution, gravegood provision, and multiple burials. The findings are analysed to explore where, when, how, and why graves were disturbed. Which kinds of cemeteries were affected, and which kinds of graves within them were selected for reopening are key questions. The date range of disturbance is investigated: was it concentrated within one period, or was it a long term practice? Were all the graves in each cemetery opened together, or at different times? The methods used to reopen graves are reconstructed, including what they reveal about the reopeners' identities and motives.

A substantial section investigates the remains of gravegood assemblages in disturbed graves to establish what, if anything, had been removed. This phenomenon has always been called robbing, but was recovering gravegoods the primary motive? On the continent various types of gravegoods are said to have been either preferentially taken or actively avoided by robbers: can such patterns be seen here?

None of the disturbed sites presents a full picture of the evidence. Some have grave drawings but not a cemetery plan, and vice versa. Several lack post-excavation bone and artefact reports. This is therefore an attempt to reconstruct as nuanced a picture as possible from data of varied quality. Wherever possible the site records are used, because there is a strong tendency for information about disturbance to be lost or for interpretation to take the place of observation through the post-excavation process.

In the figures the data are presented in a visual form as close to the original drawings as possible. The cemetery plans, for example, are adapted from the published or interim versions without redrawing. Several of the heavily disturbed cemeteries lack finalized plans and the interim versions contain mistakes which it would be unhelpful to reproduce. Creating standardized versions would look more attractive, but would give an erroneous impression of homogeneity in data of variable quality. Standardized versions also tend to omit landscape and other features considered worth noting by the excavators and potentially relevant to robbers' approach to a cemetery.

For St Peter's Tip the grave plans are photographs of the originals drawn on site. This is partly because drawing of the fair copies has not been completed, but also because the originals give a much better sense of the rigour (or otherwise) with which each grave was recorded, and the varied condition of the bones. Using the originals also avoids loss of data as the excavators' notes are removed. The fair copy of Gr 86 is included for comparison with the original to illustrate these points (Fig. 30). In addition, imperial measurements have not always been converted to metric in the text, since to render 1" as 2.54cm or even 2.5cm would give an false impression of the precision intended when inches are used in casual descriptions. Metric is used for calculations.

In Anglo-Saxon England beyond Kent, grave reopening is a much rarer practice and never reaches the intensity seen in the East Kent cemeteries. However, a total of twelve sites with reports of robbed Anglo-Saxon graves have been identified for the purposes of this thesis, showing the phenomenon to be more widely spread than previously recognised. Their evidence is discussed in Chapter 7 and is compared with the Kentish material in the analysis and conclusions. These examples have significant implications for the interpretation of robbery, partly on the basis of their contexts, and partly because several of the reports come from recent high standard excavations.

4 Results and Analysis: Where and When

4.1 Extent of early disturbance

- Eight sites in Kent show substantial evidence of early reopening. A further 10 sites have limited evidence.
- At least 201 reopened or possibly reopened graves have been recorded in Kent.
- Rates of disturbance within cemeteries range from one or two graves to nearly half.

Records of the 32 Kentish Anglo-Saxon burial sites in this analysis were searched for signs of early disturbance. Eight sites showed considerable evidence of early disturbance, affecting at least 183 graves (193 burials), or 15% of the 1197 well-recorded graves in the 8 sites (Table 6, Appendix 1.1). This is a much higher level of ancient grave reopening than previously recognised, largely due to the new evidence from the two Broadstairs sites, St Peter's Tip and Bradstow School, presented here for the first time.

A further ten cemeteries have more limited evidence of early disturbance, confined to one or two graves at each site (Table 7, Appendix 1.2). At least 18 disturbed graves are known from these sites, taking the minimum number recognised in Kent to 201 graves (212 burials). At Polhill, Darenth Park, Mill Hill, and Eastry substantial areas have been excavated, showing that these sites are almost entirely intact, with just one or two cases of disturbance. On the other hand the two Minster sites, Hoo Farm and Thorne Farm, may represent limited excavations into extensively disturbed burial grounds. Bourne Park may also turn out to be another heavily robbed cemetery, when the data become available. The remaining fourteen sites either showed no signs of early robbing, or, as at Bekesbourne II, it was demonstrated that the reports of robbing are unsubstantiated (Table 8, Appendix 1.3).

Within the heavily disturbed cemeteries, an average of 21% of graves were affected, ranging from 8% at Finglesham to 44% at Ozengell. The variation in the proportion of graves disturbed is partly a result of incomplete cemetery excavations, since at some sites robbed graves are unevenly spread. It is also likely that the diagnosis of early disturbance has more readily been made at some sites than others. However, since the basis of the diagnosis of robbing has been reviewed for every single grave in this sample, it is likely that there is real variation in robbing levels. Both the overall rate and the variation between cemeteries are comparable with the pattern of robbing seen across the sea in Merovingia (Chapter 2).

4.2 Excavators

Evidence of deliberate early disturbance has been recorded by at least nine site directors: J Brent, WPD Stebbing, A Rowe, A Warhurst, AC Hogarth, L Webster, SC Hawkes, DRJ Perkins, and D Hart. Accounts of disturbed graves have been published from 1863 onwards. At four sites (Finglesham, Bradstow School, Monkton, Sarre) robbing has been identified by different excavators in successive campaigns of excavation. At Finglesham this was despite initial scepticism by the second director about the earlier interpretation of robbing (Appendix 1.1). Where the information is available, such as at St Peter's, excavation records confirm that a variety of individual diggers worked on graves identified as disturbed.

Many of the prominent 20th century excavators in Kent were close colleagues, with Hogarth and Hawkes both assisting with or visiting Leslie Webster's dig at Bradstow School for example. Hawkes' letters show that she discussed robbing in antiquity with Perkins, who sent her part of his BSc dissertation on the Ozengell disturbance. It seems likely that these personal contacts contributed to the acceptance and spread of the diagnosis of robbing, at least within this circle of acquaintances.

On the other hand, despite these connections, the various published and archived reports of suspected Kentish grave robbery refer to each other remarkably rarely. This is the case even for the two Broadstairs excavations, which were carried out at roughly the same time and involved much to-ing and fro-ing between the two sites. Despite this interaction, the site notes contain no comment on the comparative appearance of the robbed graves.

Until now there thus has been almost no comparison of how the evidence manifests itself at different sites, nor how different excavators have approached the problems of detecting and recording robbing. These questions are considered in detail in Appendices 1 and 2 and throughout the inter-site analysis below.

4.3 Distribution of disturbed sites

- The most intensely disturbed cemeteries are in East Kent, mainly but not exclusively on the Isle of Thanet.
- Heavily disturbed cemeteries are intermingled with undisturbed ones.

All the heavily disturbed sites are in East Kent, with 6 out of 8 on the Isle of Thanet (Fig. 9). Since the numbers are low a few further discoveries could change the distribution significantly, but at present the spread is strongly concentrated along the eastern seaboard. In the early medieval period the former Wantsum Channel still provided navigable access to the sites on the west side of Thanet, and this was a significant area for coastal trading (Brookes 2003).

In Merovingia it has often been commented that the distribution of heavily disturbed cemeteries is frequently intermingled with unrobbed sites. In several cases neighbouring cemeteries of similar date show quite different robbing rates (Fingerlin 1971: 16-54, Roth 1978: 60, Chapter 2). No satisfactory explanation has so far been forthcoming. The same is broadly true in Kent. Which cemeteries are disturbed cannot be explained by geography alone.

Despite the concentration on Thanet, two of the eight heavily disturbed cemeteries are well outside the island. These are Finglesham and Lyminge, both several kilometres from the coast. Finglesham is close by the extensively excavated sites of Mill Hill, Deal, and Updown, Eastry, which have only minimal evidence of early robbing. Mill Hill appears to go out of use earlier than Finglesham, but then so does heavily robbed Lyminge (Appendix 1, Chapter 4.9). The publication of Bourne Park may place another disturbed site in this immediate area.

At nearby Dover Buckland over 400 burials have been excavated without any signs of early medieval robbing being recorded. It lies only a few miles from extensively disturbed Lyminge, with their use periods substantially overlapping. It is also notable that Dover Buckland and its similarly undisturbed neighbours at Townsend Road and St Margaret's-at-Cliffe are so close to the coast. It is not simply the case that accessible coastal cemeteries were disturbed while inland sites remained intact.

On Thanet, only four sites fall outside the heavily robbed category (Appendix 1). The first is Chalk Hill, Ramsgate, which was the excavation of a single grave, probably robbed. The second is the unpublished excavation of 12 graves at Cliffs End, Ramsgate, about which little information is available. The third is Thorne Farm, Minster, a rescue excavation of 3 graves, of which one was thought robbed. The last and most convincing is Mount Pleasant, Minster, at which 18 graves were excavated and no disturbance found. This was despite the involvement of DRJ Perkins,

who has reported robbing evidence at several other sites. If the 18 recorded graves at Mount Pleasant represent only part of a larger cemetery, it is possible that signs of robbing will turn up in future excavations. Alternatively, perhaps the late date of this cemetery puts it after the robbing phase (Chapter 4.9). It would be going too far to say that all properly recorded Thanet cemeteries in use before the late 7th century were disturbed, but the evidence of this sample certainly points to very widespread early medieval robbing on Thanet.

4.4 Dimensions

- Disturbed graves are on average deeper, longer, and wider than undisturbed ones.
- Graves reported as 'robbed' or 'disturbed' are not ploughed out burials.
- Robbers may have been selectively targeting bigger, better furnished burials.

Grave dimensions were available for 4 out of the 8 heavily disturbed sites. These are shown in Table 4. Disturbed graves were found to be on average substantially deeper, longer, and wider than undisturbed ones. There is variation between sites: disturbed graves at Ozengell are only an average of 7cm deeper than undisturbed ones, compared to 30cm at Sarre. However, in every dimension at every site for which figures are available, the disturbed graves are larger.

An objection to this finding would be that (as shown in Chapter 4.7) the disturbed graves include a low proportion of child burials. Perhaps the lower proportion of child burials amongst the disturbed burials is artificially pulling up their average size? To exclude this possibility, the analysis was repeated with child burials removed (Table 4).

The results of this second analysis confirmed the initial findings. The size difference between disturbed and undisturbed adult graves is reduced, but still marked. Disturbed adult graves were on average 27% deeper, 6% longer, and 16% wider than the intact ones. The lower figure of 6% for difference in length is largely due to the outlying result from Sarre, where disturbed graves were actually an average of 11cm shorter than undisturbed ones. All the other results still show greater dimensions for disturbed adult graves. The presence of child burials in the sample had only a limited effect on the comparative length and width averages, and none at all on the depth. Even when the analysis is confined to adult burials, reopened graves remain conspicuously larger than undisturbed ones.

ALL GRAVES	Average depth (m)	Average length (m)	Average width (m)
Monkton			
All graves	0.34	2.05	0.77
Undisturbed graves	0.34	2.00	0.74
Disturbed graves	0.35	2.43	1.00
Difference	0.01	0.43	0.26
Finglesham			
All graves	0.49	2.04	0.71
Undisturbed graves	0.48	2.01	0.70
Disturbed graves	0.64	2.32	0.88
Difference	0.16	0.31	0.18
Ozengell			
All graves	0.74	u	u
Undisturbed graves	0.71	u	u
Disturbed graves	0.78	u	u
Difference	0.07	u	u
Sarre (TAT)			
All graves	0.55	2.22	0.94
Undisturbed graves	0.38	1.99	0.85
Disturbed graves	0.71	2.46	1.01
Difference	0.33	0.47	0.16
Average all graves, all sites	**0.53**	**2.10**	**0.81**
Average difference	**0.14**	**0.40**	**0.20**
Difference as % of average	**27%**	**19%**	**25%**
ADULT GRAVES			
Monkton			
All adult graves	0.34	2.09	0.80
Undisturbed adult graves	0.34	2.05	0.77
Disturbed adult graves	0.35	2.43	1.00
Difference	0.01	0.38	0.23
Finglesham			
All adult graves	0.51	2.18	0.74
Undisturbed adult graves	0.51	2.15	0.73
Disturbed adult graves	0.64	2.31	0.88
Difference	0.13	0.16	0.15
Ozengell			
All adult graves	0.75	u	u
Undisturbed adult graves	0.74	u	u
Disturbed adult graves	0.78	u	u
Difference	0.04	u	u
Sarre (TAT)			
All adult graves	0.59	2.42	1.00
Undisturbed adult graves	0.27	2.51	0.99
Disturbed adult graves	0.71	2.46	1.01
Difference	0.44	-0.05	0.02
Average for all adult graves, all sites	**0.55**	**2.23**	**0.85**
Average difference	**0.16**	**0.16**	**0.13**
Difference as % of average	**28%**	**7%**	**16%**

Table 4: Dimensions of disturbed graves in Kent

The finding that graves reported as disturbed are consistently deeper than average more or less rules out the possibility that "disturbance in antiquity" is misreported plough damage. Most cemeteries in this intensively farmed region have suffered some plough damage, but it is the shallowest graves which are most vulnerable. That the disturbed graves are among the deepest also reduces the likelihood that animals caused the disorder, since deeper graves are also less accessible to scavengers and burrowers.

Why are the disturbed graves so much larger than undisturbed ones? One possibility is that the reopening itself leads to enlarged grave cuts. There certainly are some cases where grave cuts have been damaged and extended by the robbers. In St Peter's Tip Gr 261, for example, the head end is some 20cm deeper than the rest, suggesting that the robbers "over-dug" and increased the dimensions in this area of the grave. However, such cases are relatively few and seem usually to result in recognisably irregular re-cuts confined to the grave lip (Chapter 5.1). In such cases excavators have often tried to record the dimensions of the original cut, rather than letting the robbers' work render their measurements inaccurate (e.g. Finglesham Gr 139).

Grave size in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries has long been seen as linked to wealth, as expressed in grave-goods and other trappings. Larger graves require more energy expenditure and they also have greater visual impact. At Bradstow School, for example, the excavators noted during work on Gr 67, "The grave looks robbed, and its great depth suggests it may have been richly furnished." (Cutting Book p183, 05/08/74, Appendix 1.1).

However, this widespread and persistent impression of a relationship between grave size and wealth is difficult to demonstrate statistically. In the first place there is the problem of defining and quantifying the wealth displays in Anglo-Saxon graves (Chapter 6.1). Occasionally tentative links have been found, such as between grave depth and number of grave-goods at Sewerby, Yorkshire (Hirst 1980: 248), but at other sites correlations have been ruled out. At Dover Buckland, for example, grave size was shown to be primarily a function of body size (Evison 1987: 50).

Richardson's (2005a: 124, 128-9) larger sample brings these patterns into focus. He does not make depth comparisons between sites because topsoil erosion is so variable, but concentrates on grave length and width. The primary factor affecting grave length in most cases is shown to be the stature of the individual being interred, to the extent that grave length is almost a normal distribution. Grave width, however, is not as dependent on size of corpse. At the very top of the social scale Richardson shows a correlation between status and grave size, so that some of the

biggest graves are also unusually well provided with grave-goods. Additionally, where body stature can be compared to grave length, individuals with proportionately larger graves also have more grave-goods indicative of wealth or high status. The link between grave size and wealth is present in Kent, but it is not as determining nor as straightforward as has sometimes been suggested.

Like this thesis, Perkins' 1985 dissertation on grave robbery in five East Kent cemeteries (Perkins 1985, Chapter 3) found a link between grave size and robbery. Perkins also found a limited relationship between grave size, specifically width, and grave wealth measured essentially as numbers of artefacts. Like Richardson, he found that this was marked only at the top of the wealth and size scales. Grave structures were also associated with robbery in Perkins' findings, as here (Chapter 4.5).

Perkins considered grave size and grave structures primarily in terms of the investment in graves, so that robbing of graves with high numbers of artefacts or with high effort expenditure was linked to the status of the interred. However, the link may be a practical matter of recognition: larger graves were likely to be more readily and lastingly visible aboveground simply by virtue of their size. This also fits with the evidence that graves with aboveground structures attracted robbing. If there is any correlation between size of grave cut, the investment in gravegoods, and the elaborateness and durability of any aboveground marker, which is not implausible, then this effect would be amplified.

On the other hand, since there are good reasons for thinking that grave robbery was taking place during the use period of most of the cemeteries (Chapter 4.9), it is likely that most burials were still visible on the surface. The near-absence of accidental intercutting in the cemeteries, despite the spatial mixing of burials of different dates, suggests that all, or almost all, graves were marked on the surface while the burial grounds were in use. When graves intercut, as at Mill Hill, it is the latest burials interfering with the earliest ones, as though time is the main factor in rendering graves invisible, not size (Chapter 4.9). Although surface visibility remains a probable influence, it is therefore likely that the larger and more conspicuous graves were being deliberately selected for reopening.

4.5 Grave markers and structures

- Graves were usually marked while cemeteries were in use, but could fade from view within a century.
- There is a high, but not complete, coincidence of cemeteries with East Kent-type structural features and cemeteries with grave robbery.
- Graves with and without grave structures were robbed.
- Graves with any form of structural elaboration were at greater risk of disturbance.
- Disturbance is not associated with any particular form of grave structure.
- Graves were not concealed and barrows were not an effective defence against robbery.

Grave markers

There is widespread evidence for the use of grave markers in Anglo-Saxon field cemeteries. Above all, intercutting is so rare that all or almost all graves must have been indicated in some way (Cherryson 2007). In many cases the marker may have been simply the heaped earth over the grave. At Dover Buckland, Evison argued that the purpose of the numerous large flints added to the fill of some graves was to add volume to the heap of excavated chalk and soil, so providing a more distinctive marker (Evison 1987: 18).

The most common forms seen archaeologically are the postholes for wooden grave markers found at many sites including Lyminge (Schröder 2007: 13, Appendix 1.1) and Minerva (Gibson 2007: 241, Chapter 7). Sometimes postholes are found scattered within a cemetery without an obvious connection to a particular grave (e.g. Gibson 2007: 242). In other cases they may be grouped together around a burial, suggesting some form of structure. The most concentrated group of such finds is in East Kent and is discussed below. Christina Lee has recently surveyed the evidence for such constructions – outside Kent – and speculated on the possible superstructures and functions (Lee 2007: 93-95). The full range of known forms of grave marker are surveyed by Lucy (2000: 97-102, see also Hirst & Clark 2009: 645).

For how long graves remained marked on the surface is a key issue for grave-robbery. Useful information can sometimes be reconstructed from sites with good data on the sequence of burials, for example at Mill Hill, Deal, Kent (Parfitt 1997, Appendix 1.2). As in most field cemeteries, intercutting was rare in the Anglo-Saxon period at Mill Hill, implying the use of grave markers. Around 13 graves are believed from the spacing to have originally been covered by small mounds, and another form of marker must have been employed for the rest.

However, one group of burials, some of the latest at the site (Phase IV), overlay and cut through earlier (Phase II and III) graves (Parfitt 1997: 17). It is just possible that this was deliberate, but elsewhere at this and similar sites superimposition is carefully avoided. Therefore it seems likely that the earlier graves were no longer marked on the surface when the later graves cut them. This implies that graves of the early and mid 6th century were already invisible by the end of that century or beginning of the next. If wooden posts were used as markers, this timescale would fit a scenario in which graves were marked at the time of burial, but posts were not replaced once they had rotted. The uneven ground and vegetation created by grave-digging must also have disappeared by this time.

This information, although preliminary and requiring confirmation from other sites, is valuable for dating disturbance elsewhere. In almost all Kent cases graves seem to have been still visible when reopened, since the robbers cut directly into the graves without any digging to locate them. Mill Hill gives an indication that the period during which this was possible could be quite limited, since the exact locations of graves there had faded from sight and memory within the use period of the cemetery.

Further information about the aboveground appearance of cemeteries can be gleaned from the robbers' activities. In most cases it appears that they could see not only the vague position of the grave, but also its precise outline and orientation, since they were able to dig directly into the burial. There are some exceptions where finding cuts were used to locate the exact edge of the grave cut (Chapter 5.1), and more such evidence may have been missed or truncated, but the overall impression is that graves were well-defined on the surface at the time of robbing.

Earth mounds are a conspicuous and durable form of grave marker and were commonly used in Early Anglo-Saxon Kent. Some 752 out of Richardson's 2934 Kent burials were recorded as lying under barrows, the majority single graves under individual early medieval mounds, but some inserted into prehistoric monuments. This figure is likely to represent significant under-recording. Antiquarian observations before 20th century intensive ploughing record much higher numbers of barrows than are seen today. The former presence of barrows can sometimes also be inferred by ditches or extra space around graves (e.g. at Finglesham, Grainger & Hawkes 2006: 30). Barrows are particularly a feature of 7th-8th century cemeteries in Kent, but were sometimes used earlier (Richardson 2005a: 112-3). As shown below, mound graves do not appear to have attracted high rates of robbing, despite their lasting visibility.

If, as appears to be the case (Chapter 6.1), graves with greater numbers of artefacts were disturbed, it is likely that potential robbers could assess the probable assemblage from the aboveground appearance of the grave. Whether we see grave-goods as gifts to the dead, statements of ethnicity or allegiance, or counters in a game of social rivalry, one of the remarkable things about them is the briefness of their opportunity to make an impact on the eyes and memories of mourners and witnesses. During the funerary rites they were presumably on display, though we do not know exactly how or to whom, but once buried their impression could only fade. It therefore makes sense that the aboveground elaboration should in some way boast the grave wealth below. However, no straightforward relationship between archaeologically visible aspects of grave marking or size and grave-goods can be reconstructed (Chapters 4.4, 6.1). It seems that whatever clues were available to the early robbers are lost to us today.

Structural features in East Kent

In addition to the simple grave markers and barrows suggested above, a number of cemeteries in East Kent have evidence for more elaborate forms of internal and external structural features. These were first classified by Hogarth at St Peter's, Broadstairs (Hogarth 1973), with updates by Perkins at Sarre and Ozengell (Perkins 1991), and a recent survey by Richardson (2005a: 116-124). Although conventionally discussed together, these forms of grave elaboration are varied, ranging from flint-packing around coffins to apparently substantial structures or canopies over graves.

In many cases it is unclear how the archaeologically-visible structures related to the aboveground appearance of the grave. This is particularly true of the various types of sockets, slots, and ledges. Hogarth's distinction between internal and external features refers to whether they lie inside or outside the grave cut, as viewed by the archaeologist, not to the original form of the grave. In some cases they may have been visible only during the grave construction, as in Ozengell Gr 10, where Perkins suggested that parallel slots across the grave floor had been used as rope ways for the lowering of the coffin. Some probably relate to now vanished burial mounds (Richardson 2005a: 112).

However, other types of vertical and pitched postholes are credible evidence for the building of wooden structures or fences around certain graves in Thanet (Richardson 2005a: 122). The fieldnotes from St Peter's show Hogarth's developing ideas about these. For Gr 307, for example, he notes "3 postholes each side definitely for pitched timbers". Walls or covers made of sandstone blocks seem also to have elaborated some Thanet burials, and as discussed in Appendix 1.1: Ozengell, these are sometimes found disturbed in reopened graves.

Richardson (2005a: 123-4) shows that some variation in structural features is related to date. External (Hogarth's class II) structures, external postholes, recesses and rectangular slots seem mainly confined to the 5th or 6th centuries. Internal grave features (Hogarth's class III), are also more common during the 6th and possibly 5th centuries, rather than later. By contrast, external penannular and ring ditches and other indications of barrows are predominantly dated to the 7th century or later. Integral (Hogarth's class I) features are also much more common from the 7th century. Post-built structures began to be erected over graves in Thanet during the early to mid 6th century, but they were much more common during the 7th-8th centuries.

There is a *prima facie* association between East Kent cemeteries with structural features, and ones with early disturbance. The first large scale observations of structural features were at the two large Broadstairs sites, St Peter's Tip and Bradstow School, both of which are also extensively robbed. The other sites noted for high levels of these types of grave elaboration - Ozengell, Sarre, and Finglesham - are also among the heavily disturbed group.

The undisturbed cemetery at Dover Buckland has very little evidence for structural features. Gr 163 was a single example of a rough ledge around the grave along the lines of Hogarth's type Ib7. However, the excavators judged this to be the result of a change in planned grave size, rather than a deliberate feature. There was no sign of the penannular and ring ditches seen at St Peter's, Finglesham, Kingston and elsewhere. However, the shallowness of the Buckland graves suggested that the upper layers were significantly truncated (Evison 1987: 16-18).

Like Buckland, minimally disturbed Mill Hill had almost no evidence for structural features. Gr 48 had a narrow step or ledge, but as at Buckland this was considered part of the practicalities of digging a narrow grave, rather than as a support for a wooden cover or the like (Parfitt 1997: 23).

Monkton, which has 3 disturbed graves, also has a few with slots and ledges within the grave cut (Perkins 1985). Updown, Eastry, has both structural features and a couple of graves reported as robbed in antiquity (Welch 2008). On the other hand, the cemetery at Mount Pleasant near Minster-in-Thanet has structural features in 2 out of 18 graves, including a previously unrecognised form suggestive of a canopy, but no signs of robbing (Riddler and Haith unpub., Richardson 2005b: 56).

The Lyminge excavations predated Hogarth's identification of structural features at St Peter's. The only structural embellishments noted at Lyminge were three graves enclosed by rectangular gullies (Richardson 2005a: 120, Schröder 2007: 94, Appendix 1.1). Two of these were excavated; both had been robbed in antiquity. If the interpretation of these as the same category as the kerb-

slots at St Peter's and Ozengell is correct, this is a type of structural feature that is frequently, although not consistently, robbed in at least three cemeteries (Table 6 and below).

Turning to the selection of graves for robbing within cemeteries, the best available data on structural features is from St Peter's, Broadstairs (Hogarth 1973). As can be seen in Table 6, robbing affects small numbers of graves with most kinds of structures at the site. There is no reason here to think that the presence or absence of any type of structural feature wholly decided the selection of a grave for reopening.

Table 6 shows the disturbance rates of graves with different kinds of structural elaboration across all the heavily robbed sites. It appears that having some form of structural feature predisposed a grave to disturbance. A similar finding was made in Perkins' analysis of five cemeteries (Perkins 1985, Chapter 3). However, the specifics of which structural features are targeted vary significantly from site to site. As the table shows, there is no clear relationship between robbing and types of grave structure. It is not the case that any particular form of internal or external feature was consistently avoided or preferred by robbers across the disturbed sites.

On the basis of the current evidence there is therefore an association but not an exact correlation between sites with the twin phenomena of grave structures and robbing. The apparent association between sites with robbing and structural features may be a coincidence of geography alone. If there is a connection, the relationship may be a background factor underlying both phenomena, rather than a causal link between the two. Perhaps there was something in the nature of the communities creating these cemeteries that resulted in both structural elaboration and reopening.

The construction of Table 6 has involved a degree of guesswork in attempting to establish categories of structural feature likely to have been meaningful to an Anglo-Saxon viewer. As mentioned above, it is not clear which archaeological features signify aboveground features. Even where they almost certainly were lastingly visible on the surface, for example in the case of ditches around graves, I may not be at all correct in the types I have grouped together. Penannular and rectangular ditches, for instance, may have had quite different symbolic connotations. The original form and the symbolism of East Kent grave structures, and their possible continental models, would be a fruitful area of research but are beyond the scope of this thesis.

As noted by Elizabeth O'Brien (1999: 140), none of the graves with certain types of internal structural features at Finglesham are disturbed, whereas at Sarre and Ozengell a high proportion

of these were reopened. Since structured graves at Finglesham contained little by way of grave-goods, O'Brien takes this as evidence that the robbers knew in advance which graves were worth targeting, irrespective of external features. However, the forms of structural elaboration in question, ledges or beam slots within the grave, do not appear to represent externally visible structures. If there is a real difference in the types of grave selected for reopening between these sites, identifying it will require much better reconstruction of the contemporary appearance of structural features than is at present available.

Barrows, probably the most conspicuous and lasting form of grave marker, are by no means always robbed. At Finglesham, for example, only 8 out of the at least 18 likely mounds were found disturbed. On the other hand, robbers evidently did sometimes consider it worth their while digging down through these substantial monuments. That barrow graves are sometimes robbed has significant implications for the selection of burials for reopening: it is not the graves which are easiest to access which are chosen. Digging through a mound takes much longer and more effort than opening a flat-grave, yet barrows were still sometimes chosen. Barrows cannot be seen as a deterrent to robbers, at least not an effective one.

There are plenty of examples of highly elaborated graves which are not robbed. Ozengell Gr 64 is a particularly striking example. Within the grave was a 'pillow' of earth packing plus chalk packing along the sides. Probably visible aboveground were 3 pairs of posts along the sides, a square sandstone slab and a chalk pyramid (Perkins unpub., Richardson 2005a: 121). Yet this grave was found undisturbed at a site with an overall robbing rate of up to 44%.

The only strong association that emerges is between kerb-slots and robbing. Graves surrounded by these rectangular gullies thought to have originally contained stone uprights are seen at Lyminge, Ozengell, and St Peter's Tip (Appendix 1.1). A high proportion are robbed at all three sites. At Lyminge both examples had been robbed, and at Ozengell 4 out of 5 were disturbed. At St Peter's Tip 4 out of 7 examples were definitely robbed, and it is possible that all had been (Appendix 1.1). Were these graves selected on the basis of specific symbolic connotations, or simply because they were conspicuous? There is little to indicate whether this form of grave structure was associated with impressive gravegood assemblages, largely because almost all examples have been looted.

Beyond the kerb-slot graves, the assortment of grave types which have been robbed is so markedly varied that a case could be made that a deliberate selection has taken place at each site to include representatives of as many grave forms as possible. Especially once the spatial

distribution is taken into account, the marked dispersal of reopened burials across the cemeteries and across grave types begins to appear intentional. In this scenario the aim of the reopening would not be to target any section of the burying group(s), but to ensure that the symbolic act of reopening encompassed, for good or ill, the whole community of the dead (Chapter 5.4).

As a final point, there is the possibility that graves were occasionally concealed, rather than marked. At Gunthorpe, Peterborough, several graves were recently discovered which appeared to have been deliberately back-filled with gravel pebbles, as if to disguise their location (Patrick 2007: 211). With no robbing reported at Gunthorpe or in the immediate area, this cannot be seen as a response to contemporary grave robbery. However, it flags up the apparent lack of such defensive reactions in Kent. The evidence is that graves become more elaborately marked through the likely 7th century robbing period, not less.

4.6 Coffins

- There is considerable variation in reported coffin numbers between sites, probably due to differences in preservation, recording, and date.
- Graves both with and without coffin evidence are reported as robbed.
- Graves with coffin remains are more frequently reported as robbed.

The presence or absence of a coffin or other air-filled chamber around a burial is relevant to grave-robbery for two main reasons. First, it is a central factor affecting the decomposition of the body in the years immediately after burial. A corpse exposed to air will in general decay much more quickly than one which is earthbound (e.g. Hawkes & Grainger 2006: 313). Second, it has implications for access to the burial assemblage, and for the robbers' ability to move objects around within the exposed grave. A solid wooden lid requires robbers either to dig out all the earth covering the grave in order to lift it off, or to dig a smaller access shaft and saw out a smaller opening. A burial lying in the hollow cavity of a coffin can be exposed and rifled far more easily than one lacking a lid and enveloped in earth (Chapters 4.9, 5.1).

Coffins are frequently reported in early medieval inhumation cemeteries. Richardson's sample of Kentish burials had coffins with 18% of bodies (Richardson 2005a: 129). However, as Table 6 shows, the proportion of coffined burials varies widely from site to site. This raises questions about the types and levels of evidence which have been used to report coffins (see also Stoodley 1999: 59-60, Hirst & Clark 2009). A further uncertainty is the exact form of coffins of the period, in particular whether they were always lidded (Richardson 2005a: 130, Hawkes & Grainger 2006:

51). At Holborough, for example, there was evidence for lidless coffins in at least 8 graves (Evison 1956: 92). Burials might also be lidded but uncoffined: ledges indicative of wooden covers were seen in nearly a fifth of recorded graves at Park Lane, Croydon (McKinley 1994: 28).

St Peter's Tip has much higher reported coffin rates than most cemeteries, which may suggest over-interpretation of wood remains. Then again it seems to have had much better preservation conditions for wood than is usual. In Gr 277, for example, the coffin line is recorded as "solid wood", which compares favourably with the faint soil shadows more frequently seen (see also Waldron 2007). Richardson notes that Faussett also recorded much higher numbers of coffins than have been seen in 20th century excavations (Richardson 2005a: 129), which is a reminder that decay is still ongoing in unexcavated sites.

The impression from the rough grave plans drawn at St Peter's is that the coffins were of substantial planks with a thickness measuring several centimetres. Anglo-Saxon coffins could certainly last a long time before collapsing: in Gr 197 at Finglesham both body and gravegoods were well-decayed but the coffin still held up at the time of robbery (Chapter 5.1).

Table 6 shows a high proportion of disturbed graves with coffins. This is perhaps a function of soil conditions, with better general preservation allowing identification of both coffin and disturbance. Date probably also plays a part, with fast rising rates of coffins from the start of the 7th century, which is also the main phase of robbing (Chapter 4.9). Still it remains possible that this is a real phenomenon, with coffined burials preferred by robbers. Perhaps the relative ease of rifling a lidded burial played a part.

4.7 Age

- The heavily disturbed cemeteries are not unusual in their age-at-death profiles.
- Children's graves are much less likely to be reported as robbed.
- Almost all disturbed child graves are adult-sized.
- Robbers may have selectively avoided children's graves.
- In some cases robbers were able to judge the size of graves from their surface appearance, but lacked knowledge of their occupants.
- Among adults, robbing affects all age categories.

The disturbed burials have been divided into two age groups: adult and child. Here 'child' is used for individuals under about 17 years of age. The categories used to record age at death vary between sites, so that for the few individuals in their late teens some approximation has been necessary. A skeleton recorded as '14-18' has been put into the child bracket, while '16-20' has been grouped with the adults. In other cases, such as in the work of John Brent at Sarre, it has been assumed that burials are of adults where no comment is made to the contrary.

Making similar assumptions, Richardson finds an overall average of 17.5% sub-adult mortality in Kent AS cemeteries. He argues that the true figure lies somewhere between 17.5 and 32% (Richardson 2005: 99). As Table 6 shows, children make up about 18% of burials across the heavily disturbed sites, albeit with considerable inter-site variation. This figure is in line with Richardson's average, indicating that the numbers of sub-adult dead in these burial grounds are typical for the region.

That said, there are two sites where the age profiles need further consideration. The first is Primrose Hill, Monkton, where only 2 out of a total of 35 (undisturbed and disturbed) burials were identified as children. Monkton also has an unusually high proportion of identifiably male burials (37% male, 17% female). The two disturbed burials at Monkton were both male. It is possible that Monkton represents a particular type of non-household-based community. Alternatively, since Anglo-Saxon cemeteries show some clustering of burial types, there is a significant chance that the portion of the Monkton cemetery which has been excavated happens to be an area with more adult males and fewer youngsters. The second site to be mentioned is Sarre, where age clustering may well also be a feature. While Brent's 19th century work reported only 11% (31/293=11%) of burials as children, the 20th century excavations in a different area of

the same site found a much higher proportion (9/23=39%). Improved excavation technique is also likely to be a factor.

Adult burials are more frequently reported as robbed than those of children. As Table 6 shows, across the sites 18% of adults have evidence of robbing, compared to only 10% of children. Again there is considerable inter-site variation, with nearly half the total number of disturbed child burials coming from Ozengell, which also has the highest overall robbing rate. However, even there the level of reported disturbance is much lower among children than adults.

Disturbance is much harder to identify in the graves of children. Their skeletons decompose faster and more completely (Chapter 4.9) and they are provided with fewer grave-goods (Stoodley 1999, 2000), leaving less grave contents to bear witness to rifling. A high proportion of child graves appear entirely or almost empty when excavated, often with only teeth to show the former presence of a body. It is probable that at least some of the discrepancy in apparent robbing levels between adult and child burials is explained by these taphonomic factors. However, there are also reasons to think that robbers may have avoided child-sized graves.

A total of 20 child burials are reported as robbed across the 8 cemeteries. Three of these are multiple burials with adults in adult-sized graves. Length and width measurements are recorded for 6 of the remaining 17, and depth for 14. As can be seen in Table 4, the child graves reported as robbed are on average bigger in all dimensions than the mean grave size across these cemeteries (see also Chapter 4.4). In width they exceed the average adult grave. They would all be large enough to accommodate an adult burial.

On the available data, we therefore have no examples of recognisably child-sized graves being robbed. This absence introduces the possibility that robbers selectively avoided graves which could be seen on the surface to be those of children. They might do so for reasons of taboo, if it was felt a greater transgression to disturb a child's grave, or simply because children's graves typically contained fewer valuables. In the cases shown in Table 4, robbers may have been misled by the surface appearance of the graves into thinking them adult burials. In this scenario, the robbers were acting on the aboveground appearance of the cemetery, rather than on knowledge of the contents of graves. This has important implications for the timescale of disturbance and the identities of the grave-openers.

It would, however, be incorrect to say that child-sized graves were never reopened, since Sarre 104 is recorded as a "very small grave and disturbed" and Sarre 25 may well also be small, although the dimensions are not reported (Appendix 1.1: Sarre). Still, such cases are vanishingly

rare. In addition, a large proportion of the reopened children's graves are at the Ozengell cemetery, which has an unusually high reported robbing rate, indicating either that robbing was particularly rife there, or that there may have been over-interpretation on the part of the excavators (Appendix 1.1: Ozengell).

Beyond the apparent avoidance of children's graves, no other age patterns are evident. Reopening affected adult graves in all age categories. The highest quality data is from the published Finglesham report, in which 11 of the disturbed burials are simply listed as "adult" or "probable adult", one is 10-12 years, one is 17-20, three are in the 20-30 bracket, one is about 35, two are between 40 and 50, and one is over 50. There is no reason at Finglesham, or at any of the other sites, to suppose that adults in any particular age range were targeted.

4.8 Gender

- The disturbed cemeteries are not unusual in their gender profiles.
- Male burials were possibly slightly more frequently disturbed than females.
- There is considerable inter-site variation in ratios of F:M disturbance.
- At some sites robbers may have selectively targeted male graves, either from previous knowledge or from gendered aboveground marking.
- Alternatively, male graves may have been more lastingly marked on the surface and so more vulnerable to looting.

The sexing of burials used here is based on the excavation notes and reports, which variously use skeletal and/or artefactual evidence. This information is supplemented by the ASKED database, which has separate fields for skeletal and grave-good data. In addition for the purposes of this thesis some further male and female graves have been identified through their grave-good arrays. Gendered artefacts correlate closely (though not infallibly) with skeletal sex in Kent and elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon England (Richardson 2005a: 168, Stoodley 1999). There are exceptions: Gr 5 at Bradstow School, for example, is reportedly the skeleton of an older male buried with typically female artefacts plus a bronze manikin amulet.

The 8 heavily disturbed sites have an average of 31% female, 36% male, and 32% unsexed burials, with large inter-site variation. This is a total of 191 burials sexed as definite or probably females and 205 sexed as males. The proportion of female interments is thus slightly lower than Richardson's ratio of about 49% female to 51% male skeletally sexed individuals (Richardson 2005a: 97). However, the low numbers of females at Bradstow School and Monkton are mainly

responsible for pulling the female average down. Both these sites, or at least their excavated portions, show particularly strong expression of a 6th century martial male identity in the furnishing and placing of weapon graves (Chapter 5.4). With the possible exceptions of these two cemeteries, the sex/gender profiles of the heavily disturbed sites are therefore within the usual range.

Across the 8 sites, a total of 19% of female, 22% of male, and 15% of unsexed burials were disturbed (Table 6). This is a total of 54 female, 74 male, and 63 unsexed individuals across all sites. These figures mask considerable differences between cemeteries. At Monkton and Lyminge male burials make up the overwhelming majority of disturbed graves. With the caveat that many disturbed burials are unsexable, it is therefore possible that male burials were more frequently targeted than female ones, at least at some sites.

However, it is by no means the case that male graves were exclusively targeted. Male graves may have been preferred, either for their grave-goods or for some other reason, but female graves were also frequent targets. There is no need for robbers to have had foreknowledge of the gender of the buried individuals; male and female graves may have been differentially marked on the surface. It seems likely that the marked gendering of gravegood assemblages extended to other aspects of burial ritual and monument. Finally, there is also the possibility that male graves were more lastingly marked, so that more of them were visible to robbers. This would explain the possible imbalance without any need for selection.

4.9 Date

- Reopening of graves probably started in the 6th century.
- Reopening evidence is concentrated in the 7th century, ceasing before the last interments in field cemeteries.
- The robbing evidence is spread over at least half a century, probably several decades longer.
- Reopening took place in cemeteries still used for burial.
- Graves could be reopened at widely different stages of decomposition. A few were opened while bodies were wholly or partially articulated. In others bones and grave-goods were decomposing and friable.
- Most bodies were disarticulated skeletons with intact bones when disturbed. In many cases coffins or wooden covers were still solid.

Dating Kentish graves

As discussed above (Chapter 3), early medieval dating is in a state of flux, especially for the late 6th to late 7th century period which is particularly relevant to this study (Scull & Bayliss 1999, Welch 2007: 211). In Kent almost all dating is currently based on artefact seriation, with some use of "horizontal stratigraphy" within certain cemeteries (Chapter 5.4, Appendix 1.1: Lyminge). Artefacts with well-supported recent typologies used for dating in Kent include glass beads (Brugmann 2004), belt buckles (Marzinzik 2003), and glass vessels (Evison 1982, Stephens 2006).

This study uses dating from several sources, since it was beyond the possible scope of this research to re-examine finds and establish an independent chronology. The source of every date is set out and the basis of each significant date is explored in the relevant sections.

In the site tables (Tables 9-15) the dates for individual graves are in most cases taken from ASKED (Chapter 3). The ASKED researchers used published chronologies where available, and otherwise assigned dates themselves on the basis of the artefact finds. However, these should not be considered definitive in the absence of detailed reasoning about the dates given.

Individual burials are necessarily dated with varying degrees of precision. In Kent, as elsewhere, more artefacts suitable for chronological sequencing are retrieved from female than male graves. Some burials with distinctive artefacts can be fixed to within a 50 year stretch, while others may date to any time within the early medieval period. Distinguishing between date of production and date of deposition is a perennial difficulty, especially where conservation of possessions as

heirlooms is suspected (Brugmann 1999: 40, and in the case of Kentish bracteates, Hawkes & Pollard 1981: 370). Dating can be particularly imprecise in the case of robbed graves, which often lack datable objects. The basis, precision, and reliability of relevant individual dates are discussed in the sections which follow.

Dates of the disturbed cemeteries

Figures 10 and 11 show the date ranges of the cemeteries in this study according to the two main recent sources: Richardson's (2005) gazetteer and study, and the ASKED database. As can be seen, the two sources are not in accord, and their differences are not consistent. In addition, since most of the cemeteries are incompletely excavated, the date ranges are liable to extension in either direction. In particular, the date range of the Half Mile Ride burial ground is highly imprecise, given the limited records from the site (Appendix 1.1). There is no certainty that it first came into use as late as the mid 7th century.

This said, the data are sufficient to show that the known date ranges of the heavily disturbed cemeteries are widely distributed, and that there is no consistent difference between the date profiles of the disturbed and undisturbed cemeteries. The disturbed cemeteries do not share a similar date profile, nor was there any point when they were all in use. It is not simply the case that, for example, all 7th century Kentish cemeteries were subject to robbing.

Dates of the disturbed graves

The date ranges of each site are shown in Fig. 10-11. The date ranges of the disturbed graves are shown in the site tables (Tables 9-15). As the figures show, the majority of disturbed burials are dated to the 7th century, either by artefact finds or by inference since they are in cemeteries dominated by 7th century burials. However, it is not the case that all the burials of any one phase are robbed at any one site, nor across the sites. As far as the evidence goes, a proportion of graves from each phase of each site is affected. At all the sites there are untouched graves contemporary with the robbed ones.

Interval between burial and disturbance

This section concentrates on assessing how much time elapsed between burial and reopening in cases where disturbance is already broadly established to have happened in antiquity. This involves thinking about processes of decomposition immediately after burial for all elements in the grave: body tissues of different types, grave-goods of various materials and sizes, and any coffin or other container in which these lay.

The disturbed Kent burials were in varied states of preservation when reopened. A small proportion were reported as disturbed while the bodies were still fully or partially articulated. Others were not reopened until the skeletons themselves were crumbling, so that fragments of the same bone were spread around the grave during the disturbance. The first step was to categorize this evidence and systematize an approach to the state of decay at disturbance of each grave.

The continental research gives useful precedents for classifying the state of decay of graves at the time of disturbance. In particular, Edeltraud Aspöck developed a series of timeframes (*Zeiträume*) to categorize the length of time between burial and disturbance for each grave at Brunn am Gebirge, Austria (Aspöck 2002: 49, 2003: 251-252). Aspöck's timeframes were adapted from those used by Johannes Wolfgang Neugebauer for the Early Bronze Age site of Gemeinlebarn F, also in Lower Austria (Neugebauer 1991), and by Károly Sági at the early medieval cemetery of Vörs, Hungary (Sági 1964). Like them, Aspöck bases her timeframes on the state of decay of the corpse and of the coffin, but she uses more finely divided categories:

> Timeframe A: the body still held together (up to one year).
>
> Timeframe B: the decomposition of the body was not yet complete (up to 8 or 10 years).
>
> Timeframe C: skeletonisation was complete, but the coffin was whole, so that there was empty space around the burial (10-35 years).
>
> Timeframe C (D): skeletonization complete, unclear whether the coffin held together.
>
> Timeframe (C) D: the grave was mostly filled with earth, any coffin having collapsed (35 years +).

For this Kent study, two or three additional sources of evidence are included. How clearly the robbers could see the grave outline on the ground surface is reported in a number of cases, and can be a useful indicator of the interval between burial and disturbance. As discussed in Chapter 4.5, there is evidence that graves sometimes disappeared from view within the use periods of cemeteries, although only after the passage of some decades. The condition of gravegoods at the time of robbing is also indicative, and again is discussed below but not included in the timeframe categories, because the necessary data is too rarely recorded. Where an intercutting grave provided an opportunity for robbing the date can frequently be quite tightly established. These cases are also discussed below.

For Kent the sources of evidence have been separated, because their decay may progress more or less independently, depending on preservation conditions at the site. For example, coffin collapse may occur before or after the grave ceases to be visible on the surface, depending on factors such as soil acidity and moisture levels, and on how graves are marked and whether the cemetery is grazed.

Kent timeframes

Body

1 The corpse is whole and can be moved without disintegration.

2 Decomposition is underway, but substantial parts of the corpse hold together during disturbance.

3 Decomposition is well-advanced, but some joints remain articulated during disturbance.

4 The corpse is skeletonized to disarticulated bone.

5 Bones fragment during disturbance, so that parts of the same bone are found spread around grave.

Coffin

i Coffin/wooden cover still holds together, robbing takes place in air-filled space.

ii Wood of coffin/cover broken into chunks.

iii Coffin fully decayed so that coffin line interrupted by robber cut, or grave dug through as though full of earth.

An attempt was made to categorise each disturbed grave according to these timeframes (Tables 9-15). In a minority, those with the fullest recording, it was possible to assess the state of all

aspects (body, coffin, aboveground visibility, condition of gravegoods) at the time of robbing. However, in the main the exercise served to highlight how much detail is lacking from most of the data. Information about the state of the body or skeleton is most frequently recorded. All the indicators of the intervals between burial and robbing are discussed in detail in the sections which follow.

Body

Most graves were robbed after muscle and ligaments had decayed, but while bones were still solid and resistant to breakage (Timeframe 4). There were very few clear examples of Timeframe 5, in which bones fragmented during disturbance. St Peter's Gr 62, 303, and 333 are some of the only graves that could be securely placed in this category. Even in some of these the damaged bones are probably a result of the violence of the robbing. In St Peter's Gr 240, for example, it looks as though the skull was crushed by the collapsing coffin and then the fragments were subsequently dispersed by the robbers.

The ability to distinguish between Timeframes 4 and 5 is frequently reduced by poor bone preservation and limited recording, since question of the state of the skeleton at disturbance has rarely been explicitly raised. A number of graves are therefore categorised as Timeframe 4/5, because the information needed securely to place them in Timeframe 4 is lacking. However in almost all burials with grave plans, the bones can be seen to have remained complete during the disturbance.

This is in marked contrast to the severely decayed state of the bones by the time of the excavations at most of the sites. In child burials especially, bones were frequently undetectable. Others, especially at St Peter's, were visible only as "bone shadow" soil stains. Where bone condition is systematically recorded, as at St Peter's, or mentioned in grave descriptions, it can be seen that a high proportion were spongy or friable and often unrecoverable. It is clear in almost all cases that the ancient disturbance occurred long before the bones reached their modern state of decay.

The small number of burials which were disturbed before fleshy decomposition was complete (Timeframe 1/2) enable reopening to be pinned to a limited number of years after burial. However, although still a tight date range from an archaeological point of view, the length of time taken for a corpse to skeletonize is highly variable. Discussions of fleshy decomposition in the grave robbing literature have tended to overstate the conformity of these processes.

The most useful estimates of the time taken for skeletonization are those which take into account local conditions. At Brunn, for example, Aspöck (2002: 49) consulted a local grave-digger, who reported that skeletonization was usually complete within 10 years, but could take longer depending on soil moisture levels. Wooden coffins lasted at least ten years, and up to 35 depending on the wood type. In Kent Perkins (1991: 164) reports some accidental experimental archaeology, showing that adult foxes immured in chalk rubble were reduced to clean disarticulated bone by 22 years. He also consulted grave-diggers, and concluded that articulation would be limited to a maximum of 25 years for coffined cadavers in chalk graves.

For our purposes, these estimates – that skeletonization in the types of burial under discussion is usually complete after a decade, and almost always after 25 years – are sufficient to indicate the broad timescale for reopening. However, when considered in detail the situation is far more complex. Variation in decomposition rates is governed by a range of factors at every level, from climate down to soil conditions and body fat (Henderson 1987, Waldron 1987, Garland & Janaway 1989, Haglund & Sorg 1997, 2001, Duday 2006, Andrews & Bello 2006). Information from post-WWII exhumations in particular emphasizes the varied condition of corpses when recovered after a c. 3 year burial period. Clothing, for example, played a significant role in preserving whole and parts of bodies (Mant 1987). It would be misleading to attempt to give a precise timescale for reopening for any single disturbed burial.

The effects of some of the factors governing skeletonization may be demonstrated in the sample of graves discussed in this thesis. At Ozengell, for example, a group of burials reported as still partially articulated when disturbed are clustered in one part of the cemetery. As discussed in Appendix 1.1: Ozengell, there is a strong possibility that (rather than these burials all having been reopened unusually early), skeletonization was protracted in this area of the burial ground, perhaps due to water-logging.

Complete articulation at the time of disturbance is not claimed in any of the Anglo-Saxon cases presented in this thesis. The extent of the remaining articulation varies considerably, from the almost whole body in Monkton Gr 22, to the near-complete skeletonization of St Peter's Gr 270 (below). Where partial articulation is claimed, this must be in accordance with the known order in which articulated joints decay. The first to deteriorate are the articulations involving small bones (e.g. the cervical spine, hands, and distal parts of the feet), or fragile ones (e.g. the scapulo-thoracic joint). More persistent articulations are those which in life require thick and powerful ligaments (e.g. the lumbar spine, sacro-iliac articulations, knees, and ankles) (Ubelaker 1997,

Duday 2006). Reported cases which stand out from this pattern have been noted here, such as in Edix Hill Gr 31, in which most of the body appears to have been fully disarticulated when disturbed, but the left foot was moved intact. In this case it is suggested that the foot may have been encased in a leather shoe (Chapter 7).

For the purposes of this study a high evidential bar was imposed on claims of bodies disturbed while still articulated. These were only accepted when it could be shown that a portion of the skeleton had been moved yet still remained in anatomical order, and where that portion might reasonably be expected to be one of the last fully to skeletonize and lose the ligaments holding together the skeletal elements (Bello & Andrews 2006, Duday 2006, Garland & Janaway 1989, Waldron 1987, Appendix 2).

Elsewhere, as at Brunn am Gebirge, partial articulation is assumed when part of a skeleton remains in situ while the rest is displaced, especially if the displaced portion does not correspond with the robber cut (Aspöck 2002: 50). That interpretation is rejected here on several grounds. In the first place a mismatch between detectable grave entry points and skeletal disturbance is common and has been shown to be the result of particular grave opening methods (Chapters 2, 5.1). Secondly, the parts of the skeleton seen remaining in situ are not the portions that would be expected to decay slowest (Appendix 2). Instead the visibly disturbed areas are those, such as on the chest, where removal of brooches and other gravegoods would require interference with clothing or a collapsed ribcage. That the arms remain in situ is not evidence that their ligaments held them together, but that it was not necessary to move them. The difference between graves in which part of the body remains in situ and ones which are thoroughly rifled lies in the approaches of the robbers, not in the conditions of the bodies.

There are at least 16 claims of skeletons still partially articulated at the time of disturbance in the heavily disturbed Kent cemeteries. Cases are seen at Bradstow School, St Peter's, Monkton, Finglesham, and Ozengell. Only Lyminge and Sarre have no examples. However, seven of the reported cases are at Ozengell, where the lack of available grave plans prevents proper evaluation of the evidence. From the Ozengell descriptions the claims of articulation seem plausible, except perhaps in Gr 19a (Appendix 1.1). At the other sites a significant proportion are unconvincing.

At St Peter's only 2 out of the 6 possibles were judged likely (Appendix 1.1). In Gr 165 a large part of the skeleton (R femur, pelvis, lower spine) seems to have held together during the robbing and been moved intact. In Gr 270 a couple of sections of spinal column seem to have remained articulated.

The other sites each have only one possibly articulated burial. At Bradstow School this is Gr 72, which may equally be a peri- or post-mortem decapitation or a later reopening (Appendix 1.1, Chapter 6.3). At Finglesham one of the 2 or possibly 3 individuals in Gr 205 was thought still semi-articulated. In Monkton Gr 22 it appeared that the right leg and part of the pelvis had been moved intact to the foot of the grave.

The Monkton grave is dated by the publication to the 6th century (Hawkes 1974) and by ASKED more precisely to AD 530-590, but the basis for the dating is discussed in neither. The bronze buckle should be identifiable in Marzinzik's (2003) typology, but the illustration alone does not enable a secure classification.

Finglesham Gr 205 is dated by ASKED to the 6th century and by Sayer (2009) to the early 7th. The basis for artefact dating must be the silver bow-brooch, but there is no reason to assume that this was associated with the still-articulated body, which was almost certainly the last burial. The brooch is just as likely to have been buried with the first, skeletonized body. Accepting Sayer's date, the latest burial here must therefore have been made sometime in or after the early 7th century; it cannot be earlier.

Bradstow School Gr 72 is dated by ASKED to AD 640-700, presumably on the basis of the bronze buckle, but neither the artefact itself nor an illustration were available for inspection. Likewise St Peter's Gr 165 is dated to AD 650 – 670, which is an unusually narrow date range. This is presumably on the basis of the beads, which have one of the most up to date local chronological sequences (Brugmann 2004).

The Ozengell examples are more doubtful, both in their diagnosis as articulated and in their dating, since the material is neither published nor accessible. ASKED, the only available source of information, assigns them all date ranges overlapping in the 7th century.

The dating evidence from these articulated burials therefore points to the majority of disturbance taking place within the 7th century, perhaps the mid-part of that century. However, even on the shortest possible range, they are spread over more than half a century. The Monkton example raises the likelihood that robbing had started before the end of the 6th, while the Bradstow School and St Peter's graves are evidence that the practice continued into the mid or later decades of that century.

Coffin

Aspöck's (2002: 39, Chapters 2, 4.6, 5.1, Appendix 2) observation that it is possible to distinguish between disturbance that took place within the air-filled space of a coffin and that which happened in an earth-filled grave is very useful here. This point has been made for large chambers (e.g. Baitinger 1992, Groop 2000), but also applies to smaller containers. Aspöck reasons that where the disordered bones are strewn in a flat layer over the grave floor, disturbance must have taken place within an intact coffin. The grave openers have cleared the earth from above the coffin lid, then either removed it entirely or made an access hole through it. They thereby gained access to the whole burial and were able to move its elements around within the open space maintained by the coffin. By contrast, if the coffin had collapsed or entirely disintegrated, or in graves without coffins, the openers would have to dig right down into the burial layer. Unless they used methods that were positively archaeological, bones and artefacts would be thrown up into the spoil and backfill.

This is a source of evidence that has previously been overlooked at most sites, including in Kent. However, records allow reconstruction of the situation in a fair proportion of graves. Gr 22 at Monkton is a good example of robbing taking place in clear airspace. Here there must almost certainly have been a coffin, wooden cist or at least cover, although none is recorded, because the robbers were able to open the whole of the grave and lift an entire articulated leg to the foot of the grave. Had the body been encased in earth this would have been very difficult, and robbing must have proceeded differently. Gr 197 at Finglesham is another: here bodily decomposition was much further advanced and the robbing was much more drastic, but the remaining pieces of bone are all displaced across the grave floor. This must have taken placed within the space of an intact coffin and may be an example of "hook robbing" (Chapter 5.1).

St Peter's has a high proportion of graves in which robbing can be seen to have taken place inside intact coffins (e.g. Gr 3, 31, 45, 57, 64). This may be partly because the original grave plans are available from which to reconstruct the information. In one case (Gr 78) the St Peter's excavators make a comment that shows they were aware of this source of dating evidence, but it is not systematically or explicitly recorded here or at the other sites. Another reason that so many coffins at St Peter's were still intact at the time of disturbance may be their construction: the drawings at least make these look like very substantial, thick-sided containers (Chapter 4.6). Gr 57 in particular shows that coffins could remain whole well after the body had skeletonized and gravegoods were falling apart. This may in part be due also to unusually good wood preservation

conditions at the site: a number of graves still had "solid wood" fragments surviving at the time of excavation.

Aboveground visibility

In most cases in Kent it appears that the outlines of the graves were still clearly discernable on the surface at the time of robbing, since the disturbance is confined to within the grave cut and frequently to a specific part of it. This argument is explicitly made in the case for an early robbing date at several sites, including Lyminge, Spong Hill, and Carlton Colville (Site Appendices). At Bradstow School it is notable that the prehistoric graves which are intermingled with the early medieval ones as secondary interments on a Bronze Age barrow are not robbed: they were either invisible or readily distinguishable from the more recent interments that were the robbers' target.

There is a small number of graves in which "finding cuts" to locate the exact edge of the grave cuts are reported. One of these is Ozengell Gr 60, which is probably also the oldest disturbed grave at the site. As shown above (Chapter 4.5), graves occasionally disappeared from view within the use periods of sites, but the generally low levels of intercutting suggest this was rare.

There are several more cases where slight extensions of grave cuts may be the result of uncertainty about where to dig, but are more likely due to carelessness or the need to get a tool under a coffin lid to lever it open. One of the latter explanations is likely in Monkton Gr 22, which was reopened while the body was still substantially articulated. There may also be difficulties in distinguishing between finding cuts and structural features (e.g. Bradstow School Gr 11 and St Peter's Tip Gr 233).

Ozengell Gr 60, which has the evidence of searching by the robbers, is highly unusual in preserving what was thought to be the Anglo-Saxon ground surface under the robbers' spoil. Substantial truncation of the upper levels of graves is much more usual, especially since modern ploughing. Witness, for example, how much shallower the graves excavated in the late 20th century at Sarre were than those dug in the previous century by Brent (Perkins 1991). Where these upper layers are lost, so is any evidence of finding cuts, and disturbance apparently centred on a particular part of the grave may be giving an exaggerated appearance of accuracy on the part of the robbers.

Grave-goods

The decay of gravegoods immediately after burial is not traditionally a research subject for archaeologists. Questions of preservation on an archaeological timescale more usually involve the passage of hundreds or thousands of years, not the few years or decades under consideration here. However, one specialist area with a relevant timescale is WWII aviation archaeology, a widespread and largely amateur pursuit in the UK. Comments from aircraft excavators have been valuable here, in building up a picture of the likely timescales for decay and some of the factors which influence its progress.

At WWII crash sites, steel parts were already heavily corroded some 40 years after burial, especially if near the surface. Parts which had embedded themselves into the ground at impact were better-preserved than those which had been buried by hand, presumably because less air was trapped around them. Parts in contact with oil or fuel were in much better condition. The same applied to spare parts wrapped in greased paper in storage sheds. On the same 40-50 year timescale, brass and copper objects fared much better. The surface oxidation could easily be removed, leaving them in good condition (pers. comm. Mark Evans, BAAC/Midland Aircraft Recovery Group).

This information provides useful analogies for the early medieval material. It seems highly unlikely that unprotected steel weapons such as spearheads could have been in anything like a usable state in most of the disturbed graves. On the other hand, swords may have fared better, if protected in scabbards, as may brooches and other copper alloy objects (Chapter 6.1).

In the Kentish graves, there is considerable range in the condition of grave-goods at the time of robbing. In St Peter's Gr 165, robbed while the skeleton was still partially articulated, it looks as though the necklace of 78 glass beads and 6 pendants was lifted and moved intact (Appendix 1.1: St Peter's). At the other end of the scale, in St Peter's Gr 57, 64, 182, 200, 229, 237, 303, 333 and Bradstow School Gr 65 and 67 artefacts were in a markedly decayed condition and fragmented during disturbance. In Bradstow School Gr 67, for example, pieces of the same iron shield grip were found in different parts of the grave (Appendix 1.1: Bradstow School). The condition of the grave-goods at the time of disturbance has significant implications for the robbers' motives, as discussed in Chapter 6.1.

In a large proportion of graves, artefact preservation is too poor to say whether fragmentary objects were damaged during disturbance or have decayed in situ since. This is a point on which specific comments by excavators would be valuable.

Where copper alloy objects have left stains on bone, this may be taken as an indication of some time having passed before disturbance (e.g. at Lyminge, Schröder 2007: 10). Such evidence is frequently cited in accounts of Bronze Age grave robbery, where the timescale required is said to be as little as a year (Schleifring 1991; Rittershofer 1987; Baitinger 1992). This is a question on which experimental archaeology would be valuable.

Sarre Gr 285 is an example of a grave with marked copper alloy staining, in this case on the mandible. However, this grave also illustrates the perennial problem of whether the artefact which caused the stain had been removed or had simply disintegrated in situ. Occasionally this may be overcome, as in Finglesham Gr 139, where bronze staining on the right clavicle could be attributed to a gunmetal clothing pin which subsequently ended up in the robber fill. There we can argue that the pin lay in its original position for long enough to corrode and stain, which fits with the evidence that the skeleton was disarticulated by the time of disturbance.

Intercutting graves

There are two examples in the sample in which an intercutting grave robs a previous burial. This type of robbing is necessarily within the use period of the cemetery, though its rareness and its opportunistic nature suggest it may not be entirely the same phenomenon as the widespread East Kent reopening. Neither case is in the heavily robbed group of East Kent cemeteries mainly under discussion here. One is at Polhill in West Kent, which also has a single example of what looks like the more usual form of robbery (Appendix 1.2: Polhill). The intercutting grave is Gr 52, which lacked gravegoods useful for dating but is almost certainly 7th century, in line with the main use period of the site. The other is at Mill Hill, which despite its proximity to several of the heavily robbed sites only has one or two disturbed graves (Appendix 1.2: Mill Hill). The Mill Hill grave is Gr 10, which cuts and robs Gr 72. Gr 10 belongs to Kentish Phase IV, which gives it a likely date in the later 6th century (Parfitt 1997: 102, 106-107). This robbing therefore almost certainly occurred within the 6th century.

Discussion: date of disturbance

Robbery had probably begun before end of the 6th century.

Although the majority of disturbed graves belong to the 7th century, there is a significant number from the 6th and even 5th centuries. Most of these were well-decayed by the time they were reopened, so that their robbing may have taken place with the bulk of the phenomenon in the 7th century. However, on the basis of the current evidence it is quite possible that robbing started, at least in a limited way, as early as the start of the 6th century. There are strong indications of robbing before the end of the 6th century at Monkton, Finglesham, Mill Hill, and Lyminge.

At Mill Hill, late 6th century Gr 10 intercuts and robs earlier 6th century Gr 72. If this can be seen as the same phenomenon as the more widespread planned reopening, it is a clear case before the start of the 7th century. At Monkton, Gr 22 is probably a 6th century grave robbed while the body was still substantially articulated. Reopening in the 7th century would require both this to be a very late 6th century burial, and the body to have decomposed uncommonly slowly. The other disturbed burial at the site, Gr 21, is also of 6th century date, but was fully disarticulated when reopened. No disturbed 7th century burials have been found at the site, but the excavation was only partial. At Finglesham one of the earlier disturbed graves, Gr 22, has a mid-6th century date (Sayer 2009), and yet robbing was probably carried out within a substantially intact coffin. Robbing much into the 7th century seems unlikely, although not impossible.

More substantial evidence for 6th century robbing comes from Lyminge. On the basis of the partial excavations so far carried out, this is a cemetery entirely of the 5th and 6th centuries. ASKED gives a single (undisturbed) grave a date in the 6th-7th centuries (Gr 31), but Astrid Schröder (2007) places this burial in the second half of the 6th century, on the basis of the 6th century weaponry and the Marzinzik 2003 type I.9 buckle. Uniquely among the heavily robbed cemeteries, Lyminge was therefore probably not in use during the main 7th century phase of robbing.

None of the disturbed burials at Lyminge are dated to later than the 3rd quarter of the 6th century (Schröder 2007). All but one have possible dates in either the late 5th or early-mid 6th century. The exception is Gr 63, which was thought one of the oldest burials at the site, as it contained a glass Kempston type cone beaker produced around AD 400 (Evison 1987: 95, Stephens 2006: 13, Schröder 2007). Unless this vessel was over a century old when buried, which is not impossible, Gr 63 is a 5th century disturbed grave.

To argue for robbing in the 7th century, or even the later 6th century, would require the Lyminge graves to have been very old when reopened. They certainly were not fresh; there are no claims of disturbance of articulated skeletons at Lyminge. The bronze staining reported on some bones (Appendix 1.1: Lyminge) may be an indication of gravegoods in poor condition by the time of robbing, but there is little substantiated evidence for how long such marks take to form, and less than a year has been claimed (above).

Without grave plans or comment from the excavators, the states of any coffins at Lyminge are unknown, although the limited disturbance to the upper body of Gr 40 depicted in a sketch (Fig. 105) is remarkably well-targeted if no coffin was present. Several other burials have this kind of limited disturbance to specific areas. In general, if the Lyminge graves were not robbed within intact coffins so that the whole burial could be viewed (Chapter 5.1), then they must have been clearly defined aboveground. This is particularly significant given the difficulties noted by both sets of excavators in locating graves at this site (Appendix 1.1: Lyminge).

There is also the possibility that at Lyminge whoever opened the graves was able to target the wealthier burials in the disturbed part of the cemetery (Chapter 5.4). It appears that the robbers had knowledge of the cemetery, or were able in some way to judge the wealth of graves from their aboveground marking. Mid-7th century robbing seems implausible here. It is unlikely that this kind of targeted reopening could be carried out after the abandonment of the cemetery and up to two centuries after the burials had been made.

The bulk of evidence for robbery is concentrated in the 7th century.

As shown above, most of the disturbed graves can be dated to the 7th century. Where earlier graves are robbed, they can usually be shown to have been in poor condition by the time they were reopened.

The broadly 6th to 7th century cemetery at Bradstow School illustrates this point. Here there are a number of disturbed graves with likely dates in the 6th century, all of which were probably well-decayed before disturbance took place. Gr 15, for example, was thought by the excavators to belong to the earliest phase of the site, and it appears that the human bones were not just disarticulated but actually friable by the time of disturbance. This is unusual at Bradstow School, where there are few if any other graves with clear evidence that skulls or other bones had fragmented before or during robbing.

In 6th century Gr 32 the coffin had probably collapsed before reopening. Likewise in Gr 65, 67, and 85 it looks as though the robbers dug through earth-filled graves, although in these cases it is

not clear that coffins were ever present. From the "2 halves of iron shield grip at opposite sides of grave" in Gr 65 it appears that iron grave-goods were fragmenting by the time of disturbance.

By contrast in several of the 7th century graves coffins were still intact at the time of robbing. There is one grave at Bradstow School with possible skeletal articulation at the time of disturbance (Gr 72), which has a probable date in the mid or later 7th century. The evidence is compatible with all the robbing at the site having taken place around this time.

Likewise at Sarre some of the disturbed graves may have 6th rather than 7th century dates. However, most of the robbed burials here are relatively well-decomposed, with many iron objects friable. The iron chatelaine in Gr 281 was lifted and moved intact by the robbers, and Gr 283 probably had an intact coffin, but both of these graves could be 7th century.

Ozengell is one of longest-lived cemeteries, with burials thought to date from the 5th to the end of the 7th centuries. Here records are more limited, but the indications are similarly that the earlier graves were in worse condition when robbed. Gr 60, for example, is probably one of the oldest burials at the site and is disturbed, but the robbers appear to have had difficulty finding where to dig. Perkins reports that "the robbers had located it by stripping topsoil from the chalk in a southward direction" (Appendix 1.1: Ozengell).

Without publication or full post-excavation analysis, the dating at St Peter's is particularly uncertain, but the use period is thought to be mainly 7th century (Appendix 1.1). A high proportion of the graves here had demonstrably intact coffins at the time of disturbance. There are two 7th century graves with probable articulation at the time of disturbance (Chapter 4.9: Body). One of the earliest disturbed graves may be Gr 303, in which both bones and artefacts were probably friable by the time of disturbance, with one femur breaking in two. On the other hand, this kind of damage may be a factor of the level of violence used, as well as the state of the remains. The coffin in this grave was probably still intact at disturbance.

Across all the heavily disturbed sites, all but one of the burials in which the bodies were still partially fleshed at the time of disturbance have likely dates in the 7th century. The most closely dated of these is St Peter's Gr 165, probably buried around AD 650 – 670, although the basis for this date is unclear (Chapter 4.9: Body). This mid-7th century period is a plausible peak for much of the Kentish robbing evidence: there are only a limited number of graves which need to have been robbed much earlier, and none which must have been robbed later.

On the other hand, robbing was not necessarily tightly concentrated around this probable mid-7th century peak. As shown above, at least some almost certainly occurred during the previous

century. The dates of the burials which were robbed while still articulated span at least half a century. Within some sites it is possible that all the disturbance took place within a generation, if not a shorter timespan. However at Finglesham, for example, it is likely that the reopening of Gr 22 occurred sometime in the 6th century, while Gr 205 and 139 cannot have been disturbed until the early to mid 7th century. There is therefore no reason, on the basis of the current evidence, to see the robbery as concentrated into a single short phase. It is more likely to have occurred, perhaps sporadically at first, over a period of at least two or more generations.

Robbery had probably ceased by the last quarter of the 7th century.

There are no disturbed burials which must have been buried during or after the last quarter of the 7th century – although this is the period for which the absolute dates are least secure. Burial at most of the disturbed cemeteries appears to continue after the robbing, with the possible exception of Lyminge, which may have been disturbed after abandonment.

A strong indication that robbery ceased before the final interments were made in field cemeteries comes from the internal layout of the Finglesham burial ground, which has recently been explored by Duncan Sayer (2009, Chapter 5.4). Sayer identifies three broad plots within the cemetery (A, B, and C) in which burials of successive periods can be found. Plot C, on the eastern side, is identified as generally the later burial location, replacing plot A through the 7th century. The majority of datable burials in plot C are by Sayer's reckoning late 7th or early eighth century, especially close to the eastern edge. Plot C has almost no evidence of robbing, with the exception of a couple of graves which may be part of this area but are at its western edge. The other disturbed graves are all concentrated in plots A and B. The difference here may well chronological: the main use period of plot C probably postdates the disturbance phase. There may also be a closer connection, if the changes that caused the shift in burial location are related to the outbreak of robbing.

Another indication that widespread robbing was over well before the end of the 7th century is the absence of the phenomenon at the Mount Pleasant cemetery, which is surrounded by heavily disturbed earlier burial grounds. On the basis of the limited available data, Mount Pleasant is probably a short-lived mid or late 7th century burial ground, with the greatly reduced investment in gravegoods typical of this phase. None of the 18 excavated graves showed any signs of reopening, despite the proximity of this site to many of the heavily robbed cemeteries (Chapter 4.3).

5 Results and Analysis: How

5.1 Robbing methods

Robbing methods: overview

- Ancient disturbance in Kent has an archaeological footprint similar to that seen in Merovingia.
- Disturbance is concentrated within the grave cut and looks like rifling of graves rather than attempts to obliterate them.
- There is a parallel in the piling of displaced bones at the end of the grave cut in both robbed graves and reused graves.

Observable disorder in the Kent graves is usually confined to within the grave cut. Most of the graves in the East Kent cemeteries are cut into hard chalk, so that the effort needed to expand a cut is much greater than that needed to remove fill, and the grave sides are readily identifiable. However, there is some limited evidence for recutting of grave sides. In most cases this is confined to the top of the cut, as though the robbers were attempting to locate the exact edge of the grave (e.g. St Peter's Gr 11). In others there is a slight expansion of the grave cut, perhaps in order to prise open a coffin lid (e.g. St Peter's Gr 268).

In addition Perkins (1985: 45) identified what he called "finding cuts" at the top edges of several graves, but too little information is available to assess whether these are the same phenomenon as the St Peter's recuts. There was sometimes difficulty in distinguishing between such cuts and structural features, especially in loose sub-soil with large inclusions (e.g. Bradstow School Gr 4 and 11). In one case (Ozengell Gr 60) Perkins reported that the grave had been located "by stripping topsoil from the chalk in a southward direction", but no drawings are available. Nowhere in Kent is there evidence of the trenches used to open several graves at a time seen on the continent at Rübenach (Neuffer-Müller & Ament 1973: 18-19, Chapter 2).

Robber cuts into the fills of disturbed graves are only rarely recorded in Kent. Poor recording of grave fill is a common problem in investigating robbing (e.g. Aspöck 2002: 46). None of the cemeteries in this Kent sample have the section drawings that would be needed fully to understand the observed intrusions. Where grave plans are available, robbed burials are frequently omitted or drawn as blanks. Sometimes only *in situ* bones and artefacts are drawn, with displaced ones not depicted, although present. Since bird's eye grave plans can only effectively depict two dimensions, objects found in the fill above the main burial are frequently omitted,

reducing the appearance of disorder and removing valuable information about where the robbers dug.

Where notes or drawings do exist, they give invaluable information about robbing methods. Where there are no records of robber cuts, the problem is to divine whether none were visible, they were overlooked, or just not noted. In several cemeteries (including St Peter's and Lyminge, Appendix 1.1) there are tantalising indications that more information about fill anomalies and stratigraphy was observed than was recorded. At Lyminge, for example, a chance comment in a letter suggests that robber cuts were seen, but they are not recorded. Evidence for robber cuts includes areas of different fill (e.g. topsoil instead of chalk lumps) and variations in consistency. Sometimes loose fill is noted as an indication of a robbed grave below (e.g. St Peter's Gr 203), but it also quite frequently appears in descriptions of apparently intact burials (e.g. Bradstow School Gr 13).

In some cases where no robber cut is observed it seems likely that the whole of the grave fill was removed and replaced. This would be necessary if a whole coffin lid were to be removed, for example, and for the ransacking of an entire grave in the absence of a coffin. It is almost certainly the case in the graves which are described as having bones strewn throughout the fill (e.g. Bradstow Gr 32). At Sarre this was Perkins' conclusion in all but one or two burials. In other cases (e.g. Bradstow Gr 37) there are no recorded robber cuts, but the appearance of the underlying remains suggest that only particular areas of the grave have been dug into. However, this link is not straightforward (see below).

In other cases where no cuts are noted, evidence has probably been eradicated by the passage of time. This was demonstrably the case at Pliening, Bavaria, where the excavators looked for but were unable to find evidence of robber cuts in all but a tiny minority of graves (Codreanu-Windauer 1997). It is notable that when recently disturbed graves are reported in Kent, differences in fill and modern inclusions are very frequently remarked (e.g. Monkton Gr 24).

Within the grave cut, disturbance is almost always diagnosed on the basis of disorder to the skeleton, and sometimes the artefacts. Disarranged bones may be encountered in the fill (e.g. Bradstow Gr 32) or only on the grave floor (e.g. Bradstow Gr 15). The latter scenario is usually an indication that the robbers were working within the space of an intact coffin (see below), either by removing the lid and exposing the whole contents or by making a hole into the coffin space and pulling objects out. Where bones and artefacts are in the fill, the burial has usually been

more completely dug through, either because there was no coffin, or it had decayed. Objects may also be thrown back into the fill.

There is considerable variety in how much of the skeleton is disarranged and how far parts are moved. In some graves the suspected disturbance is very slight (e.g. Finglesham Gr 2, 34). Alternatively it may be substantial but confined to particular areas of the grave (e.g. Finglesham Gr 78, 162, St Peter's Gr 45). In many more it affects the whole or almost the whole grave contents (e.g. Finglesham Gr 197, St Peter's Gr 31), sometimes with heaping of remains at one end of the grave (e.g. St Peter's Gr 140, see below). If any skeletal parts remain in situ they are usually the extremities, skulls or lower legs (e.g. St Peter's Gr 3, 65, 126). The core of the body, from the neck down to the knees, is therefore the most frequently disturbed area, but with considerable variation in the precise location and extent of disarrangement.

These patterns are very similar to those seen at the continental sites (Chapter 2). At Pliening in Bavaria, for example, Codreanu-Windauer describes how over half the robbed graves were totally disturbed, with skeletal parts either strewn throughout the grave cut or in a heap at one end. In several further graves only the skull and/or mandible remained in situ. Then there was another group in which the disturbance was limited to particular areas of the body: in women the upper body down to the pelvis, and in men (and one woman) either the left or more rarely the right side (Codreanu-Windauer 1997: 29).

Gendered patterns have also been claimed at other Merovingian sites (e.g. Hailfingen, Stoll 1939, Chapter 2). However they are not a strong feature of the Kent cemeteries. As might be expected, the picture is more complicated in the larger and more varied Kent dataset. At Finglesham, for example, there are 4 burials with limited disturbance to the upper body: 3 female and 1 male. In one of these, Gr 139, the disturbance is concentrated on the left side of the upper body, but the skeleton is female. There are 4 graves with substantial disturbance to the upper body: 2 male, 1 female, and 1 probably female. A further 6 burials are totally disturbed, of which 2 had sufficient remains to be judged male (see also discussion of robbing methods at Finglesham, below). There are Kentish examples of the patterns described by Codreanu-Windauer, such as St Peter's Gr 45, which is a weapon burial of a young man whose skeleton has been disturbed down the left side, suggesting common features in the ways robbers approached the graves. However, too many counter-examples can be found to establish any clear gender link. Overall the extent and position of disturbance in Kent is characterised more by diversity than by gendered order.

In Kent, as on the continent, a proportion of the skeleton is frequently missing from disturbed graves. This is not always the case, and often bone preservation is too poor to tell, but missing skeletal parts are a common feature. Finglesham Gr 197 is a clear example: the feet and lower legs are well preserved and in situ; the rest of the skeleton is missing. The bones are not stray in the fill but are entirely absent. However, there is no selection of certain bones for removal; there is no targeting of skulls or longbones, for example, nor of other specific areas of the body.

At Brunn am Gebirge Aspöck found that the most frequently missing bones were the skull and those of the main body trunk. However, she considered this indicative of the robbers' concentration on the upper part of graves, not of any selection of bones. The same is seen in Kent, except that skulls were frequently left in situ: the robbers were often able to target their disturbance at the area from the neck down. On the other hand, there is some limited evidence in some of the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and at Brunn for deliberate interference with skulls in the context of the small number of graves in which reopening may be associated with revenants (Chapter 6.3). In addition, there are a tiny number of Kentish graves into which bones from other burials seem to have been added during the reopening. Here it is possible that femurs in particular were selected for transferral (Chapter 5.2).

In the great majority of graves, however, the bones have simply been haphazardly dug out with the rest of the contents and fill. They often end up strewn in the backfill, as discussed above. Where bones are absent, the most likely explanation is simply that no attempt was made to backfill with the same material as was dug out. In such cases it evidently did not matter to the robbers that skeletons were dispersed.

There are no reports of large quantities of stray skeletal material on the disturbed sites, but then the upper levels are lost to ploughing and erosion. Nor is there substantial evidence for bones being transferred from one grave to another (Chapter 5.2). Presumably grave fill with bones and rejected artefacts was left beside reopened graves and was eventually scattered by weather and scavengers. In this case there could have been no concealment of the robbing; it must have been evident to anyone viewing the burial ground. Indeed there is evidence (Chapter 5.3) that at least some disturbed graves were not backfilled at all. Perkins made a useful observation here: the chalky subsoil at Ozengell (and several of the other disturbed sites) leaves a telltale spread around any digging that would in any case make concealment of robbing impossible (Perkins 1991: 163).

In a substantial minority of graves there is evidence for more deliberate treatment of the human bone. In at least 14 disturbed graves at St Peter's displaced bones had been heaped or piled at

one end of the grave, usually but not always the foot end. Long bones seem particularly often to have been redeposited in this way, though this impression may be the result of preservation bias. Sometimes the bones are on the grave floor and sometimes at different heights, as though moved with a quantity of soil. The descriptions of Gr 285, 287, and 288 at Sarre imply that the same phenomenon was seen there.

This may simply have been a convenient way of working: digging from one end of the grave to the other and throwing or shovelling unwanted material to the other end. However, in some cases the piling appears more deliberate. The clearest example is St Peter's Gr 140, in which the displaced bones, mainly longbones, have been laid lengthways across the width of the grave floor (Fig. 39). Indeed this is altogether one of the most straightforward examples of early reopening: there can be no doubt but that this burial was reopened and rearranged by human hand, at a time before the coffin had collapsed. In St Peter's Gr 140 the piling of bones is sufficiently careful that it looks like respectful treatment, in contrast to the apparently brutal emptying of many other graves, for example nearby Gr 147, which left the few remaining bones fragmented and scattered – but also concentrated at one end of the grave cut.

Heaping of bones at one end of a grave is a practice also carried out at St Peter's in another context: when secondary bodies are added to primary burials. This is the kind of secondary burial, perhaps more aptly called grave re-use, in which the later corpse entirely displaces the first occupant. In the re-used graves at St Peter's the way in which the displaced primary skeletons have been heaped at the foot appears analogous to the piling described above. This practice is discussed in Chapter 6.2.

Robbing methods: detailed reconstruction

- Robbing methods can best be reconstructed through an approach that considers each stage of the reopening process, rather than by classifying the static patterns in the disordered remains.
- That skeletal disturbance is sometimes confined to the artefact-rich areas does not mean that robbers knew the grave assemblage in advance. It depends on the exact grave-opening technique they used.
- Grave-opening techniques are in part adaptations to the state of decay of the coffin and contents. But it does not follow that grave-robbers had prior knowledge of the age of graves.
- There is considerable variation in grave-robbing technique between graves, even within cemeteries.
- It is highly unlikely that all the disturbed graves in each cemetery were opened by the same robbers, and unlikely that all the reopening happened on one occasion.

This section investigates the techniques used to reopen graves in Kent. The disturbed graves at Finglesham are used to illustrate the range of methods and the problems in reconstructing them. Finglesham has been selected for the detailed discussion because it has a manageable number of disturbed graves to describe, plus relatively high quality published data including grave plans and descriptions. However, reconstruction of opening methods is also possible in some graves at other sites, especially St Peter's, for which detailed grave plans also exist. The evidence from the other sites is incorporated below.

On the continent, robbed graves are frequently classified on the basis of the extent and position of the static disturbed remains. This can be useful in useful in demonstrating the range and types of evidence, for example in Aspöck's system at Brunn am Gebirge and Dannhorn's work at Viecht-Unterfeld (Aspöck 2002: 45, Dannhorn 1994, Chapter 2). However, it is unclear that such classifications relate closely to the working methods or the intentions of the robbers.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Hermann Müller at Hemmingen and Silvia Codreanu-Windauer at Pliening have demonstrated that the position of displaced skeletal remains within a grave is a poor guide to the reopening method (Müller 1976, Codreanu-Windauer 1997). Where robber cuts are detectable, they show that the disturbed areas of the skeleton do not correspond directly to

the areas dug into by the robbers. Frequently much more of the burial has been explored by the robbers than is evident from skeletal disorder.

Over-reliance on the evidence of skeletal disorder has previously led to false conclusions that robbers knew exactly where to dig into graves in order to retrieve specific gravegoods. At Hailfingen, for example, Fremersdorf inferred that since in many female graves skeletal disorder was confined to the chest area, robbers had made targeted cuts into these parts of the burials (Fremersdorf 1955: 29-31). Once all the evidence, especially the state of the coffin at the time of disturbance plus the position of any robber cut, have been taken into consideration it can be seen that such conclusions are usually erroneous.

Using the Finglesham graves, this section explores in detail the mismatch between the static patterns in the disordered remains and the several different robbing processes which created them. First the disturbed burials are classified on the basis of the disorder shown in the skeletal remains. The graves are divided into three broad groups according to the extent and location of the disturbance. These are compared to robbing patterns on the continent, showing a broadly similar robbing footprint.

Then an attempt is made to consider the methods of reopening which created the disorder in each grave. It is shown that apparently similar graves with disturbance in the same areas have been approached in quite different ways. There is considerable variety in the methods used to access burials in Kent, but none of these require foreknowledge of grave contents or condition on the part of the robbers.

Classifying disorder in the disturbed graves at Finglesham

Pattern I: limited disturbance to the upper body

Gr 2, 34, 139, 162

Graves 2 and 139 were both disturbed around the upper body, but in a limited way and with most of the skeleton still in place. Gr 162 was similarly disturbed around the neck and chest, but also in the pelvic area. Gr 34 shows a similar pattern, though the robbing there is doubtful.

The skeletal remains in Gr 139 and 162 are sexed as female, which is also supported by the presence of the chatelaine in grave 139. Gr 2 is tentatively sexed as male, but on the basis of 'very eroded and fragmentary remains' (Hawkes & Grainger 2006: 333).

Pattern I is therefore somewhere between Aspöck's *Befund 2* (e.g. Brunn Gr 9, 20, Fig. 3) and *Befund 3* (e.g. Brunn Gr 5, 23, Fig. 3), since the disturbance is very limited and concentrated on the thorax.

Most of these graves may therefore represent the remains of female burials. The displaced bones may give an indication of what artefacts were removed: the disturbed areas are where brooches and necklaces are worn. Perhaps skeletal elements became disarrayed either because dress accessories had to be untangled from the remains of clothing, or because such artefacts had fallen down amongst the bones and were clumsily lifted out.

Across all the sites in this sample, however, this is not an exclusively female pattern. Gr 97 and 233 at St Peter's and Gr 40 at Lyminge, for example, have this type of limited skeletal disturbance in the upper body but are both probably male.

Pattern II: upper two-thirds heavily disturbed

Gr 22, 44, 78

This second group of burials shows much greater disorder than Pattern I, but again concentrated in the upper part of the grave from the head end towards the knees or feet. At least one (Gr 22) had displaced bones in the robber fill. Only a few graves at Brunn show a similar pattern (e.g. Brunn Gr 13, Fig. 3), and are all classified as *Befund 4*.

These burials are heavily disturbed in the upper two-thirds or so of the grave – where the grave-goods are typically concentrated – but not in the "lower" part. The converse is not found at Finglesham: there are no examples of graves where only the foot end is disturbed. This suggests knowledge of the orientation of the burials on the part of the robbers, but since they follow the W-E orientation common up to the present day, the robbers need not have had any particular knowledge of the grave arrangements.

Gr 44 is heavily disturbed, but with the legs "approximately in the right part of the grave". The skeleton in Gr 78 is "disturbed and removed down to the knees". Gr 22, a 6th century weapon grave, has a totally displaced skeleton with the remains "thrown back in" to the fill. However, the plan indicates that some sort of robber cut was visible, and it could be seen that only the upper ¾ of the grave had been dug into. Gravegoods, although not bones, are in situ in the apparently undisturbed lower part. The skeleton has either been removed from that lower area, or did not reach this far down the grave.

Pattern III: (almost) totally emptied

Gr 38a, 91, 93, 100, 110, 126, 205

A further group of burials have been more or less totally disturbed, often emptied, throughout the whole of the grave cut. Several have bones in the fill, which are described as having been thrown back in. These are not depicted on the grave plans.

The skeleton in Gr 38a was "recovered as a few disturbed bones only". The plan shows the grave empty except for a bone fragment in approximately the position of the head. In Gr 93 the skeletal remains had been "thrown back into grave", with no in situ bones or artefacts drawn on the plan. Gr 110 is likewise emptied with "Surviving skeletal fragments thrown back in filling after robbing". The disturbance in Gr 126 is doubtful but the skeleton remains are described as "Either disturbed and thrown back into fill or possible undisturbed but severely eroded".

Gr 91 has no remaining skeletal remains at all, just two probably displaced iron artefacts. It is more difficult to diagnose disturbance with fewer remains left in the grave, but presuming this grave is robbed, it belongs in this group. Gr 100 is likewise empty.

It is difficult to know what exactly to make of the drawing of Gr 110. The dotted areas seem to represent spreads of redeposited grave-goods rather than the separate robber cuts initially suggested. From the description it sounds as though none of the grave contents were left in situ.

Gr 205 was totally disturbed, with some heaping of bones in part of the grave.

Reconstructing the grave-opening methods at Finglesham

As discussed above, although these kinds of classifications are a useful starting point, they are of limited use in trying to move from the static bone spreads to reconstructing the process that created them. This is particularly the case once the presence or absence of coffin lids (or similar wooden covers) is taken into account.

Pattern I

Gr 2, 34, 139, 162

Pattern I is the most coherent group. The disorder in each grave is markedly similar, and there is a strong possibility that these are all female burials from which similar artefacts were taken. The assumption might therefore be that the robbers did indeed know what to expect in the graves, and tailored their approach accordingly. However, once we consider the hands-on details of the

grave opening process, it becomes evident that this is not necessarily the case. There are (at least) four different scenarios which could lead to the same Pattern I appearance:

1) The robbers know that a dead woman is wearing desirable brooches on her chest. They dig a small but well-aimed hole into that area, breaking through a coffin lid, and take the brooches, leaving evident disorder in the chest area.
2) The robbers know nothing about the contents of this specific grave, but they are aware that artefacts are typically concentrated in the upper body area of burials. They can tell which is the head end from the W-E orientation of the grave, the outline of which is still visible on the surface. The robbers dig a small hole down towards the upper body area, break through the coffin lid, and shine a light into the coffin space to identify valuables. They find that the only desirable artefacts are close at hand, so remove those, leaving the rest of the burial undisturbed.
3) The robbers may or may not know that the dead woman has brooches. They dig out the whole of the grave cut in order to remove the coffin lid and view the burial. The only desirable grave-goods are the brooches, so they remove those, leaving evident disorder in the thoracic area. No detectable robber cut is left, because whole grave fill was removed.
4) The robbers know that the dead woman is wearing valuable brooches on her chest. They target a small cut at the right area. There is no coffin lid, so they dig straight down to the body and remove the brooches. Their digging and rummaging leave disorder in the thoracic area, but the rest of the burial is in situ because it has not been dug into or exposed at all.

Whichever scenario applies, either the burials must have been coffined, or the robber cut was very limited and well-targeted. It is inconceivable that the robbers could have dug out the whole fill from above an uncoffined skeleton and managed to cause so little disorder. That would require positively archaeological methods.

Which scenario is responsible for the disorder in the Finglesham Group I graves? The second scenario seems unlikely, since it would require putting one's head down into the coffin. However it remains a possibility, and since its archaeological footprint is indistinguishable from that of scenario 1, neither gives us conclusive information about the robbers' state of knowledge. This leaves scenario four as the most interesting possibility, since it indicates the greatest degree of knowledge and precision on the part of the robbers.

The fourth scenario is the only one in which no coffin lid is present. As it happens, no coffin traces were seen in any of the graves of Pattern I at Finglesham. If we could be sure that none were ever present, we would have good grounds for arguing that scenario four must apply, and that the robbers therefore had precise knowledge of both the contents and the layouts of the graves. However, as discussed above (Chapter 4.6), recording of coffins is rather uncertain.

Evidence from sites with better wood preservation suggests that many more coffins may have been present than are archaeologically visible (e.g. Waldron 2007). This may well have been the case at Finglesham. Gr 2 at least, and perhaps also Gr 139 and Gr 162, have the appearance of graves in which robbing took place in the airspace created by an intact coffin, so that the robbers were able to move skeletal elements around on the grave floor.

This impression is strengthened by the damaged grave cut of Gr 139. Although the disturbance to the skeleton is in the area of the left shoulder and chest, the only evidence for a robber cut is the irregular digging to the outline of the grave near the right foot. My interpretation is that the robbers extended that corner in order to locate and insert a tool under the coffin lid. They removed it, exposing the whole burial, and removed their booty from the chest area.

The robbers therefore need not have had any prior knowledge of the grave assemblage. The disturbance is confined to the chest area because that was where the desirable grave-goods were. Or rather, that was the location of the desirable grave-goods whose removal necessitated skeletal disturbance, perhaps because brooches were still attached to the remains of clothing, or because ornaments had fallen into the rib cage and had to be picked out. Unattached grave-goods could have been removed from other parts of the grave without leaving noticeable disorder.

Pattern II

Gr 22, 44, 78

Pattern II at Finglesham appears, if only the static remains are considered, to be a fairly coherent group. However, once the additional evidence for the process of robbing is considered, significant differences become evident in the methods used in the graves.

A robber cut is drawn on the plan of Gr 22, suggesting that that only the upper two thirds of the grave were opened. This corresponds to Aspöck's W-knee group. There are no section drawings showing the form or depth of this cut. However, it appears from the description that the excavators thought that the coffin was fairly intact when the grave was reopened, so that the

robbers were able to reach into the bottom part and pull out the contents, even though their hole did not expose this area. This would explain why even this unexposed part of the coffin is empty.

A certain amount of knowledge is required of the robbers here, since they must have been aware that the grave-goods are typically concentrated above the knee, and that the heads typically lie at the west end. However, this information is not at the level that would require them to have been present at the burying. Indeed the knowledge could well be acquired in the course of opening a grave or two. There is, on the other hand, the requirement that the grave cut should still be well defined aboveground.

No coffin was recorded in Gr 78. However, the eroded edges around the whole grave cut plus the uniform fill within it suggest that an entire coffin lid was exposed and removed here. The upper two thirds of the burial contents, bones and artefacts, were then completely removed. The neatness with which this was done suggests that they had been lying on a solid wooden floor. This is therefore a similar method to that proposed for Gr 139 in Pattern I above.

The disturbed remains in Gr 44 are not drawn, but the comment that "the legs were approximately in the right part of the grave" probably indicates that they were on the grave floor, even if displaced. In that case, it is likely that the disturbance here also happened within a coffin, whether by the whole lid being removed or through a hole made in it.

Pattern III

Gr 38a, 91, 93, 100, 110, 126, 197, 205

Within Pattern III, the completely disturbed burials, there is considerable variation.

As the excavators noted, the robbing of Gr 197 must have happened within the open space of a still-solid coffin, since the grave contents were spread across the grave floor and the coffin sides remained intact. Gr 197 may therefore have been opened in a similar way to (Pattern II) Gr 78, with the whole coffin lid taken off. Alternatively, it may be an example of the *Hakenberaubung* or "hook robbing" method identified in Merovingian cemeteries (Chapter 2). This method involves a small hole being made through a solid coffin lid and a hook or other tool being inserted to pull out grave contents. In this case it appears that the intrusion was made into the centre of the grave, with the hook not quite reaching the cranium. Only the smaller bones and artefacts were left in the grave, since the kind of tool envisaged would fail to pick them up. The beads would be particularly awkward to retrieve by these means, which is a much more likely explanation for their remaining than any taboo attached to them (Chapter 6.1).

Gr 38a has been completely emptied, with no remains left on the grave floor or in the fill. The disturbance is confined within the original grave cut, except that the plan shows what appears to be a slight recut along the top edge of the left side. If this is a recut, it may be evidence of digging to remove a coffin lid or to locate the exact edge of the grave. The contents of this grave have been shovelled out, possibly but not necessarily from inside a coffin, and have not been thrown back in with the backfill. If Gr 91 and 100 are disturbed, they have been treated in the same way.

Gr 93 had probably been emptied in a similar way, but in this case some at least of the bones had ended up in the backfill, either because they were deliberately picked out and thrown in, or because they were incorporated in shovel loads of fill that were being replaced. If Gr 126 is disturbed, it has been robbed in this way as well.

Gr 205 had been thoroughly dug out, with even the coffin sides obliterated, except for a section near the middle where the lines of chalk-packing from around the coffin survived close to the bottom of the cut. Bones had been heaped into this area.

Reconstructing the grave-opening methods across the sites

The reopening methods identified at Finglesham can be seen across the disturbed sites in this sample. Fully removed coffin lids, as in Finglesham Gr 139, 78 and possibly 38a, were suspected in St Peter's Gr 3 and 140, among others. There are a large number of graves, especially at St Peter's, in which contents have been moved around within intact coffin spaces. In most of these cases it is not possible to tell whether this involved the removal of the whole lid, or just an access hole made through it. Examples include St Peter's Gr 45 and 303 and Bradstow School Gr 50. Partial removal of a fairly solid coffin so that the robbers could reach into the remaining cavity, as in Finglesham Gr 44, was also suspected in a few other cases, notably St Peter's Gr 268 and perhaps 308.

Thorough digging out of whole graves, often obliterating large parts of coffin lines, as in Finglesham Gr 93, 126, and 205, is frequently seen including in St Peter's Gr 62 and Bradstow School Gr 32. As at Finglesham, some of these graves have bones thrown back in, some are emptied, and some have bones heaped in one part of the grave. There are also a few instances of novel approaches, such as Bradstow School Gr 37, which appeared to have a robber cut at each end. Another type not seen at Finglesham is the small group of graves which seem to have been reopened primarily for the removal or rearrangement of the head, discussed in Chapter 6.3.

The different robbing methods seen in Kent are in part an adaptation to the state of decay of the grave contents, particularly the coffin. However, it does not follow that, as Károly Sági argued at Vörs, Hungary (Sági 1964, Chapter 2), the robbers must have known the condition of each grave before reopening. The different methods can be explained by decisions made during the robbers' operations.

For example, the approach which involves the removal of the whole coffin lid (Sági's Method 3), is necessarily confined to burials with intact coffins. The state of the coffin could be discovered by sounding, or simply during the digging process. If the robbers began by making a cut into the approximate chest area of the grave, this could be extended to encompass the whole grave cut as soon as a solid coffin lid was encountered. As this would entail much more work than making a small hole in the coffin, the removal of the whole lid must have given some advantage, presumably that whole burial could be exposed to view and no desirable goods missed.

Although the state of decay in the graves is certainly a factor, it does not fully explain the range of robbing methods, nor the specific approach taken in any one grave. On discovering an intact coffin lid, for example, we have seen examples of the keyhole method, examples of digging out the fill and removing the whole lid, and of digging robustly through most of the grave and reaching into the remaining cavity for the rest. The choice here may be led partly by the amount of time available: the keyhole method would be quicker, but removing the whole lid ensures no objects are missed. Where there is no coffin or it has collapsed, the grave may be totally dug out, or it may be dug at the centre, or at each end, or more commonly from the head end down towards the knees. Sometimes the robbers stay neatly within the coffin area, sometimes they dig out the grave cut wholesale, including chalk packing. Bones are sometimes thrown back, sometimes apparently discarded with spoil, and sometimes heaped together in part of the grave cut. This heaping can be with the fill, or it may be carefully piling on the grave floor, as in St Peter's Gr 140 (above, Appendix 1.1).

Discussion: grave-opening methods

It is my contention that the approaches taken to grave opening are sufficiently diverse that they represent the work of different individuals or teams, probably on multiple occasions. It would be hard to argue the contrary, that this was wholescale robbery by a group going from grave to grave on one occasion. Such an event would surely leave a more systematic footprint, with at least approximately the same method used over and over again.

There is no reason to think that one group of robbers opened a particular group of graves in one area and another group opened other graves in another part of the cemetery. Fig. 109 shows the grave disturbance patterns at Finglesham mapped onto the cemetery plan. Fig. 14 shows the graves at St Peter's Tip in which the robbers heaped bones together (see also Chapter 5.4: St Peter's Tip and Chapter 6.2) mapped on to the cemetery plan. The different approaches do not cluster; it is not the case that nearby graves were robbed in similar ways or left in similar states. In general the approach to each grave appears individual, dispersed across the cemetery as are the graves selected for robbing. There are only a few cases where neighbouring graves may have been opened together. These are discussed below (Chapter 5.4).

This conclusion, that the reopening evidence represents multiple individuals and events in each cemetery, is the same at that reached by Aspöck at Brunn am Gebirge – the only other site at which the question has been given detailed consideration. However, the grounds cited here are quite different from Aspöck's reasoning. She argues that:

> "Graves in which artefacts with high material value had been put back, graves out of which only selected gravegoods had been taken, and grave-opening without removal of artefacts were connected with different intentions and different grave-opening events, and so with different perpetrators, and thus with different phases."
>
> (Aspöck 2002: 66).

That argument is not pursued here. At the level of a single grave it is not possible to be sufficiently certain about whether gravegoods have been removed (Chapter 6.1). As shown above, complete removal versus selection of grave-goods is also in part a function of the method used to reopen the grave. On the other hand, the much larger Kent sample has made it possible to demonstrate the variety of grave-opening methods, which points strongly towards multiple agents. This is supported by the dating evidence (Chapter 4.9) which indicates that the robbing practice recurred over a period of many decades, including within individual sites.

5.2 Mixing of grave contents

- The contents of reopened graves were almost never mixed.

Where reopening is involved, bones from multiple individuals in single graves raise the possibility that the contents of two or more graves had become mixed during disturbance. On the continent, several authors have used such finds as evidence for the simultaneous reopening of more than one grave (e.g. Neugebauer 1991: 115, Aspöck 2002: 66, Chapter 2). In a few cases the original grave from which remains had been taken can be traced (e.g. Müller 1976: 121-125). At some sites a ritual element is postulated (e.g. Kokowski 1991), but at others the mixing is interpreted as a matter of the robbers' convenience, for example with a large trench opening several graves together (e.g. Neuffer-Müller & Ament 1973: 18-19). Since in several cemeteries skulls are noted as the principal transferred body parts (e.g. Aspöck 2002: 66), a combination of practical and ritual considerations may be at work. It seems unlikely that one of the largest and most recognisable skeletal parts should so often be accidentally mixed.

There are very few cases in Kent where bones from extra individuals may have been added during reopening. For Mill Hill Gr 85 this was indicated as a possible interpretation in the report (Parfitt 1997: 26). It also seems likely in two graves which had anomalously high minimum individual counts: Sarre Gr 279 and Finglesham Gr 205 with remains of probably 4 and possibly 3 skeletons respectively (Appendix 1.1). Gr 34 at Ozengell may be another candidate: there are scattered fragments of two male skeletons, plus enough beads to imply a female burial.

As discussed in Appendix 1.1, the Finglesham example is some distance from any disturbed grave which might be the source of the extra skeletal material. In this case the transferral of bones would almost certainly have to be deliberate rather than accidental. Selection of particular bones for transferral may be indicated since some of the extra skeletons in both the Finglesham and Sarre cases are represented by femurs alone, although differential preservation is another possibility.

5.3 Backfilling

- A small number of disturbed graves were not completely backfilled.
- There is minimal evidence for ritual activity at the sites of reopened graves.

The stratigraphy of the fill of disturbed graves is crucial to understanding the process and nature of the reopening, yet is often neglected in the excavation records. No section drawings through disturbed fill have been located for any of the robbed graves in Kent. Most have only a two-dimensional plan of the grave floor, although even this is lacking at Lyminge, for example. In some cases, including several at Finglesham, bones and artefacts considered out of place are omitted from the grave plans. Depicting objects displaced upwards into the fill is in any case difficult in a bird's eye view. At St Peter's Tip attempts have been made to include such objects on the plans of some graves by labelling the depth of each find, but the drawings quickly become confusing.

It is evident from several comments on grave forms at St Peter's Tip in particular that the excavators could at least sometimes detect considerably more information about changes in fill, robber cuts, and the internal stratigraphy of graves than they recorded. Where the disturbed fill has been considered a research object (e.g. Perkins 1991), considerable details of how graves were opened and refilled have been reconstructed.

Overall, sufficient information is noted to show that there is marked variety in the ways in which graves were (or were not) backfilled. Reopened graves could be backfilled with the original fill, often with bones and artefacts thrown or shovelled back in, or could be backfilled with a different material. Backfilling with the same fill probably accounts at least in part for the lack of discernable robber cuts in many clearly disturbed graves. A few were probably not backfilled at all.

Where graves were backfilled with the original fill it is hard to tell whether bones and artefacts were intentionally thrown back into the grave or simply shovelled in with the rest of the material, perhaps overlooked by the robbers. This latter possibility also limits our ability to say for certain that artefacts were intentionally rejected (Chapter 6.1). Grave descriptions frequently state that bones or artefacts had been "thrown back in", but without supporting evidence.

Gr 22 at Finglesham is an example of a grave in which the disturbed area is backfilled with an unmistakably different material: "brown loamy soil containing a few salvaged bones, and this contrasted markedly with the original fill of chalk rubble". In this case bones must have been picked out and intentionally added to the backfill, not just heaved back in with the rest of the

spoil. Only part of the skeleton was replaced, but there was evidently at least a symbolic effort to restore the grave's integrity. The impression here is therefore that rifling the burial contents was the motive, not emptying or desecrating the grave for its own sake (Chapter 5.1).

On the other hand, the excavators' observation that the backfilling of Gr 22 was not necessarily carried out by the robbers is significant. A delay in backfilling or different diggers might account for the change in backfill, especially if the reopeners had scattered their spoil. Perhaps the robbed grave and its exposed contents were discovered and replaced by someone with a connection to or respect for the burial. We can still make only limited conjectures about how frequently Early Anglo-Saxon field cemeteries were visited by the burying community and how near to settlement sites they lay, despite some recent settlement excavations (e.g. Welch 2007: 198, Lucy et al 2009).

At Ozengell Perkins identified two graves in which deliberate backfilling probably never occurred, or only after a delay of at least some hours. In Gr 18 the robbers had dug out much of the fill, but original fill was still present at the sides. Within the disturbed area, "The stratification of fill indicated that the grave was not back-filled immediately after disturbance, heavy rain bringing a dark silt from land surface". In Gr 60 the original chalk rubble fill could still be seen "heaped on both sides of the grave, trapping the land surface to the south" (Perkins draft, Appendix 1.1: Ozengell). In this case the excavators thought that backfilling had happened naturally.

Non-backfilled disturbed graves are also seen in the continental literature. At Brunn am Gebirge, Aspöck (2002: 53-4) argued that the majority of graves had not been fully backfilled after reopening. The disturbed fill was far from homogenous. Considerable quantities of intrusive material, including snail shells and artefacts postdating the 6th century use period, were found in the upper levels of the robbed graves. However no intrusive material was found in the lower levels or on the grave floor. The indications were therefore that the burials had been only partially backfilled immediately after reopening, with material accumulating slowly in the upper layers.

There were exceptions: the six graves thought to have been opened during the decomposition of the body had been properly backfilled (Aspöck 2002: 53). There would be compelling hygienic and aesthetic reasons for backfilling graves containing still-decomposing bodies, in addition to potential cultural meanings of corpse exposure. Further, at Brunn this early reopening may be associated with attempts to stop revenants walking (Chapter 6.3). In Anglo-Saxon England as elsewhere such attempts are characterized by measures to make graves especially secure, such as

stone layers or weighting down to prevent the corpse rising (Reynolds 2009, Tsaliki 2008, Taylor 2008).

It fits that if these are burials of the particularly feared dead – indeed revenants who had to be dealt with soon after burial – care has been taken to backfill their graves properly. However, the identification of at least some of these Brunn burials as still articulated at reopening is doubtful (Chapter 4.9). Back in Kent, non-backfilled Ozengell Gr 18 was identified as containing a partially articulated body at the time of disturbance. If this is correct, which without grave plans cannot be assessed, the act of leaving open a grave containing a rotten corpse appears highly transgressive.

A small number of Kentish disturbed graves had intrusive later material in the upper fill, as seen at Brunn. Several of these are at St Peter's Tip (e.g. Gr 54, 126, 270). Gr 52 at Ozengell had a medieval potsherd at 7cm depth. Bradstow School Gr 12 had a piece of medieval tile in the upper fill. As at Brunn, these objects appear to have collected in hollows above the disturbed burials. However, in Kent the phenomenon is much more limited, both in the numbers of graves involved and in the quantities of extraneous material found in them. Here the intrusive finds are probably indicative not of partial backfilling, but of much slighter dips formed by the sinking of backfill. It is presumably also this sinking that leads to occasional finds of later material in the upper fill of even undisturbed burials: St Peter's Tip Gr 95 had a piece of clay pipe 2" down into the fill, but the underlying burial was to all appearances untouched. This later material is significant in confirming an early medieval date for the robbing: it is never found in the disturbed burial contexts, only near the surface.

Whether or not graves were backfilled is tied up with questions of the degree of secrecy with which reopening was carried out, and whether attempts were made to conceal the reopeners' actions after the fact. At Hailfingen in Baden-Württemberg, Hermann Stoll (1939: 9) found that the lower earth fill layers of disturbed graves had been trampled down, which he interpreted as an attempt to conceal the robbery by preventing the formation of a conspicuous lump on the surface. No such efforts have been recorded in Kent.

The non-backfilled graves speak against any need for concealment; they indicate rather that the robbers were either indifferent or wished to advertise their work and perhaps to increase offence by leaving graves open. Recorded examples of non-backfilled graves are few, but on the other hand the fill evidence has been so widely disregarded that many more may have been missed. The quantities of bone missing from many graves suggests that piles of material were probably left

strewn around most reopened graves (Chapter 5.1). In any case it would be extremely difficult entirely to conceal the digging out of a grave: Perkins (1991: 163) points out that in these chalky cemeteries a telltale spread of white dust forms around any digging.

In Anglo-Saxon England there are just a couple of rather vague reports of animal bones from edible species being found in the fill of disturbed or possibly disturbed graves (Finglesham Gr 205, Kingston Down Gr 242, St Peter's Tip Gr 270). In the St Peter's Tip example these were in the upper fill and are probably accidental accumulations. Kingston Down Gr 242 is an early antiquarian excavation and not definitely either a grave or disturbed. In Finglesham Gr 205 there was evidence of other ritual activity, as extra human bones seemed to have been transferred into the grave (Chapter 5.2). The excavators suggested that the animal bones might be evidence of "either some sort of animal sacrifice or the remains of a meal, or both" (Hawkes & Grainger 2006: 153). The bones are said to be those of a sheep or goat, but there is no animal bone report and the quantities and types of bone are unstated, as is whether any cut marks or evidence of cooking were seen. At Chadlington in Oxfordshire a hearth may have been prepared over a disturbed grave after resealing (Chapter 7).

At best this is very limited evidence for a ritual element in a small minority of grave opening; it is on nothing like the scale of that seen, for example, in the Masłomęcz group of grave fields in eastern Poland (Kokowski 1991, Chapter 2). On the other hand, it is a marked contrast to the reopening of the majority of disturbed Kent graves, which appears efficient, perhaps even hurried, and focused on rifling the contents. The instances of reopening with a potential ritual element add to the evidence that the Kentish disturbance represents more than a single phenomenon, and certainly more than one group of perpetrators.

5.4 Spatial distribution of disturbed burials within cemeteries

The spatial distribution of disturbed graves in cemeteries is a key question for understanding how they came to be selected for reopening. Are the disturbed burials clustered together, as if several were opened at once, or are they spread across the burial grounds? Is robbing focused on any identifiable subgroup of graves? At Pliening in Bavaria, Codreanu-Windauer argued that robbing affected the graves of one kin group, and may have been carried out by members of another (Codreanu-Windauer 1997: 28-34, Chapter 2). Can such evidence be found in Kent?

In England, the internal layout of Early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries has been a subject of some interest in recent years. Several structuring themes have been identified, including development from single or multiple core points, zoning of burials by age and gender, and plots ascribable to family or household units (e.g. Härke 1997: 138-9, Stoodley 1999: 126-35, Scull & Bayliss 1999: 85, Devlin 2007: 49-53, Sayer 2009, 2010). However, these patterns can only be described as tendencies to cluster, certainly not distinct or readily delimited groups. The absence of clear spatial patterning by date in particular indicates that a considerable degree of infilling was usual at most of the sites in this study, with the possible exception of the last phase of burials at Finglesham, which is discussed below.

Two of the heavily disturbed Kentish cemeteries have been discussed in recent explorations of spatial patterning: Bradstow School briefly by Nick Stoodley (1999: 128), and Finglesham in greater depth by Duncan Sayer (2009). Astrid Schröder (2007) includes some discussion of the internal layout of Lyminge in her dissertation on the cemetery. That work is drawn upon below. For the other cemeteries this is the first time the spatial patterning has been considered. It should be noted that all the sites under discussion have only been partially excavated, which impedes recognition of spatial patterns especially at the broadest level.

As Stoodley (1999: 128) observes, the layouts of Kentish cemeteries differ from those seen in the other Early Anglo-Saxon regions. There is considerable variety of spatial arrangements within the county, but this is the area of England where graves arranged in rough rows, as well known in Merovingia, are most commonly seen. Cemeteries focused on prehistoric mounds are also frequently found in Kent, as elsewhere in the country.

Bradstow School

The early medieval cemetery is focused on a series of Bronze Age barrows. More graves probably once lay on the centre of the main prehistoric mound, but it has been ploughed out and so appears artificially empty on the plans. Many of the Anglo-Saxon graves are arranged in irregular rows, either side-to-side or end-to-end. A few are isolated as though they were originally covered by smaller barrows, notably Gr 67 and 71. Both Leslie Webster (Webster lecture dated 26 April 1978, British Museum archive) and Nick Stoodley (1999: 128) identify some rough zoning of grave types in the cemetery, discussed below.

The disturbed graves are fairly evenly dispersed across the excavated area. The main exception is that none are definitely identified as disturbed in the southern group from the first excavation season. This may indicate a delay in recognition of disturbance, or it may be a genuine pattern, with little or no robbing in this southern area. Such a pattern would mirror that found at Lyminge (below), with one major section of the cemetery heavily robbed and another part not at all. Additionally, there is a low proportion of robbed examples on the prehistoric barrow, but this impression is partially misleading because several of the intact burials there are prehistoric. The prehistoric burials are unrobbed, presumably because they were either invisible or of no interest to Anglo-Saxon robbers.

Webster's 1978 lecture identifies various patterns in the "horizontal stratigraphy" of the site, with clusters of graves by type and date. Several graves from the first phases of the site (Gr 67, 69, 71, 79) are laid out just to the east of the mound, while other 6th century graves cluster against the west side of the central prehistoric barrow. In general she sees a tendency for later, less richly furnished graves to be located further from the central barrow. In the eastern group, she suggests that there may be a chronological progression with the burials of a family group spreading out from the mound. A tight group in the west corner includes several infant burials. One burial here, Gr 15, is robbed, but the grave is among the larger in the group and may well be of an adult.

Nick Stoodley (1999: 128) observes that 6th century weapon burials tend to be placed on the eastern side of the burial ground, and argues that during that century it may have been common practice at this site to separate the masculine interments from the rest of the population. Something similar may have occurred at Monkton, where there is a preponderance of adult male burials in the excavated area (Chapter 4.7). At Bradstow School Leslie Webster points to the general lack of well-furnished female burials (Webster 1978), which probably holds true even

taking into account the robbing, and may well be linked to the strong expression of masculine martial identity here.

Webster sees Gr 67 as the probable nucleus for the eastern cluster of weapon graves, which she calls "such a marked feature of the cemetery". Gr 67 had been robbed, "at some point after burial when the ironwork was already rotting into a friable condition, as numerous small rust fragments from this grave show. However, sufficient survived to indicate that this had indeed been the burial of a high-ranking warrior. There was a short shield-grip and a bronze rivet from the shield, a long spear ferrule, and most tantalising of all, a heavily worn tiny silver gilt scrap of grooved sheet which comes from a sword scabbard mouth of late 5th and early 6th century type" (Webster 1978).

At least one (Gr 97), and possibly three or four, of the graves ranged around Gr 67 had also been reopened. However, the clear majority are untouched, including several with weapon assemblages. This subgroup of weapon graves is not by any means subjected to robbing in greater intensity than the rest of the cemetery. Both Bradstow School and Monkton may tentatively be regarded as sites at which the 6th century male warrior ethos took both spatial as well as material form. However, there is no evidence for any direct connection between this display and robbing; indeed the selection of graves for robbing seems entirely to have disregarded this zoning.

In only one case is it possible to argue for a relationship between disturbance and the smallscale patterning in the internal layout at Bradstow School. Graves 32, 37, and 64 appear mutually aligned to form a row, along with one of Hurd's graves, and all three are disturbed. However, while Gr 32 is probably one of the earliest graves at the site, from the first half of the 6th century (date from ASKED, on the relatively secure basis of the beads, Chapter 4.9), the other two have likely dates in the 7th century. Such a gap puts into question the apparent relationship between the graves. They are unlikely to have been selected for reopening on the basis that they all represent one household, for example.

On the other hand, the relative conditions of the three graves at the time of disturbance leave open the possibility that all three were reopened simultaneously. In Gr 32, probably the earliest, the corpse was fully skeletonized and the iron grave-goods apparently sufficiently friable to disintegrate during disturbance. In Gr 37 the bones, at least the cranium, were decomposing and disintegrated during the robbing. In Gr 64 the skeleton was disarticulated, but the coffin still held together well enough that a large chunk of wood separated from the rest and was redeposited in the pelvic area. Particularly if Gr 37 predates Gr 64, a robbing date in the mid-late 7th century is

compatible with the evidence from all three. They were all heavily rifled in a sufficiently similar way as to indicate a single *modus operandi*, although the disturbance in Gr 64 may be more targeted, focusing on the area between the chest and the knees.

Beyond that small group, there is no identifiable connection between disturbance and spatial groupings, either of grave type or chronology. Disturbed graves are scattered across the excavated area. They belong to both the earlier (e.g. Gr 8, 67, 32) and later (e.g. Gr 94, 95) phases of the site. Even where grave clusters indicate possible social relationships between the dead, such as in the tight group on the smaller prehistoric mound in the western corner, only one or two graves in the cluster are disturbed. For example, if we accept the premise that Gr 95, 91, 93, 92 and 95 form a mutually aligned later group, perhaps with a relationship between the dead, we find that two (Gr 94 and 95) are (probably) disturbed, while the others are intact. Within the disturbed area, there is thus no reason to think that robbing was exclusively focused on burials of one phase or one part of the community. There remains, however, the possibility that there is a larger-scale division here, between the unrobbed south side of the cemetery and the robbed north.

St Peter's Tip

The reopened graves are dispersed across the excavated area, perhaps with a slight concentration towards the centre. The apparent group of co-aligned graves at the extreme west is nearly free from robbing, and the cluster of ring-ditched graves at the south edge may also be, but disturbance appears to affect all excavated areas to some degree.

There are one or two possible small clusters of robbed graves, such as co-aligned Gr 233, 235, and 236, in which the latter two in particular seem to form a pair. However, even in the areas where robbing is particularly intense, the disturbed burials are intermingled with intact ones. The two burials which were possibly still articulated at the time of disturbance (Gr 165 and 270) are not near each other, unlike at Ozengell (below).

Fig. 14 shows the burials in which there is some degree of heaping of bones in part of the grave. These are dispersed among the disturbed burials. If heaping can be considered a *modus operandi*, it therefore suggests different people working in different parts of the burial ground. However, as discussed in Chapter 5.1, the diversity in the appearance of the disturbed graves in which bones are heaped together does not in any case suggest that this was a consistent working method.

On the other hand, there are one or two small clusters of graves in which similar *modi operandi* may be identified. In neighbouring Gr 235 and 236 the robbing footprint is sufficiently similar that it seems likely that these two graves were opened as a pair (Fig. 62-63). Gr 232 and 233, also

close by, are not so markedly alike (Fig. 58-61). Some distance to the west are Gr 261 and 268, both disturbed by an unusual method of pushing the whole body towards the side and foot-end of the grave (Appendix 1.1: St Peter's, Fig. 73, 75). Nearby Gr 270 may also be the same (Fig. 76). Gr 333, in which this kind of pushing also appears, is further away but in the same part of the cemetery (Fig. 92). Again Gr 267, near to Gr 261 and 268, is different (Fig. 74), suggesting that the pairs or small groups of graves opened at the same time or by the same people are very limited.

Finglesham

In the main the disturbed burials are best described as scattered across the excavated area. There is an unrobbed area on the eastern side, despite the presence there of some highly visible ditched graves.

There is only one case of neighbouring graves being disturbed (Gr 2 and Gr 44). The disturbance patterns in these two graves are quite different, with Gr 22 suffering only slight displacement of some bones of the upper body, and Gr 44 heavily disturbed, but with only the legs "approximately in the right part of the grave". However, these differences may reflect the conditions of the burials or presence/absence of coffins, rather than different operating methods (Chapter 5.1). It is quite possible that these two graves were opened together for reasons of proximity and convenience. Apart from this one example, however, the impression is rather the opposite: that robbed graves are spaced across the cemetery to such an extent that the dispersal may even be deliberate.

Fig. 108 highlights the several intact burials with high numbers of artefact types. As at the other sites, these are interspersed among the disturbed graves. If wealthy graves were targeted, this has been carried out only partially or on the basis of imperfect information.

Duncan Sayer has carried out a spatial analysis of the Finglesham cemetery as part of his research into Anglo-Saxon family and kinship structures (Sayer 2009). He identifies three plots (A, B, and C) in which burials of successive periods can be found (Fig. 110). Plot B is described as the less wealthy zone, but this impression is perhaps coloured by the robbing of at least six graves here.

Plot C has markedly fewer disturbed burials than the other plots, and these are on the western edge. This plot is identified as generally the later burial location, replacing plot A through the 7th century. The majority of datable burials here are by Sayer's assessment late 7th or early eighth century, especially close to the eastern edge. That plot C has so little robbing may therefore be an indication that disturbance pre-dates the use of this area.

The robbing episodes may even be associated, directly or indirectly, with the shift in burial location. Sayer (2009) argues for considerable changes in the funerary rite practised at Finglesham through the 7th century, tied to the role of kin networks in the power struggles of that century. The evidence presented here shows that a substantial phase of grave robbery was part of these changes, perhaps as a weapon in the 7th century conflicts.

Lyminge

There is a decided division of the excavated area into a robbed section, which curves around the southern side, and an unrobbed northeastern/central part. Possibly the robbed graves should be seen as two separate groups, with Gr 56, 57, 59, and 63 as one and the others as another.

Within the robbed area the disturbed graves are interspersed with intact ones, as at the other sites. It is not the case that all the burials in this part of the cemetery have been reopened; there is selection of graves for reopening even within the heavily robbed part.

Schröder (2007: 10) identifies three plots within the excavated area of the Lyminge cemetery, based mainly on the alignment of the graves in rows or against other features (Fig. 104). Although robbery is concentrated in her plots B and C, the southern part of the cemetery, it is not confined to them. It does not appear that the selection of the graves for reopening was tightly bound up with their association with the social structure, if any, that underlay these plots.

Schröder's plots all include burials from several phases (Schröder 2007: 82). The datable graves in the disturbed southern area are mainly from the 6th century, but a large proportion here are undatable. There are plenty of unrobbed 6th century graves in the undisturbed part of the cemetery. The spatial distribution is therefore not simply a question of chronological zoning. All the plots also include different ages and both genders. There is some zoning of burials by gender (Schröder 2007: Site Map 3), but these clusters do not correspond either to Schröder's plots or to the robbed areas.

One pattern, however, stands out: no unrobbed graves from the heavily disturbed southernmost part have more than a couple of grave-goods. No weapon burials are left in the robbed area. By contrast, several impressively furnished graves were found in the undisturbed north-eastern zone (Fig. 103). Perhaps the robbers knew, or more likely were able to tell from the aboveground appearance, which graves in the southern area were worth reopening. On the other hand, some of the well-furnished undisturbed graves are very close to the robbed graves. Disturbed Gr 28 and 40, for example, are flanked by unrobbed wealthy Gr 44 and 39, all lying right on the division

between the robbed and unrobbed areas. A case might be made that all the well-furnished graves from the southern area have been identified and looted, but the evidence is ambiguous.

Monkton

Robbing here is much more limited. The two most convincingly disturbed burials are neighbours and it seems reasonable to suggest that these at least were reopened together. The reopening of newly buried Gr 22 may have been the main motive, with Gr 21 also ransacked due to its proximity. Gr 21 was significantly more decayed, and therefore older, at the time of reopening. The third possibly disturbed burial is not far away, but there is an indication that its robbing may be modern (Appendix 1.1: Monkton).

Ozengell

As at the other sites, only part of the Ozengell cemetery has been excavated. As an additional impediment, grave data is only available for one section of the excavated area. However, as far as the information goes, it can be seen that the disturbed burials are dispersed across the excavated area. Fewer graves are affected within the prehistoric feature, and there is an unrobbed area just to its north, but these patterns do not correspond to any identifiable subgroups on the basis of alignment, orientation, gender or age.

Seven burials at Ozengell were identified by the excavators as disturbed while ligaments still held parts of the skeleton together, although these claims could not be evaluated (Chapter 4.9, Appendix 1.1: Ozengell). Unusually, these still-articulated burials form a distinct cluster in one area of the cemetery, although with Gr 65 some distance away (Fig. 112). Clusters of burials robbed soon after interment are not seen at other sites. All may be 7th century; it is possible that all date to the middle of that century (Chapter 4.9). If all seven of these Ozengell bodies were buried during a short period, it is just possible that their robbing all occurred as one event when they were all simultaneously nearing skeletonization. However if, as seems more likely, they represent successive burials over some decades, their similar state of partial articulation at the time of reopening indicates several reopening events. In that case, this corner of the Ozengell cemetery is the only place in Kent with evidence that might be consistent with a recurrent practice of reopening graves a set number of years after burial. Even here, however, the rite could only have been very limited, and applied only to certain individuals.

Other explanations are more mundane. For example, there is the possibility that local conditions in this area of the cemetery are responsible for the articulation: perhaps a wetter area slowed soft tissue decomposition so that bodies here were better preserved when reopened. Alternatively, if

there were any evidence that this area represented a kin group, it would be possible to argue that a family variant of burial practice was responsible for prolonged fleshy decomposition, perhaps wrapping of bodies in extra textiles or skins. However, the cluster of semi-articulated disturbed burials does not correspond to another form of grave group; the burials are not mutually aligned or isolated from the rest of the cemetery. They are intermingled with both unrobbed graves and ones which were disturbed once fully skeletonized.

The other, disarticulated, disturbed burials within this cluster also have likely 6th or 7th century dates (ASKED, Chapter 4.9). The undisturbed graves in this area are: Gr 20, the unfurnished 6th or 7th century burial of a child; Gr 8, a well-furnished but weaponless adult male who died in the late 6th or early 7th century; and Gr 14, a woman buried in the mid-7th century with a bone pin, a knife, and a buckle.

Even in this area the reopening therefore looks selective, even personal. There is no date pattern; it is not the earlier or later burials which are exclusively disturbed. There is every reason to think that the 3 undisturbed burials in this area were visible when the others were reopened, but were deliberately left intact. In the case of Gr 20 this might be an avoidance of child burials (Chapter 4.7), although at 1.65m long the grave is not particularly small. Gr 13 and 15, two of the only other undisturbed burials in the area, also contained children.

If material gain was the object of the disturbance, it is notable that Gr 8 and 14 both have gravegoods, yet are unrifled. On the other hand, neither has the brooches or swords which seem to have been the robbers' main targets (Chapter 6.1). However, rejection on these grounds would require knowledge of burial assemblages not generally demonstrated elsewhere (Chapter 5.1).

Beyond the semi-articulated cluster, the disturbed burials are dispersed across the grave field, with fewer robbed within the round barrow ditch and with an intact group immediately to its north (Fig. 112). These 11 undisturbed graves include burials with date ranges from the first half of 6th century to the early 8th century (ASKED). There is therefore every reason to think this area in use at the same time as the more heavily robbed south side. The undisturbed cluster forms part of a zone with graves in rough rows. The rest of the zone contains several robbed graves (Gr 46, 52, 53, 56): if these mutually aligned rows form a subgroup within the cemetery, perhaps corresponding with part of the burying community, it has not been spared from disturbance.

It is possible that graves cut into the "soft fill" of the barrow ditch disappeared from view more readily than the rest, so that they were less vulnerable to robbers. The only incident of apparently non-intentional intercutting in this cemetery occurred within the ditch, when Gr 73 was truncated

by Gr 67. The two postholes associated with Gr 67 may even be an attempt to prevent it suffering the same fate. However, the evident marking of this grave did not lead to its robbing; nor did the four postholes around nearby Gr 79.

Sarre

Detailed cemetery plans are lacking for most of the site, but as far as the records go it appears that the disturbed graves are dispersed among intact ones, probably with some areas of the cemetery more heavily affected than others.

The extant site plan of Brent's work lacks most grave numbers, but the numerical proximity of many of the disturbed burials suggests there may also have been some spatial clustering. Brent notes this feature in the description of Gr CXLII, commenting that "Most of the graves in this part of the field had been disturbed".

The 20th century excavations were in long trenches rather than large open areas, impeding analysis of spatial layout. However, the disturbed graves can be seen to be scattered among intact examples, as at the other sites (Fig. 113).

Three graves at Sarre are described as showing some heaping of grave contents (Chapter 5.1). Fig. 113 shows that these are grouped together, although along with another without heaping. The robbing footprint shown in the grave plans is probably similar enough to consider this one *modus operandi*, so that (unlike the St Peter's heaping, above) these three graves may represent a small cluster opened together.

Discussion: spatial distribution

At three sites – Lyminge, Finglesham, and possibly Bradstow School – reopening affected only part of the excavated area. At Finglesham this is explainable by date: the undisturbed area probably postdates or is simultaneous with the disturbance phase. This is not the case at Lyminge or Bradstow School. At those sites a reasonable hypothesis might be that the robbed and unrobbed zones correspond to areas used by different sections of the burying community. However, neither there nor at the other sites do the robbed zones correspond to any of the other spatial patterns seen in the alignment, orientation, clustering, age, or gender of burials.

There is therefore no evidence in Kent that robbing was inflicted by one identifiable part of the burying community upon another. It cannot be shown in any of the cemeteries that burials thought to represent one kin group or household are disturbed while those of another are not. Nor could it be argued, for example, that a Christianized family was reopening the graves of its

pagan ancestors. As far as household or descent group burial clusters can be identified in these cemeteries, robbing does not coincide with any of them.

In none of the cemeteries are all the graves in any area affected. The reopened graves are dispersed across the robbed areas or the whole sites and are interspersed with intact burials. There is no evidence for any systematic, simultaneous reopening of large sections of any of the burial grounds. There a few cases of apparent clusters, or of close neighbours being targeted together, but in general reopening appears to be on an individual basis. Additionally, the dispersal of reopened burials across the cemeteries is further evidence against this being misinterpretation of rabbit or badger burrowing, which would be concentrated in areas of the grave fields which provided suitable habitat.

At some sites, particularly Lyminge and Bradstow School, small clusters of weapon graves have been identified. There is no direct link between these and robbery. It is possible that weapon graves are robbed slightly more frequently (Chapters 4.8, 6.1), but spatially robbing is not exclusively or even particularly focused on the weapon graves.

Perhaps the disturbed graves are those which by their markers or by accidents of topography and taphonomy were most clearly and persistently visible on the surface. This would explain the lower levels of robbing among burials set within prehistoric ditches, as the Ozengell evidence suggests these disappeared from view more rapidly than the rest. There are indications that having an aboveground structure or marker increased the chances of a grave being reopened (Chapter 4.5). Larger, and probably more visible, graves were also more prone to robbing (Chapter 4.4). Yet this answer is not wholly satisfying, as a significant proportion of apparently elaborately marked graves were left untouched at all sites (Chapter 4.5).

The dispersal of the robbed graves across the cemeteries is sufficiently marked that it may even be deliberate. A case can be made that the reopeners have taken care to select burials dotted all over the cemeteries, or all over the robbed areas. One interpretation would be that robbing was aimed not at one part of the burying community by another, but at the whole community by outsiders. In this scenario robbing was primarily a symbolic act, perhaps an insult directed at the people using the cemetery, or an attack on their wellbeing through their ancestors.

This would not be incompatible with the indications at Lyminge, and perhaps plot B at Finglesham, that robbers were able to identify and target the burials with most gravegoods. Removal of gravegoods appears, from the ways in which the graves were rifled, to have been the main focus of the reopeners' activities (Chapter 5.1). This is despite the poor condition of many

of the artefacts (Chapter 6.1). Taking gravegoods may have been integral to the symbolic effectiveness of the reopening. At the other sites many well-furnished intact graves remain interspersed with the robbed ones: either reopening them all was not necessary, or the robbers were less successful at identifying the best targets.

There is, however, a major problem with this interpretation: there is no reason to think that all the robbing at any one cemetery was carried out simultaneously as a concerted attack. From the variety of reopening methods used, the impression is rather of robbing by different individuals and on separate occasions (Chapters 5.1, 5.2). At St Peter's Tip, Monkton, and Sarre, pairs or small clusters of graves have been identified which may have been opened together. However these are exceptional, and otherwise the evidence points to specific, individual selection of graves to reopen on different occasions. This is confirmed by the dating evidence, as far as its precision allows: robbing was probably carried out over many decades, even if its peak is in the mid-7th century. The indications are that this was not a brief series of mass reopenings, but a repeated practice which nonetheless left robbed burials scattered across most of the cemeteries.

6 Results and Analysis: Why

6.1 Grave-goods

- Grave-goods were removed from reopened graves.
- Furnished graves were targeted.
- Weapon graves were not systematically targeted.
- Knives, copper alloy as well as iron ones, were left in disturbed graves.
- Brooches were taken.
- Beads and pendants may sometimes have been taken.
- Female belt accessories of all kinds were left behind.
- Swords and seaxes were taken.
- Spearheads and shields were frequently left behind.

In both Kent and Merovingia the presumption has always been that a central motivation for reopening was the removal of grave-goods, whether as theft, reclamation, or a superstitious practice. In Kent several excavators and other commentators have suggested that robbers targeted wealthy burials (e.g. Perkins 1985b, Schröder 2007, O'Brien 1999: 57) or those containing weapons (Härke 1992: 65, Härke 2000: 391-2 and Table 5, Welch 2007: 222-3). In Merovingia a metal shortage has frequently been suggested as a motivation for extracting gravegoods (Chapter 2).

In Kent, as on the continent, the appearance of the disturbed graves supports the view that discovery and removal of artefacts was a primary motivation (Chapter 5.1). The archaeology bears witness to rummaging of grave contents, but not to attempts to eradicate graves. In most cases disorder and damage to the skeleton and artefacts appear to be incidental to the robbers' main activity of searching. Generally the remains are left in considerable disorder, but occasionally (e.g. Gr 140 St Peter's), the searching appears positively orderly. As discussed below, a number of Kent graves show clear signs that objects have been removed. Copper staining on bone, broken fragments of missing objects, and in a couple of cases the remains of scabbards but no swords (Finglesham Gr 22, St Peter's Gr 97) testify to the former presence of removed artefacts.

Surviving artefacts in Anglo-Saxon burials are generally of metal, bone, glass or pottery, while traces of wood, leather, and textile occasionally remain. Only a proportion of these are what are classically known as grave-goods, or objects deposited alongside the body. Others include items

of grave furniture, such as coffin nails, or remnants of costume, such as belts or shroud pins (fuller information about the finds from this period and region in Geake 1997, Lucy 2000, Richardson 2005a, Harrington 2007).

The artefact types discussed here are those which survive on an archaeological timescale. They are unlikely to represent the full range of objects displayed at the original burial, or the totality of objects available to the early robbers. The oft-repeated assertion that grave-robbers were in search of "metal objects" (e.g. Kümmel 2008: 43) seems uncritically based on the probably erroneous impression given by the decayed remains, that metal artefacts were the main part of the burial display. That said, given the sometimes considerable span of time between burial and robbing shown in the analysis above, objects of most other materials, certainly absorbent ones, would have been severely damaged by their time in the burial environment (Chapter 4.9) As discussed below, even metal artefacts were frequently in poor condition by the time of reopening.

There is considerable variation in the furnishing of Anglo-Saxon graves in Kent. About 30% of graves in Richardson's sample contained no artefacts of any kind (Richardson 2005a: 137). At the other end of the scale, an abundantly furnished 6th century female burial like Finglesham Gr 203 contained multiple silver brooches, a gold bracteate and gold pendants, 50 beads of coloured glass and silver, buckles decorated with garnet, silver pins, a ring, comb, bronze bowl, glass vessel, and weaving equipment. Furnished male graves frequently contain weapons in various combinations, the most common being a spearhead (Richardson 2005a: 140). Ownership of weapons, or rather burial with them, is considered indicative of social rank and of a symbolic warrior status independent of the ability to fight and of the actual experience of fighting (Härke 1990, 1992, 1997).

Various forms of ranking system for comparing the wealth of different grave assemblages have been attempted for furnished Anglo-Saxon burials, as for other periods. Recent descriptions and evaluations of the possible approaches have been made by Stoodley (1999: 91-4), Marzinzik (2003: 73-89), and Sayer (2009: 157), all of whom needed for their own analyses to establish formal systems to compare the investment represented by the highly varied numbers and types of artefacts used as gravegoods.

Perkins (1985b, Chapter 3) showed a correlation between grave width and robbing at five disturbed cemeteries, with wider graves more frequently robbed. The larger sample studied here also indicates a correlation between grave size and robbing (Chapter 4.4). Perkins found a further correlation between grave width and gravegood wealth, as represented by numbers of types of

artefacts, with extra weighting given to gold and silver objects. This enabled him to suggest that, although the assemblages of robbed graves are probably denuded, their large size means they were originally among the better-furnished burials. On the other hand, Richardson's recent and much larger study showed only a limited association between grave width and wealth, at the top of the wealth scale (Chapter 4.4).

On the continent, as discussed in Chapter 2, certain categories of grave-goods are thought to have been targeted, usually swords, knives, and brooches, while others were typically left behind by grave-robbers, particularly spearheads, arrowheads, and vessels. Some of the rejected objects are considered of high value, including bronze dishes and even gold bracteates. There are also several claims of objects with Christian symbolism being left in Merovingian graves. Likewise ritual or superstitious elements have been suggested in, for example, the leaving behind of one out of a set of brooches.

For the purposes of this analysis no assumptions have been made about the exchange or other values represented by each artefact type. The sections which follow attempt to establish whether Anglo-Saxon robbers sought as many objects as possible, or particular kinds. Attention is paid to the condition of gravegoods when disturbed: it is by no means clear that the exchange value, if any, and the symbolic meanings of artefacts were the same at the time of burial and the time of reopening.

For understanding the robbers' selection of artefacts, a central problem lies in recognising whether an object has been deliberately left behind or just accidentally overlooked. The exact position of the artefact in the grave is the first consideration. A gravegood that remains in situ but is peripheral to the main burial, such as a bowl beyond the feet or a spearhead near the skull, may be outside the area opened and viewed by the robbers. Objects displaced on the grave floor or in the disturbed fill are a more difficult call.

The method used to open the grave is significant (Chapter 5.1). There are a few coffined burials from which it appears that the whole lid was removed, and the entire assemblage presumably inspected (e.g. St Peter's Gr 268). Any objects remaining in these have probably been left by design. Some other graves with intact coffins seem to have been robbed by a "keyhole" method, with a hooked stick or other tool inserted through a small hole. Smaller artefacts might well be missed by these means.

Uncoffined burials and ones in which the coffin had disintegrated before reopening are more thoroughly dug through, although the disturbance may only affect part of the grave. These burials

frequently have bones and sometimes objects strewn throughout the robber fill. In some cases they are described as "thrown back in" (Chapter 5.3), as though the excavators had the impression that they had been lifted and rejected. However, in many cases objects must surely have been missed in shovel-loads of earth. Even under excavation conditions this occurs: a silver and garnet brooch was missed in Finglesham Gr 205 and found on the spoil heap, and likewise a gold pendant brooch at Thorne Farm (Appendix 1.1, 1.2). It is impossible that some artefacts should not have been accidentally missed by robbers, especially if they were working under pressure of time, and doubly so if reopening happened at night.

The position of artefacts in the grave, and especially how they are worn, are also relevant to the degree of disturbance likely to be caused by their removal. The ASKED database (Chapter 3) is invaluable in recording the position of artefacts within graves. There is a tendency in Kent, as in Merovingia, for recognisable skeletal disturbance to be concentrated in the chest to knee zone, although with considerable variation (Chapter 5.1). This is the area in which artefacts are concentrated, especially those such as necklaces, bracelets, and belts which are worn on the body. The removal of these worn objects, especially if any soft tissue or clothing is left, is almost bound to cause disorder to the skeleton. Where no robber cut is identified or recorded, which is generally the case in Kent, it is quite possible that objects have been taken from other parts of the grave without leaving telltale disturbance. For example a sword, unless it is still strapped on, might well be lifted from beside a body without affecting the position of the bones at all. Skeletal disorder is therefore only a limited guide to which gravegoods are missing.

Table 6 compares the proportion of disturbed and undisturbed graves containing artefact finds in each burial ground. As the table shows, an average of 79% of disturbed graves at each site have artefact finds, compared with 72% of graves overall. (Intrusive finds such as potsherds residual in the topsoil have been discounted, as far as records allow.) These figures are in line with Richardson's average of about 70% of graves containing artefacts in his much larger county-wide sample (Richardson 2005a: 137); the slightly higher numbers reflect the location of the disturbed cemeteries on wealthy Thanet. Graves reported as disturbed are therefore as likely or slightly more likely to contain artefact finds than the undisturbed examples in the same cemeteries.

This is a crude measure, partly because the data from some sites are patchy, but mainly because it records only the presence or absence of any part of any kind of artefact. The same result is given by a trace of coffin nail as a full weapon assemblage. However, this is an effective approach in the context of robbing, because, for example, if robbers left just a tiny scrap of a scabbard, it is

counted in the same way as a whole scabbard, giving a better comparison of the original state of the grave. Despite the likely removal of objects, this shows that robbed graves are at least as likely to have residual artefacts as their intact counterparts. This is an indication, although by no means proof, that graves with larger numbers of artefacts were selected for robbing.

Taking a closer look at the residual assemblages in the disturbed graves, at the numbers and types of the remaining gravegoods, it appears highly likely that objects have been removed. Although a superficially similar proportion of disturbed and undisturbed graves at each site have gravegoods, the disturbed graves are at the bottom of the range in terms of the numbers of artefacts. In addition, high proportions of grave-goods in the disturbed graves are represented by partial, displaced fragments.

At Lyminge, Schröder (2007: 78) divided all the graves into four wealth classes on the basis of the numbers of gravegoods, with some weighting to particular types. This gives a broad picture of artefact distribution across the cemetery, although there is considerable variation within the medium and rich classes:

Very poor (findless): 22 + 2 graves

Poor (1/2 minor objects): 7 graves

Medium (1 major object and/or more minor objects): 26 graves

Rich (2 or more major objects) 11 graves

Table 11 shows how the disturbed graves fit into these categories. Six of the robbed burials are 'Very Poor', 2 are 'Poor', 3 'Medium', and none 'Rich'. So although 5 out of 11 disturbed burials contained artefact finds of some kind, these were meagre. Even the graves classified as 'Medium' are at the bottom of their category: Grave 28 just had a Roman coin, which was probably hidden under the leg. Gr 48 had some beads and a small bronze strip which may be a remnant of a removed object. Gr 63 contained only a fractured glass beaker. The indications are therefore that the disturbed Lyminge graves have indeed been denuded of contents.

The picture at Finglesham is similar (Table 13). Applying the same wealth categories as used by Schröder at Lyminge, the disturbed graves fall mainly into the lower grades. The three that can be rated as 'rich' only barely qualify for that category. Many artefacts are represented only by partial remains, such as the shield grip in the fill of Gr 110. The two complete shields were both found propped outside coffins and so were probably missed by robbers. As mentioned above, traces of a scabbard in Gr 22 indicated the former presence of a sword. The glass vessel was almost certainly broken before or during the disturbance (see below). At both Finglesham and Lyminge

a high proportion of the remaining gravegoods are knives. This pattern is repeated across the disturbed sites, as discussed below.

Table 5 shows the proportions of graves containing different categories of artefacts at Sarre. The disturbed graves contain lower overall numbers of gravegoods, and none at all in certain categories. Most significantly, there are no swords in any of the disturbed graves, despite the 28 recovered from the intact graves.

	Disc brooches	Other brooches and pendants	Beads	Coins	Glassware	Pottery	Swords	Spears	Shields
All graves	10	15	46	6	7	26	28	60	34
% of all graves	3%	5%	16%	2%	2%	9%	10%	20%	12%
Disturbed graves	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	7	2
% of disturbed graves	0%	2%	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	13%	4%

Table 5: Sarre grave-goods from all excavations 1843-1990 (figures from Perkins 1992: 106-7)

The sections which follow investigate in detail the evidence across the sites for the removal of gravegoods of each type.

Knives

The significant numbers of knives left in disturbed graves at Lyminge and Finglesham are also seen at the other Kentish robbed cemeteries, and are a notable point of difference from the continental material. Out of the 17 disturbed graves at Finglesham, 10 or 59% contained knives. That compares with an overall 123 knives in 256 Finglesham graves, or 48%. Disturbed graves were therefore actually rather more likely than the average to include knives at Finglesham. Likewise at Bradstow School, 12 (66%) of the 18 disturbed graves contained knives compared to the 58 (61%) of the total 89 graves.

St Peter's Tip had 35 knives in 50 disturbed graves. Slightly fewer were found at Sarre, with knives recognized in 9 out of 42 robbed graves, but at Ozengell 18 knives were recovered from 39 disturbed graves. There are therefore good reasons for thinking that knives were consistently left in reopened graves in Kent, in contrast to Merovingia, where they are regarded as one of the robbers' regular targets (Chapter 2).

There is a possibility that knives were sometimes tested by the robbers for soundness, and rejected if they broke. Bending of knives and spearheads by robbers was suggested in a number of cases at Ozengell (Perkins 1991), although the data are not available. The iron knife in Finglesham Gr 44 may be another example, since the tip of its blade is missing and the damage is

thought post-deposition. However, the high numbers of knives which are left in disturbed graves confirm that robbers can rarely, if ever, have found a satisfactorily sound blade.

Most of the knives found in disturbed graves are iron, the standard material. However, there are cases of knives of more valuable metal being left behind. Finglesham Gr 44 contained a copper alloy knife in addition to the iron one, both apparently rejected in the disturbed fill. Even if a copper alloy knife was not usable as an artefact by the time of robbing, it should have contained recoverable metal. Its rejection may therefore indicate that the avoidance of knives has its root in their cultural meaning, rather than in practical considerations.

Vessels

Almost a fifth of Richardson's Kentish grave-good assemblages contained vessels or containers of some kind (Richardson 2005a: 160) – although this is a broad category which does not necessarily map onto any Anglo-Saxon concept. Nearly half of the vessels in Richardson's sample were pottery, up to a fifth were glass vessels, plus slightly fewer wooden boxes, smaller numbers of wooden cups/bowls, bags/purses, and wooden buckets. Metal bowls, including imported copper alloy bowls from the Rhineland and Mediterranean and hanging bowls of British manufacture, appeared in only 14 out of 2020 assemblages. Two of these were with adult males in undisturbed graves 203 and 204 at Finglesham, an otherwise heavily robbed site.

On the continent, vessels of all kinds are consistently reported as left in disturbed graves (Chapter 2). In Kent only nine (0.5%) of the 183 disturbed or possibly disturbed graves contained vessels of any sort. This is considerably below the expected proportion. Vessels may well be particularly vulnerable to destruction during robbing, with glass or potsherds scattered and prone to decay or interpretation as intrusive scraps. However, the numbers are so low in Kent that at least some removal of vessels seems indicated.

The glass beaker in Lyminge Gr 63 may well have been missed by the robbers due to its peripheral position in the grave. Although its position is not recorded, it was almost certainly at one end of the grave away from the body. Among the 42 glass vessels with recorded positions in ASKED (queried 20090225), by far the most common locations were at the bottom of the grave beyond the feet (16 'below', 2 'left bottom', 1 'right bottom' = 19) or at the top beyond the head (9 'left top', 6 'right top' 2 'above' = 17). Conversely, in St Peter's Gr 215 a loose area of fill at the foot of the grave was thought by the excavators to be evidence of targeting of a vessel known to lie in this area.

The glass fragments in Finglesham Gr 110 were also by the skeleton's feet, but unlike the Lyminge example this vessel had been crushed before the grave was opened, or broke during the disturbance, since the fragments were disturbed. In St Peter's Gr 333 the copper alloy bowl, like the rest of the gravegoods, was in such poor condition that it fragmented and was scattered during the robbing. Too little is preserved or recorded of most of the other vessels to ascertain their condition at disturbance or whether they were damaged by the robbers, although this was suggested in Finglesham Gr 34.

Brooches

It seems highly likely that brooches are missing from many disturbed female burials. Over a quarter of identified adult females in Richardson's sample had a brooch, bracteate or pendant (Richardson 2005a: 141, for a briefer summary of Kentish brooch styles see Welch 2007: 213). During the 5th and 6th centuries multiple brooches were worn, with a shift to single brooches in the later 6th and 7th centuries, and a switch to pendants from the mid 7th century (Richardson 2005a: 143). Richardson records a total of 356 brooch finds in his 2020 grave-good assemblages (Richardson 2005a: 137). Despite this frequency, the ring brooch in Sarre Gr 85 and the two Finglesham bow brooches are the only artefacts of this kind found in disturbed graves in Kent.

Bow brooches are rare in Kent graves, with only 8 examples listed in ASKED (queried 20090227), yet two of them come from disturbed burials. Is it possible that this was a type of brooch unacceptable to robbers? The Finglesham find contexts make this interesting conclusion unlikely. The first, a fragmentary Roman Cu alloy bow-brooch, was almost certainly a stray object which found its way into the dip at the top of the disturbed fill of Gr 22 after the robbing. The second is of a quite different type and date, a silver bow-brooch, gilded, nielloed and set with red glass and garnet. Found on the spoil heap, it was probably associated with Gr 205 and may have been responsible for the copper-staining on the clavicle of the woman in this grave. Since the modern excavators failed to notice it as they dug it seems quite possible that the early grave openers did so too, perhaps for similar reasons, if it was stuck to the collar bone.

At Sarre 25 (8%) of the 294 excavated burials contained brooches or pendants (Table 5). Disc brooches were found in 10 burials (3%), but in none of the 54 disturbed graves. Other types of brooches and pendants were found in 15 burials, but only the Gr 85 early ring fibula was in a disturbed grave.

Brooch removal is frequently cited as an explanation for disturbance in the chest area of female skeletons. The under-representation of brooches in robbed female graves supports this

interpretation, but the other categories of artefact found in this area should not be forgotten. Of the 318 objects registered in ASKED (queried 20090227) as found in the chest area, only 43 are brooches. These compare with 134 beads, 16 bracteates, 14 pins, 24 knives, 2 swords, 5 spearheads, 3 coins, 2 bracelets, 14 buckles, and 12 shields. Nor are brooches found only on the chest. In the ASKED sample 22 lay beside the body, compared to 171 on the body and 1 underneath. Of those on the body, 50 were described as on the neck, 43 on the chest, 48 on a shoulder, and 33 at the waist. Brooch finds are thus widely spread between neck and waist, with occasional finds at the head, feet, or knees.

Beads

About a quarter of Richardson's grave-good assemblages contained beads. These were made of a variety of materials including glass, amber, amethyst and shell, with amber more common during the 6th century and amethyst in the 7th. They appear predominantly but not exclusively in female graves (Richardson 2005a: 146). Richardson does not consider numbers of beads in assemblages, only their presence or absence.

Some 36 of the disturbed graves contained beads, or 25% of the disturbed graves with artefact finds (Table 6). This is pulled down by the low number from Brent's excavations at Sarre, which is likely to reflect a low retrieval rate, and by Monkton, where only male graves were disturbed. However, it remains in line with Richardson's findings. Bead assemblages were not removed wholesale from graves.

Intra-site comparisons give similar results. At Finglesham 37 (16%) of 237 graves contained beads. Three of these had been disturbed, so that 3 (18%) of the 17 disturbed graves contained beads. Disturbed graves were thus no more or less likely than the average to contain beads. At Sarre only 4 (7%) disturbed graves contained beads, compared to 46 (16%) overall. On the other hand, since these counts records only the presence or absence of beads, not their numbers, it is very possible that some beads from each assemblage may have been removed from the disturbed graves. The small size and smooth shape of beads would make retrieval difficult, especially if a hooked tool was used.

At Brunn Aspöck thought that the bead assemblages left in 8 graves were incomplete (Chapter 2). In Kent bead numbers are too variable to for this to be determined with any certainty. At Finglesham bead assemblages vary between 1 and nearly 80 beads, although it is fair to say that the three disturbed graves with beads are at the lower end of the scale, containing 2, 5, and 7 beads respectively. In Finglesham Gr 34 in particular the excavators suspected that the bead

assemblage was incomplete. However, in other robbed graves the assemblages must surely be complete or very near-complete, notably in St Peter's Gr 165 with its necklace of 78 beads and 6 pendants. These were found out of position, clustered together around the femur, as though the necklace had been lifted and moved intact, yet still rejected.

Beads of all kinds are found in disturbed graves: St Peter's Gr 186 had 2 amethyst quartz beads, St Peter's male Gr 303 contained at least 42 amber beads, Ozengell Gr 25 had a bronze bead, and Sarre Gr 286 had 9 amber beads and 31 beads of coloured glass. The glass, amber, and amethyst beads in particular were among the gravegoods which would deteriorate least rapidly. It would be quite possible to clean and wear many examples excavated today. That beads were not more frequently taken was not down to their condition.

Bracteates and other pendants

Gold bracteates are an overwhelmingly female grave-good, associated with the largest assemblages (Behr 2001). No bracteates remain in any of the disturbed graves in Kent, although they are found in intact graves in several of the same cemeteries. Bracteates were worn in the frequently disturbed upper body area, which makes them strong candidates for robbing targets. All but one of the bracteates with recorded positions in ASKED were lying on the wearer's chest, neck or shoulders. However, these finds are too rare for any statistical indication that bracteates are missing from the robbed graves. Only 35 bracteates are recorded from all the cemeteries in ASKED (queried 20090227).

Other forms of pendant are sometimes found in disturbed graves. Ozengell Gr 53 has two small fragments of silver thought to have been from a pendant attachment, with the main part either taken or decayed in situ. Six pendants variously of silver, silver-gilt, glass and garnet were on the rejected necklace in St Peter's Gr 165, two silver pendants Gr 237, and another in Gr 354. Sarre Gr 286 had a type fashioned from a tremissis and a silver-mounted key-stone-shaped pendant of pink glass. There is no reason to think that most of these were in particularly bad condition at the time of robbing; the materials ought to place them among the better-preserved gravegoods.

At St Peter's it seems likely that pendants were not taken. Fully one third of the 27 pendants found at that site were in disturbed graves, although only 14% of burials were reopened. The high numbers of disturbed pendant finds may well be an indication that well-furnished graves were preferentially robbed, but the pendants themselves do not seem to have been targets. As mentioned above, the bead and pendant necklace in Gr 165 was whole at the time of robbing and had almost certainly been viewed and even handled by the robbers, yet was not taken. At this site

at least beads and pendants seem to have been no use to the reopeners, or to have belonged to a category inappropriate for them to remove.

At the other sites pendants may be missing. The two examples from Sarre Gr 286 compare with 14 or so found in undisturbed graves (Perkins 1991: 106-7). At Ozengell at least 8 pendants were found in undisturbed graves, in addition to the one possibly taken from Gr 53. At Finglesham 18 pendants were found, none of them in disturbed graves.

Female belt accessories

Eighty-one out of Richardson's 2020 grave-good assemblages contained objects recorded as chatelaines. Preservation and recording do not make it possible to distinguish between types of girdle accessories in most of the records, so that a further 151 assemblages containing keys, girdle-hangers, and latch-lifters should be taken into account (Richardson 2005a: 152). This gives an overall percentage of a maximum of about 10% of furnished burials containing objects that can be described as chatelaines or similar.

Comparatively high numbers of chatelaines and latch-lifters are found in disturbed graves. Looking only at the larger sites, there were at least 8 in the disturbed graves at St Peter's and 4 at Sarre in addition to the 2 at Finglesham. These represent between 14% and 19% of furnished burials at these sites: above the expected average. In Gr 281 at Sarre the latch-lifter/chatelaine complex was lifted and replaced at the side of the grave floor, which is an unusually definite case of an object being handled and rejected.

A chatelaine represents one of the more substantial metal objects in a female grave. Most are of iron, but there may also be copper alloy elements, as in the example left in disturbed Gr 165 at St Peter's. That they were almost certainly not taken is therefore one of the several indications that quantities of metal were not the robbers' goal.

Weapons

It has been claimed that burials containing weapons were preferentially targeted for grave-robbing (Härke 1992: 65, Härke 2000: 391-2 and Table 5, Welch 2007: 222-3). This would require either detailed knowledge of the cemeteries by the robbers, or for weapon graves to have been differentially marked on the surface. The evidence collated here gives no basis for this conclusion.

About 18% of burials in Richardson's Kent-wide study were accompanied by at least one weapon type: spear, shield, sword, axe, seax, or arrows. Roughly a third of identified adult males in Kent had weapons (Richardson 2005a: 138). Among the disturbed graves, 45 out of 181 (25%)

contained traces of weapons (Table 6). The initial appearance is therefore that weapon graves are over-represented among the disturbed group. However, there are reasons for thinking this impression incorrect.

The frequency of the weapon burial rite varied considerably over time and was at its highest during the disturbance phases. In Kent in the 5th and 6th centuries weapons were confined to less than a quarter of graves, but at the 7th century peak about 40% of burials had weapons (Richardson 2005a: 141). Given that most of the disturbed burials have likely dates in the late 6th to 7th centuries, 25% of graves with weapons may be rather a low figure.

Comparing within sites, at Bradstow School 4 (17%) of the 24 weapon graves were disturbed, at Finglesham 4 (14%) of 28, and at Sarre 8 of 70 (11%) (Table 6). At both Bradstow School and Sarre robbed graves are therefore less likely to contain weapons than unrobbed ones. At Finglesham a somewhat higher proportion of disturbed graves contained weapons than the average, but the numbers are low. At all the disturbed sites there are large numbers of unrobbed weapon graves. As Table 6 shows, only about 13% of weapon graves were robbed even at the heavily disturbed sites.

There are distinct spatial clusters of weapon graves at some sites, notably at Lyminge and Bradstow School (Chapter 5.4), only a few of which have been reopened. If robbers had a preference for weapon graves, it was not systematic or thorough. Any apparent targeting of weapon graves is likely to be a function of a preference for wealthy or well-marked graves.

Shields

Shields are less common in Kent than across the rest of Anglo-Saxon England (Richardson 2005a: 138). An average of just under a quarter of weapon graves in Richardson's study included shields. The majority of shield finds date to the 6th to 7th century transition, but a higher proportion of earlier weapon burials contained shields (Richardson 2005a: 139-140).

The indications are that shields or parts of shields were sometimes but not always taken from disturbed graves. Since these are large items with several organic and inorganic elements it can be particularly difficult to gauge whether the remaining fragments represent whole or partial shields. However, at least parts of shields remained in 10 or 12 disturbed graves at St Peter's Tip, although it is possible the bosses were removed from Gr 57 and 267. At Sarre shields were found in two (4%) disturbed graves compared to 34 (12%) overall. At Finglesham two probably complete shields were left in robbed graves, but both of these were found propped against the outside of the coffins and thus outside the areas opened by the robbers. A shield was left in

Bradstow School Gr 67, and in four graves at Ozengell. Shield bosses represent some of the largest iron objects in Anglo-Saxon graves. That no effective effort was made to remove them makes it very unlikely that the recovery of iron was a primary motivation for grave opening.

Spears

In Merovingia spears consistently remain in reopened graves (Roth 1978: 70, Effros 2002: 60, Chapter 2). The same appears to be the case in Kent. In the county as a whole the highest proportion of graves with spears is in the 7th century, when about 20% (81/391=20%) of burials contain them. During the 6th to 7th century transition the figure is more like 11% (80/670=11%) (Richardson 2005a: 140).

The disturbed burials contain a rather high percentage of spearheads. At St Peter's Tip, 20 out of 50 disturbed graves contain spear remains, with at least two burials with two spearheads. At Bradstow School 3 (15%) of 19 robbed graves had spears, and at Ozengell 4 (10%) of 41. In the overall figures at Sarre 13% of disturbed burials have spears compared with 20% of all graves, but in the 20th century excavations, with presumably better recognition rates, the figure rises to 7 (16%) of 42 disturbed graves. There is thus no reason to think that spearheads were removed from disturbed graves in any numbers.

ASKED confirms that by far the most common place for a spearhead was at one of the top corners of the grave: out of 333 spearheads with recorded positions, 295 are in the top left or right of graves. Only 4 are directly above the head, requiring them either to be separated from the spear shaft or for the spear to be laid along the length of the body. These data support the belief that has been held since the earliest reconstruction drawings, that the usual way for a spearhead to be introduced into a grave is attached to the full length of a spear laid beside the corpse.

In the cases of graves robbed shortly after burial, a whole spear would therefore be an unwieldy object to remove. However, for a robber determined to obtain a spearhead – and who had already dug through several feet of earth – cutting through a wooden spear shaft would not be insurmountable. As shown in Chapter 4.9, the majority of graves were robbed some while after burial, after the bodies were skeletonized and once wooden artefacts were presumably also in poor condition. In these cases detaching a spearhead would present even less difficulty.

That spearheads lie a little apart from the body and from the centrally worn or displayed valuables is a plausible reason for them to be overlooked and left behind. However, had they been desirable items, a search would surely have been made for them. Spearheads do not seem to have been targeted, either for their value as artefacts or for their iron content.

Swords

Only one complete sword has been recorded in the 178 disturbed/probably disturbed burials. This was in Gr 304 at St Peter's and may well have been missed by the robbers, who made a limited intrusion into the other site of the grave. Additionally there may have been sword blade fragments scattered in St Peter's Gr 57, 182, and 200. These weapons must have been in very poor condition by the time of robbing, since they fragmented when disturbed. In Sarre Gr 104 the top of a sword hilt was found. The rest of the artefact had been taken, but again was probably in bad condition.

None of the other sites have any substantial remains of swords in robbed graves. This is despite Kent having by far the highest proportion of graves with swords of any region (Richardson 2005a: 138), with swords in 108 or about 20% of weapon graves, or just over 5% of Richardson's 2020 furnished grave-good assemblages (Richardson 2005a: 140-141). It would be reasonable to expect sword finds in a considerably higher proportion of disturbed graves. At Sarre in particular Brent's excavations unearthed swords in almost one in every ten graves (Perkins 1992: 107; Brent 1868: 318 seems a slight undercount). Yet the only trace of a sword any of the 44 disturbed graves at the site is the top of the hilt found in Gr 104.

In Gr 97 at St Peter's some fragments of iron mounts from a wooden object were found dropped outside the coffin; the excavators suggested these were the remains of a scabbard from which a sword had been taken. Similarly it was suggested that a sword had been removed from Finglesham Gr 22: some fragments of wood, fleece and horn, found with the shield-grip were interpreted as remains of a scabbard which had once covered a robbed sword. This seems plausible, although such materials are not impossible components of the shield itself. Ozengell Gr 229 is another possible case of sword removal: despite the disturbance it still contained 2 knives, a spearhead, shield-fittings, and a buckle, so that if anything at all was taken, a sword seems a likely candidate.

Turning to the likely disturbance caused by the removal of a sword, it is notable that most lie next to rather than on the body. This is unlike brooches worn on the upper body, where removal must almost inevitably cause disorder to a skeleton. ASKED has 139 swords recorded in its 53 sites, of which 51 are recorded as beside and only 6 on top of the corpse (queried 20090225). The great majority are somewhere towards the middle of the grave, with 35 at the left middle and 12 on the right. With fairly careful digging or an intact coffin, it ought to be possible to remove a sword with only minimal disturbance to the skeleton – unless swords were fastened to the body

or clothing in a way that still held true at the time of robbing. A substantial leather belt around the waist or shoulder might hinder removal and leave the human remains in disorder.

These possibilities were hinted at by the excavators of Gr 65 at Bradstow School, where disturbance affected the pelvis and thorax, especially the right side, and an iron buckle at the waist was tentatively interpreted as the remains of a sword belt (Table 9). In Gr 22 at Monkton the pattern of disturbance has likewise been interpreted as the result of sword theft. Here the man's right pelvis and leg were detached, apparently while still partially articulated, and deposited at the foot of the grave (Table 12, Chapter 4.9, Appendix 1.1: Monkton). If the leg was removed, presumably pulled off, in order to extract a sword, the weapon must have been attached remarkably securely to the body.

The abundantly documented symbolic significance of swords (Ellis Davidson 1994, Härke 2000, Theuws & Alkemade 2000) almost certainly played a part in their attraction for grave-robbers. However, swords may also have been targeted simply because they were in better condition than most artefacts at the time of reopening. While there is no reason to think that spears and shields were in any way protected in the grave, there is frequent evidence that swords were deposited inside protective sheaths and scabbards (Cameron 2000). In intact Gr 182 at St Peter's, for example, traces of animal hair were preserved covering the sword blade. While a scabbard makes little or no difference to preservation on an archaeological timescale, it might keep a weapon in usable condition during the passage of some years between burial and reopening. This would be true particularly if it included some oily element – such as fleece or the animal skin mentioned above – which protected the iron blade from moisture. WWII archaeologists testify that such protection makes a crucial difference in the preservation of metal artefacts on this timescale (Chapter 4.9).

Seaxes

The longer knives known as seaxes appear in Kentish graves in limited numbers in the 6th to 8th centuries. During this period between 4 and 8% of weapon graves include them (Richardson 2005a: 141). Only one possible seax is recorded in a disturbed grave, Gr 22 at Monkton, where it is described as "a large iron knife or perhaps a small seax, blade very incomplete".

Seaxes are therefore underrepresented in disturbed graves and it is a definite possibility that these, as opposed to the smaller utility knives, were removed from disturbed graves. The small overall numbers of seax finds mean that this remains a hypothesis which could easily be disproved by

only a few discoveries, but the current indication is that seaxes may have classed alongside swords as objects for removal.

Arrows

No arrowheads are recorded in disturbed graves. However, arrowheads are rare in Kent, appearing only in any numbers in the 7th century, when some 5% of weapon graves include them (Richardson 2005a: 141). It would be premature to conclude that any have been removed, although the possibility stands.

Axes

No axe-heads have been found in disturbed graves, but they are sufficiently uncommon that none could be expected. In addition the period of their deposition barely coincides with the robbing phase. Axes are a feature of earlier graves in Kent, with around 9% of weapon graves containing them during the 5th-6th century transition but none by the later 6th century (Richardson 2005a: 141).

Other grave-goods

Buckles, sometimes more specifically "small buckles", are frequently listed in disturbed graves. In some cases they were probably still attached to the remains of clothing at the time of disturbance, as in Monkton Gr 22. However in others they are found the fill, for example in Ozengell Gr 7. Bronze as well as iron buckles are left behind, as in Ozengell Gr 56 and Sarre Gr 25 and 198.

Other small items which were also probably part of clothing similarly remain, including the gold braid in Sarre Gr 285 and perhaps the 3 silver wire slip-knot rings in St Peter's Gr 62. On practical grounds these may have been still attached to cloth or considered too small to be worth finding and removing. The same may apply to the bronze pins in Sarre Gr 81 and Ozengell Gr 23 and 65, as well as the spiral in the latter.

Bronze tweezers were left in Monkton Gr 22 and St Peter's Gr 304. These are quite rare items, with only just over 50 finds listed in ASKED (queried 20090921). Their small size would have made them difficult to find, even if robbers regarded them as a target. Comb fragments are also occasionally noted, as in Sarre Gr 276, but there were no whole ones in disturbed graves. Like tweezers, these are infrequent finds in Kentish graves.

Counters or gaming pieces were discovered in disturbed graves Ozengell Gr 11 and Sarre Gr 198, although rabbits rather than robbers may be responsible for the disturbance in the latter. These are highly unusual finds, with only 10 other graves listed in ASKED as containing them (queried

20090921). Especially since high numbers were found, it does not appear that the robbers made any effort to recover them. Tools in the form of two whetstones and an awl were left in St Peter's Gr 303. Only about 20 awls and 10 hones are known from graves in Anglo-Saxon Kent (ASKED queried 20090921), so there is no reason to suspect that other examples have been stolen from disturbed graves.

Disturbed graves tend not to contain the kind of overtly amuletic objects characteristic of the burials described by Audrey Meaney as "cunning women" (Meaney 1981: 249-62, Dickinson 1993, Gilchrist 2008, Reynolds 2009: 73-4). As Helen Geake (1997: 98-100) has shown, the boundaries of this category may be too vague to be meaningful, and the probably symbolic girdle-hangers and other female belt items certainly do remain in disturbed graves. However it may be significant that none of the crystal balls, perforated spoons, or animal or mineral keepsakes otherwise found in Kent are seen in the robbed graves. Numbers are too low, however, to conclude for certain either that such objects were taken, or that this kind of burial was avoided by robbers.

Discussion: grave-goods

The evidence analysed here suggests that a deliberate and largely consistent selection was made of artefacts to remove from graves. It was not the case that whoever reopened the graves wanted indiscriminately to remove as many artefacts as possible. The selection was similar to the pattern seen in Merovingia, with swords and brooches probably the main targets, but not identical, since knives of both iron and copper were consistently left in the disturbed Kentish graves.

A range of artefacts which to modern eyes appear highly desirable were left behind. This applies most clearly to the necklace elements: the beads of all materials and the various pendants. The necklace in St Peter's Gr 165 in particular had probably been viewed and left behind by the robbers, as had the pendant depicted in the drawing as still hanging around the woman's neck (Fig. 42). Other elements of female dress frequently rejected are the various forms of chatelaine and other iron and copper alloy objects worn hanging from belts. These were consistently left behind even when in good condition.

Given the labour, unpleasantness, and perhaps risk involved in reopening a grave, it seems counter-intuitive not to take all the artefacts on offer. Presuming that grave-robbery was a transgressive or insulting act, why not take everything that might be exchanged or given away? Even if beads and pendants were not useful for the main purpose of the robbing, why were they not acceptable trinkets for a partner or playthings for a child? There is a puzzle here: the manner

of robbing looks transgressive, with bones scattered and graves sometimes left often (Chapter 5.1), yet it was carried out by people who obeyed rules about what objects could and could not be taken.

Turning to male gravegoods, it is by no means the case that iron weapons as a category were uniformly targeted. It is likely that swords were taken, but shields and spearheads remain in quantity. In some cases, such as Monkton Gr 22, robbing took place soon after burial, while swords were presumably still in useable condition. In other weapon burials the iron objects were friable and fragmenting by the time of reopening, so that swords cannot have been in anything approaching their original condition, even if protected by scabbards. In Sarre Gr 104 the top of the sword hilt broke off, but the rest of the weapon was taken. In three graves at St Peter's the swords disintegrated during disturbance and were left behind. It seems that swords were removed if substantially whole, whether or not they were still cutting weapons.

Despite the marked preference for swords, there is no evidence that weapon graves in general were systematically or even preferentially targeted. At all the sites there remain untouched weapon graves, including many containing swords. There are indications that the robbers were able to identify and target well-furnished graves. However, there is no reason to think that they knew exactly what they would find in graves, nor what the state of the grave-goods would be. That they missed the sword in St Peter's Gr 304 and opened several graves at that site in which grave-goods were already fragmentary speaks against detailed knowledge. Perhaps more was known about the graves reopened when new: expectations of swords in Monkton Gr 22 and St Peter's Gr 270 and of the probably generous jewellery display in St Peter's Gr 165 may have overcome repugnance at uncovering the still-rotting corpses.

It has frequently been suggested that the metal content of gravegoods attracted robbers (Chapters 2, 3). This may apply in the case of the copper alloy brooches. There is considerable evidence for remelting and recycling of copper alloys during the Early Anglo-Saxon period in England and on the continent (Marzinzik 2003: 79-81, Leahy 2003: 136). Catherine Mortimer's study of the manufacture and composition of cruciform brooches showed that nearly all the production during this period was based on recycling of old Roman or post-Roman artefacts (Mortimer 1999: 88). On the other hand, there are plenty of other copper alloy objects left behind in the disturbed burials. Obtaining copper alloy cannot have been an overriding concern.

Production of iron and steel in the Anglo-Saxon period is relatively poorly understood. There is minimal evidence of iron smelting, especially in comparison with the preceding Roman period,

but high level smithing skill is seen in the iron objects. Such high quality steel as is seen in Anglo-Saxon artefacts could not readily be obtained from scrap iron, so more iron production evidence may well be found in the future. The large-scale settlement excavation at Mucking, Essex uncovered substantial smelting remains from the 6th and 7th centuries (Hamerow 1991, McDonnell 1989: 380-1, McDonnell 1993, Marzinzik 2007: 96-97). As far as smithing is concerned, most early medieval settlement sites produce some evidence (McDonnell 1989, Leahy 2003: 116, Marzinzik 2003: 79-81, Pleiner 2006, Lucy et al 2009). There is evidence for itinerant individual smiths, probably alongside both local and elite workshop production, with potentially considerable inter-regional mobility on the part of specialist workers. Smiths appear to have engaged in a range of metalwork tasks.

For grave-robbers, the technology to melt down a brooch or repair or rework a sword would therefore not have been far away. However, if a need for iron drove robbing, the rejection of substantial iron objects in the form of shield bosses, spearheads, and knives is hard to explain. Just possibly the specialized iron used in swords was particularly attractive, but it is likely that the process of reforging the metal would alter its state too much to keep its advantage (Thomas Birch, University of Aberdeen, pers. comm.).

The selection of artefacts seen here thus cannot be explained by their material, size, gender association, or position in the grave or on the body. Some worn items were taken, some were left. Some male and some female grave-goods were taken. Some of the artefacts that were left behind were small and probably difficult to retrieve, particularly beads, but others, especially shields, were large and easy to find. The selection of objects to remove and to leave seems to be based on a set of values unknown today, presumably related to the artefacts' roles in life and in the funerary process.

The evidence presented here suggests that reopening was carried out by people from the same immediate or regional community as the burying group, who shared the same understandings of the roles of different grave-goods. Robbing was probably a transgressive act, perhaps intended to be harmful to the dead and to the living through them. However, it did not entail a total disregard for social mores. There remained pressing reasons to leave certain categories of objects behind in graves. Perhaps the dead, if deprived of all their grave-goods, could become dangerous despite the damage to their remains and their resting places.

Alternatively, perhaps only certain categories of artefact, in particular brooches and swords, were felt to be sufficiently alienable from their owners that they could be of use to the living. The idea

that certain objects are polluting to the living and must be disposed of with their deceased owners are reported in a variety of archaeological and ethnographic contexts (Gregory 1982, Leach 1976, Goody 1962, Parker Pearson 1993: 207). Related concepts may be operating here: certain grave-goods could more readily be taken from the dead than others.

A shown above, swords are some of the objects most consistently removed from Anglo-Saxon graves. Throughout a range of literature, swords are portrayed as bearing a personhood of their own, which enabled them to be given, stolen, and inherited (Ellis Davidson 1994, Härke 2000, Theuws & Alkemade 2000). These, then, are objects which could readily be transferred between the living, and, on the evidence of grave-robbery, also from the dead to the living.

Swords are almost exclusively associated with male burials. Brooches, on the other hand, may have been a category of female-gendered artefact which could be similarly freely exchanged. Zoe Devlin (2007: 41-42) has recently emphasized the role of brooches as related to women's life stages, as connectors to their birth and marriage families, and to their ethnic groups, rather than as items for the possession and use of an individual. She points to a 10th/11th century will in which a Wulfric Spott left to his goddaughter a brooch or pendant that had been his grandmother's, with the implication that such items and associated memories were passed on down the female line, at least by the time such transactions were recorded in writing. As mentioned above, there is considerable evidence for melting and reworking of brooches, as though this were objects which could be reformed for new generations, or perhaps even new life stages (Mortimer 1999, Hirst 1985: 95).

Chatelaines and necklaces, on the other hand, seem on the basis of the robbing evidence to have been too closely tied to the personality of the wearer for transferral. They are never or almost never taken from graves, irrespective of their material or their condition. In this scenario knives are also highly personal items for both sexes, since they were probably never taken by robbers. Knives were worn at the waist and seem to have been a frequently used, multi-purpose tool for both genders and most age classes. A close association between individuals and their knives might also explain why these artefacts were so frequently deposited in graves, if they could not readily be passed on to a new owner (although see the suggestion from the Warwickshire cemetery of Wasperton that inferior knives may have been deposited in burial contexts (Starley 2009)).

Here we may have archaeological evidence for customary practice relating to the heritability of different types of possession. These ideas have not previously been explored in this form,

although the influence of inheritance laws on early medieval grave-good deposition was an object of debate for some decades in the mid-20th century, based on passages in 9th century Germanic law codes of rather doubtful relevance (Boddington 1990: 189, Shephard 1979, Young 1977: 55). In particular, one of the earliest analyses of grave-robbery proposed a root cause in changes from personal to kin-group ownership of certain objects in these laws (Redlich 1948). This analysis has shown that in Kent – as on the continent (Müller 1976, Codreanu-Windauer 1997, Chapter 2) – there is little support for the idea that robbery was carried out by kin. If concepts of transferability of different kinds of objects lie behind the selection of artefacts for removal from graves, they run deeper than the written law, and deeper than taboos or prohibitions against grave desecration.

A major objection to this line of argument is the poor condition that many grave-goods were in by the time graves were reopened. This is one of the most striking but also neglected features of grave-robbery. It has been mentioned on the continent (Codreanu-Windauer 1997, Chapter 2), but this is the first time that the state of artefacts at the time of disturbance has been systematically investigated.

In Kent iron objects in particular were frequently in a friable state, as witnessed by the several graves at St Peter's in which excavators commented on the iron flecks throughout the disturbed areas. Swords may have been given a measure of protection by their scabbards (Chapter 4.9), but since these evidently fell apart in at least Finglesham Gr 22 and St Peter's Gr 97, it seems unlikely that the swords inside were in anything like their original condition. It is questionable whether they could be restored to a useable state or even whether recoverable iron could be found in their rusted blades.

Reasons for removing grave-goods beyond their use value need to be found. Or rather, it is likely that the values and uses of the artefacts had been altered by their deposition in a grave. The act of deposition may confer new attributes onto the artefacts. This may be a bond with the interred individual, as in the Norse tales (Chapter 1), although the frequency of Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon robbing makes a link with named heroes unlikely. Similarly a general search for objects of antiquity is also unlikely on the timescale represented here (Chapter 4.9).

A strong contender is the idea that grave-goods were removed not because they are needed by the living, but to deprive their dead of their use. This idea was first put forward by Codreanu-Windauer (1997, Chapter 2), who is also one of the only other authors to consider the state of the removed objects. Stoodley (1999, 2000) has emphasized grave-good deposition as signalling and

maintaining the status of the primary descent group within small Early Anglo-Saxon communities. In this model, weapons in particular may be seen as symbols of strength, with armed ancestors as a support for living descendants. The robbery evidence suggests that female brooches should be seen as an analogous part of this status display. As argued above, brooches were more strongly linked to kin than to personal identity, including through the melting down, reworking, and passing on of metal alloys.

In this interpretation, robbing is an act to shame and weaken the living kin of the interred. It is not aimed at the individual personalities of the dead, but at their connections with the living. It may reflect competition between descent groups within communities or extended households. More likely, given the evidence that reopening was carried out by people who did not know details of burials, it was the result of rivalry between wider groups competing for power in the emergent Kentish kingdom. This ties into the scenario recently presented by Sayer (2009, 2010, Chapter 3), of the strengthening of outward shows of kin identity in Kentish burials in the 7th century, and the writing down of laws aiming to suppress kin-group versus royal power.

6.2 Multiple burials and grave reuse

Although the majority of the inhumed Anglo-Saxon dead were placed individually in single graves, most cemeteries also contain a number of double or multiple burials. These are divided by archaeologists into two types: contemporary multiples where two or more bodies were buried at the same time, and consecutive or secondary burials with a subsequent burial or burials inserted into an existing grave. Secondary burial is the main form of grave reopening seen in the early medieval period. As this research progressed it became evident that although in almost all cases they represent quite separate practices, reopening for secondary burial is relevant to grave-robbing in a number of ways, both to its identification in the archaeological record and to its interpretation as a social phenomenon.

The most detailed study of Anglo-Saxon multiple burials has been carried out by Nick Stoodley (2002), quantifying the evidence from a sample of 59 cemeteries. Of his sample cemeteries, 78% included at least one multiple grave (46/59=78%). Within cemeteries, percentages of multiple burials varied from just under 1% at Holywell Row, Suffolk, to just over 20% at Ports Down I, Hampshire. Consecutive multiples (23.7%) are much less common than contemporary multiples (70.6%). Less than half of Stoodley's cemeteries contained consecutive multiples, and most of these had only one or two instances (Stoodley 2002: 103-107).

Andrew Richardson's study of Kent cemeteries found similar percentages of multiple burials, with about 7.9% of individuals in his sample sharing graves. The frequency of multiple graves exceeded 10% at only six sites (Bishopsbourne I, Darenth I, Finglesham, Polhill, Wickhambreaux II and Whitfield I). Consecutive burials make up just a small proportion of multiples: in his sample of over 2000 graves, Richardson records only 18 probable consecutive multiples containing a total of 36 bodies (Richardson 2005a: 93).

There are many borderline examples where it is difficult to distinguish between stacked contemporary and added secondary burials, or between accidental overlyers and deliberate secondaries. Mill Hill Gr 105 is an unusual case of a grave that resembles a contemporary multiple burial, but with a short interval before the third body was added (Appendix 1.2). Secondary burials are not always inhumations, with cremations inserted into the fills of inhumation graves at both Orpington I and Lyminge in Kent.

Stoodley (2002) considered the possibility that multiple burial may simply be a way of reducing the effort of grave-digging. He attempted to correlate multiple burials with hard subsoils or poorer communities, but did not find a overall statistically significant link with either. However, he suggests that difficult digging or poverty may have been factors at some sites. Polhill, for example, has an unusually high number of multiples, which may be a consequence of the labour of grave-digging in the chalk. Then again, as Richardson's results show, many Kentish cemeteries are dug into chalky bedrock, and yet do not have high proportions of multiple burials.

Multiple burials have traditionally been interpreted as family groups, with sexual partners or consanguineal relations buried together or added subsequently, as is often done today (e.g. Wilson 1992: 71-7, Parfitt 1997: 13). Alternatively it is sometimes suggested that one individual was killed for burial with the other, particularly when a female in a non-standard posture accompanies a male skeleton (recent discussion in Reynolds 2009: 65-67). Where contemporary multiples are concerned, the family model is supported by evidence that certain age and sex combinations were felt particularly compatible for grave-sharing, with women buried with children/infants making up the bulk of such interments (Stoodley 2002: 113). This reinforces the impression that in-life relationships were modelled through co-burial.

In the case of consecutive burials, on the other hand, Stoodley finds no clear age/sex structuring. Such patterns as can be found are rather the opposite of those in contemporary multiples. For example, there are no female/infant combinations at all in his sample. Stoodley's analysis therefore indicates that contemporary and consecutive multiples should be seen as much more

distinct phenomena than has previously been presumed (contra e.g Heide Lüdemann's (1994) wider-ranging but less statistically-oriented continental row-grave cemetery study).

Stoodley suggests that choosing a pre-existing grave for a secondary burial may have been a random process, within the constraint that an adult could not be conveniently added to a child-sized grave. However, the Kent sample used here includes examples of adults added to children's graves (e.g. Ozengell Gr 58, Polhill Gr 86, plus St Peter's Gr 307, which is a secondary squeezed into a too short grave) which give the impression that the choice is not just based on convenience, but that there is a definite intention to combine these particular burials.

The low rate of intercutting in most early Anglo-Saxon field cemeteries shows the degree of care generally taken to avoid accidental reopening (Cherryson 2007: 137). That graves used for secondary burial were deliberately selected is also suggested in the occasional evidence of grave diggers abandoning their cuts when they unexpectedly encountered earlier graves. Anna Cherryson cites an example from the sixth century cemetery at West Heslerton (Cherryson 2007: 137-8, Haughton and Powesland 1999: 157). Two more are found at Finglesham, where Gr 49 and 71 both seem to be half-dug grave-pits that were abandoned when it became apparent that earlier graves were being intruded upon. At Bekesbourne II the digger of Gr 10 appears to have shortened the cut to avoid damaging an underlying grave.

Half-dug graves also give rare glimpses of the process of burial place preparation. Grave 5 at Finglesham is an unfinished grave, abandoned for no evident reason. Its half-finished state shows that grave-diggers worked "first by opening up starter-holes at either end of the grave and then joining them up by a trench" (Hawkes 2006: 34), which implies that two people dug together on the grave.

When a secondary interment is added to a grave, it causes a variable degree of disturbance to the primary burial. In some cases there is no damage at all, but in others the first burial is all but obliterated. Only 24% of Stoodley's consecutive multiples saw secondary burials placed well above the initial interment so as to cause minimal damage (14/58=24%). In others the primary burial was pushed to the grave sides, as in Gr 48 and 49 at Bedhampton, Hampshire. Then in almost a third, the later burial cut right through the first, often leaving only fragmentary remains scattered in the fill above the second body (Stoodley 2002: 109).

Where primary burials are this badly damaged, it may be more accurate to speak about grave re-use than about multiple burial, as the initial occupant of the grave cut has been as good as ousted by the new corpse. As seen in several Kent examples, this type presents particular problems of

identification. Are we looking at grave reuse, with a secondary cut down through a primary, or a disturbed double burial where the overlying secondary skeleton is robbed but the lower primary intact? Grave 54 at St Peter's, for example, is a particularly difficult call: the excavators thought it one robbed and one intact burial; the catalogue compiler considered it might be a single burial with an spearhead on the coffin lid; and the analysis in this thesis has suggested it may be an undisturbed secondary burial cut through a near-destroyed primary (Appendix 1.1). Stray bones and artefacts finding their way into the fills of other graves, as is likely at Bradstow School Gr 4, present a final complication of this type.

In Wessex, Cherryson (2007) has remarked on the mismatch between the traditional interpretation of re-used graves as family plots and the frequently discourteous treatment of original occupants during reopening. Stoodley (2002) concurs, pointing to the unceremonious way in which the former occupant was in many cases moved out of the way of the new corpse. In the Kentish sample explored in this thesis there are a number of graves in which treatment of one or both of the individuals goes beyond casual disrespect to suggest actual malevolence.

To start with there are the incidents of gravegoods being taken from the initial burial when the secondary burial was added. In Polhill Gr 52, for example, it appears the digger(s) of the second grave made a deliberate detour into the centre of the original grave to reach the gravegoods. Similar occurred at Mill Hill, Deal, where Gr 72 had its objects removed when Gr 10 was later cut through it (Parfitt 1997: 29). An older buckle found in Gr 10 was interpreted as coming from Gr 72. The primary and secondary burials here were set at right-angles, so it may have been a case of accidental rather than deliberate superimposition. However, both these instances present a marked contrast to the examples where intercutting graves are abandoned.

Further examples associate some secondary and intercutting interments with indications of deviant treatment (Chapter 6.3). Gr 5 at Darenth Park is an example of a double burial where the addition of the second body severely damaged the earlier interment, and where a degree of aggression or contempt seems indicated. In this case, a male youth had been added to the grave of an adult male (Walsh 1980: 315). The upper burial was considered hurried, as the head and shoulders were found 'hunched up at the north end of the grave'. A skull fracture indicated that this second individual may have met a violent death. The later burial cut into the vertebrae and rib-cage of the earlier interment. The primary skeleton lacked a skull, which may have been removed at the time of the secondary interment, although decapitation as cause of death or post-mortem removal of the head are also possibilities.

Redeposition of the skulls of primary burials is also seen in Bekesbourne Gr 39, Gr 40 and Gr 41, Polhill Gr 63, and Eccles K19 and K01, where there is again a possible connection with violent death (Appendix 1.2, 1.3). In Gr 63 at Polhill, the skull of the first burial was placed between the legs of the second body, where heads of execution victims and post-mortem decapitations are frequently found (Reynolds 2009: 76-81, 166-169, Chapter 6.3). The primary head was similarly redeposited between the secondary legs in Gr 224 at St Peter's Tip, and the same is indicated by Brent's description of Gr XLVI at Sarre.

The secondary burial in Kingston Down Gr 273 was covered in a flint layer "a foot deep"; the flints had been carried to the site specially for the purpose (Appendix 1.4). Another example of an inserted burial which appears decidedly less than benign is Gr 26 at Finglesham, where the prone and bound body of a man with severed feet was added to a grave, evicting into the fill the disarticulated bones of the previous occupant.

Is there is sometimes an element of punishment in grave re-use? Multiple burial in general has been convincingly shown to be part of the "normal" modes of Early Anglo-Saxon burial (Reynolds 2009: 65-67). However, within this diverse phenomenon there are practices which point to aspects of retribution or humiliation in the replacement of one body by another.

Conversely, other examples from Kent indicate that secondary burials may in some cases have been both respectful and planned. There are indications that some East Kent graves with certain types of superstructures were designed to have secondary burials added, and may in readiness have been only partially back-filled. Finglesham Gr 21 had four pairs of postholes dug into the sides of the grave as though to hold the vertical posts of a pitched-roof structure. It contained a secondary burial which did not disturb the primary, with the two burials are in noticeably different fills (Hawkes & Grainger 2006: 44). Here the secondary interment did not interfere with the first: both symbolically and from the point of view of the diggers this is a quite different practice from the exposure and heaving out of the previous occupant seen in many other graves.

A connection between secondary burial and grave-good removal, or between grave re-use and deviance, raises questions about the social organisation of the burial process, and the degree of specialization involved. Were there some individuals within a burying community who specialized in grave-digging and who were therefore more accustomed both to the task and to the possibility of encountering human remains? Or was preparing a grave the responsibility of kin, in which case removal of goods from a primary burial may more retrieval than theft? Digging by kin is indicated by excavators' observations on the variety of grave cuts in cemeteries, for example at

Dover Buckland (Evison 1987: 16-7) or Hogarth's comment that at St Peter's Tip graves varied widely in "design, standard of excavation and degree of weathering" (Hogarth 1973: 109).

Secondary burials occur frequently enough to show that those involved in burying the Anglo-Saxon dead were familiar with the experience of uncovering human remains. Given the indications of deliberate selection in the choice of graves to re-use, these were probably the remains of known individuals. This willingness to expose and manipulate the dead, particularly the remembered dead, is at wide variance to modern attitudes, and must play a part in the mentality of grave-robbery.

On the other hand, in all the cases found in this Kent sample, primary burials disturbed by secondary interments were fully skeletonized by the time the second burial was added. This pattern appears sufficiently consistent to suggest that the timing was calculated to ensure fleshy decomposition was complete. Given the considerable length of time needed to be certain of skeletonization (Chapter 4.9), it also indicates that the individuals put together in consecutive multiple burials may frequently not have been of the same generation, at least in the cases where the secondary burial exposes the first. Against this background, the uncovering of fleshed or semi-fleshed bodies for robbing (Chapter 4.9, contra Penn & Brugmann 2007: 82) looks by contrast highly transgressive.

A number of consecutive multiple burials show heaping of the primary skeleton at the end of the grave, closely resembling the heaping of disturbed burials described in Chapter 5.1. In St Peter's Gr 224, for example, the remains of the primary skeleton were heaped beyond the feet of the second body, having been "thrown into that end when skel B was placed in reopened grave". They are not on the grave floor with the secondary burial at 34" depth, but at only 25", so on top of some fill. The primary skull had been placed between the secondary femurs, but again at the higher 25" depth. Curiously the primary skeleton is described on the plan as 'wrapped up', as though it seemed to have been collected in a cloth and redeposited. The remains of the primary skeleton are only partial, although fairly well preserved. Much of the skeleton must have been dug out of the grave and lost, in the same way as in the robbed graves. The femurs are described as "shortened and shattered"; the digging out does not seem to have been careful or respectful of the original occupant, even if the bones were gathered up and heaped together afterwards.

Gr 288 is less well recorded and was mislabelled as a single disturbed burial, but the plan and bone report show an intact secondary weapon burial with the disarticulated remains of a primary burial heaped together beyond the feet. Gr 384 is an intact female burial with the partial and

fragmentary remains of a primary skeleton and gravegoods heaped above the lower legs. In this case the heights of the objects in the fill are recorded, and show that the remains were above the secondary burial, so that they had first been dug out of the grave and then piled back in on top of the new body. This is in contrast to those where the primary skeleton was pushed to the sides before the new corpse was interred, but probably reflects only the state of decay of the grave at the time of reopening: in Gr 384 any primary coffin had collapsed so that the skeleton and gravegoods were encased in soil and could only be shovelled out in the fill.

In all three St Peter's cases there appears to have been sufficient concern about the primary skeleton that at least parts of it were thrown back in, but not enough concern to leave it in situ in the first place or to make sure that the whole was retained in the grave. The parts that were thrown back were at least heaped together, not strewn throughout the fill. Here there is a resemblance with the treatment of skeletal remains in the "robbed" graves. This may simply be a matter of convenience for the diggers, or it may be evidence that the same people reopened graves for both purposes and unconsciously treated them in the same way, or it may be a deliberate creation of a parallel between the two forms of reopening.

6.3 Ritual treatment of human remains

In the overwhelming majority of disturbed graves in this dataset, the human remains were disordered in a manner which indicates only ransacking, not deliberate rearrangement or ritual treatment (Chapter 5.1). As in Merovingia (Chapter 2), there is little evidence in Kent for a ritual element in robbers' approach to graves. However, a small minority of reopened burials show signs of more careful bodily manipulation: mutilation or repositioning of skeletal parts carried out post-burial, after fleshy decomposition was advanced or complete. Eleven possible examples have been identified in the sites investigated in this thesis. The majority are not from the Kentish robbed cemeteries, but are from burial grounds outside Kent.

Bodily mutilation as a peri-mortem rite is a well-recognised, if unusual, practice in the Anglo-Saxon period (Reynolds 2009, below). Identifying burials in which manipulation occurred during reopening rather than at initial burial relies mainly on distinguishing between mutilations carried out on fleshed and skeletonized bodies. There may also be evidence of reopening in the form of a robber cut or other disturbance to the grave context.

The examples identified here are all cases in which an interpretation of skeletal rearrangement before fleshy decomposition would be impossible or highly unlikely without significant marks of butchery. These therefore involve the passage of some years between burial and disturbance.

Earlier reopening, with bodies exposed and manipulated while still whole or partial, would be even more difficult to distinguish from peri-mortem mutilation.

The eleven examples in this sample are each discussed in full in the data sections of this thesis: Appendix 1 and Chapter 2. In brief, they are:

Bradstow School Gr 11 – most of the skeleton in the usual disarray in the fill, but the skull turned over onto the face and held in place with two large flints (no finds; probably 7th century).

Bradstow School Gr 72 – skull put back upside down onto "an otherwise perfectly articulated extended supine corpse" (dated by ASKED to AD 640-700, presumably on basis of bronze buckle).

St Peter's Tip Gr 45 – curious reversed femur (dated by ASKED to AD 625-700, several gravegoods for dating).

Bifrons Gr 16 – head and foot had been severed and reversed, although this may be pre-burial (dated by ASKED to 6th century).

Worthy Park Gr 41 – although repositioning of the skull may be accidental.

Westfield Farm, Ely Gr 2 – body had been partially turned over to a prone position and the skull displaced (later 7th century).

Nassington Gr II – skull, clavicles, and humeri removed from a partially articulated skeleton.

Chadlington Gr 7 – skull repositioned by leg.

Winnall II – two/three burials with repositioned skulls.

Edix Hill Gr 49 – skull lifted and redeposited between legs. Possibly also some of the other apparently disturbed burials at this site.

Melbourn Gr V – skull (but not mandible) lifted and redeposited on the pelvis.

In addition there are the secondary burials which involved removal of the skull of the primary: for example Darenth Park Gr 5, Polhill Gr 63, and Eccles K19 (Appendix 1.2, 1.3). In these the primary skull is often placed between the secondary legs. In several examples there is an association with violent death or with other unusual treatment of the body. Skulls between legs or by feet are also a feature of Anglo-Saxon peri-mortem decapitations (Reynolds 2009: 76-81).

Other possible examples of reopening for mutilation have been rejected. Abingdon Gr 48, for example, was the skeleton of an older adult male, with the head detached from the body, one neck vertebra above the head, and another in front of the face. This damage seems to have taken

place after fleshy decomposition; it has been suggested that it may be the result of animal disturbance (Reynolds 2009: 186). An alternative is some form of organic pillow under the head, which decayed and caused the displacement. Several similar examples were noted in the Kentish sample, especially at St Peter's (Appendices 1.1, 2). For a convincing diagnosis of post-burial interference, the rearrangement of body parts needs to appear deliberate, not mere displacement.

Bradstow School Gr 11 is one of the clearest examples. It bore unequivocal signs of reopening and disturbance, in most respects resembling the more typically ransacked appearance of the Kentish robbed graves. Disturbance took place after skeletonization was complete, so that disarticulated bones were strewn throughout the cut. In contrast to the disorder in most of the grave, the skull had been repositioned face down and held in place with two large flints: clearly a deliberate act by human hand. No cut marks were reported to skull or vertebrae, implying that the skull had separated from the vertebral column by the natural process of decay. This would indicate that the skull positioning was carried out as part of the reopening, rather than at the time of the original burial, when removing the head from the articulated corpse would have required butchery.

Other interpretative scenarios are possible. The burial may originally have been made prone, so that the skull had remained in situ, rather than being placed face-down by the reopeners. This was not the excavators' impression, but cannot definitely be ruled out on the recorded evidence. Neither can peri-mortem decapitation be entirely discounted. In the absence of a full bone report it is possible that cut mark evidence went unnoticed. There is no record of whether skull and mandible were found together, and so whether these were still articulated at the time of head removal. The state of the skeletal parts is not recorded; perhaps any superficial cut marks were not preserved.

Decapitated burials are well-evidenced in an Anglo-Saxon context, although not as commonly as in the preceding Romano-British period (Philpotts 1991, Taylor 2008). Heads may be absent, repositioned within the grave, replaced in anatomical position, or buried alone (Reynolds 2009: 76-81). In some cases, especially in the later Anglo-Saxon execution cemeteries, decapitation is thought to have been the cause of death. However there is ample evidence that head removal was also carried out as a post-mortem rite. Head manipulation could continue into a Late Saxon churchyard context, as at Ketton, Rutland, where "The head of one of the burials near the church had been cut off and placed by its feet, presumably to lay a troublesome ghost" (Blair 2005: 381).

Alison Taylor (2008: 102-3) and Andrew Reynolds (2009: 76-78) both give overviews of the forensics of decapitation, noting the problem of whether cut marks in each case were absent, decayed, or just not noted. The indications are that marks ought to be observable on reasonably well-preserved skeletons, especially where beheading was the cause of death. Decapitated bodies in late Anglo-Saxon execution cemeteries show major trauma to the head and neck regions. Post-mortem decapitation, if carried out skilfully, might leave substantially less evidence, although Reynolds notes that even three years after Oliver Cromwell's death, eight blows were reportedly required to sever his head from his exhumed body.

As well as executions and post-mortem decapitations, post-burial interference with heads has also been noted in a Romano-British context (Taylor 2008: 103). One example comes from the California Cemetery, Baldock, Hertfordshire (aka Upper Walls Common Cemetery). The head end of Gr 3640, a 4th century burial of a young adult male, had been reopened and the skull apparently pulled off. The excavator writes:

> "The re-opening of the grave was confined to the north-eastern end of the grave, so as to expose the head of the corpse. The head was then pulled from the body so that all that remained was a fragment of lower jaw in the backfill of the recut. The head was not apparently cut from the body as no cut marks were found on the bone, as was the case with some decapitations from the cemetery. The head was possibly pulled from the corpse at the stage of partial decomposition, with rotting flesh still present, so that the lower neck vertebrae were left behind. The north-eastern end of the grave was the only area disturbed, clearly the excavators knew the body's position which may indicate that there had been a grave marker of some description."
>
> (Gil Burleigh, Draft report)

Gr 3640 was itself a re-cut or re-use of a previous grave, which had been completely emptied. There is also other evidence of prone burials, decapitations, and grave emptying at the site (Burleigh 1993). Skull removal was seen as a variant on a ritual theme involving head manipulation. Gr 643, for example, contained one skeleton with two skulls, both displaced and lacking mandibles. One may have been introduced later (although not from Gr 3640, since the sex is wrong), or may have been retained from an earlier grave of which this is a re-cut.

It seems likely that Bradstow Gr 11 fits into this long-term theme of head manipulation and removal in Romano-British and early medieval burial rites. More specifically, its treatment, with the skull placed face-down and held in place with flints, has close parallels in the group of long

recognised and currently topical burial practices known as deviant rites (Reynolds 2009, Blair 2009, Aspöck 2008, Taylor 2008, Tsaliki 2008, Griffiths 2003, Caciola 1996, Barber 1988, Lecouteux 1987, Harman, Molleson & Price 1981, Meaney & Hawkes 1970: 30-31). The boundaries of what constitutes a non-standard or deviant rite within a given period are difficult to define (Brather 2007, Chapter 2). For the early Anglo-Saxon period, Reynolds (2009) has recently highlighted decapitation, amputation, stones on top of the body, prone position, and restraint in the form of tied limbs. These practices all bear sinister interpretation. A major element appears to be attempts to disable the corpse or to make graves abnormally secure.

In the same way, the rearrangement of the bones in Bradstow Gr 11 can be interpreted as an attempt to disable or confuse the dead. The other grave at the same site which shows evidence of ritual treatment, Gr 72, is similar: the head had been replaced "upside-down" on the body. The other examples in the sample can be seen in the same way, with heads and legs removed or reversed, or whole bodies shifted into prone positions, in order to prevent the dead walking.

The longstanding interpretation for the deviant burial rites of the early middle ages, as of other periods, is that the dead who received them were thought to be, by the circumstances of their lives or deaths, prone to unquietness (Reynolds 2009: 235-6). This interpretation is based partly on rather distantly related ethnography, and its application from Bronze Age central Europe to early medieval Iceland may be unsteady, but in Anglo-Saxon England and northern Europe more widely such beliefs are relatively well-grounded in literary sources (Blair 2009, Caciola 1996).

On this basis, an argument can be made that the repositioning in the graves identified here was similarly intended to prevent or stop revenant corpses from walking. This treatment may have been carried out as part of robbing, if robbers feared that the violated dead would seek revenge. This seems likely in the cases in the heavily robbed Broadstairs cemeteries. Alternatively reopening may have been at least nominally motivated by the need to tackle a revenant who was disturbing the living, perhaps involving removal of valuables at the same time. Reopening with mutilation as the primary aim seems indicated in the Westfield Farm grave, for example, which is the only disturbed burial in the cemetery and in which significant grave-goods were left behind.

It is notable that the written sources used to support interpretations of deviant burials as related to fear of revenants (e.g. Bartlett 2002: 195-7, Blair 2009, Reynolds 2009:91, Chapter 6.4), actually describe grave reopening, not special preparations for corpses for initial burial. All these stories of the unquiet dead refer to measures taken to deal with ambulant corpses some time after burial. The written material supports the interpretation of deviant burial rites as connected to fear of

revenants, but more directly refers to the kinds of archaeological evidence for reopening identified here. It seems likely that in the archaeological examples identified above we are beginning to find some of the unfortunate dead who were not prevented from walking at their initial burial, but who had to be exhumed and disabled.

The possible connection between some reopening and *Wiedergänger* is under debate on the continent (e.g. Bartelheim & Heyd 2001, Chapter 2). At Brunn am Gebirge, Austria, Aspöck discusses this possibility in the cases of the six graves which she considered to have been disturbed soonest after burial (Aspöck 2002: 66-7, Chapter 4.9). In four of these heads have been interfered with: extra skulls were added to two burials; one had the head placed on the chest; in one the skull was removed; and in another stones were placed around the head (Fig. 3). This last seems potentially analogous to the treatment of Bradstow School Gr 11. Some of the Brunn burials were thought to have had gravegoods removed as part of the reopening and some not.

There were also a small number of burials at Brunn in which bones appeared to have been sharply cut off (Aspöck 2002: 50-1), which resemble the finds in St Peter's Tip Gr 375 and 380. The St Peter's evidence is questionable in the absence of a bone report, and at both sites the damage may simply be the accidental result of careless and forceful grave-opening. However, the possibility arises that this was deliberately done to disable a vengeful spirit, not necessarily as the aim of the disturbance, but perhaps in the course of grave-opening motivated by robbery.

Other forms of ritual action to set revenants to rest may be archaeologically invisible. Blair (2009) notes that stakes through the chest may not necessarily be seen, for example, and that where whole bodies are missing from reopened graves, there is the possibility that they were taken out and burnt. The stake through the heart possibility cannot be ruled out in graves such as Gr 139 at Finglesham, where there is limited disturbance confined to the chest area. However, the preferred interpretation here is that these represent the least damaged graves on a scale of disturbance all the way to full ransacking – with the amount of displacement a function of the robbing method chosen and perhaps the attitude of the robbers towards the burial – rather than a separate category of robbed graves. There is considerable variety in the treatment of the bones in the disturbed graves in this sample (Chapter 5.1, 5.2), with some exhumed and discarded, some thrown back in, and others heaped or even neatly arranged at the ends of graves. The examples in which this treatment shows associations with deviant or revenant burials are a tiny minority.

None of the rearranged burials have signs of deviant treatment at initial burial, which suggests these were unexpected revenants, and perhaps also that anti-revenant measures in initial burials

were usually successful. At St Peter's there is one possibly disturbed semi-prone burial with a large chalk block in the fill over the leg area (Gr 354), but it is exceptional to find a robbed deviant burial. This does not necessarily indicate avoidance, however, since deviant burials are uncommon in Kent (Reynolds 2009). Gr 354 is in any case difficult to interpret: the semi-prone position and chalk block were thought themselves possibly the result of reopening and partial turning of the body, which would be analogous to the Westfield Farm case. Part of the upper body also seems to be missing, but this could not be part of the same reopening episode without substantial butchery, for which there is no evidence. If these bones are indeed missing, rather than decayed in situ, this would require a later reopening event.

The criteria on which an individual was selected for an Early Anglo-Saxon deviant burial are not fully understood, although wrong-doing or untimely death are strong candidates. In the case of post-burial interventions a more political interpretation is possible: allegations of revenancy against a recently deceased family member or even a more remote ancestor may have malign intentions towards the living relatives. In this scenario allegations of walking again would be analogous to the element of power play seen by anthropologists behind witchcraft accusations (e.g. La Fontaine 1998, Evans-Pritchard 1976, Geschiere 1997, Green 2005). They might also be a response to a crisis in a community: Blair points to ethnography portraying vampire accusations as a response to disease epidemics (Blair 2009: 15).

Only some of the burials identified here as reopened to lay unquiet ghosts were articulated at the time of reopening. As in St Peter's Gr 354 the evidence is frequently ambiguous. It has previously been suggested on ethnographic grounds that bodies were considered at risk of revenancy only during the "wet" phase of fleshy decomposition (Caciola 1996: 32). That several cases of later interference have been collected here implies that in the early medieval period the fear of ghosts could last well beyond this phase. The indications are that reopening with an anti-revenant motive could occur not only soon after death but also at some remove from burial, with the implication that walking again – or the accusation of walking again – was not necessarily strongly linked to the individual personality of the interred. The identification of a buried individual as a problematic ghost perhaps had more to do with relationships within the living community than with the revenant's life or the manner of their death.

6.4 Anglo-Saxon written sources

In Anglo-Saxon England, unlike in Merovingia, there are no written sources directly relating to the 7th century robbing of community burial grounds. However, there are various textual traditions relevant to the re-opening of graves more generally, and in particular to the superstitions about walking corpses which seem to have driven some burial disturbance (Chapter 6.3). These sources have not previously been discussed in the context of the archaeological phenomenon of grave-robbery.

Most directly relevant to the 6th and 7th century reopenings are the many early ghost stories which describe hauntings by revenant bodies. These have been cited frequently with reference to the unusual or "deviant" treatment of some bodies in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (Blair 2009, Reynolds 2009). Deviant rites, including beheading, mutilation, prone burial, and stoning, are interpreted as attempts made during funerals to secure the corpses of risky individuals in their graves. The ghost stories, however, are more directly relevant to the practice identified in this thesis of digging up and mutilating bodies after burial (Chapter 6.3). Although small-scale, these reopenings appear to be archaeological evidence of the kinds of anti-revenant rituals described in the written sources.

There is a whole genre of revenant stories, describing bodies, often of evil-doers, leaving their graves and attacking or bringing disease upon the living. The similarities to modern vampire tales are striking. William of Newburgh even describes one returning corpse as a *sanguisuga* or bloodsucker (Howlett 1885 V24: 481, cited in Blair 2009: 543). A large number have been complied by Reynolds (2009), Gilchrist & Sloane (2005), and Caciola (1996), but the most comprehensive discussion, including of the dating of these tales, is by Blair (2009). As Caciola (1996) shows, this genre is found all over Europe. It is surely related to, although by no means identical with, the Scandinavian and Icelandic *draugr* tales (Chapter 1).

Insular examples abound in the 12th century in particular. They include several episodes in Walter Map's chronicle *De nugis curialium*, all with the local detail typical of this genre (James 1983: 202-4). In one tale a bishop advises that the grave should be opened and holy water sprinkled on the corpse. This fails, and the revenant is only defeated when the knight William Laudan cleaves open its head "to the neck". In another the revenant is more peacefully laid to rest when the corpse is given proper burial, marked by a cross.

William of Newburgh's late 12th century *Historia rerum Anglicarum* claims that "such things often happened in England" (Howlett 1884-9 ii: 475). Three of his cases ended with the exhumation

and burning of the revenant corpse, while in the fourth a bishop intervenes and persuades locals that a letter of absolution added to the grave will suffice to end the haunting. A later tale, from a Yorkshire collection of revenant stories dating to about 1400, ends with the corpse and coffin being thrown into a local river or lake (James 1922: 418).

For our purposes, one of the most illustrative is the tale of the Drakelow haunting, related by Geoffrey of Burton in his 12th century *Life and Miracles of St Modwenna* (Bartlett 2002: 195-7). Two men, peasants who had caused conflict by leaving their lord's lands, were struck suddenly dead and were buried in a churchyard. The same evening they appeared in the village of Drakelow, which had given them refuge during their flight, "now in the shape of men carrying wooden coffins on their shoulders, now in the likeness or bears or dogs or other animals". They banged on the walls of houses, summoning the peasants out. This continued every evening and night for some time, until almost the whole village was wiped out by a sudden plague.

Permission was sought from the bishop to dig up the dead. They were found undecayed, but with the linen cloths over their faces stained with blood. From the archaeological point of view, the crucial details here are the ways in which the bodies were treated: "They cut off the men's heads and placed them in the graves between their legs, tore out the hearts from their corpses, and covered the bodies with earth again." (Bartlett 2002: 197). The hearts were carried across the running water of the Trent and burnt at a hilltop beacon site, at the junction of parish boundaries (Blair 2009: 540, Reynolds 2009: 91-92).

The decapitation, placement of the skulls between legs, and recovering are exactly the evidence seen in most of the burials identified as reopening to tackle revenants in Chapter 6.3. Removal of the heart is more difficult to see archaeologically, but the damage to legs and feet seen in several graves may also be interpreted in the light of attempts to stop bodies walking.

Although broadly related to the Scandinavian tales of mound-breaking (Chapter 1), these insular stories progress along different lines and in particular lack the trope of the struggle with the dead tomb occupant. In the Anglo-Saxon and medieval English tales the corpses are lying inanimate in their graves when exhumed, even if bearing signs of supernatural activity.

In the cases described so far, the hauntings are all unwelcome and dangerous to the living. Conversely, the sources also depict a series of beliefs about corpses being deliberately reanimated by the living. As late as the 10th or 11th century Ælfric complains of witches going "to cross-roads and to heathen burials" and calling up the dead, who appear in the physical likeness of their former selves. Audrey Meaney notes parallels with the Pseudo-Egbert Penitential, in which this

practice is described as for the purpose of asking about the future (Meaney 1984: 130-131, Griffiths 1996: 35, Reynolds 2009: 214, 250).

These references suggest that signs of necromantic practices might be found at Anglo-Saxon burial places, at least the liminal sites. Such evidence has been more widely discussed in a Scandinavian context (Brendalsmo & Røthe 1992, Chapter 1). Given the date of Ælfric's writing, the idea of contacting the dead in this way may be a direct Scandinavian import; the heathen songs at burials against which Ælfric also speaks are interpreted as a Viking influence (Wilson 1992: 179).

On the other hand, there may be a deeper Anglo-Saxon tradition here. Victoria Thompson (2004: 94-96, also Storms 1948: 196, Crawford 2000: 59) draws attention to references to corpse-divination in the Anglo-Saxon lawcodes, and to charms relating to pregnancy and birth which involve graves. In one charm the grave is stepped over, in the other soil is taken from a child's burial. Here again these forms of necromantic magic are linked to female practitioners. References to these types of practices are both slight and infrequent, but give a glimpse of some of the darkest reasons for which a grave might be revisited and even reopened.

Much of the wider literature relevant to grave-opening was brought together as early as 1844 in a prescient article by Thomas Wright, who explored the Anglo-Saxon and medieval excavation and reception of ancient artefacts. Wright focused on ancient gems and cameos, but also includes a range of other sources which mention the recovery of antiquities from the earth. The sources are all significantly later than the 7th century and are not related to the intense, near-contemporary robbing of Kentish cemeteries. However, they give a broad picture of the uses that medieval populations made of ancient grave wealth and the activities which may have left archaeological evidence at burial sites.

Wright's sources include the excavations carried out by the 11th century abbots of St Albans, related by Matthew Paris (Wright 1844: 441). More directly relevant for our purposes are the benedictions which he notes in some of the earliest surviving rituals of the English church, designed to make objects of pagan manufacture fit for Christian use. The Anglo-Saxon rite of the church of Durham, for example, includes two such blessings calling for cleansing of pagan vessels taken from the earth after the passage of much time (Stevenson 1840: 97-98, Wright 1844: 440).

Folklore about the recovery of treasure from mounds is widespread from the early medieval into the modern period (Ellis Davidson 1950, Grinsell 1967, 1976). Mound-breaking is almost

certainly an early tradition, with Audrey Meaney (2003: 229) pointing to references in Anglo-Saxon charters to re-opened mounds as landscape features. The robbed mound in Felix's *Life of St Guthlac* is a well-known case in point (Colgrave 1956, Shook 1960).

Less well-known, but attested from several sources, is the strand of early medieval grave opening motivated by the need to obtain relics for the many local saints which appeared during this period. Relics were crucial as a focus for devotions and a source of income for any religious house, but the supply of martyrs' remains from Rome and southern Europe was limited and highly contested. There were strong motives for the *inventio* of relics from local saints (Rollason 1989, Geary 1990). This form of reopening, like treasure-hunting, seems to have affected grave monuments of evident status and antiquity.

The *Life of St Eligius*, for example, relates the discovery of the remains of St Quentin in an ancient tomb near city of Vermand. Bishop Eligius engaged in fasts and vigils during the lengthy search for the burial place (Thacker & Sharpe 2002: 57). Similarly Roger of Wendover gives the story of how the resting place of St Amphibalus and his companions was revealed through the miraculous posthumous appearance of St Alban to a youth named Robert. The resting place was in a mound at Redbourn in Hertfordshire, at a site described in the chronicle as a former assembly place (Giles 1849: 38, Coxe 1841: 389-391). East Anglian St Ivo, a "Persian Bishop" was found in AD 1001/2 when a peasant ploughed up a stone coffin containing bones. Other burials found at the same time were described as his companions (Blair 2002: 541). Re-use of a similar (presumably) Roman coffin appears most famously in Bede's description of the one found at Grantchester and given to St Æthelthryth, but St Eanswith and St Wulfsige are further examples of early saints buried in re-used stone sarcophagi (Blair 2002: 531, 562).

Ultimately, however, hunting in ancient mounds either for treasure or for holy relics is a different phenomenon from the concentrated reopening of graves in contemporary cemeteries seen in the 7th century. There the interest is not in objects valued for their antiquity; the reopened graves were fresh or from the generations immediately preceding the robbers' own time.

As the analysis here has shown, Anglo-Saxon grave-robbery is largely a phenomenon of the 7th century, the same period as the written laws appear. Like the law codes, robbery has its origins in Francia, yet strictures against it are not imported into the Kentish written sources. This absence is probably one of the main reasons for the delayed recognition of the archaeological phenomenon of grave-robbery in Kent. On the continent almost every excavator of a robbed cemetery from

the 19th century onwards has pointed to the written records to support their interpretation of the disturbance, but this has not been possible in England.

The earliest recorded law codes in Kent have their origins in the 7th century: the laws of Ethelbert (602-603?), Hlothhere and Eadric (673-685?), and Wihtred (695) (Whitelock 1985: 357-398). These first Kentish law codes are above all concerned with problems which had arisen from the new political and economic landscape of state formation, establishment of the church, and growing mercantile activity. They focus on establishing the rights of the king and of the church, on establishing the degrees of people, their rights and wergild values, and with problems arising from the presence of "traders and strangers". Hlothhere and Eadric's laws about purchase of property in London in particular look like advice for investors new to a scene where agents are not personally known to each other. The written laws are presumably supplementary to an established body of customary law dealing with more traditional forms of dispute, although in places they appear to attempt to override older practice.

The surviving Kentish law codes are those which were transcribed into the *Textus Roffensis* at Rochester, probably in the 12th century. Dorothy Whitelock (1985: 357) observes that they are likely to represent only a fraction of what once existed and that in these circumstances it is dangerous to argue from absence. There are several possible explanations for the omission. Perhaps the rash of grave-robbery in East Kent rose and ceased too quickly for inclusion. It may not have been a sufficient threat to kingly power or revenue to need a specific prohibition – although many of the matters included in the laws are much smaller-scale affairs. Perhaps the written laws arise from actual cases and East Kent grave-robbery disputes did not appear in court hearings. Was robbing too shameful for a case to be brought? Finally, there is the possibility that references were left out as irrelevant for contemporary purposes by the transcribing monks of subsequent centuries.

7 Beyond Kent

7.1 Disturbed sites elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon England

This section presents evidence from 12 sites in Anglo-Saxon England beyond Kent which have been identified as showing signs of early reopening (Table 16, Fig. 121). One further site, Apple Down, has been included for discussion because it shows signs of skeletal disarrangement which may be confused with reopening.

The sample was initially identified by a search through reports of the largest fully published sites (those with 51+ inhumations) in a database of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries kindly lent by Dr Sam Lucy (CAU). However, most of the examples of reopening were found by other means: some by references in reports to earlier observations of disturbance; and for the several recent sites, by the kindness of the excavators in contacting me before publication. This is a survey rather than an exhaustive list.

Buttermarket, Ipswich, Suffolk

(Scull 2009. Fig. 122)

This 7th century cemetery had suffered substantial disturbance from the centuries of overlying settlement. The excavated burials were considered to represent no more than 25% of those which originally existed within the excavated area. Most of the surviving graves were disturbed, but in only one case was there evidence that this activity was deliberate and contemporary with the cemetery phase. The report suggests that the wooden cover over Gr 2203, one of the several burials in small chambers, may have been broken through before it collapsed. The skeleton was very poorly preserved by the time of excavation, but there was no evident disturbance to the remaining parts. It is notable that both here and in the Spong Hill example (below) the disturbance would not have been detectable in the absence of the evidence from the wooden covers. The buckle in this burial is likely to date to the middle or later part of the 7th century (Scull 2009: 249).

Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville, Suffolk

(Lucy, Tipper, & Dickens 2009. Fig. 123-124)

Twenty-eight inhumation graves or probable graves have been excavated here. One contained two individuals. All date to the 7th century, perhaps to a period of as little as 20-50 years in the

mid to later part of that century. Skeletal preservation was poor, with human bone recovered from only 18 individuals. Grave-goods survived in only 10 burials.

Twelve graves had evidence of post-depositional disturbance by animals, which in some cases had displaced elements of the burial assemblage. There are specific mentions of animal gnawing on the long bones of one burial, rabbit burrowing in several, and a rabbit skeleton in one grave. Root disturbance is also reported in at least one case.

Four graves (Gr 5, 12, 22, 23) showed signs of deliberate attempts at robbery in antiquity, which are fully described in the report. The torso and fill of Gr 5 had been badly disturbed in the region of the torso. The description of the secondary fill is reminiscent of Aspöck's observations of detritus collected in hollows above robbed graves at Brunn am Gebirge (Chapter 5.3). Gr 12 had an identifiable pit reaching down into the chest area. The evidence from Gr 22 is less solid, since the dispersal of elements of the grave-goods may have resulted from animal burrowing. The section of Gr 23 showed a large re-cut reaching its lowest point in the torso region. No skeletal remains survived to show evidence of disturbance. The remaining grave-goods, including a brooch, were plausibly still in situ.

All 4 possibly robbed graves have likely dates within the 7th century but after the first quarter. The robber pits appeared to have been dug while the location of the burials was still visible. No later material was found in any of the re-cuts.

As in Kent, the robbed burials retained significant numbers of grave-goods. Graves 12, 22, and 23 were among those with the highest counts of numbers of artefact types in the cemetery. Gr 5 retained an iron knife and tool, Gr 12 had iron shears and chatelaine complex, and Gr 22 had a necklace, linked pins, and knives. These are all objects frequently seen in disturbed graves in East Kent (Chapter 6.1). More unusually, Gr 23 retained a silver-gilt keystone garnet disc brooch alongside its knife and chatelaine group. Brooches were almost certainly taken from Kentish graves.

Graves 12, 22, and 23 are neighbours, with Gr 5 somewhat further away (Fig. 123). The robbed graves are not confined to any one of the (possibly family-based) grave groups identified in the report, but are spread across three out of the five groups. Simple proximity may therefore have been a factor in the selection of these burials for reopening, although it does not explain the choice of Gr 5 over one of those nearer to the main target group (Chapter 5.4).

The discovery of a burial ground within a settlement site is highly unusual and raises the question of whether grave robbery could possibly have been carried out in secret. The chronology is not sufficiently fine to show exactly which areas were being used by the living at the time of reopening, but use of the cemetery was contemporary with metalworking activity in its immediate area.

The radiocarbon chronology here, as at Westfield Ely, confirms that furnished and unfurnished burial were contemporaneous practices. It also confirms that grave robbery could happen to burials which had been made after Christianity had become firmly established in East Anglia.

Chadlington, Oxfordshire

(Leeds 1949)

Two graves at this site were thought to have been disturbed in antiquity. The damage to Gr 5 was substantial: the whole of the right side except the tibia, fibula, toes were missing, along with the ribs and most of the vertebrae. Only the limb bones on the left side were in position. The burial was overlain by a hearth in the form of a small circular group of stones with traces of charcoal, about 15" above the skeleton. This must be associated with or post-date the disturbance. If associated with the reopening, it may be evidence for some form of ritual activity carried out once the burial had been resealed.

Gr 7 is described as "Another disturbed grave... The skull had been detached from the trunk and set upright at the back of the right femur facing northwards". This belongs to the group of burials with minimal disturbance focused on rearrangement of the skulls, which are interpreted here as evidence of attempts to quiet troublesome revenants (Chapter 6.3). Pre-burial decapitation, presumably with the same aim, was also practised at this site. On one of the decapitated bodies, that in Gr 10, it could be seen that the cervical vertebrae had been cut by a sharp instrument.

Edix Hill, Barrington A, Cambridgeshire

(Malim & Hines 1998, Devlin 2007: 64-5. Fig. 126)

Four graves at Edix Hill showed possible signs of deliberate early interference.

Gr 16 is one of two prone burials at the site. Most of the skeleton from the ribs down was missing. The grave cut was full length and some pieces of bone were scattered in the grave cut, so it seems likely that the corpse was originally buried whole. Nearby graves had suffered 19th century grave robbing, and it seems likely that the damage to Gr 16 can be attributed to the same

cause, but the excavators considered that there might also have been an earlier episode: "Evidence for removal of the right arm without disturbance to the rest of the upper body and old cracks in the skull suggest there might have been deliberate interference with the grave during Anglo-Saxon times" (Malim & Hines 1998: 51).

Gr 31 has been dug into via a shallow pit by the left shoulder. The pit is cut partially into the grave fill and also extends it. As in a number of Kent graves (Chapter 5.1), it seems likely that this was dug in order to lever off or cut down through a coffin lid. Most of the left side of the upper body was dug out along with the left femur. Bodily decomposition must have been well-advanced for this to be possible, so that the finding of the articulated left foot by the spine is incongruous. It might possibly be explained if the foot was encased in a tough leather shoe and so moved intact (Chapter 4.9 Date: Body, Appendix 2). The disturbance here looks very like that seen in many Kentish graves, and would be explained by a limited entry into the coffined burial near the shoulder, and some sort of reaching tool being used to pull out remains from the left side of the body.

Gr 35 was thought to have been squeezed in between two earlier burials. It contained a disordered and incomplete skeleton (Sk 119), which appeared to have been placed in the grave while only partially articulated. The right arm and hand were still articulated, part of the left foot held together, and the pelvis was still connected to part of the lower spine. The ribs are jumbled but still all grouped together: it looks as though much of the disarticulation occurred while the body was confined in clothing or perhaps some sort of sack, in which it was then dumped into the grave cut. Similar disorder is also seen in sitting burials in small chambers, but the lack of discernable grave cut makes this highly unlikely. Zoe Devlin (2007: 65) has interpreted Gr 35 as transferral from another grave: she suggests that there might have been a dispute over an appropriate burial place. However the partial nature of the remains is curious and the absence of the head may be significant.

Gr 49 was dated to either the Iron Age or the 7th century. It is disturbed in a similar way to Gr 31, with most of the left upper body removed after skeletonization. The rest of the skeleton is in situ, except that the mandible has been carefully lifted, without any disturbance to the skull or vertebrae, and placed between the legs. This appears analogous to the more common repositioning of skulls (Chapter 6.3). The repositioning here must, as the report notes, have occurred in an intact coffin space. This is therefore contemporary reopening, whether Iron Age or Anglo-Saxon; it is not Anglo-Saxon reopening of an Iron Age grave.

Melbourn, Cambridgeshire

(Wilson 1955)

Slight displacement of bones probably attributable to animal damage was noted in several graves. Three were looted during the excavation. In addition Gr V had evidence for post-burial repositioning of the head: "An old male with the skull resting on the pelvis... The mandible was in position at the neck; this position suggests that the grave was disturbed and the skull moved at a later date" (Wilson 1955: 31). In Gr II it was suggested that the displacement of the cervical vertebrae might be evidence for peri- or post-mortem breaking of the neck, but animal activity or bone tumble are as likely.

Minerva, Alwalton, Cambridgeshire

(Gibson 2007. Fig. 127-128)

Thirty cremation burials from the 5th and 6th centuries AD plus 34 inhumations from the late 5th to early 7th centuries were unearthed here in 1999, representing part of a larger burial ground. Just under half the inhumation graves contained grave-goods. Some were in stone-lined cuts, possibly indicating high social status, but there was no evidence of coffins. Some skeletons were well-preserved, but many graves were shallow and had been severely truncated by ploughing and other activities.

Robbing for grave-goods was suspected in an unspecified number of inhumation graves, including Gr 1435 (Fig. 128), in which only part of the disarticulated and disordered skeleton remained. Neighbouring Gr 1339 (Fig. 128) is also described as a "Badly disturbed and robbed grave – almost completely disarticulated" (Gibson 2007: 336). For Gr 1377 the grave catalogue notes "green staining on right clavicle suggests that a copper alloy ornament (possibly a brooch) was once part of the funerary outfit" (Gibson 2007: 337). Brooch removal would fit with the Kentish evidence (Chapter 6.1).

Other graves, such as Gr 1364 on the other side of the excavated area, seem to have been disturbed while the corpse was still partially fleshed (Fig. 128). In this case there are intrusive juvenile bones, so perhaps the reopening was to add further burials. Details and discussion of the robbing evidence in the report are limited. However percentages of skeleton retrieved are given for each grave, which is unusual and useful for understanding the extent of the disturbance.

Nassington, Northamptonshire

(Leeds 1944)

The circumstances of the war-time excavation here were far from ideal. The cemetery was discovered during the re-opening of an old gravel pit by mechanical digger. Many graves were destroyed or damaged before the excavators arrived, and recording was partial. Some robbing by onlookers took place during the process of excavation.

Grave 44 is reported as containing "Scattered bones in deep grave, including skull and arm-bones, but pelvis missing" (Leeds 1944: 111). The implication seems to be that this disturbance was not caused by the mechanical excavator, since the wording is different than for those graves. The depth also speaks against digger damage.

The evidence for deliberate disturbance of Grave II is stronger: the skull, clavicles, and humeri were missing and the "upper part of the spine had been moved bodily out of position, showing that the grave had been disturbed before decomposition of the cartilage was complete" (Leeds 1944: 113).

Only Gr II is located on the plan, the locations of graves 41-46 being unknown to the draughtsman, so it is not possible to say whether the two disturbed graves lay in the same area of the cemetery.

No comment on possible interpretations for the disturbance is made in the report. The targeting of the head end of Gr II soon after burial and the removal of the skull may place this in the likely group of graves reopened to combat troublesome ghosts (Chapter 6.3).

Spong Hill, Norfolk

(Hills 1977, Hills et al 1984. Fig. 129)

Gr 31 in the inhumation cemetery is a later 6th century chamber grave which shows all the signs of reopening soon after burial. The robbing evidence has been comprehensively published (Hills 1977, Hills et al 1984: 80-2). The manner of reopening, with a robber cut removing most of the contents of the centre of the grave, and the selection of grave-goods left behind closely resemble the disturbance seen in Kent, especially if, as suspected, the spearhead has been viewed and rejected by the robbers. Again as in Kent the choice of grave appears highly specific: Gr 32, another inhumation within the same ring-ditch, was left intact.

Gr 31 was originally interpreted as a double burial, but the reassessment of the inhumations (McKinley 1994: Appendix VI) showed it to contain only a few unidentifiable fragments of human bone along with a pig molar and some fragments of animal long bone.

At Spong Hill a number of un-urned cremations were judged to have been spills from accidentally and deliberately disturbed urns. Some had been redeposited following deliberate emptying of the urn contents by robbers, for example No. 2130, in which remains of 4 individuals had been heaped together (McKinley 1994: 103). However, given the various disturbance and antiquarian work at the site, there is no reason to think this early activity.

St Mary's Stadium, Southampton, Hampshire

(Birbeck 2005)

This is a mid-7th to early 8th century cemetery overlain by the mid-Saxon Hamwic settlement. Over two-thirds of the graves were disturbed by mid-Saxon pits or later features. One in particular, Gr 4425, had been almost totally excavated during the digging of a pit and part of the adult male skeleton redeposited at the bottom of the pit. Part of a second individual, a sub-adult aged 17-19 years, was also found in the pit, along with an iron knife which may have originally accompanied one of the burials (Birbeck 2005: 33).

The re-use of the site occurred within as little as a generation of the last interments, as the cemetery was subsumed into the expanding settlement. This encroachment may have been permitted as a political statement, to eradicate the monuments of a past Jutish order supplanted by West Saxon rule. Alternatively, the burials may simply have been forgotten or not respected during the pressing need for settlement growth, perhaps in conjunction with the shift to churchyard burial (Birkbeck 2005: 77, 194).

Although a connection between this area and the supposedly Jutish origins of Kent has long been postulated, and despite the similarities between the weapon burials at this cemetery and those seen in East Kent (Birbeck 2005: 194), there is no reason to think the disturbance at this site related to the East Kent robbing. It occurred perhaps a century later and under quite different circumstances. Even if Gr 4425 was opportunistically rifled for grave-goods, this is quite different from the planned reopening of large parts of in-use field cemeteries seen in Kent.

Westfield Farm, Ely, Cambridgeshire

(Lucy et al 2009. Fig. 130)

This is a small later 7th century cemetery, perhaps associated with the early religious foundation at Ely. One burial, Gr 2, had possibly been reopened. The body of the young woman appeared to have been displaced from its original position while still largely articulated. There may also be later plough damage. There is substantial discussion of this grave in the recent report (Lucy et al 2009: 91-93, 112), so minimal additional points are made here.

This may well be one of the group of burials reopened to lay to rest troublesome revenants (Chapter 6.3). These show characteristics known from typical "deviant" burials of the period, but applied post-burial. Here the main aim of the disturbance seems to have been to remove the head, probably by pulling, judging by the line of apparently dragged vertebrae. The upper body has also been moved into a partially prone position. The left foot is missing; if it was removed rather than decaying in situ then this is a clear sign of an attempt to stop a ghost walking.

A bag containing a collection of objects with probably amuletic associations remained close to the right leg; perhaps it was attached to clothing and moved with the body. There was no obvious robber cut, but this is common even in the most obviously disturbed early medieval burials in Kent and Merovingia (Chapter 5.1), and perhaps to be expected if the grave was reopened soon after burial before the soil had settled.

Winnall, Hampshire

(Meaney & Hawkes 1970. Fig. 131)

Here there were several burials which might represent post-burial disturbance, but information is limited. Gr 11 and 23 both lacked heads; the displacement of the top cervical vertebrae in both cases suggests removal may have occurred after fleshy decomposition. In Gr 48 the skeleton was described as much disturbed, and there were large flints on top of the body. In Gr 49 the skull is described as much disturbed and displaced, but with no further information.

Worthy Park, Kingsworthy, Near Winchester, Hampshire

(Hawkes & Grainger 2003. Fig. 132-133)

Worthy Park is a mixed rite cemetery of the 5th to 7th centuries. The 46 cremations and 94 inhumation burials excavated are thought to represent about half the total cemetery. There were unusually high levels of intercutting of both types of burial, with up to 4 inhumation graves

superimposed in places. Shallower burials had also suffered plough damage. Deliberate robbing of cremations would be a possibility at this site, especially as most artefacts were buried unburnt, but this could not be distinguished from the extensive accidental damage caused to the cremations by ploughing and later burials.

Two inhumation graves were identified as robbed or possibly robbed in antiquity. These are graves 22 and 41, neighbours near the centre of the excavated area. Grave 22 was marked with what seems to have been a substantial wooden post. It seems reasonable to interpret the disturbance of these two graves as a single event. Their selection for reopening may well be down to the marker post, the only example found in the cemetery.

In Gr 22 visible disturbance of the skeleton is confined to the torso, though perhaps also explains the lack of flint packing along the right hand side of the grave. Connective tissue had clearly decomposed by time of disturbance in both burials. Bones and grave-goods remained intact, however, with no apparent fragmentation during the disturbance.

In Gr 41 the right arm is missing along with the bones of that side of the chest and part of the pelvis. The skull has been moved, with the cranium redeposited upside down on the chest and the mandible near the pelvis. This may be incidental, but should also be considered in the context of other manipulation of heads seen, for example, in Bradstow School Gr 11 and 72 (Chapter 6.3, Appendix 1.1). Such interference may indicate an insult, or an attempt to quiet a revenant.

The report suggests the robbing of Gr 41 might have been aimed at a sword, and the same is possible of Gr 22, which contained other weapons. However, if the graves were targeted because of the wooden marker, as appears to be the case, there is no reason to think that the robbers had advance knowledge of their contents.

Apple Down, Compton, Sussex

(Down & Welch 1990, Boyle et al 1995: 121)

Damage by tree roots and by burrowing animals was seen in several graves in this large mixed-rite cemetery, with the path taken by the animal "quite clearly marked by darker soil brought into the burrow" (Down & Welch 1990: 18). In addition, at least four further burials were disarranged in less readily explicable ways. The report suggests that these bodies may have been exposed before burial (Reynolds 1976 Empingham II, Aldsworth 1978: 196-3 Droxford). However, this explanation is unnecessary (see also Boyle et al 1995: 121 for a refutation of the idea that graves with internal wooden structures are associated with pre-burial exposure). The conclusion here is

that none of these graves necessarily involve either pre-burial decomposition or post-burial disturbance. They are discussed in full in order to illustrate the difficulties in distinguishing between the various forms of unusual treatment.

In Gr 97 the arms were in an unusual, but not definitely anatomically incorrect position. They, or the whole upper body, may have been raised or propped on an organic object of some kind which decayed and allowed them to fall. Alternatively they have simply been arranged in a folded position, with the wrists near the head. This might be a variant of normal burial practice, but the absence of both the hands and feet may push this body into the category of deviant burial. No cut marks were seen, but the report implies that the appendages were thought removed, rather than decayed in situ. There is no evidence that Gr 97 had suffered post-burial, rather than pre-burial, maltreatment.

The arm position in Gr 19 is similar, and again does not require an advanced state of decay at burial. This grave is also unusual, as it was already partially backfilled when the corpse was lowered in.

In Gr 55 the left femur was slightly displaced, having rolled so that the ball for the hip joint faced away from the pelvis. This obviously occurred at an advanced stage of fleshy decay. Given the flexed position of the legs, it does not appear impossible that this degree of bone tumble might occur naturally within a coffin space, especially if the knees were originally raised (as seen in several examples at St Peter's Tip, Broadstairs (Appendices 1.1, 2)), or if – as appears to be the case from the grave plan – the left leg rested on the right.

Likewise the displacement of the neck, skull, and some ribs in Gr 23 may well be due to tumble from a propped position. Evidence for pillowed heads and propped upper bodies is occasionally seen at other sites (e.g. Appendix 1.1: St Peter's). In Gr 23 the body appears cramped at the head end of the grave, which supports this interpretation. It is possible that this belongs to the group of burials with post-deposition interference with skulls identified in Chapter 6.3, but the simpler explanation is preferred.

Apple Down also included numerous examples of grave re-use with varying degrees of damage to the original interment, including several in which the original burial had been completely destroyed or removed. Zoe Devlin's analysis showed no spatial patterning behind the selection of graves for re-use (Devlin 2007: 68-69, *contra* e.g. Addingham, above).

Discussion: Beyond Kent

Beyond the county of Kent, 12 furnished Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have been identified as presenting reports of deliberate early reopening of graves (Table 16, Fig. 121). These appear in two main areas: East Anglia and Hampshire, with a further example in Oxfordshire. It is too early to say whether actual clusters are represented. The concentrations may, for example, reflect better local bone preservation or greater awareness among excavators. Since several of the reports are as recent as the last few years, the latter factor may well be playing a part.

At most of the sites possible early robbing is limited to one or two graves. The intensity of the phenomenon is nothing like the high percentages of disturbed graves seen in the East Kent cemeteries. It is more similar in intensity to the sporadic reopening seen in West Kent (Chapter 4.1, 4.3).

At Buttermarket, Ipswich one grave may have been deliberately reopened soon after burial, but otherwise graves at both this cemetery and at St Mary's Stadium, Southampton seem to have been accidentally or opportunistically disturbed during the redevelopment of the sites. This form of opportunistic robbing is a quite different practice from deliberate selection and reopening of graves in an in-use cemetery.

One or two graves at each of Worthy Park, Nassington, Melbourn, Chadlington, Winnall II, and Westfield, Ely may have been reopened primarily or exclusively in order to remove or reposition the head. It is suggested that this practice is analogous to the better documented pre-burial decapitations and may be associated with the laying to rest of troublesome revenants (Chapter 6.3). If so, the sample here suggests that this practice may be more common outside than inside Kent. It appears to fit the same late 6th to mid/late 7th century timeframe as has been suggested here for the more intense East Kent reopening phenomenon.

Disturbance resembling the Kentish phenomenon is seen at Ipswich Buttermarket, Carlton Colville, Spong Hill, Worthy Park, and Minerva, Alwalton. It affects a smaller proportion of graves, but the manner of reopening, selection of artefacts remaining, and likely date range are in line with the East Kent evidence. This form of deliberate early disturbance appears therefore to have occurred in a limited way in at least two further areas of Anglo-Saxon England.

7.2 Earlier and Later

Roman reopening

Archaeological evidence for early grave robbery crops up only occasionally in a Romano-British context. Alongside is the evidence for reopening for manipulation of the body, which appears to be a long-lasting theme in insular burial rites (Chapter 6.3).

One of the few examples of likely robbery of Roman period graves occurs in a group of probably 2nd and 3rd century stone cist graves excavated at Lanchester, Durham in 1981 (Turner 1990). This cemetery was unusual in a number of ways, not least the lack of either bones or artefacts in most of the cists. Clear evidence of robbing was found in two burials, in the form of distinct robber cuts filled with what appeared to be ploughsoil. Section drawings, sadly lacking in most early medieval cases, show the robber pits and in one grave the tip lines of the backfilling. There was no evidence for the date of the robbing, but enough time had passed for the cists to have become filled with soil so that the robber cuts were distinct. No later material had intruded.

Later Anglo-Saxon and medieval reopening

Evidence for grave re-opening and re-use continues, although in new forms, into several of the few known late Saxon burial grounds. Here the motivations appear to be grounded in the spatial values of the new religion, or at least are usually interpreted in that context.

The late Saxon cemetery belonging to the earliest church at St Peter's, Barton-upon-Humber included a number of graves which appeared to have been deliberately emptied (Rodwell & Rodwell 1982: 300-301, Waldron 2007). The most prominent of these was a "shrine grave" with substantial post-holes at each corner, suggesting that the burial had at first marked by a canopy. The burial had at some point been exhumed and the grave site covered with rubble foundations for a funerary monument of some kind. In this case transferral of high status relics to a new position, perhaps in the church, seems indicated. Similarly F1750 in a prominent position east of the chancel appeared to have been emptied. Less conclusive were various graves lacking human remains to the south of the tower. There might have lost their occupants through subsequent grave digging, but the excavators suggested that removal in at least one or two cases may have been deliberate. Here it therefore seems likely that reopening can be interpreted as for transferral of bodies to holier locations – but was probably only carried out for special burials.

The probably 8th-10th century cemetery at Addingham, West Yorkshire showed unparalleled complexity in reopening and redepositing of disarticulated bone (Adams 1996: 165-7, 181-4). The

burial ground lies just over 50m to the west of the parish church and is carefully laid out with graves in rows and very little intercutting. Despite this care, there was a high degree of grave re-use and transferral of human remains between graves.

The excavation uncovered the remains of c.80 individuals in 55 graves. A large proportion were found as partial redeposited skeletons. Only 39 individuals were considered to have been primary interments. A further 27 were considered redeposited interments, with at least a further 14 individuals identified in the post-excavation human bone analysis. Many were represented by only a very few bones; skeletal elements had evidently been lost during removal and redeposition. The preservation of the redeposited bone was also worse, perhaps due to multiple episodes of exposure. As in the earlier rural cemeteries, the redeposited interments were generally located as scatters of bone within grave fills. In earlier field cemeteries these would probably be interpreted as primary burials displaced by grave re-use (Chapter 6.2).

In three cases at Addingham redeposited remains had been arranged around an intact interment. In F148 it appeared that the bones of the first burial in the grave had been rearranged to accommodate a subsequent burial, as is frequently seen in earlier cemeteries. Again in F6 a subsequent burial had replaced the initial body, and the remains of at least 6 individuals had been arranged around it. In F145 a deposit of 2 skulls and some other bones had been made at the foot end, as has been described in the earlier cemeteries at St Peter's Tip and elsewhere (Chapter 5.1). Although this secondary re-use is much more common in Addingham than in the earlier field cemeteries, it is thus not necessarily a radical departure from the secondary burials seen in the earlier cemeteries. The treatment of displaced initial burials at Addingham may be a developed form of the old practice.

A feature not seen in the earlier cemeteries is represented by the several graves at Addingham containing redeposited bone but not intact interments. There was also a number of almost empty graves, containing small fragments of human bone. The empty graves were concentrated towards the west of the excavated area, while the graves at the eastern edge all contained intact burials. It therefore seems likely that the motivation for redeposition was to move interments as close as possible to the eastern edge. It was evidently not felt necessary to transfer the whole of a burial, but only a symbolic proportion. This seems to have been carried out only after full skeletonization.

The report concludes that "The orderly layout, close spacing, possible focal alignment and reinterment in graves to the E. all suggest strongly that there was competition for space in this

cemetery, and that a position as close as possible to something which lay to the E. was desirable" (Adams 1996: 183). A church, a cross, or a special grave are all suggested as possible candidates. The present church is to the east, although further away than would make sense for the early monument which attracted burials.

It may be significant that both here and at Whitton, Lincolnshire the late Anglo-Saxon graves are at a short distance from the present churchyard. The Whitton burial ground is a smaller and much less thoroughly published excavation, but the reinterment of bodies seen there may be a similar phenomenon of transferral of human remains to positions close to an early Christian monument, which was then superseded by a church at a slight distance.

At Whitton a total of at least 25 individuals have been excavated in a group of probably late Anglo-Saxon burials about 50m from the parish church (Hadley 2001a). Some were in a disturbed condition, with partially articulated parts of the skeleton in disorder. The report suggests they may have been disturbed in situ or moved to the site during the process of decomposition. Devlin (2007: 53) favours the latter explanation, suggesting that these were bodies which had been had been disinterred soon after burial and moved to a position on the edge of the cemetery. Here the evidence may be for transferral of bodies out of, rather than into, a favourable location.

Evidence for grave reopening in a medieval context is more extensive than might be imagined, and is reviewed by Roberta Gilchrist and Barney Sloane in their study of monastic cemeteries (Gilchrist & Sloane 2006: 194-201). Within the confines of a churchyard the integrity of most burials was anyway of limited duration (Cherryson 2007). Translation of saintly bodies is well-attested in the written sources, and Gilchrist and Sloane (2006: 195-6) additionally point to several instances of transferral of ordinary corpses during disputes over burial rights, and to archaeological evidence for outright robbery at St Mary Graces, London. While most robbing of church tombs seems associated with the dissolution of the monasteries or Civil War (e.g. Lichfield Cathedral (Nenk, Margeson et al 1995), St Mary Graces, London (Grainger & Phillpotts in prep.), medieval chronicles and legal petitions record the occupants of graveyards being dug up in land disputes and even being used as offensive weapons. Problems with the unquiet dead continued into the medieval period, as did the traditional remedies of burning or decapitation. There is also some evidence for the church attempting to take over the means of combating revenants by issuing its own protection in the form of charters to be buried with the dead (Gilchrist & Sloane 2006: 200).

8 Conclusions: Interpreting Early Medieval Grave-Robbery

This thesis began by bringing together all that is currently known of early medieval grave reopening in the Merovingian kingdoms and more widely in northern, western and central Europe. It went on to identify and investigate an intensive outbreak of grave-robbery in 6th-7th century Kent, and relate this to the same phenomenon in the Frankish lands. Limited numbers of similar robbing episodes, affecting a much smaller proportion of graves in each cemetery, were identified elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon England, mainly in East Anglia and Hampshire.

Although the phenomenon of grave-robbery is well-attested at individual sites in Merovingia, this research is the first study at a regional level. The aim here is to advance the debate about early medieval robbery from general discussion of hypothetical explanations to evaluation of specific interpretations and their compatibility with the archaeological evidence. This thesis has demonstrated that it is possible to reconstruct the practice of early medieval robbing in considerable detail, where there is the will to examine the evidence in full. The conclusions emerge from close analysis of the Kentish material, but have significant implications for the interpretation of grave-robbery across northern and western Europe.

In Kent robbing is at a level that must be taken into consideration in any discussion of cemetery evidence. The poor publication record has inhibited recognition and analysis of robbing in the county. However, by using extensive archive material, this thesis has shown that the practice of ransacking graves was on a similar scale in East Kent as in Merovingia. This research has identified over 200 reopened graves across Kent, with at least 15 sites affected. In the most intensely disturbed East Kent sites, an average of over 20% of burials were disturbed. There is evidence that the wealthier burials were targeted, so that robbing is likely to have had a significant impact on artefact finds, especially from the late 6th and 7th century. We can infer a major distorting effect on previous archaeological analyses of wealth distribution.

Beyond Kent it is likely that more robbing evidence exists to be found, especially in areas with good bone preservation. This survey identified 12 sites with evidence of deliberate grave disturbance in Anglo-Saxon England outside Kent. At most sites only one or two graves were affected. The majority of cases are from recent excavations. This robbing appears to belong to the same period as the Kentish disturbance. The similarities in the robbers' approaches and selection of artefacts indicate that it should be regarded as the same practice, but carried out only at a sporadic level.

Many of the more speculative interpretations for early medieval grave-robbery are rejected in this thesis. Reopening is highly unlikely to have been a socially-sanctioned practice, part of funerary rites, or aimed at obliterating monuments. The term "robbery" has always been used by excavators, and with justification. This research has demonstrated that in the great majority of cases the motive for reopening was the removal of grave-goods. The robbery appears mal-intentioned, disordering and damaging carefully laid out grave contents. It was not necessarily carried out by people within the immediate burying community, but certainly within the same regional cultural sphere.

However, straightforward personal enrichment was not the goal. A deliberate, consistent selection of certain grave-good types was taken from burials, while other apparently covetable possessions were left behind. The desired grave-goods were removed even when in an unusable condition, often falling apart when lifted. The argument that will be presented in this chapter is therefore that the aim of robbing was not to obtain artefacts or raw materials for the use of the living, but to deprive the dead of symbolically significant objects.

Grave-robbery thus gives a window onto the wider meanings and values of the possessions used as grave-goods within the early medieval period. It is argued here that the selection of goods for removal was related to their symbolic roles in the initial burial rite. The removed artefacts may have been thought of as actively used by the dead in supernatural intervention in the conflicts of the living. More likely, the aim was to harm living descendants by damaging the family prestige built up by the display and sacrifice of funerary wealth. The robbers' choice of loot has significant implications for understanding the furnished burial rite, and the symbolism of specific artefacts within it.

The interpretation presented in this chapter is that grave-robbery was a weapon in small-scale, festering communal violence, most likely between burying communities. Robbery was by no means wanton ransacking of whole cemeteries. Graves were targeted on an individual basis, with each cemetery showing evidence of multiple episodes spread over many years or decades. The selection of graves gives insights into the roles of different age and gender groups in 7th century society and presents a quite different picture of the nature of ongoing conflicts than appears in literary depictions of the male feuding custom.

In addition to the robbed graves, there is a small number of graves spread across the sites which were reopened for bodily mutilation or rearrangement of skeletal parts. These are interpreted as a reaction to fear of revenants. On the current evidence this was a small-scale practice: this motive

is suspected in ten or eleven burials out of just over 200 disturbed graves. These are burials with signs of interference with the body which appears more deliberate than the usual disturbance seen in the robbed graves and involves repositioning in ways that resemble the better-known "deviant" rites carried out at initial burial. The most common practice was for the body to be decapitated, or if skeletonization was further advanced, for the skull to be removed and repositioned. Some bodies were turned to prone positions, and others had legs or feet mutilated. It thus appears that measures could be taken against revenants not only at funerals but also after burial in cases where corpses were thought to be walking again.

The remainder of this concluding chapter brings together the evidence from all the aspects of grave-robbery investigated in the main body of the thesis. Findings in Anglo-Saxon England are compared with the continental research reviewed in Chapter 2, showing similarities of both evidence and interpretation between the Anglo-Saxon data and the more recent and detailed Merovingian studies. Finally, a new interpretative model for early medieval robbing is set out.

Turning first to the question of date, Chapter 4.9 showed that the majority, if not all, of Kentish grave reopening took place during the broadly 7th century period of the conversion of England to Christianity. The chronology of reopening is closely linked to the style of burial known as the "final phase" of the furnished cemeteries. This phase is defined by a marked change in the types of deposited artefacts, as set out by Helen Geake's 1997 study. Migration-period Germanic-style assemblages cease, and a new grave-good and costume repertoire comes in, with visual references to Francia and Rome. A rising proportion of graves are unfurnished, but a minority of burials receive lavish treatment. The transition to the conversion period funerary style is quite abrupt at c.AD 600 across England, but probably begins slightly earlier in Kent, around AD 580 (Geake 1997: 124). There is therefore a plausible chronological link between the start of the main Kentish robbing phase and the change in burial practice, just before the end of the 6th century.

The evidence presented in this thesis shows there is every reason to think that the robbery in Kent is closely related to the practice seen over the channel. As discussed below, the dating appears identical. The same grave reopening methods as seen on the continent also appear in Kent, indicating similarity of motive. The same marked variation in robbing intensity between cemeteries is seen in Kent as in Merovingia, with neighbouring burial grounds experiencing widely different levels of disturbance. The dispersed distribution of robbed graves within Kentish cemeteries is also seen in Merovingia, although little work has focused on this aspect on the

continent. The variations in the preference for male versus female graves seen in Kent are also reported in Merovingia, as is the avoidance of child burials. This link makes sense in the context of growing Frankish influence and the import of a Frankish custom. Both the written and material records show the development of close ties between Francia and Kent in this period.

However, for robbing to take hold with the intensity that it reached in East Kent, local populations must have found compelling reasons of their own to pursue the practice. It is possible to overstate Kent's links to Francia and the degree of Frankish acculturation involved in the conversion process. Martin Welch (2002: 123, 2007) has emphasised that imported artefacts were not necessarily used and displayed in the same ways in Kent as in their areas of manufacture, while Helen Geake (2002: 152-5) has traced significant differences in the final phase of furnished burial and the transition to churchyard burial in England and northern France. The same applies to grave-robbery: there are substantial similarities in the evidence on each side of the channel, but the differences, especially in the selection of artefacts removed, suggest that the practice was adapted to specific local circumstances.

In Merovingia grave-robbery has frequently been linked to the rise of Christianity. Robbing is often seen as part of the decline of the furnished burial custom, which until recently was considered to have been driven by the church. Grave-robbery has been interpreted either as symptomatic of waning respect for grave-goods or as actually speeding the end of this form of wealth deposition. As discussed in Chapter 2, this model has recently come under criticism from several angles.

In England, as in Merovingia, more recent interpretations of the archaeologically visible changes in burial practice in the 7th century have placed less emphasis on the role of religious conversion. Geake sees the impetus for the material culture change in an increasingly ranked society and in the revival of an essentially Roman cultural identity to support the forming institutions of statehood. Subsequent scholars have placed the model closer to home in Francia (e.g. Marzinzik 2003), but the implication remains the same: neither the church nor personal piety were the driving forces for change. Rather the wider and deeper changes in the structure of Anglo-Saxon society come to the fore, along with the shifting identities and allegiances which communities expressed through their burials. Seventh-century burials are increasingly interpreted in the context of competitive display connected to the developing local and regional authorities of the time (e.g. Sayer 2009, 2010). This thesis argues that the grave-robbery that accompanies the change in burial practice in Merovingia and in Kent should also be seen in this light.

Across England, the switch to the conversion-period grave-good repertoire is sometimes associated with a shift in burial location. However, grave-robbery is not. In Kent the two Broadstairs burial grounds may be new foundations of the late 6th century, but at Monkton, Finglesham, Ozengell, and Sarre the dead were still being buried in their ancestral cemeteries into the late 7th and perhaps 8th centuries. Burial, including furnished burial, continued in the disturbed cemeteries during and after the robbing phase.

Grave-robbery is a significant event in the development of these cemeteries. The symbolic and physical damage caused during the robbing phase needs to be taken into consideration in any discussion of the cemeteries as monuments and especially as places of memory. The damage was highly visible, with white chalk spread around the reopened burials, some left open, and in many cases bones probably left strewn at the grave side. At Finglesham the robbing phase was associated with a shift in location of burials: most of the graves which postdate the reopening cluster to one side of the site, away from the earlier sections where robbing had taken place.

It cannot be argued that reopening was part of the shift to churchyards or other new burial places of the late 7th or 8th centuries. Robbing does not represent the end of the use periods of the cemeteries either in Kent or elsewhere in England. The robbing was not carried out by the generation which abandoned the field cemeteries. Neither does it represent the end of the furnished burial rite. Although this was in decline by the likely date of robbing, the robbers' generation continued to bury artefacts in graves during and after the period of frequent reopening.

On the continent, although large numbers of disturbed sites have been published (Chapter 2), relatively few reports include detailed dating of the robbing evidence. However, in almost all cases where the question was considered, robbing was shown to have happened during the use period of the cemeteries, as in Kent. An exception is Hemmingen (Müller 1976, Chapter 2), which was abandoned earlier than many contemporary cemeteries. This site was considered to have been robbed after burial ceased. A Kentish analogy may be Lyminge, at which there is currently no evidence for burial during the main 7th century robbing phase, although the full extent and use period of the cemetery are unknown.

Where the dating of robbing has been fully analysed on the continent, the results are remarkably similar to the Kentish finds. The chronology of robbing in Kent, most clearly manifested at Finglesham, is precisely the same as that seen, for example, at Bülach in Switzerland, Hailfingen in Baden-Württemberg, and Pliening in Bavaria (Werner 1953, Stoll 1939, Codreanu-Windauer

1997, Chapter 2). In Kent it was mainly graves of the later 6th and first half of the 7th centuries which fell prey to robbers, with the later 7th century burials unrobbed. At Pliening, Codreanu-Windauer concluded that disturbance took place during a brief phase in the middle and the third quarter of the 7th century. One difference is that the Kent robbing starts earlier and more gradually, but it is possible that this pattern could only be recognised in the larger Kent sample.

Although grave-robbery appears both earlier and later in early medieval Europe, for instance in 6th century Lombardic cemeteries and in Carolingian Saxony, this 7th century form was almost ubiquitous in continental row-grave cemeteries and occurred simultaneously across a remarkably wide area. This thesis has shown that in Kent, as in most of the Frankish sites, burials were being made with lavish grave-good displays in the 5th and 6th centuries, but these were not robbed. Reopening only appeared in the later 6th century, and then became frequent in the 7th century. It disappeared before the last quarter of the 7th century.

While the majority of reopening in Kent took place in the 7th century and affected near-contemporary graves, a limited number of older burials were also reopened. This occurred even though many of the items they contained were no longer part of the contemporary material display repertoire. The 6th century brooches in particular would have been markedly out of fashion by the time they were retrieved in the mid-7th century (Geake 1997, Owen-Crocker 2004). The same occurred at Pliening: most reopened graves were from the 7th century and had probably been made during the robbers' own lifetimes, but a small proportion were from the 6th century. Only the very oldest members of the community at the time of reopening could have been living at the time these burials were made.

At other sites, notably Hailfingen in Baden-Württemberg (Stoll 1939, Chapter 2), robbing was exclusively concentrated on contemporary burials. At Hailfingen robbery appeared only in the middle of the 7th century: no 6th century graves were affected and only a few from the earlier part of the 7th century were robbed. Burials from the robbers' own time were the focus of robbing, despite ample evidence that older graves were still clearly marked aboveground. In the Kent analysis chapters it was shown that the ways cemeteries developed, with in-filling of later graves mingled with older ones, and the near-absence of intercutting, demonstrates that gravediggers were able to see where earlier graves lay, and that the same must have applied to contemporary robbers.

The 6th century graves contain large numbers of artefacts, which would initially appear to be desirable loot. Some of the intact 6th century female graves at Finglesham are particularly

impressive. That these were largely ignored underlines the contemporary nature of the motives for grave-robbery. A central conclusion is thus that one of the most significant elements in the selection of graves for robbing is that the great majority were burials of people who had died within living memory.

A key question for interpretations of reopening is whether graves were opened individually or in mass episodes. A model of mass reopening by robber bands has been favoured in the Bronze Age field cemeteries, for example (Chapter 2). For several reasons it has been argued here that the Kentish reopening occurred at different times in different cemeteries, and that it represents repeated episodes within each cemetery.

The chronology supports this view: it has been shown that the robbing cannot all be contemporary, even within burial grounds. In addition, the scattered distribution of robbed graves across the cemeteries argues against mass reopening. Robbers never opened all the graves in any one area. On the contrary, the disturbed burials are always interspersed with untouched graves. The selection of graves is much more specific and individual than would be indicated by indiscriminate ransacking.

The variety in the methods used to reopen graves and in the degree of damage caused to them also suggests multiple episodes of robbing, or at least multiple reopeners. In Chapter 5.4, an attempt was made to map different robbing methods to the spatial distribution of graves. It was expected that this methodology might reveal that one individual or group of robbers worked in one section of a cemetery. No such patterns could be found. The approach to graves appears near-individual. There are just a few examples in which neighbouring or nearby graves have been robbed using apparently similar methods, as if reopened in the same event and by the same diggers.

In one or two cemeteries there are areas free from robbing. These sections do not correspond with any other identifiable spatial patterning in terms of rows, clusters, or other groups of graves which might correspond to family or other groups. At Pliening, Codreanu-Windauer (1997) argued that the robbers came from one family whose graves had been spared; similar evidence was not found in Kent.

Grave contents are almost never mixed in the Kentish cemeteries, as might happen in mass robbing of large numbers of neighbouring graves. As shown in Chapter 5.2, in the few cases where remains seem to have been added to disturbed graves, the reopeners carried the extra bones some distance in order to rebury them.

In other periods, grave-robbery events have sometimes been interpreted as connected with major societal or dynastic change. This, for example, has been argued by Crumlin-Pedersen (1995, Chapter 1) at the Roman Iron Age boat-grave cemetery at Slusegaard, Denmark. Crumlin-Pedersen showed that all the graves of one phase have been ransacked, probably during a period of intense unrest. The research presented here shows that this is not the case in the early medieval period. Robbing in Kent was a series of small events, spread over at least several decades. Only a limited proportion of interments were robbed at a time, and unlike at Slusegaard, the same form of burial continued after robbing ceased.

Given this evidence that robbing was a small-scale, frequently repeated practice, the question arises whether it may have been an accepted custom. As discussed in Chapter 1, explanations for grave-robbery have sometimes been put forward in terms protracted funerary rites, which are well-documented in several areas of the ancient and modern world. Ritual manipulation of the dead is seen, for example, in the Neolithic periods of Malta and Britain, and in the well-known ethnographical material from Madagascar (Malone et al 2009, Beckett & Robb 2006, Bloch 1971).

The analysis in this thesis has shown that there is no archaeological basis for such interpretations in the early medieval period. In Merovingian-period robbing there is considerable variety in the ways in which disturbed bones are treated. There are examples of neat bone piling, as well as more common evidence of carelessly strewn bones in the fill and probably around the graveside. However, there is very little evidence for any treatment of remains which appears deliberate enough to be considered ritual. Bones are certainly missing from disturbed graves, but these represent the areas dug out by robbers, particularly the torso, where artefact finds were concentrated.

The exceptions are the small numbers of graves in which bodies have been mutilated in ways analogous to contemporary deviant burial rites (above, Chapter 6.3). There are also a few examples in Kent of reopened graves to which extra human remains, probably also from disturbed burials, have been added. On the continent such finds have sometimes been interpreted as evidence of mass reopening. In Kent it could be shown that, since there was considerable distance to any reopened graves which might be the source of the extra bones, the admixture was almost certainly deliberate and meaningful.

Related to the idea of body manipulation is the suggestion that artefacts may have been regularly removed from graves at the end of a ritual period, perhaps corresponding with the decomposition of the body. As argued in Chapter 2, such a practice is unlikely in any context as it

risks fatally undermining the validity of the burial display. It seems particularly unlikely that this kind of ritual interval and associated soul beliefs would develop in the 7th century, a time when the ideology of death and the afterlife was heading in a Christian direction.

More concretely, the chronology of reopening eliminates this ritual period hypothesis. There is no reason to see the reopening in Kent, or more widely in Merovingia, as an established custom. It may appear gradually but is mainly concentrated within two or three generations. It is not a single intense outbreak but nor is it a long-term practice. Grave-robbery was not a lingering heathen practice in 7th century Kent but a new introduction in tune with the times.

Graves were not reopened at a set interval after burial but at widely varied stages of decomposition. This is one of the many points on which there is close resemblance between the evidence in Kent and continental Europe. It is common to find that a small minority of graves in a cemetery were reopened while the bodies were still partially articulated, demonstrating how quickly reopening could sometimes follow burial. However the majority of burials at all sites were skeletonized by the time of disturbance.

The rough methods used in robbing also argue against interpretations of the early medieval reopening as a socially sanctioned part of the funerary process. There is too marked a contrast with the respect and care for the dead otherwise evidenced by the burial rituals, the investment in funerary display, and the care taken to prevent and halt accidental disturbance of graves. For the reopening there is only minimal evidence for active aggression towards the grave contents, but the human remains were at least treated carelessly and with disregard for the integrity of the disturbed bodies. As discussed, bones are missing from the disturbed graves and were probably left scattered. Otherwise they are found haphazardly thrown back in with the fill and rejected artefacts. It is difficult to discern any concern for the remains of family members or revered ancestors in the way robbing is carried out.

Chapter 6.2 showed that a similar carelessness towards older interments is often seen in the widespread custom of secondary burial. These have traditionally been interpreted as the addition of bodies to the graves of related individuals, as is often done today. Recent work has noted an inconsistency between this interpretation and the cavalier treatment of many primary interments (Stoodley 2002, Cherryson 2007). The evidence in this thesis further questions this familial interpretation. In many graves it was more a case of removing and replacing a primary burial than of adding a secondary corpse. Although there is a spectrum of care taken, as in robbed graves, primary skeletons are frequently partial and scattered.

Both grave-robbery and secondary burials thus show a disregard for the integrity of the body which seems otherwise so carefully honoured in Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries. This thesis has presented evidence that some secondary burials go beyond carelessness and appear an aggressive act, associated with indicators of deviant burial. Some secondary or intercutting burials also involve robbery of gravegoods from the underlying grave, suggesting that the division between secondary burial and grave-robbery may not be entirely clear-cut.

However, it is not suggested that all secondary burials have a malign intent. It seems more likely that the apparently careless treatment of primary skeletons indicates that defleshed bones were not revered as a significant part of a dead person's remains or identity. An individual's burial place, on the other hand, presumably carried meaning, motivating the interment of further remains in the same grave. The grave site seems relevant for the maintenance of memory, for adding corpses and reaffirming relationships between individuals, but not the skeletal remains. What looks to us like maltreatment of human remains was not necessarily a defilement in an Anglo-Saxon context.

There is one major difference between reopening for secondary burials and for robbery: secondary burial respects the period of fleshy decomposition, while grave-robbery does not. No cases have been found in this study of still-fleshed bodies being damaged for secondary burials, whereas there are multiple reports of robbery of decomposing corpses. It is likely that the element of very early reopening in grave-robbery indicates that this practice broke a significant ritual boundary.

Although early medieval grave-robbery involves damage to burials, it does not appear to represent attempts to obliterate monuments. It has sometimes been suggested that the power of grave-robbing was through the destruction of the earthly home of the soul (Randsborg 1998, Thrane 1978, Chapter 2). This thesis has found only limited support for this interpretation in the early limited context. Robbing causes physical damage to burials, in some cases extensive damage, but this is limited to the process of finding and removing valuables. In many graves there is evidence that robbers minimised the effort needed to reach artefacts, for example by cutting a small hole into the coffin lid. Robbing caused damage, often highly and probably intentionally visible damage, but graves remained as monuments and in most cases were backfilled by the reopeners or by cemetery users.

How graves were selected for reopening is a long-standing and largely unanswered question in Merovingia. The proportion of burials disturbed in each cemetery varies even more widely in the

continental sample than in Kent (Chapter 2, Table 1). The indications are that robbers were operating under some form of constraint, which meant that they were unable or unwilling to take artefacts from all graves. The limiting factors may have been time, fear of discovery, or the effort of digging out burials. Alternatively, it may have been unnecessary for robbers to open further graves in order to achieve their purpose. The selection of graves is therefore a window onto their priorities and aims.

As discussed above, one major preference appears to be for burials from close to the robbers' own time. Older graves were much less frequently robbed, although there is every reason to think that they were still readily identifiable as monuments in the burial grounds.

Judging by the high levels of residual artefact fragments in the disturbed Kentish graves, robber preferentially selected better-furnished burials. This is a further indication that obtaining grave-goods was a significant motive. However, there is no need to assume that reopeners had specific prior knowledge of grave assemblages. It is a sufficient explanation that high investment in burial displays was also expressed through the aboveground marking of graves. Robbed graves are on average substantially larger than the intact burials, lending support to this idea. On the other hand, plenty of well-furnished graves were left undisturbed. Either the robbers' information was incomplete, or they had reasons for selecting only certain well-furnished graves.

In Merovingia preferences for burials of one or other sex have been reported at some sites, with roughly equal proportions at others. In Kent, there are more disturbed male burials than female burials (Chapter 4.8). However, this difference may not be archaeologically significant, especially since many disturbed burials cannot be sexed. It is possible, for example, that the proportions are skewed by the strongly male-gendered artefacts, especially spears and shields, which were typically left behind by robbers. If it is significant, it may only indicate that male burials could at least sometimes be distinguished from their surface elaboration. Indeed one widely applicable conclusion from this research is that during the use period of these cemeteries, information about the age, gender, and grave-good wealth of buried individuals could at least sometimes be inferred from aboveground appearance of graves.

In Kent the proportions of male and female graves robbed at each site vary widely, suggesting that male graves may have been targeted at some sites but not others. However, no sites demonstrate an exclusive preference for male graves. The grave-goods particular to men were not the only or even the main goal. Reopening was not abandoned when a female burial was revealed; some female-gendered artefacts are among the most consistently removed artefacts. In particular

the Kentish evidence does not support arguments that robbers were primarily looking for weapons (Chapter 6.1).

Although gender preferences were not strongly expressed, there is stronger evidence that grave robbers deliberately avoided burials of children. Low levels of disturbance in child graves have also frequently been reported on the continent, but poor preservation of juvenile bones makes it harder to recognise. This thesis has demonstrated that in Kent, burials of children were almost only reopened when they were in adult-sized graves. These burials of children may not have been distinguished from adult graves on the surface, and so in effect were reopened by mistake. Child graves may have been avoided for superstitious or emotional reasons, or because they tended to contain fewer and more mundane artefacts. The apparent mistake in choosing the over-sized child graves did not stop the robbers disturbing the contents, suggesting that the latter rationale probably dominates.

At several continental sites it has previously been argued that robbers knew artefact assemblages in advance and so were able to target their cuts into the right parts of graves. Müller (1976) and Codreanu-Windauer (1997) have shown that this impression is at least usually false. Detailed examination of the robbing methods used in Kent supports their view. It is possible that robbers were able to see grave outlines sufficiently well on the surface that they often cut directly into the torso area, but no more specific knowledge of assemblages can be demonstrated.

The apparent mistakes in opening some adult-sized child graves also tend to imply that the robbers did not have detailed knowledge about the buried individuals, but were using above-ground indications. The structures of the burying communities represented in the field cemeteries are not fully understood in terms of how many descent groups or households are represented, although recent work has considered the question in detail (Sayer 2009, 2010). Nor is it known whether cemeteries are directly linked to settlements. However, these are burial grounds of at most several hundred individuals buried over the course of several centuries; this is by no means beyond the scale at which all members of the living communities would be personally known to each other. It is possible that the robbers were part of the immediate burying community, but there is no evidence that requires it.

In this vein, it has been suggested that access to traders outside the local community enabled the East Kent robbing (Welch 2007: 222-3). Stuart Brookes (2003: 95) identifies "a monetary zone of alienable exchange" along the eastern margin of the county during this period, at a time when depersonalized trade in the kind of possessions that became grave-goods was just beginning. He

emphasizes trader mobility at this early stage of developing exchange networks, an impression which also comes through in the 7th century Kentish law codes (Chapter 6.4). Moreover, Brookes' study of the distribution of Early and Middle Anglo-Saxon sites in Kent has demonstrated the intentional visibility of the field cemeteries, set in conspicuous positions along routeways (Brookes 2003: 87-88). They would have been ready targets for a trader or adventurer willing to take the risk. Furthermore, East Kent is easily reachable by sea, for anyone in need of a quick getaway.

However, the geographical distribution of the disturbed sites suggests that explanations in terms of access to the sea or to trading networks are insufficient (Chapter 4.3). As in Merovingia, cemeteries with high levels of robbing are intermingled with untouched sites. In Kent the robbed sites are not all close to the sea, and there are several nearer the coastline which were not disturbed. If robbing happened as large-scale events, with mass looting of graves in each cemetery, then these interpretations would have more currency. However, as argued above, there is evidence to the contrary. Robbing seems to have happened repeatedly in each affected cemetery, one or a few graves at a time. In some 7th century East Kent cemeteries it occurred many times, whereas in others, it never happened.

Crucial here is the observation that many of the removed grave-goods were in decidedly poor condition by the time of reopening. If graves were robbed with the intention of re-circulating stolen artefacts, whether for trade or through some other mechanism, the objects would need to have been in usable condition. This would be true for the objects removed from the freshest graves, at least the items made of metal or other non-absorbent materials. However, since most graves were reopened years or decades after burial, most removed artefacts had deteriorated significantly during their time in the ground.

Chapter 6.1 showed that many removed grave-goods were so badly decayed that they were actually falling apart, as the rust stains, fragments, and whole chunks of broken objects left behind in disturbed graves testify. Iron grave-goods in particular were frequently highly friable, and bronze objects also left corrosion marks. Sheathed swords may have been better protected, but in several cases they also broke apart. It is therefore remarkable that they were still removed. The only swords which remain in disturbed graves are those which wholly disintegrated when lifted. Others were in sufficiently poor condition to lose even parts of hilts, but were still taken.

Good condition therefore was not a criterion for the selection of grave-goods. The artefacts must have been valuable to the reopeners, in the sense that they were worth going to considerable

trouble to obtain. However, it seems unlikely that they bore the same kind of value as at the time of their deposition. While some bronze or silver brooches could perhaps still have been cleaned for wearing or melted down for reuse, iron goods were in such poor condition that it is unlikely that they yielded recoverable metal. Neither use value, exchange value, or even raw materials are therefore convincing explanations for the desirability of these objects. Their significance lay in their provenance, in their use as grave-goods.

The proposal here is that the aim of the robbing was not to obtain artefacts for the use of the living, but to remove them from the realm of the dead. This is an idea which has also appeared in a Merovingian context, but without being widely noted. Codreanu-Windauer (1997: 32, Chapter 2), in her report on the Pliening cemetery, is one of the few authors to comment on the poor condition of many stolen artefacts. She argued that the robbing there was aimed at diminishing the power and prestige of dead ancestors, as an indirect attack on their living relatives.

In Kent, the evidence suggests the intention was to deprive the dead of their grave-goods, and that this act involved highly specific symbolism. As shown in Chapter 6.1, only certain types of artefact, primarily swords and brooches, are consistently missing from disturbed burials. Other artefact types, for instance knives and hangers worn on women's belts, were frequently left behind, apparently deliberately, sometimes after being handled by the robbers.

Some selection of artefacts has been suggested in on the continent (Chapter 2). Here, jewellery and weapons are most frequently cited as the robbers' targets, mainly because they are considered among the most valuable archaeologically-visible artefacts. Vessels, including bronze bowls, frequently remain in disturbed graves, and it has been suggested that a taboo existed against their theft, possibly on hygienic grounds. There is also a small number of reports of objects with explicitly Christian symbolism left in disturbed graves.

The detailed analysis of the multi-site Kent sample has allowed these questions to be explored in much greater depth. This thesis demonstrates that, despite the apparently transgressive nature of the robbing, the people who carried it out followed clear rules about what should and should not be taken. It is argued here that these rules were closely related to the reasons that particular artefacts found their way into burials in the first place. This was malefaction within firm bounds: the perpetrators expressed contempt for the individual graves, but not for the furnished burial rite itself.

The differences between the artefacts selected for removal on the continent and in Kent indicate that robbers are unlikely to have been outsiders to the region; rather they understood and were

able to manipulate local customs. In Kent, knives of all materials were consistently left behind, appearing more frequently in robbed than in unrobbed graves. Glass and ceramic vessels, on the other hand, are under-represented in the Kentish disturbed burials, suggesting that whatever the aversion to removing these objects in Francia, it did not apply in England.

The robbers' preferences, as exposed through this research, allow some previous hypotheses to be rejected. There is no evidence that reusable metal was the target. Certain artefacts of iron, bronze, and silver were removed, but none of these metals were consistently taken. Conversely, other object types, especially knives and the various forms of girdle hanger, seem never to have been taken irrespective of their metal. Weapons as a broad category were not the goal. Swords were taken, but spears, shields, and other forms of weaponry were not usually removed. Similarly, jewellery was not a desired category. Brooches were taken, but not pendants or beads in any quantity.

Having gone to the effort and risk of opening a grave, it is remarkable that robbers then left behind so many items. Some of the rejected items, especially the necklace elements, appear highly desirable. Even if smaller artefacts such as beads were not highly valuable, there must have been compelling reasons for the robbers' unwillingness to use them for exchange or as small gifts. Beads are a useful example, since they are some of the few items which could consistently have been in the same condition at both burial and reopening. Their commonness might also have made them easier to fence. Yet they are frequently found rejected in disturbed graves, and not only because of their small size. In at least one case a whole necklace was lifted and moved intact by the robbers, but still left behind. The removed objects are not the relatively anonymous beads or knives which could be exchanged with little fear of recognition. Instead they are the most distinctively decorated and therefore recognisable possessions.

In this concluding chapter it has been argued that the pervasive disturbance of graves in late 6th-7th century East Kent should be regarded as the same phenomenon as the long-recognised and widespread robbing of Merovingian-period row-grave cemeteries over the channel. This practice appeared during a period when Frankish material culture was being eagerly imported into Kent, but must have had significance in a local context to explain such ready adoption. Similar robbing appears much more sporadically in West Kent, East Anglia, Hampshire, and elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon England.

The Kentish grave disturbance should be seen as robbing, in the sense that its main purpose was to remove artefacts from burials. In the county as a whole and within each cemetery, robbing occurred on numerous separate occasions, spread over the course of many decades. The choice of graves was specific, even if it is difficult to reconstruct the basis of the robbers' selection. Graves from close to the robbers' time were favoured. Robbing was carried out in a manner that was at best disrespectful and which caused considerable damage to grave contents, including human remains. It was sometimes carried out while corpses were still fleshed.

Central to interpretation of the robbing are the observations first that a precise and consistent selection of object types were removed from graves, leaving large numbers of other goods behind, and second that many of the removed objects were in an extremely poor condition when taken. It is argued here that the purpose of the robbing was not to obtain goods for use, exchange, or raw materials, but rather to remove objects with certain symbolism from the possession of the dead. This form of grave-robbery therefore represents a unique opportunity to move on from understandings of grave-goods as representing different quantities of wealth, or even as representing different life stages and social identities, to tracing some of their symbolic values as understood by the burying communities themselves.

In Chapter 6.1 it was argued that some artefacts, especially knives, were too closely tied to the personality of the dead owner to be used by an heir. This explains both why they appear so frequently in graves and why they were not taken during robbing. A knife was an object which most individuals possessed, and which was particular to them. A used knife evidently could not be appropriated by another person, and nor could it be effectively removed from the possession of a dead owner. The various forms of belt hangers worn by a proportion of women also fall into this category of personal items, since they are always left in graves, even when newly buried and in good condition.

Other grave-goods have been interpreted as more readily transferrable between individuals. This applies particularly to swords, for which there is ample documentary evidence of both gift-giving and inheritance (Chapter 6.1). Swords were consistently removed from disturbed burials in Kent, even when irrecoverably decayed. It is argued here that these objects were symbolic of the wealth and prestige of the descent group, rather than held as individual possessions. As Heinrich Härke (1992) has shown, even small boys and invalids were sometimes buried with weapons which they could not have wielded in life. A sword could be symbolically transferred to a new owner through theft from a grave, in a way which did not apply to personal items. The taking of a sword was

also an effective attack on the living kin of the buried individual, which the removal of a purely personal possession would not achieve.

Swords have frequently been suggested as robbers' targets by past commentators, largely because of their legendary associations. The Kentish evidence substantiates this hypothesis, but with an important caution: the intense robbing of the field cemeteries can only in the loosest sense be related to the recovery of famous swords from the graves of heroes seen in literature, notably *The Waking Of Angantyr* (Chapter 1). Seventh-century robbing is far too common, and the preference for swords is by no means exclusive.

Swords are not the only objects that can be interpreted as representing a family's prestige. The other category of artefact consistently targeted by robbers is women's brooches, whether of bronze or silver. Aspöck (2003) has commented that in interpretations of grave-robbery male stolen objects, especially swords, are often described as carrying symbolism, but female brooches just as objects of worth. The evidence from the Kentish robbing suggests that brooches may be much more symbolically significant as female-line heirlooms than previously thought. Or rather, given the evidence for melting down and reuse, perhaps not as heirlooms, but as objects whose material could be passed on and reshaped for new generations.

In the model presented here grave-robbery was thus an attack on the descent group, rather than on the individual dead. Graves were selected for robbing on the basis of their connections with living relatives. The aim was not destruction for its own sake, nor the gaining of wealth, but the removal of symbolically-loaded artefacts from the store of prestige that is built up in the graves of a family. Grave-robbery was a tactic to undermine the use of competitive burial rites and monuments, and in particular the deposition of grave-goods. The remains of past displays were destroyed, and subverted into memories of weakness and defeat.

In this interpretation, sword burial in particular was a boast about the superfluity of a family's ability to provide for and protect itself. Grave-robbery called that bluff, and showed that a family – or other group – was vulnerable. It was symptomatic of insecure times, when displaying the means of deadly violence was essential for protecting family and belongings, and when those seen as weak had little protection from the strong.

For Kent it is suggested that the disputes which gave rise to grave-robbery were between, rather than within, the groups using each cemetery. Children were largely excluded, but both male and female dead could be attacked to damage the public standing of their descendants. This gender equality is one of the most notable aspects of the grave-robbery: if reopened graves are

symptomatic of conflict, this was not a male-world political struggle, but one involving both the women and the men of the affected communities.

How we envisage grave-robbery is a point of departure for some quite different reconstructions of early medieval society: as a well-ordered place, in which justice ensured order; or a strife-ridden, insecure world in which violence was the only protection against the ambitions of others. It brings into focus the question of what we mean by the archaeological shorthand of 'elites' and 'high status' in terms of the ability of individuals and groups to protect their persons and property, and in this case their ancestral dead.

Across the Merovingian kingdoms 7th century grave-robbery was a widespread practice, but one driven by local conflicts: sufficiently local to ravage some cemeteries, but leave neighbouring communities untouched. Grave-robbery was, at least in Kent, a long series of tit-for-tat incidents in which revenge was taken outside the growing remit of judicial intervention. Even on the continent, there are no indications that the stream of official proclamations against robbing had any effect against the practice.

The 7th century was a time of experimentation with the social signals that could be sent by costume, possessions, rites, and monuments. Recent work has emphasized the diversity of burial practices in this period of transition (Geake 1992, Reynolds 2009). Disruption of the old belief systems through which death customs found meaning was not immediately stilled by a clear Christian burial model. Grave-robbing must also be seen against the backdrop of rising royal power and elite competition in the transition from a dispersed rural society to an early state. There was much more to fight for, with the possibility of influence and wealth accumulation in the newly forming court and church hierarchies.

Grave-robbery can be seen as one element of the diversification of the types and uses of conversion period burial. Unlike the other new features of this period, its aims were negative: it was used to undermine memories of past displays and to seize the stores of remembered prestige which families built up in graves. It reflects not the waning of the furnished burial custom, but its continuing meaning to the communities who practised it.

Future research

Further research will show the extent to which the Kentish interpretations are applicable in Merovingia. The indications so far are that the conclusions drawn here are in concord with the continental evidence, especially the material from the most recent and thorough publications. However, it is likely that considerable variation exists to be uncovered, both regionally and even within local areas. A specific area in which further work is needed in Merovingia is in a more systematic approach to the question of which grave-goods were selected by robbers. In particular the idea that certain amuletic or Christian objects were left behind in continental graves is at present supported only by rather anecdotal evidence.

The analysis of the Kentish robbing has shown how much evidence can be extracted even from poorly recorded data. Grave-robbery is not just a destructive taphonomic process which needs to be accounted for in the reconstruction of early medieval cemeteries. It is a social phenomenon which took place during the use-period of the sites, changing their appearance, influencing their development, and impacting on the burying community. Future cemetery excavations which see grave-robbery as a research object in itself, and which can build on this research into the recording and interpretation of robbery, will add considerably to the picture which has been put together here.

Table 1: Disturbed Cemeteries in Western and Central Europe

Bronze Age

Map no.	Site	Region	Country	Disturbance	Main references for robbing
1	Gemeinlebarn F	Lower Austria	Austria	c.220/c.250	Neugebauer 1991
2	Franzhausen I	Lower Austria	Austria	-	Neugebauer-Maresch & Neugebauer 1997
3	Mezőcsát	Borsod	Hungary	-	Hänsel & Kalicz 1986
4	Pitten	Lower Austria	Austria	c. 10%	Hampl et al 1981-1991
5	Dolný Peter	Southwest Slovakia	Slovakia	over 50%	Dušek 1969
6	Veľký Grob	Southwest Slovakia	Slovakia	39 (c.60%)	Chropovsky 1960
7	Nové Zámky	Southwest Slovakia	Slovakia	-	Dušek 1969
8	Nesvady	Southwest Slovakia	Slovakia	over 80%	Dušek 1969
9	Mušov	Southeast Czech	Czech Republic	-	Stuchlík 1987
10	Mintraching, Regensburg	Bavaria	Germany	-	Ruckdeschel 1985
11	Raisting am Ammersee	Bavaria	Germany	-	Koschik 1981
12	Einigen	Berne	Switzerland	-	Grütter 1972-1973

Iron Age

13	Tauberbischofsheim-Dittigheim	Main-Tauber-Kreis	Germany	-	Baitinger 1992
14	Magdalenenberg, Villingen	Baden-Württemberg	Germany	-	Spindler 1971-1980

Early Medieval

15	Reichenhall	Bavaria	Germany	0.12	Chlingensperg-Berg 1890
16	Baldenheim	Alsace	France	-	Henning 1907
17	Neu-Ruppersdorf	-	Austria	-	Beninger 1931
18	Schwechat	Wien	Austria	-	Seracsin 1936
19	Hailfingen, Tübingen	Baden-Württemberg	Germany	0.26	Stoll 1939
20	Eltville	Hesse	Germany	81/169	Schoppa 1950
21	Bülach	Zurich	Switzerland	(44/300) 13%	Werner 1953
22	Mindelheim	Bavaria	Germany	0.36	Werner 1955
23	Köln-Müngersdorf I	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Germany	(46) 31%	Fremersdorf 1955
24	Feldmoching	Bavaria	Germany	0.76	Dannheimer & Ulbert 1956

Map no.	Site	Region	Country	Disturbance	Main references for robbing
25	Sendling	Bavaria	Germany	-	Dannheimer & Ulbert 1956
26	Hohenfels, Trier	Rheinland-Pfalz	Germany	0.4	Böhner 1958
27	Eisenach, Trier	Rheinland-Pfalz	Germany	0.3	Böhner 1958
28	Rittersdorf-Kopp, Trier	Rheinland-Pfalz	Germany	0.25	Böhner 1958
29	Ehrang, Trier	Rheinland-Pfalz	Germany	0.21	Böhner 1958
30	München-Giesing	Bavaria	Germany	0.2	Roth 1978: 60
31	Linz-Zizlau	-	Austria	0.2	Ladenbauer Orel 1960
32	Göggingen	Bavaria	Germany	-	Stein 1961
33	Rohrendorf	-	Austria	-	Hampl 1964
34	Erpersdorf	-	Austria	-	Hampl 1964
35	Vörs	Somogy	Hungary	-	Sági 1964
36	Poysdorf	-	Austria	-	Beninger & Mitscha Märheim 1966
37	Marktoberdorf, Allgäu	Bavaria	Germany	0.017	Christlein 1966
38	Sontheim, Brenz	Baden-Württemberg	Germany	0.18	Neuffer-Müller 1966
39	Köln-Junkersdorf	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Germany	0.87	La Baume 1967
40	Epolding-Mühltal	Bavaria	Germany	0.39	Dannheimer 1968b
41	Lauterhofen	Bavaria	Germany	0.14	Dannheimer 1968a
42	Eick	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Germany	0.31	Hinz 1969
43	Göschweiler, Südbaden	Baden-Württemberg	Germany	-	Garscha 1970
44	Weimar	Thüringen	Germany	<10%	Schmidt 1970
45	Stößen	Sachsen-Anhalt	Germany	0.04	Schmidt 1970
46	Oberwerschen	Thüringen	Germany	0.35	Schmidt 1970
47	Dirlewang bei Mindelheim	Bavaria	Germany	0.04	Christlein 1971
48	Güttingen	Baden-Württemberg	Germany	0.47	Fingerlin 1971
49	Merdingen	Baden-Württemberg	Germany	0.85	Fingerlin 1971
50	Fridingen	Baden-Württemberg	Germany	0.75	Reim 1972
51	Donzdorf	Baden-Württemberg	Germany	0.67	Neuffer 1972
52	Iversheim	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Germany	0.22	Neuffer-Müller 1972
53	Rübenach	Rheinland-Pfalz	Germany	0.69	Neuffer-Müller & Ament 1973
54	Berghausen, Nordbaden	Baden-Württemberg	Germany	-	Koch 1973a, Koch 1973b, Koch 1974
55	Bargen, Nordbaden	Baden-Württemberg	Germany	-	Koch 1973a, Koch 1974
56	Krefeld-Gellep	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Germany	-	Pirling 1974
57	Weißenfels	Sachsen-Anhalt	Germany	0.18	Schmidt 1975

Map no.	Site	Region	Country	Disturbance	Main references for robbing
58	Ammern	Thüringen	Germany	0.37	Schmidt 1975
59	Hemmingen, Kreis Ludwigsburg	Baden-Württemberg	Germany	26/59 (44%)	Müller 1976
60	Pommerhof bei Plaidt	Rheinland-Pfalz	Germany	0.38	Ament 1976
61	Kottenheim	Rheinland-Pfalz	Germany	0.61	Ament 1976
62	Šaratice	-	Czech Republic	-	Tejral 1976: 84
63	Großörner	Thüringen	Germany	0.24	Roth 1978: 64
64	Aulnizeux, La Vignette	Marne	France	c. 38%	Roth 1978: 60
65	Normée, La Tempête	Marne	France	c. 60%	Roth 1978: 60
66	Vert-la-Gravelle, Le Moulin	Marne	France	over 60%	Roth 1978: 60
67	Gourgançon, Les Onches-Petitpas	Marne	France	over 60%	Roth 1978: 60
68	Pulling, Freising	Bavaria	Germany	0.78	Roth 1978: 60
69	Frénouville	Calvados	France	-	Pilet 1980
70	Kajdacz	-	Hungary	0.8	Roth 1978: 61
71	Támasi	-	Hungary	0.5	Roth 1978: 61
72	Szentendre	-	Hungary	-	Roth 1978: 61
73	Unterthürheim, Bayerisch-Schwaben	Bavaria	Germany	-	Grünewald 1988
74	Maslomęcz	-	Poland	47/290 (16%)	Kokowski 1991
75	Gródek am Bug	-	Poland	17/163 (10%)	Kokowski 1991
76	Moroczyn	-	Poland	2/10 (20%)	Kokowski 1991
77	Friedberg-Bruchenbrücken	Wetteraukreis, Hesse	Germany	-	Thiedmann & Schleifring 1992
78	Rödingen, Kreis Düren	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Germany	min. 10%	Janssen 1993
79	Mödling	-	Austria	-	Bóna 1993
80	Jutas	-	Hungary	-	Bóna 1993
81	Kádárta	-	Hungary	-	Bóna 1993
82	Rácalmás	-	Hungary	-	Bóna 1993
83	Várpalota	-	Hungary	-	Bóna 1993
84	Tamási	-	Hungary	-	Bóna 1993
85	Szentendre	-	Hungary	-	Bóna 1993
86	Viecht-Unterfeld, Eching	Bavaria	Germany	c.90% of 278	Dannhorn 1994
87	Eußenheim, Würzburg	Bavaria	Germany	-	Leinthaler 1995-1996
88	Pliening, Ebersberg	Bavaria	Germany	36-40%	Codreanu-Windauer 1997
89	Aubing	Bavaria	Germany	c.50%	Dannheimer 1998
90	Pada	Virumaa (Wierland)	Estonia	42/172 (25%)	Tamla 1998

Map no.	Site	Region	Country	Disturbance	Main references for robbing
91	Maidla	-	Estonia	-	Tamla 1998
92	Karja	-	Estonia	-	Tamla 1998
93	Kaberla	-	Estonia	-	Tamla 1998
94	Brunn am Gebirge, Flur Wolfholz	Lower Austria	Austria	41/42	Aspöck 2002
95	Werlaburgdorf, Wolfenbüttel	Schladen, Lower Saxony	Germany	32/236 (14%)	Blaich & Geschwinde 2007
96	Poprad, Matejovce	-	Slovakia	1/1	Pieta 2008
97	Šakvice, Břeclav	South Moravia	Czech Republic	almost all/56	Tejral 2008
98	Žuráň bei Brno	-	Czech Republic	2/2	Tejral 2008
99	Vendeuil-Caply	Picardy	France	-	pers. comm.
100	Pfafkoken, Regensburg	Bavaria	Germany	-	Codreanu-Windauer 1993
101	Westheim, Weißenburg-Gunzenhausen	Bavaria	Germany	-	Reiß 1994
102	Künzig-Bruck, Deggendorf	Bavaria	Germany	-	Hannibal-Deraniyagala 2007
103	Remseck-Pattonville, Ludwigsburg	Baden-Württemberg	Germany	90%+	Bofinger & Przemyslaw 2008
104	Niedermerz I, Düren	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Germany	32-45%+	Plum 2004
105	Lamersdorf, Düren	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Germany	38-50%+	Plum 2004
106	Wollersheim I, Düren	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Germany	60-65%+	Plum 2004
107	Siersdorf I, Düren	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Germany	10-26%+	Plum 2004
108	Merzenich I, Düren	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Germany	6-15%+	Plum 2004
109	Alphen	North Brabant	Netherlands	?2/51 (4%)	Verwers 1987
110	Borsbeek	North Brabant	Netherlands	6-16/42 (14-38%)	Verwers 1987
111	Broekeneind	North Brabant	Netherlands	6/26 (23%)	Verwers 1987
112	Meerveldhoven	North Brabant	Netherlands	4-10/54 (7-18%)	Verwers 1987
113	Oeienbosdijk	North Brabant	Netherlands	7-9/26 (27-35%)	Verwers 1987
114	Engelsmanshoven	Limburg	Belgium	17/60 (28%)	Verwers 1987
115	Rosmeer	Limburg	Belgium	35/118 (30%)	Verwers 1987
116	Hamoir	Liège	Belgium	3-5/272 (1-2%)	Verwers 1987
117	Bulles, Oise	Picardy	France	258/468 (55%)	Périn 1980

Table 6: Kent sites: extensive early disturbance

Dates and overall levels of disturbance

Site no.	Site name	Phases[1]	Dates[1]	Date from (AD)[2]	Date to (AD)[2]	Graves: min. no. graves in cemetery	Graves: no. graves for analysis	Graves: no. disturbed/possibly disturbed graves	Graves: % graves disturbed	Burials: no. burials for analysis	Burials: no. disturbed/possibly disturbed burials	Burials: % burials disturbed	Burials: disturbed while skeleton at least partially articulated	Disturbed doubles and multiples
40	Broadstairs I, Bradstow School	V-VIII	end 6th - late 7th	500	700	137	89	18	20%	91	19	21%	1	1
42	Broadstairs III, St Peter's Tip	IV-IX?	later 6th - first half 8th	525	700	405	388	54	14%	U	54	U	2	2
160	Lyminge II	I-III	5th - mid 6th	450	650	107	68	11	16%	68	11	16%	0	0
168	Margate I, Half Mile Ride	VII?-IX	mid/late 7th-	600	700	34	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
192	Monkton I, Primrose Hill	II?-VII?	5th - mid/late 7th	500	700	35	34	3	9%	35	3	9%	1	0
197	Northbourne I, Finglesham	II-VIII	5th - late 7th	520	750	252	237	17	7%	251	20	8%	1	2
209	Ramsgate IV, Ozengell	IB?-VIII	5th - late 7th	475	725	710	89	39	44%	91	41	45%	7	2
231	Sarre I (Brent)	I-IX	5th - first half 8th	480	700	400	272	30	11%	293	31	11%	0	1
231	Sarre I (TAT)	I-IX	5th - first half 8th	480	700	400	20	9	45%	23	12	52%	0	1
	All sites						1197	181	15%	852	191	16%	12	9

1. Richardson (2005)
2. ASKED

Gender

Site no.	Site name	Sex: disturbed female burials	Sex: disturbed male burials	Sex: disturbed sex unknown	Sex: total female burials	Sex: total male burials	Sex: total burials sex unknown	Sex: % female burials disturbed	Sex: % male burials disturbed	Sex: % of burials of unknown sex disturbed	Sex: % of disturbed burials which are female	Sex: % of disturbed burials which are male	Sex: % of disturbed burials which are of unknown sex	Sex: female burials as % of total burials	Sex: male burials as % of total burials	Sex: unknown sex burials as % of total burials
40	Broadstairs I, Bradstow School	4	8	7	15	36	40	27%	22%	18%	21%	42%	37%	16%	40%	44%
42	Broadstairs III, St Peter's Tip	16	23	15	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
160	Lyminge II	2	9	0	28	30	10	7%	30%	0%	18%	82%	0%	41%	44%	15%
168	Margate I, Half Mile Ride	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
192	Monkton I, Primrose Hill	0	3	0	6	13	16	0%	23%	0%	0%	100%	0%	17%	37%	46%
197	Northbourne I, Finglesham	8	8	4	96	87	68	8%	9%	6%	40%	40%	20%	38%	35%	27%
209	Ramsgate IV, Ozengell	18	15	8	38	33	20	47%	45%	40%	44%	37%	20%	42%	36%	22%
231	Sarre I (Brent)	1	6	24	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
231	Sarre I (TAT)	5	2	5	8	6	9	63%	33%	56%	42%	17%	42%	35%	26%	39%
	All sites	54	74	63	191	205	163	19%	22%	15%	28%	39%	33%	34%	37%	29%

Age

Site no.	Site name	Age: disturbed adult burials	Age: disturbed pre-adult burials	Age: disturbed burials age unknown	Age: total adult burials	Age: total pre-adult burials	Age: total burials age unknown	Age: % adult burials disturbed	Age: % sub-adult burials disturbed	Age: adult burials as % of total burials	Age: pre-adult burials as % of total burials	Age: unknown age burials as % of total burials
40	Broadstairs I, Bradstow School	14	2	3	56	21	14	25%	10%	62%	23%	15%
42	Broadstairs III, St Peter's Tip	48	5	1	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
160	Lyminge II	12	0	0	52	10	6	23%	0%	76%	15%	9%
168	Margate I, Half Mile Ride	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
192	Monkton I, Primrose Hill	3	0	0	21	2	12	14%	0%	60%	6%	34%
197	Northbourne I, Finglesham	16	1	3	175	54	22	9%	2%	70%	22%	9%
209	Ramsgate IV, Ozengell	31	8	2	63	24	4	49%	33%	69%	26%	4%
231	Sarre I (Brent)	29	2	0	262	31	0	11%	6%	89%	11%	0%
231	Sarre I (TAT)	10	2	0	14	9	0	71%	22%	61%	39%	0%
	All sites	163	20	9	643	151	58	18%	10%	75%	18%	7%

Dimensions

Site no.	Site name	Dimensions: average depth of all graves	Dimensions: average length of all graves	Dimensions: average width of all graves	Dimensions: average depth of undisturbed graves	Dimensions: average length of undisturbed graves	Dimensions: average width of undisturbed graves	Dimensions: average depth of disturbed graves	Dimensions: average length of disturbed graves	Dimensions: average width of disturbed graves
40	Broadstairs I, Bradstow School	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
42	Broadstairs III, St Peter's Tip	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
160	Lyminge II	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
168	Margate I, Half Mile Ride	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
192	Monkton I, Primrose Hill	0.34	2.05	0.77	0.34	2	0.74	0.35	2.43	1
197	Northbourne I, Finglesham	0.49	2.04	0.71	0.48	2.01	0.7	0.62	2.33	0.86
209	Ramsgate IV, Ozengell	0.74	U	U	0.71	U	U	0.78	U	U
231	Sarre I (Brent)	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
231	Sarre I (TAT)	0.55	2.22	0.94	0.37	1.84	0.81	0.68	2.51	1.02
	All sites	0.54	2.05	0.73	0.52	2.00	0.71	0.62	2.35	0.88

Coffins and structural features: ditches and mounds

Site no.	Site name	No. of disturbed graves with coffins	% of disturbed graves which have coffins	Total no. of graves with coffins	% of coffin graves which are disturbed	No. of disturbed graves with any internal or external structures	% of disturbed graves with any internal or external structures	No. of disturbed graves with rectangular, oval, or penannular ditches (Hogarth IIb)	Total no. of graves with rectangular or penannular ditches	% of graves with rectangular or penannular ditches which are disturbed	No. of disturbed graves with probable unditched mounds	Total no. of graves with probable unditched mounds	% of graves with probable unditched mounds which are disturbed
40	Broadstairs I, Bradstow School	6	33%	U	U	8	44%	2	2	100%	1	2	50%
42	Broadstairs III, St Peter's Tip	42	78%	157	27%	20	37%	3	17	18%	U	U	U
160	Lyminge II	0	0%	0	-	2	18%	0	0	-	0	1	0%
168	Margate I, Half Mile Ride	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
192	Monkton I, Primrose Hill	1	33%	1	100%	1	33%	0	0	-	0	0	-
197	Northbourne I, Finglesham	6	35%	59	10%	3	18%	2	11	18%	0	2	0%
209	Ramsgate IV, Ozengell	14	36%	22	64%	20	51%	0	0	-	0	0	-
231	Sarre I (Brent)	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	0	0	-
231	Sarre I (TAT)	0	0%	1	0%	4	44%	0	0	-	0	0	-
	All sites	69	46%	240	26%	58	38%	7	30	-	1	5	-

Structural features: slots, postholes, ledges, blocks

Site no.	Site name	No. of disturbed graves with kerb-slots (Hogarth IId)	Total no. of graves with kerb-slots	% of graves with kerb-slots which are disturbed	No. of disturbed graves with postholes	Total no. of graves with postholes	% of graves with postholes which are disturbed	No. of disturbed graves with externally visible structural features	Total no. of graves with externally visible structural features	% of graves with externally visible structural features which are disturbed	No. of disturbed graves with internal ledges or beam slots etc	Total no. of graves with internal ledges or beam slots etc	% of graves with internal ledges or beam slots etc which are disturbed	No. of disturbed graves with sandstone blocks in fill	Total no. of graves with sandstone blocks in fill	% of graves with sandstone blocks in fill which are disturbed
40	Broadstairs I, Bradstow School	0	0	-	1	3	33%	4	7	57%	5	20	25%	1	U	U
42	Broadstairs III, St Peter's Tip	4	7	57%	5	70	7%	13	94	14%	9	94	10%	3	U	U
160	Lyminge II	2	2	100%	0	0	-	2	3	67%	0	0	-	0	0	-
168	Margate I, Half Mile Ride	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
192	Monkton I, Primrose Hill	0	0	-	0	0	-	0	0	-	1	4	25%	0	0	-
197	Northbourne I, Finglesham	0	0	-	3	18	17%	5	31	16%	0	23	0%	0	0	-
209	Ramsgate IV, Ozengell	4	5	80%	4	23	17%	8	28	29%	6	16	38%	13	20	0.65
231	Sarre I (Brent)	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
231	Sarre I (TAT)	0	0	-	2	3	67%	2	3	67%	3	4	75%	0	0	-
	All sites	10	14	-	15	117	-	34	166	-	24	161	-	-	-	-

Artefacts

Site no.	Site name	Min. no. of graves (both disturbed and undisturbed) with artefact finds	Overall % of graves (both disturbed and undisturbed) with artefact finds	No. of disturbed graves with artefacts	No. of disturbed graves with no finds	% of disturbed graves with artefacts	Disturbed weapon graves	% of disturbed graves which are weapon graves	Total number of weapon graves	% of weapon graves which are disturbed	Disturbed graves containing beads	% of disturbed graves which contain beads	% of furnished disturbed graves which contain beads	Disturbed graves containing chatelaines or similar	% of disturbed graves containing chatelaines or similar
40	Broadstairs I, Bradstow School	63	71%	15	3	83%	4	22%	24	17%	3	17%	20%	-	-
42	Broadstairs III, St Peter's Tip	301	78%	47	7	87%	21	39%	U	U	13	24%	28%	9	19%
160	Lyminge II	42	62%	5	6	45%	0	0%	U	U	1	9%	20%	-	-
168	Margate I, Half Mile Ride	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
192	Monkton I, Primrose Hill	22	65%	3	0	100%	3	100%	U	U	0	0%	0%	-	-
197	Northbourne I, Finglesham	145	71%	12	5	71%	4	24%	28	14%	3	18%	25%	2	17%
209	Ramsgate IV, Ozengell	75	84%	33	6	85%	5	13%	U	U	12	31%	36%	-	-
231	Sarre I (Brent)	U	U	18	12	60%	7	23%	65	11%	2	7%	11%	-	-
231	Sarre I (TAT)	16	94%	10	1	111%	1	11%	5	20%	2	22%	20%	4	14%
	All sites	664	72%	143	40	79%	45	25%	122	13%	36	20%	25%	15	-

Table 7: Kent sites: limited or doubtful early disturbance

Site	Cemetery use period: Kentish Phases*	No. graves for analysis	Max no. disturbed/ possibly disturbed graves	Max no. disturbed/ possibly disturbed burials	Disturbed or possibly disturbed graves	Articulation at time of disturbance?	Sex	Age
Canterbury VI, Old Westgate Farm	V-IX	2	1	1	U	no	U	U
Darenth I, Darenth Park	I-IV	13	1	2	6	no	M+F	adult+adult
Deal I, Mill Hill	II-IV	76	2	3	72	no	U	adult
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	85	no	U+M	adult+adult
Dunton Green I, Polhill	VI-IX	107	2	3	52	no	U	adult
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	83	no	?M+U	adult + child
Eastry III, Updown	VII-IX	78	2	2	76:18	no	M	sub-/young adult
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	U	no	U	U
Horton Kirkby II, Riseley	I-VII?	117	5	5	CII	?articulation	U	U
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	XIX	no	U	U
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	XXII	no	U	U
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	LXV	no	U	U
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	CXV	no	U	U
Minster III, Hoo Farm	U	3	3	3	A	no	U	U
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	B	no	U	?child
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	C	?articulation	U	adult
Minster IV, Thorne Farm	V-VII?	3	1	1	2	no	U	adult
Ramsgate VII, Chalk Hill	U	1	1	2	1/106	no	U	?adult+?child
Bridge I, Bourne Park	VIII-IX	0	U	U	U	U	U	U

* Richardson (2005a)

Table 8: Kent sites: no early disturbance

Site	Cemetery use period: Kentish Phases*	Min. no. of graves	No. graves for analysis
Aylesford II, Eccles	VII-X?	215	202
Bekesbourne II, Aerodrome (Cowslip Wood)	II-IV?	43	42
Canterbury V, Stour Street	IA	1	1
Chartham II, Horton	I-V	6	3
Dover II, Buckland	I?-IX	415	414
Minster-in-Thanet VII, Mount Pleasant	VII-IX?	18	18
Nonington I	V-IX?	19	5
Orpington I	I-II?	84	84
Ramsgate IX, Cliffs End (Pegwell Bay)	II-V?	12	12
St Margaret's-at-Cliffe	VI-IX	8	8
St Margaret's at Cliffe II, Townsend Farm Road	IV-VI?	12	12
Snodland II, Holborough	VII-IX	44	39
Woodnesborough III, Ringlemere Farm	I-III	50	50
Saltwood Tunnel	I-IX	160	160

* Richardson (2005a)

Table 9: Broadstairs I, Bradstow School (Dumpton Park, Valetta House)

Inhumation cemetery. Min. no. graves: 137. Sample for study: c.91 burials in c.89 graves.
Disturbed/possibly disturbed: 19 burials in 18 graves (18/89=20%).

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Coffin/ Structure	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[3]	Excavators' comments[4]
4	M? 28-30	D	W	600-700	(none recorded)	-	-	iron knife, iron buckle, iron box fittings	"began to clean up Grave 4, but will need some restraint as its edges are not well-defined and it has in addition been cut into by the 'duckpond feature'" (Site Journal p35-36, 14/08/70); "A v diff grave in loose thick flakes of chalk. The outline shelves v. slowly in 3 gradual stages v shakily, and looks rather as though it could have been dug into at some time. This impression was confirmed by the presence in upper fill of two large frags of ?scapula (poss. human) well down above pelvic area. However both skull and long bones are in place which suggests they may be from something – or someone – else. The arms are v odd though, the R one being at a very odd angle & poss broken before death" (Cutting Book p27, 17/08/70); "despite finding frags of ?scapula and pelvis (?? human) way up in the fill, the grave seems promising, as the legs have turned up on further cleaning 9" below... planned it, with all its outer ledges (we thought at first robber cuttings - they're very shallow shelves which could be later cuttings but decided probably were shelves for planks)" (Site Journal p38-39, 17/08/70); "took mid section to see if any disturbance showed, but it didn't. Legs (with casket remains) & skull in position but scapulae (if his) way up in fill, above pelvis. Lots of small rodent bone in upper fill, so disturbance poss due to them - or fox?" (Site Journal p42, 18/08/70), "V contorted skeleton in good condition" (Site Journal p44, 19/08/70); "? post-mortem disturbance producing curious position of right forearm pointing sharply upwards" (draft grave catalogue, 22/04/77).
8	M 12-15	C	-	500-550	coffin	U	iii	iron spearhead, knife, buckle	"coffin line emerging at E end but disappearing in ?disturbed area in the middle, where NB two iron frags came out. Below humic compact top fill, a very loose rubbly fill with big chalky lumps… coffin line traced further… and planned. Skeleton in v bad state - skull only bone frags & yellow smudge, tho' long bones tolerable. V bad iron spearhd to R of head, & a knife at waist. Buckle @ waist. (Cutting Book p89, 23-24/8/71).
11	F adult	B	-	600-700	postholes	4	U	no finds	"an exceptionally wide graves with flaking shelving sides" [sketch shows plan outline with apparent widening along N side (Site Journal p78, 17/08/71); "compact browny humic appearance at highest level but quickly down to rubble. A rather shattered N outline threatened at first but this confined only to this side on further cleaning. Traces of PH in S edge, E end but N side less certain… The worst is proved by bone at all angles everywhere – tibia sticking upright in fill at E end, pelvis frag just to W of it, skull turned over on face... very loose, pockety rubble fill... And NB, 2 large flints by skull, at S and W side" [sketch shows the flints against the skull, propping it in overturned position] (Cutting Book p71, 17-18/08/71); "this proved very disturbed, with tibia sticking upright from lower fill & the skull face down. Nothing came out of it and it seems clearly robbed. v loose rubbly fill, full of holes and gaps" (Site Journal p81, 18/08/71); "this grave seems to have been robbed" (draft grave catalogue, 22/04/77).

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Coffin/ Structure	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[3]	Excavators' comments[4]
12	U adult	C	-	600-700	penannular ditch	U	i	tile and bead in fill, bronze buckle, iron nail, iron knife	"with gully/palisade trench round outside appearing in S balk! Guy thinks he can identify loose areas in fill which could be post-holes, on analogy with St Peter's Tip" (Site Journal p70, 13/08/71); "ditch now seen to be a handsome oval and entrance at E end. Upper fill v rubbly ??robbed. 1 frag med tile from this layer and a tiny red glass bead" (Site Journal p94, 22/08/71); "picked up a large knife @ waist & br & iron buckle at waist... the skeleton is v oddly laid - R leg akimbo, if such legs can be, & the arms clasped oddly at R side. Bones in poor condition, but carpals, metacarpals & phalanges have survived oddly well" (Site Journal p96, 24/08/71); "skeleton in curious attitude – crooked R leg ?an old wound or rigor mortis. iron/bronze buckle @ waist & large knife by L arm. skull v bad state" (Cutting Book p95, 24/08/71).
13	M young adult	D	-	600-700	coffin	-	-	wood, leather, 2 bronze buckles, iron spearhead, iron knife	"a very loose fill, possibly robbed" (Site Journal p70, 13/08/71); "Grave a notable pear shape, as + gr 1 last year... [the accompanying sketch appears to show extensions to the grave cut producing this unusual form] coffin traces emerging nicely, especially W of head… some fairly substantial chunks of wood survived at the W end and these too were taken up… Further cleaning brought up a knife and spearhead... from foot of grave a curved flat thin piece of iron... wood traces... part of a bucket" (Cutting Book p73, 19/08/71; "may be cut into by (v shallow) diag other grave or ditch. 10 has a v compact fill compared with the poss. robbed 13" (Site Journal p73-74, 14/08/71)
15	U U	B	-	600-700	?ledges at sides	4/5	?iii	no finds	"A very odd grave, which certainly looks at the W side as if it's been expanded somewhat, and Paul also says it's v. much more flinty than the other upper fills. Flints also look to me to be more conc. on the W side" (Site Journal p87, 20/08/71); "excavation began with some hopes since its alignment and proximity to gr. 10 suggested it could be a grave from the earliest phase of the site e.g. C5 or early C6. A slight bulge on the E side… indicated that it had been widened at some period and was presumably a 2ble one" (Cutting Book p81, 20/08/71); "found empty of all but tiny pile of frag. long bones towards S end. Excavated profile certainly bears out the 2ble theory, and also reveals v. shallow ledges on each side – Saxon ledges or plough marks?" (Cutting Book p81, 21/08/71); "The big event - & disappointment of the day was the excavation of 15 which proved it totally disturbed and empty of all but a few ?long bone frags at S end (head end, judging by its plan)" (Site Journal p89, 21/08/71).
30	M old	C	-	600-700	beam slots, ledge at W end	U	U	spearhead in fill, 2 bronze staples, bronze buckle loop and tongue	"a splendid example of the beam-slot type... ledge @ the W end. Slots show an amazing difference of fill: SW slot contains chalk rubble: NW loam (both shallow) SE an immense quantity of ???: NE loam (both deep). The upper fill of the grave also shows anomalies - a diagonal sweep of chalk rubble @ W end, large dark hole in middle. This has been planned and photoed before going further. A spearhead with handsome [?diamond-shaped] blade was appearing towards end of day, almost vertically (point upwards) in fill @ W end of grave" (Cutting Book p115, 04/08/73); "fill difference abated after approx 50 cm, and is now chalk rubble throughout – so perhaps the robbers missed their target" (Cutting Book p115, 05/08/73). [Further finds and skeleton then emerged, with no disorder mentioned.]

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Coffin/ Structure	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[3]	Excavators' comments[4]
32	F old	B	-	500-550	coffin	4	?iii	5 beads, iron fragments	"Rubbly coarse fill after upper loamy layer… produced frags of iron ?strap fittings in top most layer of fill, & lower levels have given further indication of disturbance with two grossly disoriented tibia sticking up in the fill @ E end. Scatter as usual of I.A. sherds but no other finds…" (Cutting Book p117, 06-07/08/73); "The bones in this grave are a mess. All the leg bones are wildly disturbed and appear sticking up at odd angles in the fill, while the cranial frags appeared upside down in mid grave. There seems to be nothing (except coffin smudge) @ the W end, where bottom has been reached" (Cutting Book p117, 08/08/73); "5 beads, by the skull amidships incl. 3 decorated glass beads, 1 bone and 1 amber. No other finds at this (low) level)" (Cutting Book p117, 09/08/73).
37	U U	B	-	625-700	side ledge(s)	4	U	pot, silver stain, iron fragments	"Loose chalk rubble v. quickly, with slightly shelving sides. Spongy bone frag (?vertebrae ?pelvis) in pelvic position high in fill" (Cutting Book p149; 13/08/73); "Continuing down. The shelving of sides stops & a shelf proper along N side emerged. Those displaced bone thro'out fill, inc cranial frag near pelvis" (Cutting Book p149; 14/08/73); "Frags of ?wheel turned pot by R foot position, the sherds disturbed in this area, L tibia displaced, both presumably by robbers. Femura, R tib and arms seemingly in position under the layer of cranial and other unidentif. spongy bits presumably head end dug for goodies. Slight silver stain in this bone gunge area…" (Cutting Book p149. 15/08/73); "frags of a ?wheel turned pot by the R foot position were found. The L tibia is right out of position, as if this end of the grave was churned up when robbed. Another hole was presumably dug at the head end of the grave when cranial bone had almost completely gone, being found shattered into tiny pieces & distributed above the pelvis. A silver stain in this disturbed area was plotted and photoed" (Site Journal p142, 15/08/73).
50	M? 17-20	B	-	600-700	(none recorded)	4/5	U	iron knife, nail, fragments	"a good hard edge, tho the E end is a bit vague. Pelvic frags and inverted mandible in the centre" (Cutting Book p151, 13/08/73) "Iron knife on floor and some other iron frags with good textile (twill) on them. No other finds except an iron nail yesterday, high in fill. Bones continue disturbed" (Cutting Book p151, 14/08/73). [Sketch shows what looks like a secondary cut extending E end.]
55/a	F old	D	-	600-625	U	-	-	check coin date	"This contained at least two very disturbed burials, the lower one possibly undisturbed and in situ, the upper scattered liberally in fill" (Site Journal p142, 15/08/73)
55/b	F old	D	-	600-700	U	-	-	iron knife, purse mounts, gold coin, 8 beads	(see above)

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Coffin/ Structure	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[3]	Excavators' comments[4]
64	U 30-40	B	roots	600-700	coffin	4	ii	iron knife fragments	"Top cleaned… A very marked difference in fill suggests a secondary burial" [a sketch shows a central area of brown earth surrounded by chalk rubble, with a substantial root cutting into the grave halfway along one side] (Cutting Book p177, 01/08/74); "Rubble persists @ NE and SW corners with soft powdery dark fill petering out down centre. Could after [all] this be root disturbance?" (Cutting Book p177, 02-03/08/74); "Shallow seeming upper fill appeared to be petering out, but reemerged in NW corner as poss. robber? hole" (Cutting Book p177, 05/08/74); "Two femora emerged parallel x-wise at W end of grave. Dark fill continues down in pockets @ E end. Very much disturbed and robbed" (Cutting Book p177, 06/08/74); "Legs of primary inhumation visible on base of grave. ?Metal stain emerging at head end." (Cutting Book p177, 07/08/74); "picking up iron/wood/textile flakes from ?knife and sheath and belt? at femoral level. Teeth apparent at head end: whole skeleton in poor condition probably due to coffin." (Cutting Book p178, 08/08/74); "Rich deposit, of impregnated wood in pelvic area – in particular, one large piece." (Cutting Book p178, 09-10/08/74); "Entire pelvic area looks like disturbed. No femurs." (Cutting Book p178, 12/08/74); "still interpreting the dark fill, which, after seeming to peter out at. c30 cm deep, now continues in NW corner of grave, making an ominous looking hole. No finds so far, though RB pottery was present in upper fill" (Site Journal p162, 05/08/74); "64 clearly robbed: leg bones at all angles. But this disturbance seems to peter out below the bony layer, so we just might have an undisturbed primary below this. Wishful thoughts, doubtless." (Site Journal p164, 06/08/74); "very disturbed pelvic/thoracic section. It looks, even at the bottom, as if the robbing in the upper stages of this grave may actually have penetrated to the primary and that the bone frags of upper fill really are from it." (Site Journal p174, 12/08/74); "grave disturbed" (draft grave catalogue 25/04/77).
65	M 35-40	B	-	575-625	(none recorded)	4	U	iron buckle, double rivet (?shield), bronze sheet fragment (?belt)	"Rubbly chalk fill. At W end traces of disturbed pelvic bones and ?R. humerus in upper fill. Femurs and lower leg bones extended in situ approx 20cm lower. Frag of spearhead tip at SW corner." (Cutting Book p179, 01-02/08/74); "Tiny bronze sheet frag on lower pelvis - ?from belt fitting." (Cutting Book p179, 03/08/74); "grave 65 is clearly robbed and most of the disturbance is at the head/thorax end, tho skull is ok. Maybe a sword was taken? Small iron… buckle and 2ble rivet with wood grain suggest some elab. strap equipment – but this perhaps from a shield. No sign yet of rest of spear." (Site Journal p161, 04/08/74) ; "Seems clear that the upper (i.e. W) ½ of this grave has been robbed – gt. disturbance in thorax region. Perhaps they went in to take out a sword? Small iron buckle at waist - ? is this from sword-belt fitting" (Cutting Book p179, 05/08/74); "disturbed" (draft grave catalogue, 25/04/77).

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Coffin/ Structure	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[3]	Excavators' comments[4]
67	M 20	B	-	530-570	?barrow, sandstone chunk	4	U	iron spear ferrule, iron shield gimp, bronze stud, silver ?scabbard, gilting	"Brown humic fill except @ NE end where more chalky rubble cutting through a humus filled IA pit/ph. This contained on upper level 2 whelks and 2 sherds of IA pottery" (Cutting Book p183, 02/08/74); "Chalky rubble appearing @ c. 40 cm depth. No loose bone scraps" (Cutting Book p183, 03/08/74); "Turning out v. deep - nearly 4ft to chalk. Large chunk Thanet sandstone found low in fill @ W. end. Was this thrown on to the corpse deliberately? Part of grave furniture? Back fill of despoilers? Or just residual in soil. The grave looks robbed, and its great depth suggests it may have been richly furnished. Small silver gilt ?belt fitting loose in fill @ W end" (Cutting Book p183, 05/08/74); "Clear evidence of disturbance continues down. Iron ?spear ferrule and disturbed femurs found 1/2 way down fill" (Cutting Book p183, 06/08/74); "2 halves of iron shield grip at opposite sides of grave" (Cutting Book p184, 07/08/74); "This grave stands isolated in this area of the cemetery, with no other rich shield-graves nearby. The fact that it has been robbed also suggests that it was perhaps more grandly furnished still than 71 or 66 or 74" (Cutting Book p184); "grave robbed and in great disorder" (draft grave catalogue, 25/04/77); "67 was a large, deep and well-cut grave which had been thoroughly robbed at some point after burial when the ironwork was already rotting into a friable condition, as numerous small rust fragments from this grave show. However, sufficient survived to indicate that this had indeed been the burial of a high-ranking warrior. There was a short shield-grip and a bronze rivet from the shield, a long spear ferrule, and most tantalising of all, a heavily worn tiny silver gilt scrap of grooved sheet which comes from a sword scabbard mouth of late 5th and early 6th century type. It is impossible to date this securely from such debris of course, but it seems likely that this grave belongs to the 6th century, most probably to the middle. It may well have formed the nucleus for this cluster of warrior graves which is such a marked feature of the cemetery." (Webster speech dated 26 April 1978, BM archive).
72	M 30	A/C	-	640-700	penannular ditch, sockets	2	U	iron knife, bronze buckle	"Grave has [?]cranial bone high in fill – part of tibia and a tooth. The skull and neck have been dislodged from the body and are in an upside down condition – grave robbers at work. Rest of the body in good condition, still extended" (Cutting Book p193, 07/08/74); "Late C7 bronze buckle and iron attachment (?knife) @ waist. Bones, apart from skull, in a very good condition" (Cutting Book p193, 08/08/74); "began taking the fill down on 72 and located the gruesomely disarticulated head, toppled back upside down – presumably by grave robbers – on an otherwise perfectly articulated extended supine corpse. The cervical vertebrae look very much as if the neck or part of it was still more or less held together when the head was severed from its rightful position – so it could just perhaps be a pre-burial decapitation" (Site Journal p167, 07/08/74).
83	F adult	B	-	500-600	(none recorded)	4/5	U	iron knife, rivets, box fittings, buckle, bronze inlaid stud, bronze strap tag, glass bead	"83 v. churned up, robbed presumably, one or two tiny iron frags and ?a buckle." (Site Journal p164); "Yesterday 83 produced a bronze strap end in approximately the right position, and up near the head, a blue bead and a bronze shoe-shaped rivet. Otherwise robbed." "Later inspection after lifting showed the rivet was in fact decorated with a dot and circle and inlaid with a stone, thought garnet" (Site Journal p172); "R pelvis disturbed in fill. Some small iron frags – inc iron rivet – in fill... "Bronze tweezers, strap end and iron frags, rivets and wood on legs – from box? bronze W end." (Cutting Book p172); "grave robbed?" (draft grave catalogue 25/04/77).

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Coffin/ Structure	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[3]	Excavators' comments[4]
94	M 30	C	W	640-700	4 pairs of sockets	4/5	U	iron knife, iron buckle	"Crumbly chalk edges with a number of irregularities. Perhaps two graves intersecting?... General rubbly appearance of fill throughout." (Cutting Book p231, 14/08/74); "Four small undercut sockets in each side. The chalk here is very crumbly but I don't think these have been manufactured!" (Cutting Book p231, 15/08/74); "Skull thrown forward onto thorax. Cervical vertebrae still in situ @ end, so this post-mortem disturbance. A small animal across pelvis; perhaps accidental, perhaps deliberate, since ribs were N of the L leg and its long bones between the legs." (Cutting Book p231, 16/08/74).
95	U adult	C	W	600-700	coffin	4/5	i?	bronze shroud pin	"N edge very problematic owing to animal runs" (Cutting Book p233, 13-14/08/74); "Distinct buff fill around central humic fill seems to represent ditch derived fill round the coffin" (Cutting Book p233, 19-20/08/74); "95… 97… and 98… all reveal horribly disturbed contents" (Site Journal p189, 20/08/74); "Good coffin line emerged shortly above floor and confirmed the interpretation of fill distinction" (Cutting Book p233, 21/08/74); "Grave 95 continues very disturbed and has so far yielded no finds" (Site Journal p192, 22/08/74); "[skeletal state:] fragments only" (draft grave catalogue, 25/04/77).
97	M adult	B	-	600-700	(none recorded)	4/5	i?	iron knife	"Chalky rubble fill. Disturbed bone frags throughout and internally only skull frags and two femora on the grave floor itself." (Cutting Book p237); "95… 97… and 98… all reveal horribly disturbed contents" (Site Journal p189, 20/08/74)
98/a	F 40-50	C	-	600-700	?coffin	?4/5	U	iron knife	"Fill now chalky around a dark loamy centre. Is this chalk spoil around a coffin again – as possibly in gr. 95 also? Or evidence of disturbance." (Cutting Book p238, 16/08/74); "95… 97… and 98… all reveal horribly disturbed contents" (Site Journal p189, 20/08/74); "98 also remains unpromising" (Site Journal p192, 22/08/74); "[skeletal state:] very poor" (draft grave catalogue 25/04/77).
98/b	U 8	C	-	U-U	-	?4/5	U	-	(see above)
ASE 2006	U U	B	-	U-U	U	U	U	no finds	-

1. The Bradstow School cemetery has not been published. The sexing and ageing here is provisional, but based on all available information. It combines artefactual evidence with skeletal analysis carried out for the ASKED database.
2. ASKED
3. Finds as listed in the draft grave catalogue dated 22-25 April 1977, British Museum archive.
4. Site Journal and Cutting Book, British Museum archive.

Table 10: Broadstairs III, St. Peter's Tip

Inhumation cemetery. Min. no. graves: 405. Sample for study: 388. Disturbed/possibly disturbed: 54 burials in 54 graves (54/388=14%).

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Coffin/ Structure[3]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[4]	Excavators' comments[5]
3	M adult	B	Z	600-700	coffin	?3/4	i	iron knife, ?spearhead	"Position: Uncertain, considerably displaced by robbing. Skull N. Entire R leg with half pelvis separated from rest of skeleton in foot of grave. Teeth mixed with ribs in pelvic area. Prob originally supine, extended, arms at sides… Condition: Very Bad. Bones destroyed by modern vandals before they could be lifted... "Prob a rich burial, since position of R leg suggests whole limb cohesive enough to have separatd at time of disturbance and subsequently remained articulated. Suggests robbed within 10-15 years of burial, and hence (& grave size) a rich burial. Poss trace of spear head at L shoulder."
14	U adult	C	-	600-700		4	i	iron knife	[Condition:] Fair.
31	F adult	B	Z	600-700	coffin	5	i	iron knife tang fragment, chatelaine complex	"Foot of grave robbed 22 Jul 69 to natural chalk level, and as far as 4' from the foot removed to lesser depths... As well as vandals recently, had been robbed in antiquity… Seriously displaced by ancient robbers. Skull frags scattered, teeth widely dispersed, long bones far out of position."
43	U adult	C	Z	600-700	coffin	U	U	11 iron nails, knife tang, all found loose in disturbed soil	"Robbed June 69, also in antiquity…Position: Uncertain. Head N (?) bones removed by vandals, skull frags and teeth near N end (head). [Finds:] loose in disturbed soil."
45	M adult	B	-	625-700	Hogarth Ia4: 4 postholes each side	4/5	i	iron buckle, spearhead, knife, tag, pottery vessel	"Head north. Hands meeting at waist. Disturbed left leg… Long bones good. Head fair. Pelvis & spine & ribs decayed… Left leg disturbed and much out of place with reversed femur."

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Coffin/ Structure[3]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[4]	Excavators' comments[5]
54	- -	D	-	625-700		-	-	Samian rim sherd and 2 nails in upper fill, 2 iron spearheads, buckle, spear ferrule, sword, scabbard chape, knife, shield-grip, 2 rivets, buckle and plate	"At top earthy with chalk lumps; looked robbed almost from outset. In this mixed fill the pieces of sword, broken spear socket, knife, ferrule, etc were found. At this point we thought there would be only a disturbed burial... At depth 24" below surface filling became suddenly chalky and outline of coffin appeared very clearly - hard packed chalk outside, looser fill inside. Here there was an intact burial with spear by left side of skull... This grave contained 2 burials: A) the lower intact but in poor condition, with spear 1 by left shoulder; B) upper represented by disturbed grave goods but spear 2 still in position at left side [?above] coffin line. Either the people who buried A disturbed B leaving spear 2 in position OR burial B was taken by the robbers who did not penetrate below. This probably the most likely interpretation... A) Supine, extended - just leg bones preserved. B) No bones at all survive. " C. Haith, draft grave catalogue: "The assumption that this is a double burial seems based upon the position of the iron spearhead, but it could equally well be a single disturbed burial with both spearheads still in situ, one by the skeleton, and the other lying on top of the coffin."
57	M adult	B	-	600-700	coffin	4	i	iron and copper alloy shield studs, rim clip, shield-grip, copper alloy minature buckle, iron spearhead fragment, sword blade fragments, copper alloy scabbard mount, wood ?from scabbard, iron buckle and plate	"Robbed in antiquity. Finds, esp wood, bronze 'studs' etc, suggest to me (ACH) a shield with decorated (and hence coveted) boss, and poss a sword, bronze frags at R shoulder suggest an inlaid iron obj. Femurs and tibia only positive bones… Poor, shadows only, no trace of skulls, small section of scapula joint and frags of humerus… Tibia disarranged as shown."
62	F adult	B	-	600-700	coffin	5	iii	necklace of 8 beads: 5 monochrome glass, 1 polychrome glass, 2 amethyst quartz; 3 silver wire slip-knot rings	Head N, v disturbed by robbers in antiquity. All bones up off the floor, at varying heights... [Condition:] v poor… Prob a rich burial, thoroughly ransacked grave… [Finds:] scattered over an area 15" by 13" amid skull frags, jaw frags and dispersed teeth, about midway down the grave's length. These poss 1 string of a multi-string necklace which broke and spilled beads back into the grave."

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Coffin/ Structure[3]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[4]	Excavators' comments[5]
64	F adult	B	-	600-700	Hogarth Iid: rectangular kerb slot	4	i	iron knife, 12 beads: 10 monochrome glass and 2 amethyst quartz	"Grave robbed in antiquity… Head N. Extended supine. Skeleton disturbed… All bones except for femurs gone or in small bits. Some tibia. Skull fairly poor… Obviously greatly disturbed… [Beads in] Assorted positions around centre of grave."
69	U adult	B	-	600-700	coffin Hogarth IIIa: "Two large stone slabs recorded on plan, both along central axis of grave; one at the head at a depth of 15cm, one at the foot at a depth of 2.5cm"	4	U	no finds	"V disturbed. Grave robbed, whole remaining ?skel thrown into (?)foot of grave (skull, 2 femur (frags), 1 tib)… Condition: Bad, v. fragile."
71	U ?adult	C	-	600-700	coffin Hogarth IIB: penannular ditch	4	i	no finds	"Much disturbed round head of skeleton, also below knees... Skull disturbed to L of L shoulder, lower legs disturbed... Robbers went for head & lower legs (necklace etc + box?)"
78	U adult	C	-	600-700	coffin Hogarth IIa/b: penannular barrow ditch and posthole	4	i	iron knife, copper alloy staple/repair clip from wooden vessel	"Prob disturbed. Br. clip must have been part of a robbed article (poss wooden cup or box). If so, robbed while coffin still intact and no disturbance of trunk or arms (therefore poss target neck area?... Condition v bad. Skull crushed from above (robbery or coffin collapse). Only long bone shafts remaining... Iron knife across waist... Bronze clips on top of skull remains."
79	U adult	B	-	600-700		4/5	no coffin/iii	iron knife blade fragment, flat iron fragments, copper alloy strap end	"V disturbed, ribs and teeth round pelvis area. R upper leg displaced. Skull, ?spine, shoulders gone. Robbed."
83		D	-	600-700	Hogarth Ic (Ia1/Ib4): platform each end, a posthole each side… floor boat-shaped				"All gone [except] skull frags and teeth… Child… Note: I think poss upper half robbed."
96	F adult	C	-	600-700	coffin	4	i	iron knife, iron fragment, 4 glass beads: 3 monochrome and 1 polychrome	"Dk grey silt on floor below normal grey silt… Robbed in antiquity (?)… [Skeletal condition:] Nil ex skull frags."

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Coffin/ Structure[3]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[4]	Excavators' comments[5]
97	M adult	B	-	600-700	coffin Hogarth IIIb "line of flints under skeleton on right side"	4	i	iron spearhead, knife, copper alloy mount and various iron clips from wooden vessel	"Suspect robbed above waist and at L side... Frags of iron mounts of wooden obj (suggest sword scabbard, broken by grave robbers and dropped inside coffin."
126	M child	B	-	600-700	coffin "A 'trough', 5cms in depth, was cut into the floor across the head of the grave." [outside coffin]	4	?i	iron spear ferrule, knife. In fill: pottery sherd, pottery tile fragment, 2 snail shells and a bead in fragments	"Condition: bad. V disturbed. Prob robbed in antiquity. Teeth midway down L side of coffin."
130	U adult	B	-	600-700		4/5	?iii		"Head N, extended supine, disturbed. [Condition:] v bad. Skull v few frags. Long bone shafts only survived. Bones at various levels. Prob. robbed in antiquity."
131	U sub-adult	C	-	600-700	coffin	4	?i	no finds	"disturbed & robbed? Esp upper body."
140	M adult	B	-	600-700	coffin "trench 7" wide, 1.5" deep, 2'4" wide at head of coffin"	4	i	no finds	"Condition: fair, v disturbed, only L rad/uln, tib/fib, calc/talus, and F Fib Calc/Talus still in situ (poss also mand). Rest in heap at head of coffin"
147	F adult	B	-	600-700		4/5	no coffin or iii	iron shears, chatelaine complex. Pottery sherd orange fabric, body fragment with line border from below rim, not on grave form or plan L 2.8cm	"v disturbed. Subrect, sides rough but vert, floor boat shaped. Rounded corners, L side bowed out… [Skeletal position:] ? Frags only, and those v few. Condition: disturbed."
165	F aub-adult	A	-	650-670		?2	?i	necklace of 6 pendants variously of silver, silver-gilt, glass and garnet, and 78 monochrome glass beads; glass vessel; iron knife; and iron and copper alloy chatelaine complex	[None]
182	M adult	B	-	600-700	coffin Hogarth Ic (Ia3/Ib3)/Id: 3 pairs of lateral sockets, internal ledge on both sides of grave, 2 transverse slots in grave floor	4	?i	copper alloy and iron-bound bucket remains, iron shield-grip, ?shield boss flange fragment, 2 spearhead socket fragments, knife blade, iron sword remains including blade fragment covered with animal hair, 3 large coffin brackets and rivet shank, various iron and wood fragments	"Head west (frag of skull n and artic scap, hum and clavicle)… V disturbed, what bone there was v calcanous… v disturbed – femurs piled on top of tibias at foot with piece of pelvis, many bones unfindable."

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Coffin/ Structure[3]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[4]	Excavators' comments[5]
185	M adult	B	-	600-700	coffin	4	iii	iron shield boss, iron shield grip, iron buckle and plate	"Grave robbed. Half only of coffin remaining. Wood remains outside coffin… Skull trace (15 teeth) in coffin. Head west. Two small bones in coffin centre of grave. Few bones outside coffin trace diagonally across grave. Condition: very poor… Skeleton dispersed probably during robbing."
186	F adult	B	-	600-700	coffin	4	U	2 amethyst quartz beads, iron knife tang, iron key/girdle-hanger and ring, iron ?spear socket fragment of curved section, containing mineralized remains of ash shaft. Not on plan or grave form.	"Grave very large. Obviously robbed in antiquity. Slightly [???] to bottom. Broken layer of stone across top of coffin… Only two long bones remain in very tatty condition… Disturbed to great extent."
198	M adult	C	W	600-700	coffin Hogarth Ia2: slots at corners	4	U	iron knife, spearhead, buckle, sheet copper alloy fragments	"Chalk rubble with soil patches. Very loose spots and also some very compact especially over femurs, tibia, and uln/rad… [Coffin:] wood remains at intervals but unmeasurable… apart from an animal burrow the grave appears to have been robbed in antiquity the cuts being made by the head and along the right hand side... extended supine, head west, humeri vertical but hands were over on pelvis. legs straight. Condition: femurs, with uln/rad, top of tibias good, hands good, rest and pelvis, skull, and feet very poor shadow..."
200	M adult	B	-	600-700	coffin	?5	?iii	iron buckle loop fragment, glass vessel fragments, iron looped rod fragment, nail, shield boss, grip, studs, rim mount, various other shield remains, iron knife, spearheard, sword remains including blade and scabbard fragments scattered in grave, 3 yellow crystalline fragments, miniature iron buckle, iron tweezers, coffin woods, various pottery sherds of hand-made black fabric, various iron and copper alloy fragments	"Filling: head end: hard packed chalk fill. Foot end: loose earth fill. Ending in middle as on plan. [Coffin:] head end only. Think along top 2-3" in width. Firm wood remains cut across the grain. Thin traces along the sides up to change in fill then none at all... Grave robbed in antiquity. Finds dispersed without order at foot of grave... Only traces of skull (squashed) and odd fragments of bone... traces in no skeletal order."
203	M ?child	C	-	625-700	coffin	U	U	iron spearhead, knife	"[Coffin:] wood traces in carbonized form beginning 18" below the surface with wood bottom. 3ft 9" * 2ft 4"… Because of loose soil and lack of any associated finds it is obvious that the grave has been robbed."

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Coffin/ Structure[3]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[4]	Excavators' comments[5]
210	U adult	B	-	600-700	coffin Hogarth IIIa: broken sandstone in the fill at depth 15 cm	?3/4	i	iron ring	"Filling: loose soil at feet, compact at head to about 1ft. Then chalk rubble, again loose at feet and compact at head… [Coffin:] Hard puddled chalk outline at 11" inside which ??? Wood remain began at 1 ft 1"… The grave was large and had obviously been robbed in antiquity. Especially loose around the feet. Across the top was a layer of broken sandstone... only few longbones left, poor condition... The only two apparently articulating bones were a femur and tibia. Which was placed at foot of grave. Other long bone probably femur/tibia piled beside in disarray."
215	F adult	C	-	600-700	coffin with lid Hogarth Ic (Ia4/Ib7): lateral sockets, internal ledge	U	U	iron buckle, knife, shear blade	"Soil at top. Beneath chalk rubble compact generally but rather loose at the bottom. [Coffin:] wood patches unmeasurable to any great extent but coffin did have a lid… The loose soil and wide empty area at the feet suggests robbery of probably a pot."
226	F adult	C	-	600-700	coffin Hogarth IIa/Iid: kerb-slot with sandstone slabs, 2 post-holes, connected to Gr 237 and 251	4/5	U	copper alloy pin, monochrome glass bead, iron chatelaine complex, iron shears, glass fragment	"[Condition:] V V poor... Only tibia frags found, plus some powdery traces, also 3 teeth."
227	M adult	B	-	625-650	coffin	4	i	iron buckle and plate, fragment, copper alloy shield studs, iron buckle, iron spearhead	"the loose top soil surrounded by compact chalk occurring nearly all the way down, discontinuing in chalk rubble near the floor; indistinguishable near top… [Coffin:] 87" x 27" depth at 34" mainly carbonised wood… Head west, but the rest had been v. disturbed, probably robbed... What bones were there - good. Skull crushed by shield boss, teeth worn, many bones missing. Long bones and girdles (what remained) good. Head and feet bones (what remained) slightly calcaneous... Skeleton was disturbed by robbers."
229	U adult	B	-	600-700	coffin	4/5	iii	iron knife	"Due to looseness of fill, absence of coffin in places and disarrayed bones it is clear that we waz robbed in antiquity… Only four long bones remaining… There were various bits of unplotable shadow bones and frags all over the grave."

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Coffin/ Structure[3]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[4]	Excavators' comments[5]
232	F adult	B	-	600-700	coffin	4/5	?iii	sheet copper alloy fragments ?from a vessel, necklace of 8 beads: 7 monochrome glass, 1 amethyst quartz in a copper alloy silver slip-knot ring, plus a second copper alloy silver slip-knot ring	"loose finely divided topsoil surrounded by compact chalk soil… By the nature of the fill and the arrangement of the finds, it was obvious that the grave had been robbed in antiquity… head west, but position of body impossible to tell because very few bones left, and had been disturbed anyway... [Skeletal condition:] very poor, very few bones left."
233	M adult	B	-	600-700	coffin Hogarth Ia3: 3 pairs of lateral sockets, large semi-circular depression (digging??)	4	?iii	no finds	"soil/chalk at top loose around head and thorax and feet compact elsewhere. Chalk. Lower down in similar states and compactness… [Coffin:] some unmeasurable wood remains… The grave, by the loose soil and premature appearance of several bones has clearly been robbed. The robbers have destroyed a great deal of [?]original upper wall before finding it... With the exception of the right forearm all bones still in proper place are good. Ie skull very good, femurs, tib/Fibs right humerus good. Feet and right hand fair/good. The disturbed bones are in fair condition including a scapular. Left pelvis fair/right pelvis powdery only one clavicle… Although robbed the skeleton was generally in good condition it seems that the robbers were after a sword ? suspended on a belt from right shoulder to left hip. Hence the disturbance of pelvis, rib cage and left arm. Perhaps the body was well decayed before robbery because other bones not disturbed."
235	F adult	B	-	600-700	coffin	4	?iii	iron knife, blade fragment of same	"chalk soil mix with earth around body… ashy wood line up by left shoulder 13" long… Robbed!... Head west, long bones in mass around pelvis… [Condition:] Poor, especially skull…"
236	M adult	B	-	600-700	coffin	4	iii	iron spearhead socket, 2 monochrome glass beads	"finely divided topsoil at centre; hard packed chalk soil around outside… coffin traces were found, but not clear enough to form definite outline… [Skeleton:] Scattered and at different levels as it was evident that the grave had been robbed and the body disturbed only shortly after burial... poor but long bones still in fairly good shape."

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Coffin/ Structure[3]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[4]	Excavators' comments[5]
237	F adult	B	-	600-700	coffin Hogarth IIa/Iid: kerb-slot with sandstone slabs, 2 post-holes, connected to Gr 226	4	U	necklace of 3 monochrome glass beads, a silver scutiform pendant, and fragments of another, copper alloy pin, iron knife, iron and copper alloy object, iron chain complex, iron box fittings, rod, iron fragments, flint fragments	"Filling: Chalk/soil mix with puddled chalk outside coffin and loose soil inside from 2'2 down. Floor grey silt. Puddled chalk overlying floor silt… Beam slot… contained (Thanet sand?) flags on end forming rectangular kerb or wall surrounding grave at about 3' from grave edges… Head W presume ext. sup. [Skeleton:] All gone but for isolated frags? and few widely scattered teeth. F (grave goods). Adult (grave size). ROBBED, and fairly thoroughly at that. Prob. a v rich burial originally, as elaborate stone surrounding wall suggests."
240	F adult	B		600-700	coffin	4	?iii	iron girdle-hangers/keys, shears, knife, white ?fossil	"Filling: Chalk/soil top loose. Loose/very loose chalk, chalk/soil rubble below. [Coffin:] quite strong decayed wood trace… By loose fill and lack of any associated bones this grave has clearly been robbed… [Skeleton:] One poor/fair tib otherwise bone either very calcenous or absent. Skull shadow various other patches."
251	U child	C	-	600-700	coffin Hogarth IId/IIIb: kerb-slot with sandstone slabs	4/5	iii	copper alloy pin	"Incomplete traces of coffin but enough to call original dimensions. It was robbed due to the loose fill... Poor skel & absence of bone due probably to a) robbery and b) coffin."
254	M adult	B	-	625-700	coffin	4	U	iron shield boss, grip, stud, iron spearhead, buckle and plate, knife	"Filling: Hardish chalk mix, with puddled chalk. [Coffin:] Intense black ash on grave floor, with side traces… Apparently disturbed… [Skeleton:] Head west. Condition: Poorish. Skull flattened into mass of sponge, no teeth. No thorax or pelvix. Long bones disturbed."
255	M adult	C	-	600-700	coffin	?4	?i	iron spearhead, shield boss and grip, studs, knife, buckle and plate	"Loose chalk fill with earth cover over body. Good outline of coffin descending to base from 6in down… Fairly well cut sides and base. Grave quite shallow and broad. Obviously disturbed. [Skeleton:] Extended supine. Right arm over lower right pelvis. Legs straight. Left arm straight. Head west tilted towards left corner of coffin. [Condition:] Poor. Only long bones remaining. No ribs. Spine and pelvis only shadow."

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Coffin/ Structure[3]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[4]	Excavators' comments[5]
261	F adult	B	-	600-700		4	?i	2 iron studs, binding, chatelaine complex, knife tange fragment	"Consolidated chalk was found around the sides about half way down. The centre area of the grave was soft. At the head end top 8" dug out more than rest… Presume head west extended supine (although bones much displaced). [Condition:] Poor, much mechanical damage [i.e. non-chemical]… Robbed or [something rubbed out]."
267	M adult	B	-	600-650	coffin	4	?i	copper alloy buckle and plate, iron shield-grip, studs, spearhead	"Fairly loose chalk soil on top giving way to loose chalk rubble near bones. [Coffin:] Fairly strong near complete wood traces… From eventual position of bones and finds we was clearly robbed. [Skeleton:] Head west, presume extended supine. Right arm straight… Leg bones fair but no epiphyses on any of them. Left arm poor. Other [?] arms poor to absent. Skull shadow. Jaw fair, rest absent."
268	F adult	B	-	550-650	coffin	?1/2	?ii	12 beads: 9 monochrome glass, 2 polychrome glass, 1 amber; 2 iron keys/girdle-hangers, iron knife	"At top chalk fairly compact. Nearer bottom pure fairly compact chalk outside coffin line with very soily chalk/soil inside giving very vivid evidence of robbery. [Coffin:] A very strong thin good wood coffin trace incomplete due to robbers. Outside pure puddle chalk rubble… The grave has clearly been robbed part of the right side of the grave has been slightly recut. Robbers very good. Although they stole almost everything they did not go through the left side of coffin. They knew exactly where to dig. A great deal of the walls are undercut giving a wider bottom…Prob head west and expect extended supine… All remaining bones good but great mechanical damage e.g. skull cleaved in two by robbers spade… during the robbery the body seems to have been fairly intact and was lifted and throne [sic] to the bottom of the grave to give a semi crouch appearance with the top half of the grave empty."

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Coffin/ Structure[3]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[4]	Excavators' comments[5]
270/a	M adult	A	-	625-700	coffin	3	U	2 iron spearheads, shield, many iron and copper alloy fragments and objects, animal bones in upper fill (grave sheet)	"Much earth around upper layers, and very fine silt around skull end. Outside coffin line, much puddled chalk around edge. Loose chalk fill inside… Coffin consisted of a number of broken up areas of dense black ash, at head, foot and sides… Very neatly cut in places, sloped down from head toward a point about 2/3 down grave, then sloped up towards ends. Roundish mis-cut in bottom R wall somewhat robbed and very disturbed. Animal bones in upper fill. Apparently head – west (based on position of five cervical vertebrae). Broken and scattered mandible, but no other skull. [Condition:] Good, except for pelvis of which only parts of sacrum and right ilium remained. Bones of sole surviving foot excellent… Male (based on goods e.g. spearheads, shield)… Femur appears quite young. All teeth, even m3 worn… Only region intact was one foot! Long bones of left in a pile at foot of grave. Vertebrae and rest of skeleton scattered wholesale."
270/b			-	-					(see above)
272	U adult	B	-	600-700	coffin Hogarth IIIa: 2 sandstone blocks at foot of grave	4	iii	iron knife	"Consolidated chalk at sides with a large chalk chunk filling. [Coffin:]… consolidated at head end… 2 sandstone blocks found beneath each other at supposed feet end. Grave disturbed… [Skeleton:] Possibly extended. [Condition:] v. v. poor… Bones extremely powdered. Probably the result of robbery."
288/a	M adult	D	-	625-700		-	-	-	-
288/b	U adult	D	-	625-700		-	-	-	-
294	M U	C	-	600-700		4	U	iron ?shield-boss flange fragment, 2 studs, 2 buckle-plate fragments, knife blade fragment, iron and wood lump, iron buckle	"Clayey soil. Chalk. Flint. [Coffin:] None… [Further remarks:] Disturbed. [Skeleton:] Legs upside down. Head west extended supine. [Condition:] Legs good. Remainder absent."
295	- -	D	Z	600-700	Hogarth Ib1: internal ledge at head				(only plan survives)

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Coffin/ Structure[3]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[4]	Excavators' comments[5]
303	M adult	B	-	550-650	coffin	5	U	iron shield boss, shield-grip fragments, studs, knife, buckles and plates, iron mount ?from wooden box, various iron lumps and objects, 2 stone whetstones, iron awl, ring, 42 amber beads, 88 amber fragments, 1 jet fragment	"[Coffin:] Chalk outside, soil in. [Further remarks:] fairly reg rectangular, sides vert. and good, floor flattish. [Skeleton:] Head N presumed ext sup. Legs disturbed (only 2 fem frags surviving & those displaced… Almost all gone. Skull shadow + few tiny frags. Postcranial only 2x fem. frags."
304	M adult	B	-	575-700	coffin	4/5	iii	iron spearhead, shield-boss, grip, buckle and plate, iron sword, knife, copper alloy tweezers, iron buckle, iron fragment	"Loose chalk fill with earth. [Coffin:] Dk wood ash… Wood bottom to coffin. [Further remarks:] Heavily disturbed around. Distinct lack of skull and teeth. (Brooch robbers??)… Extended supine – head EAST!! [Condition:] Poor, what we found of him. Male. Adult. Collosal musculatural ridges on femurs & humerii. Big fellow… Two teeth, both temporals, frags of occipital and parutal – No frontals, palatinate... mandible… only one clavicle."
308	M adult	B	-	625-700	Hogarth Ic (Ia3/Ib4): 3 pairs of lateral sockets, ledges at head and foot	4	?iii	iron spearhead, knife blade, miniature buckle, sheet copper alloy fragment, pottery vessel	"Filling: chalk/soil; hard compacted chalk towards foot end. [Coffin:] nil. [Further remarks:] generally badly cut. Head and foot ends curved internally, sloping inwards. Evidence of postholes, 3 on L side were visible but only 2 could be found on the R, the medial one being apparently absent. Of these 5 postholes only one, the upper L hand one, was really well cut. Possibly robbed at head end. NB similarity in design to adjacent 307 possibility of family groups. [Skeleton:] Head north. Extended supine, presumably. [Condition:] Generally bad – disturbed. Long bones bad at epiphyses, pelvis virtually non-existent, feet shards present only as v calcaneous mass. Teeth good. Lower spine non-existent… Skeleton deranged around pelvis, femurs and rt. arm."
315	M adult	C	-	600-650	coffin	4	i	iron coffin fitting, fragments of iron shield boss, shield rivet, iron mount, miniature copper alloy buckle and plate, iron buckle and plate, plate fragment, spearhead, various iron fragments, animal bones	"[Filling:] loose chalk and soil. [Coffin:] dark browny black coffin traces. [Skeleton:] ext. sup. Head west. [Condition:] V fair ['but disturbed' is erased but visible]… Male, 35 ish… long bones v good condition (femur)."

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Coffin/ Structure[3]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[4]	Excavators' comments[5]
333/a	U adult	B	-	575-625	coffin	5	iii	6 beads: 4 amber, 1 monochrome glass, 1 polychrome glass; fragments of sheet copper alloy beaded rim bowl, copper alloy buckle, iron fittings from wooden box, iron mount, knife, pottery rim sherd and base sherd, wheel-turned grey fabric	"[Filling:] Chalk – soil grave. V. compact chalk on either side for about 6in. V. loose toward the centre. [Coffin:] quite visible thick traces scattered about. [Skeleton:] (Robbed) Head W ext. supine. [Condition:] fair… female? Elderly adult."
-	- -	-	-	---		-	-	-	(see above)
354	F adult	C	-	600-700	coffin Hogarth IIa/b/Iia: penannular ditch, post hole, blocks	?1/4	?i	4 monochrome glass beads, sheet silver scutiform pendant, snail shell	"NB snail shell under L pelvis... [coffin:] dark shadow of organic material - v strong... Rect, regular, well cut, sides vert. NB cuboid well cut chalk block in fill, just below surface - ends tapered v roughly on lower end. [Skeleton:] Probably originally (a) ext sup or (b) ext on rt side - head facing rt. Now! extended prone, head pos. unchanged. BUT rt upper arm and shoulder missing and grave robbed. SO present pos prob due to either if (a) disturbed by robbers or if (b) natural collapse from pos (b) above. [Condition:] good (skull collapsed forward and rt side and vert poorly preserved)... L arm above L hip; rt arm (rad ulna separated axially) below L pelvis. Hand just inside L [unclear]. BUT 1 metacarpal just above rt hip suggesting originally an arm on that side. Legs ext, feet together. L pelvis higher than rt, but pubic symphysis disarticular pos.

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Coffin/ Structure[3]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[4]	Excavators' comments[5]
375	U adult	C	-	600-700	coffin	4	?i/iii	abraded pot sherd (grave sheet: Iron Age/Roman)	"[Filling:] Chalk soil fairly compact for first foot. Then on down to the floor, chalk rubble fairly loose but compact in patches. [Coffin:] Fairly strong wood ash, very strong in places especially near the bottom… Wood traces right across the floor suggesting bottom to coffin but no detectable lid and no coffin nails. [Further remarks:] Sub rectangular and very irregularly dug. All sides slope in at uneven angles. Parts of the floor bottom beneath the pelvis and knee have been over-deepened. Perhaps irregularly dug but perhaps robbery as no goods are present in a large grave and both the tibias and humeri end suddenly as if cut through. [Skeleton:] Head West. Extended supine (presumed, tibias upright). Upper arms straight by side. Legs straight. [Condition:] Very bad. Long bones shafts of humeri, femurs and tibias present but apparently cut off. Pelvis gone, skull shadow of approx 2ft diameter. No teeth. No hands. Very powdery feet… Adult (size of grave and position of remaining bones)."
380	U adult	C	-	600-700	coffin	4	?i	iron knife, buckle and plate	"[Filling:] Fairly solid, large lumps of chalk. Soft in places. [Coffin:]… very strong wood ash. [Further remarks:] Robbed? Very large grave compared with the amount of bones found. [Skeleton:] Extended supine, head East, upper arm straight, legs straight. [Condition:] Skull crushed, long bones poor, no epiphyses (tibias gone, rest absent)… Bottom tibias cut off by grave robbers?."

1. St Peter's has not been published. All the data used here are preliminary, including the numbers of graves and burials but especially the sexing and ageing of skeletons and the details of grave assemblages. Sex and age are derived from a combination of the grave sheets, draft grave catalogue, and sexing anomalies report in the British Museum archive, plus the ASKED database.
2. ASKED
3. Draft grave catalogue, British Museum archive
4. Grave sheets, British Museum archive

Table 11: Lyminge II

Mixed cemetery. Min. no. graves: 107. Sample for study: 66 inhumations and 2 cremations. Disturbed/possibly disturbed: 11 (11/68=16%)

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Date range[2]	Date range[3]	Coffin/ Structure[1]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Wealth class[3]	Finds[3]	Excavators' comments [1]
7	U adult	D	475-575	-	none recorded				iron knife and small bronze buckle at left waist, iron axe-head at right arm	"only one bone, part of a leg bone, was found in this grave"
8	M 45-50	B	475-575	-	none recorded	4	?iii	very poor - findless	no finds	"disturbed at an unknown date above the knees and the bones above this point were found in confusion in the backfill"
28	F 50-55	B	475-550	-	none recorded	4	U	medium	iron knife in disturbed back-fill, bronze Roman coin of Constantine I beneath left leg	"disturbed between the pelvis and the skull at an unknown date; supine, full length"
40	M 25-30	B	475-575	-	none recorded	4	U	very poor - findless	no finds	"disturbed over the chest at an unknown date"
45	M adult	B	475-575	-	none recorded	4	U	very poor - findless	(small pottery fragments)	"top half of skeleton missing"
48	?F adult	B	475-575	-	none recorded	4	?iii	medium	amber and glass beads, small bronze strip	"bones in confusion in grave fill"
49	M adult	B	475-575	-	none recorded	4	?iii	very poor - findless	(pottery fragments)	"bones in confusion in grave fill"
50	M adult	B	475-575	475-570	square ditch enclosure	4	U	poor	iron ?purse mount, pottery fragments, iron knife, glass fragments	"top half of skeleton disturbed"
56	M adult	C	475-575	-	none recorded	4	U	very poor - findless	no finds	"possibly robbed"
57	M adult	C	475-575	-	none recorded	4	U	very poor - findless	no finds	"possibly robbed"
59	M adult	C	475-575	475-550	square ditch enclosure	4	U	poor	pottery fragments, iron staple, bronze strip	"possibly robbed", "exceptional dignity... robbed"
63	M adult	B	475-575	400-450	none recorded	4	U	medium	glass beaker, fractured but almost complete	"skeleton missing below waist"

1. Gr 7-40 Warhurst 1955, Gr 45-63 Warhurst letter to Heinrich Härke 17/10/1985
2. ASKED
3. Schröder 2007

Table 12: Monkton I, Primrose Hill

Mixed rite cemetery. Min. no. graves: 35. Sample for study: 34. Disturbed/possibly disturbed: 3 burials in 3 graves (3/34=9%).

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Depth (m)[1]	Length (m)[1]	Width (m)[1]	Coffin/ Structure[1]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[1]	Excavators' comments[1]
21	M 35-45	B	X	550-590	0.43	1.09	1.09	?coffin	4	?iii	(1) Gilt bronze buckle and plate "heavily rust-stained as if the missing tongue had been of iron, and if so it will have been a replacement for a lost original in bronze. But there is no such staining on any part of the plate; so, perhaps, before disturbance, the loop had been independent contact with an iron object such as a knife", (2) Tiny bronze fragment, (3) Shattered remains of iron shield-boss	"On south side of pipe-trench and excavated by workmen… Regularly cut rectangular grave with rounded corners. About 13 cm. from the foot end there was a slight depression in the grave-floor, L. 3.51m., W. c. 0.50 m., which may indicate the original presence of a coffin. But the grave had evidently been robbed in antiquity; only the skull and toe-bones were in situ and the leg bones were found on the south side near the top of the grave-fill. The buckle and plate lay disturbed, 15 cm. apart, at the foot-end and the broken boss was in the top of the filling at the head-end. The bronze fragment lay under the skull. The skeleton was of an adult male aged 35-45."
22	M 35-45	A	X	530-590	0.31	1.12	1.12	none recorded	none recorded	i	(1) A large iron knife or perhaps a small seax, blade very incomplete, (2) Bronze tweezers, (3) Bronze buckle, apparently on a belt, (4) Shoe-shaped bronze belt rivet, (5) Two iron fragments.	"On the south side of the pipe-trench and excavated by workmen… Sub-rectangular and somewhat irregular, perhaps because it had been robbed in antiquity. The skeleton, of an adult male aged 35-45, lay supine and extended, but the right side of his pelvis and right leg had been removed and placed, still articulated, at the foot of the grave. From this we may infer that the corpse had been disturbed not long after burial, perhaps to remove a particularly valuable item of grave furniture such as a famous sword."
24		D	Y/Z	-	[0.25]	[1.00]	[1.00]	none recorded	none recorded			"Presumed to be a grave from configuration. No skeletal material; several minute fragments of iron, and a scrap of polythene in fill; so presumably robbed in recent times."
25	M adult	C	~	540-560	0.32	0.8	0.80	none recorded	none recorded	U	(1) Fragment of iron knife, (2, 3, 4) Iron fragments, (5) Object of wood and iron (part of spearhead socket), (6) Small bronze buckle, (7) Iron spearhead, (8) Small bronze ring (not a finger-ring).	"Disturbed, objects fragmentary and at all levels, one tooth found."

1. Hawkes, Hogarth & Denston 1974, Perkins & Hawkes 1984
2. ASKED

Table 13: Northbourne I, Finglesham

Inhumation cemetery. Min. no. graves: 137. Sample for study: c.91 burials in c.89 graves.
Disturbed/possibly disturbed: 19 burials in 18 graves (18/89=20%).

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Date[3]	Depth (m)[1]	Length (m)[1]	Width (m)[1]	Coffin/ Structure[1]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[1]	Excavators' comments[1]
2	M? adult	C	W	600-700	-	1.12	2.56	0.95		3/4	?i	(1) Fe fragment – at left side of waist.	"…?Disturbed. Possibly robbed in antiquity shortly after the burial took place. The arms appear to have been moved away from the body, perhaps to facilitate removal of objects from the torso…. Basically a well-cut, regular grave, but traces of irregular digging around top reinforce impression of robber activity... Grave-fill: very loose. ?Male, adult. Extended supine, legs straight; complex of foot bones, apparently not from this skeleton, between knees; some skull fragments, probably moved by burrowing animal, in top left corner of grave."
A3(4)	F? U	B	-	600-700	-	0.46	2.44	0.91	coffin	?4	U	1928: crushed pot, Fe knife, ?necklace (amber bead, blue glass bead), 1959: Fe knife-tang fragment, piece of modern tile	"…Previously excavated by Stebbing, who thought it had been robbed in antiquity… Well-cut regular grave. Packing of flints found in 1928 suggests a coffin. Chalk-packed sides of grave not touched by Stebbing. Rest of grave refilled with mixed earth and chalk in clods. Presumably female – only one small ?femoral fragments found in 1959 re-excavation."
19	F? adult	D	Y	600-700	-	0.35	2.69	0.85		~	~	(1) Fe knife - disturbed in fill	"Probably previously excavated (but not recorded) by Stebbing, otherwise robbed in antiquity… Originally well-cut, regular. Structure: none visible in 1960. ?Female, adult. Bones thrown back into grave after original disturbance/excavation."

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Date[3]	Depth (m)[1]	Length (m)[1]	Width (m)[1]	Coffin/ Structure[1]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[1]	Excavators' comments[1]
22	M adult	B	-	550-650	mid 6th	0.84	2.59	1.3	coffin ?Mound	4	i/ii	(1) Fragmentary Roman cast Cu alloy bow-brooch: "disturbed some 0.75m from foot end of grave, depth 0.10-0.13m… Outworn Roman brooches, presumably collected from Roman sites, are more usually associated with Anglo-Saxon women's graves, as part of bag-collections. How this one ended up in a robbed male grave must always remain a mystery: perhaps it was a loose find lying around on the site; perhaps one of the grave-robbers was a woman who dropped it accidentally." (2) Wooden coffin, (3) Shield: "undisturbed, propped up against left side of grave outside coffin near foot end, handle inwards and nearly vertical", (4) Fe sword: "robbed... Fragments of wood, fleece and horn, found with Shield-grip (3)-2, are probably part of a sword-scabbard".	"Robbed in antiquity… Well-cut regular grave with rounded ends. The body was originally contained in a stout wooden coffin fitted with Fe angle-brackets. The grave-robbers broke into the head-end of this coffin perhaps while it was still substantially intact. At all events they apparently removed enough of the coffin, with its valueless Fe fittings still attached, to enable them to take out most of the body with all its grave goods, except for the shield propped against the grave-wall outside the coffin at the undisturbed foot end. They or someone else refilled the disturbed area with brown loamy soil containing a few salvaged bones, and this contrasted markedly with the original fill of chalk rubble. In spite of the severe disturbance to the grave, 4 angle-brackets were found, 3 in what appeared to be their original positions in the undisturbed chalk fill at the foot end… Male, adult. Skeleton represented by a few bones thrown back into the disturbed fill."
24	U U	D	Y	600-700	-	0.79	1.6	0.58		~	~	no finds	"Probably undisturbed, though possibly previously excavated by Stebbing or robbed in antiquity… Well-cut regular grave. Loose chalk rubble… No skeletal remains found. Sub-adult totally decayed away?"
34	F 40-50	C	-	600-700	-	0.36	1.79	0.66		3/4	?i	(1) Wooden box with Fe fittings: "to left of feet, by side of grave... The box fittings that were recovered are broken and incomplete, apparently due to having been disturbed. While this could be the result of grave robbing, animal or tree-root disturbance seem more likely"; (2) Necklace of 5 beads "or possibly an earring, but in any case possibly an incomplete assemblage due to grave robbing - in the area of the right clavicle"; (3) Cu alloy bracelet; (4) Fe knife.	"?Undisturbed… Structure: None. Grave-fill: Brown loam. Female, 40-50 years. Extended supine, arms and legs straight. The apparent displacement of skull and right arm suggests possible disturbance, ?grave robbing for a brooch or some rich elements of the necklace."

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Date[3]	Depth (m)[1]	Length (m)[1]	Width (m)[1]	Coffin/ Structure[1]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[1]	Excavators' comments[1]
36	U U	D	Y	600-700	-	0.51	2.44	0.76		~	~	no finds	"Previously excavated by Stebbing, though not recorded… No human remains recovered in 1960."
37	F adult?	D	Y	600-700	-	0.43	2.21	0.69		~	~	(1) Bead, ?necklace fitting: "disturbed, in fill"	"Previously excavated by Stebbing, though not recorded, or robbed in antiquity… Female, ?adult. Skeleton recovered as a few disturbed bones only."
38/a	M adult	B	-	600-700	-	0.51	2.36	0.66		4	?i	no finds	"Robbed in antiquity. Just cut left side of Grave 38b… Grave-fill: earthy with chalk lumps. Male, adult. Skeleton recovered as a few disturbed bones only."
42	U U	D	Y	600-700	-	0.51	2.44	0.91		~	~	no finds	"Previously excavated by Stebbing, although not recorded, or robbed in antiquity."
44	M adult	B	-	600-700	late 6th	0.69	2.39	1.17	coffin ?Mound	4	?i	(1) Cu alloy (gunmetal) knife, waist-belt fitting?: "disturbed, in fill"; (2) Fe knife: "disturbed in fill… tip of blade missing – post-deposition".	"Robbed in antiquity… Well cut regular grave. Traces of a wooden coffin were seen on the grave floor. Male, adult. The skeletal remains had been severely disturbed, but the legs were approximately in the right part of the grave."
60	U adult	D	Y/Z	600-700	-	0.76	2.69	0.84	Posthole for wooden marker post	~	~	no finds	"Disturbed fairly recently: Pieces of modern iron and china in fill. Perhaps of the of the unrecorded graves excavated in 1928… irregular grave perimeter 'eroded' by robbing activities. A posthole…, presumably for a wooden marker post was found to the east of the grave pit. Adult. Only a few skull and long bone fragments, thrown into a heap at the head end, were recovered."
78	F? 50-60	B	-	600-700	-	0.51	2.04	0.8		4	?i	no finds	"Robbed in antiquity – soon after deposition?... Grave edges appear severely eroded at surface, probably damaged by robbing activities... Fill: Chalky. ?Female, probably 50-60 years. Skeleton disturbed and removed down to the knees; tibiae, fibulae and feet survive intact. Apparently extended supine, though right leg clearly bent to the right at knee."
91	U U	C	-	600-700	-	0.46	2.4	0.88		U	U	(1) Fe knife: roughly in centre of grave; (2) Fe buckle plate, ?waist-belt fitting: in centre of grave pit near knife (1), ?disturbed.	"?Disturbed… Fill: Earthy. No skeletal remains survived."

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Date[3]	Depth (m)[1]	Length (m)[1]	Width (m)[1]	Coffin/ Structure[1]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[1]	Excavators' comments[1]
93	U c.35	B	-	600-700	-	0.76	2.3	1.03	Pennanular ditch, single post-hole	4	U	no finds	"Robbed in antiquity, soon after burial?... The grave was surrounded by a penannular ditch… estimated external diameter 5.95m with a single post-hole for a wooden marker post in the causeway. The northern part of the ditch was ploughed out and only traceable as a very shallow hint of a depression. Grave fill: Chalky. Sex not discernible, c. 35 years. Skeletal remains thrown back into grave after robbing."
100	U U	C	-	600-700	-	0.46	2.41	0.83		U	U	no finds	"?Disturbed… A well cut, regular grave. Fill: mixed chalk rubble and earth. No trace of any skeletal remains seen."
110	M c.25	B	-	625-700	-	0.76	2.48	0.94	?Mound	4/5	U	(1)-1 Fe spearhead. Disturbed, in fill at head end; (1)-2 Fe spear ferrule: ?undisturbed, on left side of foot end of grave. Wood fragments survive in socket; (2) Fe shield-grip fragment, disturbed in fill at head end of grave; (3) Fragments of a glass vessel: disturbed at foot end of grave, all apparently from same vessel; (4) Organic object with gunmental fittings, disturbed in middle of grave; (5) Gilt-bronze mount/stud: disturbed in middle of grave; (6) Fe knife: disturbed, in middle of grave; (7) ?Intrusive pot sherds.	"Robbed in antiquity, probably soon after deposition, some time during the 6th century… A well-cut, unusually deep grave. No traces of a structure survived. Fill: mixed earth and chalk. Male, c. 25 years. Surviving skeletal fragments thrown back in filling after robbing."
126	U 10-12	C	-	600-700	-	0.56	2.5	1	Penannular ditch, single post-hole	?4	U	no finds	"Disturbed?... No traces of structure visible inside grave pit. The grave was surrounded by a penannular ditch… external diam. 5.5m, with a single post-hole… in the entrance, presumably for a wooden marker post... No traces of a mound were seen. Sex not discernable, 10-12 years. Either disturbed and thrown back into fill or possible undisturbed but severely eroded."

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Date[3]	Depth (m)[1]	Length (m)[1]	Width (m)[1]	Coffin/ Structure[1]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[1]	Excavators' comments[1]
139	F 40-50	B	-	625-750	-	0.48	2.4	0.78		4	U	(1) Gunmetal pin: "in grave filling, high above left side of skull. Bronze stain on right clavicle indicates the pin was probably displaced from right shoulder." Pin bent; (2) Fe knife: in pieces to left of left hip. Tip of blade and tip of tang missing; (3) Fe chatelaine? Various pieces around L hip and pelvis.	"Disturbed, possibly robbed in antiquity… (foot end has an irregular cut to right of feet and lower legs)… Fill: earthy at top, chalkier at bottom. Female, 40-50 years. Extended supine. Virtually all the right side of the upper body is missing, and those fragments that do survive appear misplaced. Most of the grave goods also appear to have been disturbed."
162	F 20-25	B	-	600-700	-	0.43	2	0.79	?Mound	4	U	(1) Organic object with Cu and Fe fittings.	"Disturbed… Fill: earthy. Female 20-25 years. Supine and almost fully extended, though left leg bent slightly to left at knee, arms sharply bent with hands at waist. The skull, right innominate bone and sacrum have been disturbed and lie in the right chest/waist area."
197	F 17-20	B	-	600-700	-	0.81	2.03	0.74	coffin	4	i	(1) Necklace: disturbed in upper chest – waist area; (2) Fe chatelaine: disturbed in bottom 3rd of grave; (3) Fe knife: disturbed, in pieces in bottom 3rd of grave.	"Disturbed... A well-cut, regular grave. Traces of a coffin were clearly visible. Both skeleton and grave goods were severely disturbed, yet the traces representing the sides and ends of the coffin were intact at the time of excavation. It appeared that the coffin must have been opened up and the burial robbed in antiquity, after the body had decomposed but before the coffin had collapsed. Grave-fill: clay to a depth of c.0.30-0.45m below surface of chalk, then hard packed chalk around coffin and chalky earth inside. Female, c. 17-20 years. Only disturbed fragments of skeleton survive."

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Date[3]	Depth (m)[1]	Length (m)[1]	Width (m)[1]	Coffin/ Structure[1]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[1]	Excavators' comments[1]
205/a	F 25-30	B	-	520-600	early 7th	0.91	2.39	0.76	coffin ?Mound	3	iii	(1) Fe knife: loose in filling on left side of bone heap; (2) Silver bow-brooch, cast, gilded, nielloed and set with red glass and garnet: "found on excavation spoil-heap after rain, in tip of dark soil which had definitely come from the robbed area of this grave. It had thus been overlooked by excavators ancient and modern and its position in the grave is not ascertainable except, of course, that it may have been responsible for the green-staining of the woman's clavicle."	"Robbed in antiquity... A well-cut grave with rounded ends. Remains of chalk packing at both sides of grave near bottom suggest there had been a coffin c.0.53m wide. All the upper part of the grave to a depth of 0.61m filled with disturbed fill of clayey earth. Below this was disturbed chalky earth, but remains of chalk packing survived at sides close to grave-bottom. Bones, some semi-articulated, were found heaped in the middle of the grave, in the dark fill, from a depth of 0.33m to 0.58m. The excavators had the impression that grave-robbing had taken place not long after burial, before the primary burial had had time fully to decompose. Mary Harman, the bone assistant on site, believed that the grave had contained the remains of 3 human individuals and of a sheep or goat. Individual A: Female, c. 25-30 years. Green stain as from silver or Cu alloy ?brooch on clavicle. Individual B: Male, adult. Individual C: ?Male, adult. Represented by a 5th femur, noted in the Site Notebook but not in the final report on the skeletons. Sheep/goat: Represented by mandible and teeth, vertebrae and cannon bones."
205/b	M adult	B	-	520-600	-	multiple	multiple	multiple	"			see above	see above
205/c	M? adult	A	-	520-600	-	multiple	multiple	multiple	"			see above	see above
211/a	M adult?	C	X	520-550	-	0.71	2.36	0.84	coffin ?Mound	4	?iii	(1) Fe spear-ferrule: undisturbed at foot end of grave just inside left side of coffin; (2) Shield: to the left of the left ankle of Individual A, outside and propped against left side of coffin, shield-board inwards; (3) Cu alloy fragments: below L foot; (4) Fe spearhead: loose in ploughsoil about 4m SE of Gr 211 "and just possibly associated with it".	"Most of the grave was disturbed by chalk extraction, possibly it was also robbed in antiquity… The grave had contained two adult individuals. The seemingly uncoffined Individual B was deposited directly above and therefore sometime after the coffined Individual A… Individual A: Male, ?adult. Only right tibia and fibula and left fibula and foot bones survived. Extended supine. Individual B: ?Female, adult. Extended supine."

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Date[3]	Depth (m)[1]	Length (m)[1]	Width (m)[1]	Coffin/ Structure[1]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[1]	Excavators' comments[1]
211/b	F? adult	C	X	600-700	early 7th	multiple	multiple	multiple	"			see above	see above

1. Hawkes & Grainger 2006
2. ASKED
3. Sayer 2009

Table 14: Ramsgate IV, Ozengell (Osengal, Ozingell, Lord of the Manor)

Inhumation cemetery. Min. no. graves: 710. Sample for study: 89. Disturbed/possibly disturbed: 41 burials in 39 graves (39/89=44%)

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Depth[1]	Coffin/ Structure[1]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[1]	Excavators' comments[1]
5	F adult	B	-	625-725	0.55	"four corner post sockets with wood traces, and a slot about 7cm deep, 1.80m x 0.50m cut into the floor"	U	U	blue glass bead high in fill, iron knife	"grave disturbed"
6	F 22a	B	-	625-700	0.75		4	U	in fill a bone bead and iron fragments	"grave disturbed, bones scattered"
7	M 23	A	-	575-675	0.8	sandstone slabs	3	U	?in situ an iron knife against left fore-arm, in fill small bronze buckle and iron spike, iron fragments and rivet	"Grave disturbed, bones scattered at head of grave but left arm probably semi-articulated at time of disturbance, sandstone slabs in grave fill"
9	F adult	A	-	625-700	0.8	sandstone slabs	3	U	potsherd, iron girdle hanger fragments in fill	"Grave disturbed, bones scattered, long bones of lower legs probably semi articulated at time of disturbance. Sandstone slabs strewn about grave."
10	M adolescent	B	-	575-675	0.95	slots in grave floor, ?rope ways	U	U	5 small bronze objects, shield boss fragments, small bronze buckle, shield studs, knife high in fill	"Grave disturbed for 1.80m, back from west end"
11	U U	B	-	525-575	0.81		?1/4	U	11 objects, ?gaming pieces of horse or cow teeth, iron fragments and rivets	"Grave disturbed for 2.00m, back from west end. No skeletal remains."
12	M 45	A	X	525-725	0.55		3	U	no finds	"Grave disturbed and bones piled into two heaps, bones of lower legs probably semi-articulated at time of disturbance."
17	M 25-30	A	-	625-725	0.75	coffin slot in grave floor, L 1.92m, W 0.45m, D 0.10m	3	U	iron knife, bent to a right angle	"Head half of the grave disturbed, bones of legs probably semi-articulated at time of disturbance"
18	M 25-30	A	-	625-675	0.8	4 postholes, sandstone slab upright at S side	3	U	iron buckle	"Grave disturbed, bones scattered at foot… Vertebrae still semi-articulated at time of disturbance… Original grave fill present at sides… The stratification of fill indicated that the grave was not back-filled immediately after disturbance, heavy rain bringing a dark silt from land surface."

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Depth[1]	Coffin/ Structure[1]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[1]	Excavators' comments[1]
19a	M 30	A	-	625-725	0.56		3	U	iron knife	"Grave disturbed, skull, rib-cage, spine, and most of pelvis fragmentary and scattered. Long bones of arms and legs in position, probably semi-articulated at time of disturbance."
19b	M young adult	B	-	-	multiple		4	U	0	"In the grave fill of 19 the scattered remains of a young adult male."
21	?F adult	B	-	625-675	0.95		4/5	U	bronze object, scattered iron fragments, potsherd	"Grave heavily disturbed. Bone fragments indicate an adult female."
22	F adult	B	-	625-725	1	shelf on all sides, c. 40cm wide, 30cm deep, into this were cut 6 shallow rectangular depressions	4/5	U	glass bead, clay bead, bronze fragment, iron knife, potsherd	"The grave was heavily disturbed, and a number of sandstone slabs were found at all levels of grave fill. Skeletal remains were fragmentary"
23	F 25	B	-	575-625	0.8	shelf on all sides, 10-20cm wide, 20cm deep, into this were cut 4 shallow depressions, probably post holes	4	U	bronze pin, polychrome glass bead, 4 clay beads, iron knife, iron rings	"Grave heavily disturbed… bones between skull and knees scattered."
24	F 30	B	X	525-725	0.9	sandstone slabs	U	U	2 beads, iron knife	"grave cut by modern pipe trench… grave disturbed, sandstone slabs present in grave fill."
25	F 7	B	-	525-725	0.8		4/5	U	bronze bead, glass bead	"Grave heavily disturbed, bones scattered and fragmentary, sandstone slabs high in grave fill."
27	F 3	B	-	525-575	0.7		U	U	polychrome bead, 10 melon glass beads, 17 single and 4 double cylindrical beads, knife, iron fragments	"Grave heavily disturbed."
28	F 15	B	-	625-675	0.95	?coffin shallow ledge across head and sides of grave, at sourthern corner of head end a post hole	4/5	?iii	iron fragments, bronze staples (?wooden box), bronze pin, lead disc, buckle of bronze, iron silver, knife, iron fragment	"Grave heavily disturbed, bones scattered and fragmentary." "short wood or coffin trace"
30	F adult	B	-	525-725	0.78		U	U	no finds	"Grave heavily disturbed."
32	F adult	B	-	575-675	0.69		4/5	U	2 clay beads, iron keys, 2 potsherds	"disturbed, bone and metallic fragments scattered at all levels"

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Depth[1]	Coffin/ Structure[1]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[1]	Excavators' comments[1]
34/a	M adult	C	X	575-675	0.96		4/5	U	polychrome bead, 2 yellow clay beads "perhaps indicative of a third and female inhumation", iron buckle	"grave cut by modern pipe trench, destroying the middle one third, there was also evidence of earlier disturbance. Examination of the scattered and fragmentary bones revealed two individuals… the intermittant coffin trace on the grave floor was probably associated with 34b"
34/b	M 30-35	C	X	---	multiple	coffin	-	-	-	-
46	U 9	C	-	525-625	0.75		4/5	U	iron knife, fragments	"Grave probably disturbed as artifacts, bone fragments and teeth scattered at head of grave."
49	U 21-25	B	-	525-725	0.91	coffin rectangular 'kerb slot' in surrounding chalk surface, c. 4.40m x 2.80m, some sandstone fragments retained in this	4	U	iron knife, iron fragments in fill	"Grave disturbed, bones scattered"
50	M 25-30	B	-	525-725	0.8	sandstone slabs, kerb slot	U	U	no finds	"Grave heavily disturbed, large sandstone slabs scattered in fill."
51	M 25-30	B	-	575-675	0.9	coffin sandstone slabs	U	?iii	bronze buckle, iron knife	"Sandstone clabs in grave fill… and coffin trace on floor of grave only… indicate disturbance."
52	F adult	B	-	525-725	0.73	sandstone slabs	4	U	at depth 7cm, a rim sherd of Tylor Hill medieval pottery	"Grave heavily disturbed, bones and sandstone slabs scattered at all levels of grave fill."
53	F 30-35	B	-	525-725	0.76	sandstone slabs	4	U	2 small fragments of silver ?from a pendant attachment, clay bead	"Grave disturbed, sandstone slabs at all levels of fill. Bones… scattered at foot of grave."
56	U 6	C	-	575-675	0.66	coffin	4	U	2 bronze buckles	"Grave apparently disturbed for two thirds of the way back from western end, the remainder of the fill being more chalky"
60	M adult	B	-	450-525	1	coffin	4/5	U	spearhead, wood, cloth/leather, bronze buckle plate, broken iron knife	"Grave disturbed, a north-south section across the grave indicated that the robbers had located it by stripping topsoil from the chalk in a southward direction. The spoil of chalk rubble was heaped on both sides of the grave, trapping the land surface to the south. Most back-filling may have occurred naturally. A ledge of chalk packing... the iron spearhead lay on this. Between packing and grave fill was a strong coffin trace... scattered and fragmentary bones"
61	M adult	C	X	525-675	0.9	?coffin sandstone slabs	4/5	U	bronze stud, rivet, wood fragment, spearhead, 3 iron shield studs	"Grave cut across at foot by modern trench, contents disturbed, bone and metallic fragments scattered."

Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Depth[1]	Coffin/ Structure[1]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Finds[1]	Excavators' comments[1]
65	F 25-30	A	-	525-725	0.4	sandstone slabs	3	U	bronze pin, bronze wire spiral	"Grave disturbed, sandstone slabs at all levels of grave fill… bones scattered, vertebrae semi-articulated at time of disturbance."
69	F 35-40	B	-	525-725	0.63		4/5	U	bronze finger ring, brown paste bead	"heavily disturbed, all bone and metallic fragments etc. concentrated at middle of grave"
72	F 25-30	B	-	625-675	0.67		4	U	glass bead, iron knife	"grave disturbed, bones scattered"
75	U adult	B	-	575-625	0.83	coffin	4/5	U	iron buckle with bronze rivets, iron chatelaine ring, polychrome bead, clay and paste beads, iron knife, iron buckle	"Grave disturbed and contents scattered, some coffin traces visible on chalk floor… fragmentary remains in poor condition"
78	M 40-45	B	-	525-725	0.5		4	U	no finds	"Grave cut through fill of barrow ditch, disturbed, bones of left leg, pelvis, spine and ribs out of position… buried face down with right arm under skull."
81	F 20-25	B	-	525-725	0.82	?coffin sandstone slab	U	U	no finds	"the whole much disturbed"
85	U 1-2	B	-	525-725	0.82	coffin	4/5	U	spear ferrule, iron buckle, shield studs, iron buckle fragments	"grave disturbed… tooth scatter... bone fragments"
87	U 0-1	B	-	525-725	0.81	coffin	U	U	vertebra of a cow or horse	"grave disturbed"
229	M adult	B	-	---	1.05	coffin sandstone slabs	4	U	2 knives, spearhead, shield-fittings, buckle	"Disturbed in antiquity, head and foot undisturbed. Coffin, enclosed in packing rubble. Sandstone slabs high in fill, possibly remains of ground level cover."
230	U U	B	-	---	U	?coffin sandstone slabs	U	U	comb fragments, clench bolt	"Disturbed, Sandstone slabs scattered in fill."

1. Perkins draft grave catalogue
2. ASKED

Table 15: Sarre I

Inhumation cemetery. Min. no. graves: 400. Sample for study: 291. Disturbed/possibly disturbed: 48 burials in 44 graves (44/291=15%).

Grave	Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Length[3]	Width[3]	Depth[3]	Coffin/ Structure[3]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Disturbance class[4]	Finds and excavators' comments[1]
2	II	U adult	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"This grave had at some period been disturbed. Some bones of oxen, near the surface, were found, but no other relics."
3	III	U adult	C	-	500-600	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"fragments of a sword were scattered about the grave"
21	XXI	U adult	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"Disturbed. No relics."
25	XXV	U child	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"A child's grave; disturbed. Only a bronze buckle."
33	XXXIII	U adult	B	-	530-590	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	XXXIII and XXXIV – "Both disturbed. Fragments of an earthen vessel and of a knife; a few clench bolts; a broken iron buckle and a bronze tag."
34	XXXIV	U adult	B	-	530-590	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	XXXIII and XXXIV – "Both disturbed. Fragments of an earthen vessel and of a knife; a few clench bolts; a broken iron buckle and a bronze tag."
66	LXVI	U adult	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"Disturbed; no relics."
69	LXIX	U adult	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"Disturbed; only a fragment of pottery."
81	LXXXI	?M adult	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"Disturbed; the deepest grave opened at Sarr, being six feet from the surface. Its length was nine feet, and its width nearly five. At the head was a small bronze pin, a spear-head with its ferule, both broken, and apparently before burial; part of a shield-brace. A small piece of yellow clay, about the size of a walnut, was found on the chalk floor of the grave."
82	LXXXII	U adult	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"Disturbed; no relics."
84	LXXXIV	U adult	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"Disturbed; the bones much deranged. Only a small double glass bead."

Grave	Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Length[3]	Width[3]	Depth[3]	Coffin/ Structure[3]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Disturbance class[4]	Finds and excavators' comments[1]
85	LXXXV	U adult	B	-	475-585	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"An oblique grave; disturbed. A bone of sheep or deer was found with the skeleton, as well, as a broken knife, and a bronze fibula of the ring shape… From the archaic character of this fibula, and the facts that the grave varied considerably in direction from its neighbours and contained an animal's bone, I am inclined to rank this among the oldest of the graves at Sarre."
87	LXXXVII	?M adult	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"Disturbed. A spear-head, a bronze buckle, and stud."
104	CIV	?M child	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"A very small grave and disturbed. A knife and the top of a sword-hilt."
136	CXXXVI	U adult	C	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"A remarkably long grave, eleven feet in length by two feet six inches in width. It had probably been disturbed, and contained nothing but a fragment of red pottery."
142	CXLII	?M adult	B	-	575-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"A large spear-head, and another smaller, with one ferule; a fragment of red pottery. No vestige of the skeleton but a portion of the lower jaw-bone. Most of the graves in this part of the field had been disturbed."
149	CXLIX	U adult	C	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CXLIX-CLI – "Probably disturbed. A knife and a piece of iron."
150	CXLX	U adult	C	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CXLIX-CLI – "Probably disturbed. A knife and a piece of iron."
151	CLI	U adult	C	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CXLIX-CLI – "Probably disturbed. A knife and a piece of iron."
154	CLIV	U adult	B	-	500-600	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CLIV, CLV – "Both disturbed. A broken pin or bodkin, one amber bead, and fragments of bronze and iron."
155	CLV	U adult	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CLIV, CLV – "Both disturbed. A broken pin or bodkin, one amber bead, and fragments of bronze and iron."
178	CLXXVIII	?F adult	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"Disturbed; no relics. Grave of a woman, as shewn by the teeth."
186	CLXXXVI	U adult	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"A small oblique grave, disturbed, and with the bones much displaced. An iron buckle, and a small substance resembling resin." [also found in other, undisturbed graves e.g. CCII where thought perhaps some unguent].

Grave	Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Length[3]	Width[3]	Depth[3]	Coffin/ Structure[3]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Disturbance class[4]	Finds and excavators' comments[1]
194	CXCIV	U adult	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CXCIV and CXCVI – "had been disturbed, and the bones much displaced. The latter had contained two persons."
196a	CXCVI	U adult	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	CXCIV and CXCVI – "had been disturbed, and the bones much displaced. The latter had contained two persons."
196b	0	U adult	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
198	CXCVIII	?M adult	C	?W	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"(near the turnpike-gate on the Ramsgate road.) At the foot of the grave was a small hole containing human bones. Also about forty counters of bones or ivory… In this grave were also two gilt stud-heads or rivets, still quite bright; a bronze buckle, and one of iron, and two small spear-heads. The grave measured seven feet by four. The lower end had been disturbed."
201	CCI	U adult	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"Nothing. The bones displaced."
244	CCXLIV	?M adult	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"Disturbed. Shield-studs, and fragments of bronze and iron. At the foot, a flat piece of iron with two flattened circular knobs upon it; a spear-head lay in the cist at the head of the grave."
249	CCXLIX	U adult	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"Disturbed. No relics."
251	CCLI	U adult	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"Disturbed. No relics."
271b	CCLXXI	U adult	D	-	---	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"Near the surface human bones, a horse's jaw-bone and teeth, and an iron snaffle-bit. A skeleton lay below, entire, with only a broken knife." Perkins 1992: 119 has interment b as disturbed Class A, 2
[U]	#1	[U] [U]	D	-	---	3	1.12	0.45	none	-	-	-	"A neatly cut grave with rounded corners, and of U section. Empty but for two eroded long bone fragments at the western end, (a). The fill was loose, grey-black, and generally unlike that of the other graves. This was probably a grave investigated by Brent."

Grave	Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Length[3]	Width[3]	Depth[3]	Coffin/ Structure[3]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Disturbance class[4]	Finds and excavators' comments[1]
276	#3	U ?adult	B	-	500-700	2.4	0.88	0.57	Hogarth II, a, 2	4	?i	A, 1, factor 2(b)	"A neatly cut grave having an external structure Class II, a, 2, consisting of four well cut post-holes each of which had been re-cut… The grave had been disturbed in antiquity, Class A, 1, factor 2(b). Skull fragments may have been in situ, but long bones were heaped at the western end of the grave. The only finds were two bronze strap ends… and some fragments of worked bone, perhaps from a comb (not illustrated)."
279a	#6	?F adult	B	-	500-700	2.4	1.2	0.98	none	4	U	1, 2(b)	"Grave with rounded corners and vertical sides. Disturbed in antiquity, bones and objects scattered in the fill at all levels, Class 1, 2(b). Presumably, a multiple burial, bones were found representing four persons at least one of them male. The only finds were an iron knife and a spear ferrule…"
279b	0	U juvenile	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
279c	0	U child	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
279d	0	U adult	B	-	500-700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
281	#10	F 25-30 years approx	B	-	500-700	2.7	1	0.55	Hogarth I(b)5	4/5	?i	C.1.3(b)	"The grave had a shelf cut into chalk at the head and sides to a depth of 0.29m. see (b) in grave plan. This represents Hogarth's Grave Structure Class I(b)5. It had been disturbed in antiquity, and only the leg bones (of adult size) were in situ. Disturbance Class C.1.3(b). Grave goods: Four iron keys or latch-lifters and iron ring fragments… These had been piled against the side of the grave, see (a) in the grave plan."
282	#13	U 25-30 years approx	D	Y	---	2.35	1.25	0.8	none	-	-	1, 2(b)	"Grave with rounded ends and sides sloping inwards. Disturbed in antiquity (Class 1, 2(b)), the bones fragmented and scattered in fill which contained fragments of peg-tile and a clay-pipe stem of eighteenth-century pattern."
283	#14	M 30+ years	B	X	525-600	2.05	0.75	0.24	none	4	U	1, 1(a) 2(b)	"A grave with rounded ends and open U-section. Disturbed in antiquity (Class 1, 1(a) 2(b)), one tibia may have remained in situ. Further damage in modern times by ploughing. When exposed by machine a spearhead was disturbed from grave fill at chalk surface level. At (a) an iron knife…"

Grave	Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Length[3]	Width[3]	Depth[3]	Coffin/ Structure[3]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Disturbance class[4]	Finds and excavators' comments[1]
285	#16	F 20 years approx	B	-	550-600	2.9	1.53	1.23	none	4/5	U	A.1.3(b)	"This large well-cut grave had been disturbed in antiquity, Disturbance Class A.1.3(b). The bones of an adult and artifacts were distributed throughout the lower fill. Grave goods: gold braid… and two knives… a key or latchlifter… and a iron eyed-hook… Many iron fragments were found in the fill, and the mandible bore heavy cupric staining."
286	#17	F 30 years approx	B	-	525-600	2.88	1.1	0.88	Hogarth II(e)	4/5	U	A.1.3(b)	"A large well-cut grave with an external grave structure at the foot, Class II(e). It had been disturbed in antiquity, Disturbance Class A.1.3(b), with skeletal material, objects and fragments scattered at all levels in the fill. Such intact bones as was present indicated an adult. Grave goods: a pendant fashioned from a tremissis… A silver-mounted key-stone-shaped pendant of pink glass… a fragment of an iron key… and a knife bearing a fabric trace… Nine amber beads… and thirty-one beads of coloured glass. A bronze lifting handle… a bronze key… a fragment of bronze… and a bronze fitting with an iron rivet… Several fragments of thin bronze sheet were also found…"
287	#19	U 35-40 years approx	B	-	500-700	2.24	0.78	0.79	none	4	?ii	1, 2 (b)	"Grave with slightly undercut sides. Disturbed in antiquity (Class 1, 2 (b)), bones piled at the foot (b). At (a) and (c) the heads and parts of the shafts of two large iron nails, both bearing wood traces…"
288	#20	?M 30-35 years approx	B	-	500-700	2.6	1.15	0.9	none	4	U	1, 2 (b)	"Grave with slightly undercut sides. Disturbed in antiquity (Class 1, 2 (b)), bones piled at the foot of grave. At (a) a small bronze buckle… In the area of (b) three angled fragments of iron strapping, each bearing a wood trace… High in the fill was part of an iron nail or skewer, fragments of iron rods, possibly in the remains of keys…"
289	#21	F 25-30 years approx	B	-	575-700	1.95	0.67	0.25	Hogarth I(b)5	4	U	F, 1(c)	"A grave with rounded ends, its shallow bowl-shaped section cut with a slot shaped for the body, grave structure Class 1(b)5. Disturbed in antiquity, Class F, 1(c), long bones scatted in fill, skull and feet in situ. At (a) an amethyst bead and at (b) two beads of orange glass… At (c) an iron knife, and at (d) a piece of angled iron strapping bearing wood traces."

Grave	Grave	Sex, Age[1]	Early robbing	Other damage	Date range[2]	Length[3]	Width[3]	Depth[3]	Coffin/ Structure[3]	Time-frame: corpse	Time-frame: coffin	Disturbance class[4]	Finds and excavators' comments[1]
273a	[1]	U ?adult	D	-	---	1.9	0.75	0.32	none	4	U	A3, 1	"Burial 1, very fragmentary remains of an adult, skull and arms ploughed off, burial level with the chalk surface. Two pot-sherds at the foot of the grave were in black and red fabrics... the latter with traces of rouletting as in a Frankish bottle vase. Burial 2, bone fragments of an adult scattered through fill of brown loam at all levels. Animal teeth and bone fragments (Ovis/Capra) at east end. Small sherds of Iron Age and Belgic pottery in lower fill."

1. Brent 1863, 1866, 1868, Perkins 1988, 1991, 1992
2. ASKED
3. Perkins 1988, 1991, 1992
4. Perkins 1991

Table 16: Disturbed Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries outside Kent

Site	County	Main reference	Date (AD)	Disturbed graves	Sex	Age	Grave-goods
Buttermarket, Ipswich	Suffolk	Scull 2009	7th	2203	U	U	iron buckle, iron object
Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville	Suffolk	Lucy, Tipper, & Dickens 2009	mid-late 7th	5	?M	Adult	iron tool, iron knife
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	12	?F	Adult	iron shears, iron key/latchlifter, iron chatelaine complex
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	22	U	Adult	necklace of glass beads, silver rings, and a gold pendant, pair of linked silver pins, 2 iron rivets, iron knife, various small iron objects
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	U	U	silver-gilt keystone garnet disc brooch, iron knife, chatelaine complex
Chadlington	Oxfordshire	Leeds 1940	7th-8th	5	U	40+	knife, bone comb, iron needle, two potsherds
	⋮	⋮	⋮	7	M	25-35	none
Edix Hill, Barrington A	Cambridgeshire	Malim & Hines 1998	5th - 7th	16 (Sk 33)	M	25-35	none
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	31 (Sk 103)	M	45+	iron fragments (?knife), shell fragment
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	35 (Sk 119)	F	19-35	none
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	49 (Sk 149)	F	25-35	Iron Age/Roman brooch, 2 ?C7th beads, 2 nails, Iron Age potsherd
Melbourn	Cambridgeshire	Wilson 1956	late 6th-7th	V	M	Adult	knife
Minerva, Alwalton	Cambridgeshire	Gibson 2007	early 5th - late 6th/early 7th	1339	M	15-25	none
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	1377	?F	Adult	half of a wrist-clasp, ?iron spear ferrule
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	1435	F	Adult	none
Nassington	Northamptonshire	Leeds & Atkinson 1944	5th - 7th	II	?M	Adult	iron knife, iron buckle
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	44	U	Adult	small red ware pot
Spong Hill	Norfolk	-	5th - 6th	31	U	U	spearhead, ferrule, shield, iron objects, buckle, knife, various potsherds, struck flints, Roman coin
St Mary's Stadium, Southampton	Hampshire	Birbeck 2005	mid 7th - early 8th	4425	M	25-40	?knife
Westfield Farm, Ely	Cambridgeshire	Lucy et al 2009	later 7th	2	?F	15-17	bag-group: copper alloy workbox, copper alloy Roman brooch, small antler spindle whorl, copper alloy flat ring, 5 amethyst beads, two iron hobnails, fragments of an iron ring, iron nail fragments
Winnall II	Hampshire	Meaney and Hawkes 1970	7th - 8th	11	F	30-35	bone spindle-whorl, iron knife, bone comb
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	23	M	adult	none
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	48	F	30-40	none
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	49	?M	old	iron knife, iron steel, disturbed and fragmentary iron buckle loop

Site	County	Main reference	Date (AD)	Disturbed graves	Sex	Age	Grave-goods
Worthy Park, Kingsworthy	Hampshire	Hawkes & Grainger 2003	5th - mid 7th	22	M	25-30	shield, spear, iron knife, copper alloy tweezers
⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮	41	M	50+	belt/baldric fittings, iron knife, copper alloy tweezers

Figures

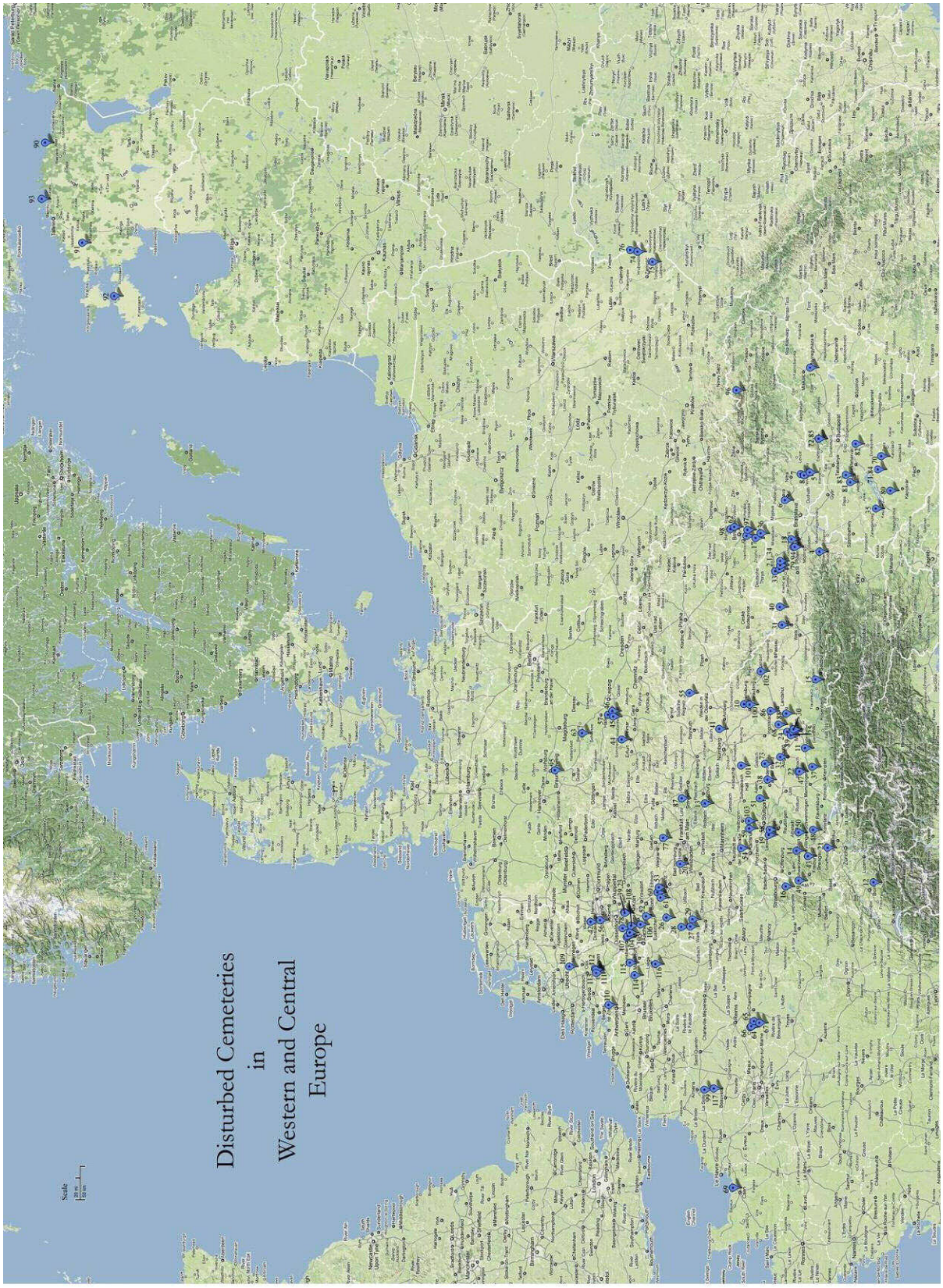


Figure 1: Map of disturbed cemeteries in western and central Europe (a large format version is bound at the back of this volume)

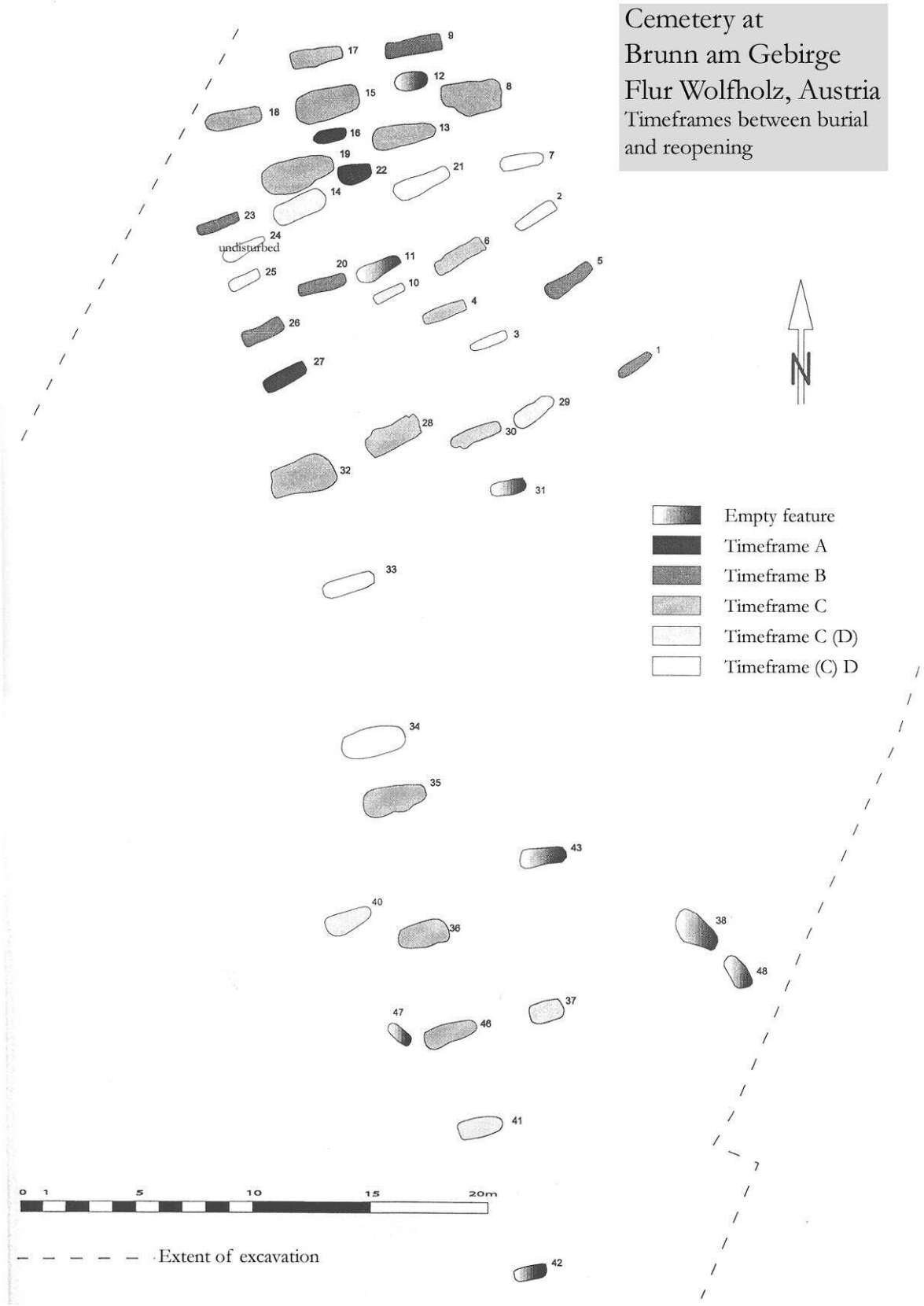


Figure 2: Plan of Brunn am Gebirge, Flur Wolfholz, Lower Austria (after Aspöck 2002)

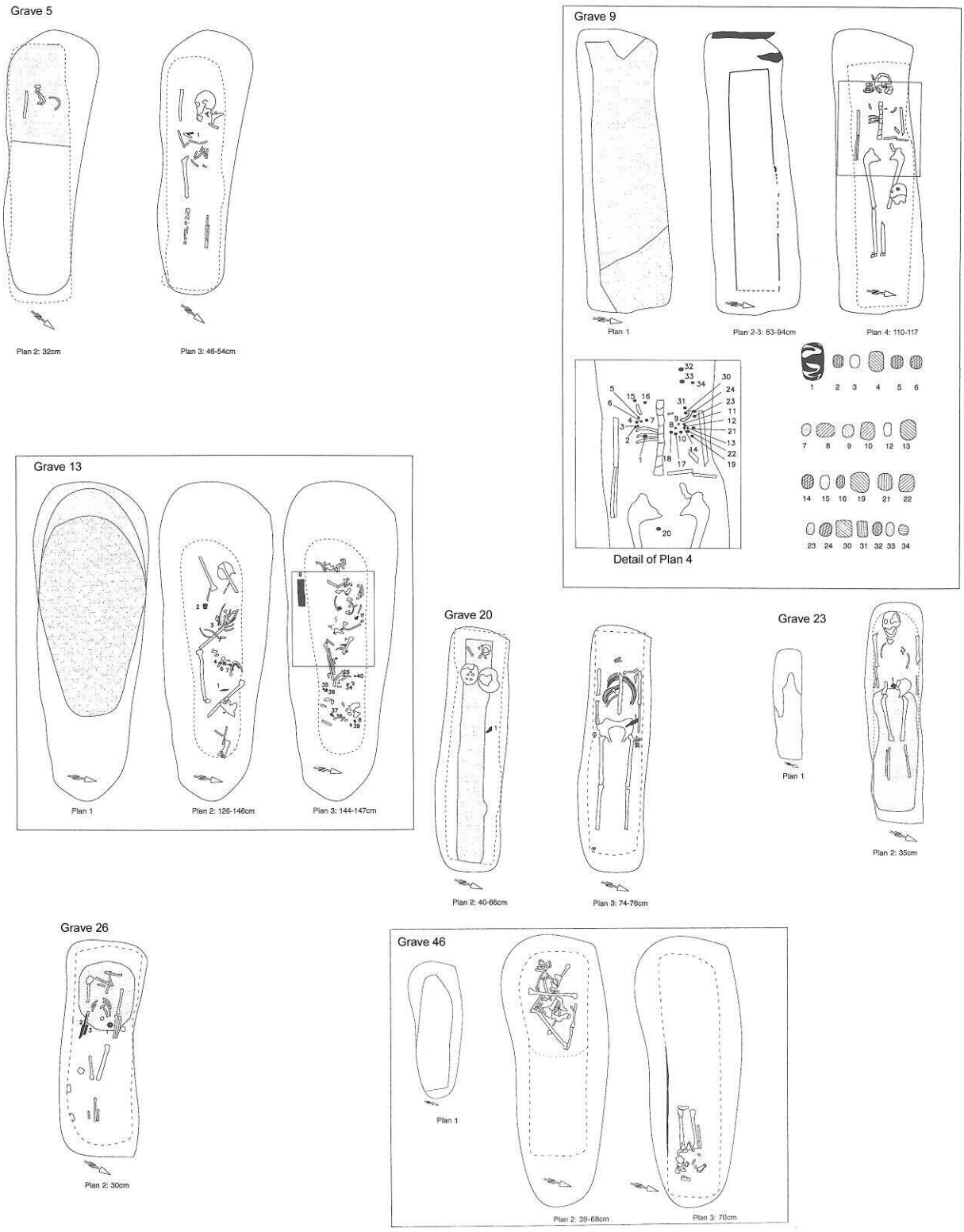


Figure 3: Brunn am Gebirge, Austria, Graves 5, 9, 13, 20, 23, 26, 46 (after Aspöck 2002)

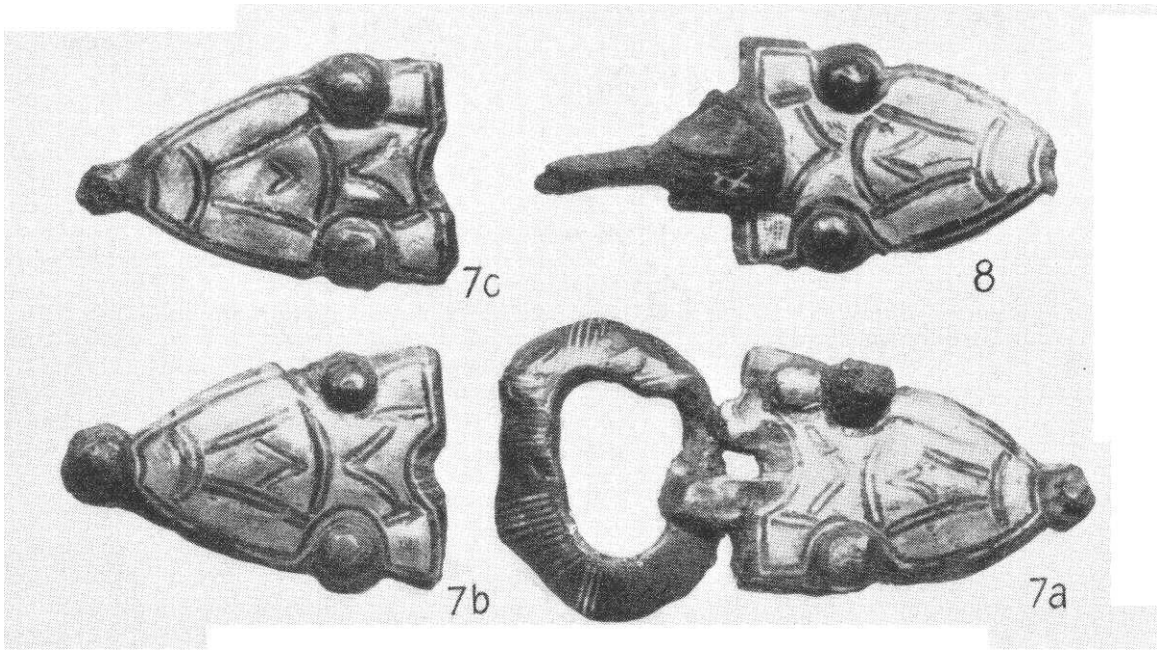


Figure 4: Bülach, Switzerland, finds from Graves 285 and 286 (from Werner 1953)

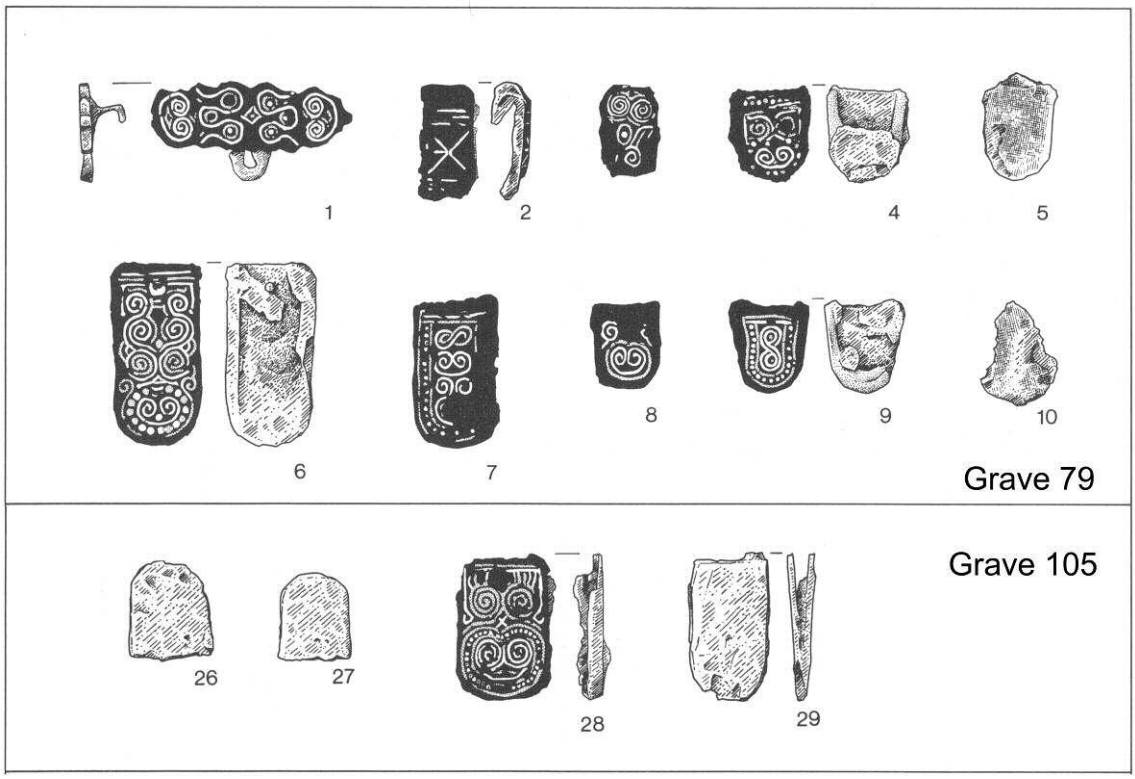


Figure 5: Pliening, Ebersberg, Bavaria, finds from Gr 105 and Gr 79 (from Codreanu-Windauer 1997)

Figure 6: Friedberg-Bruchenbrücken, Wetteraukreis, Hesse, damaged bone from Grave 8 (from Thiedmann & Schleifring 1992)

Figure 7: Reconstruction of early medieval robbing at Friedberg-Bruchenbrücken, Wetteraukreis, Hesse (from Thiedmann & Schleifring 1992)

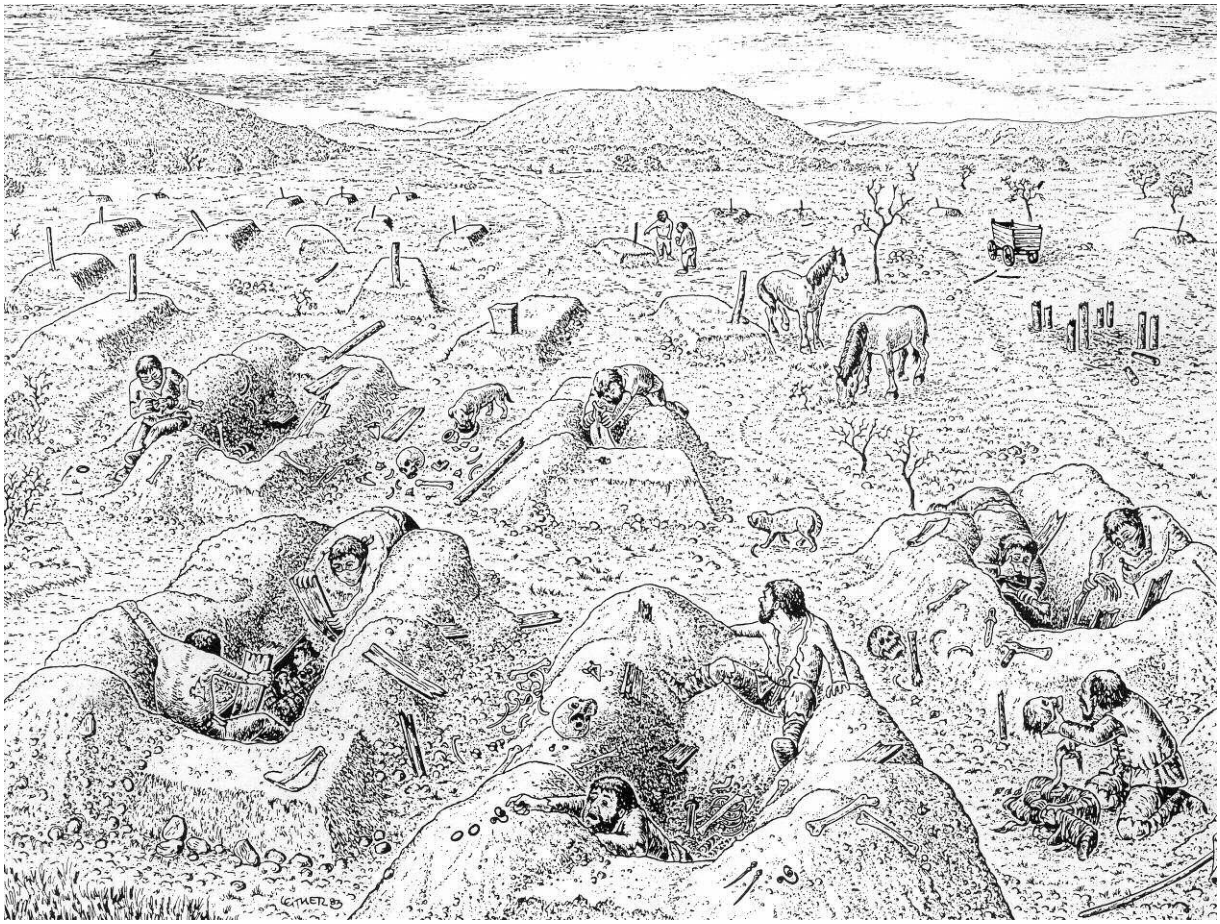


Figure 8: Reconstruction of Bronze Age grave-robbery at Gemeinlebarn F, Lower Austria (from Neugebauer 1991)

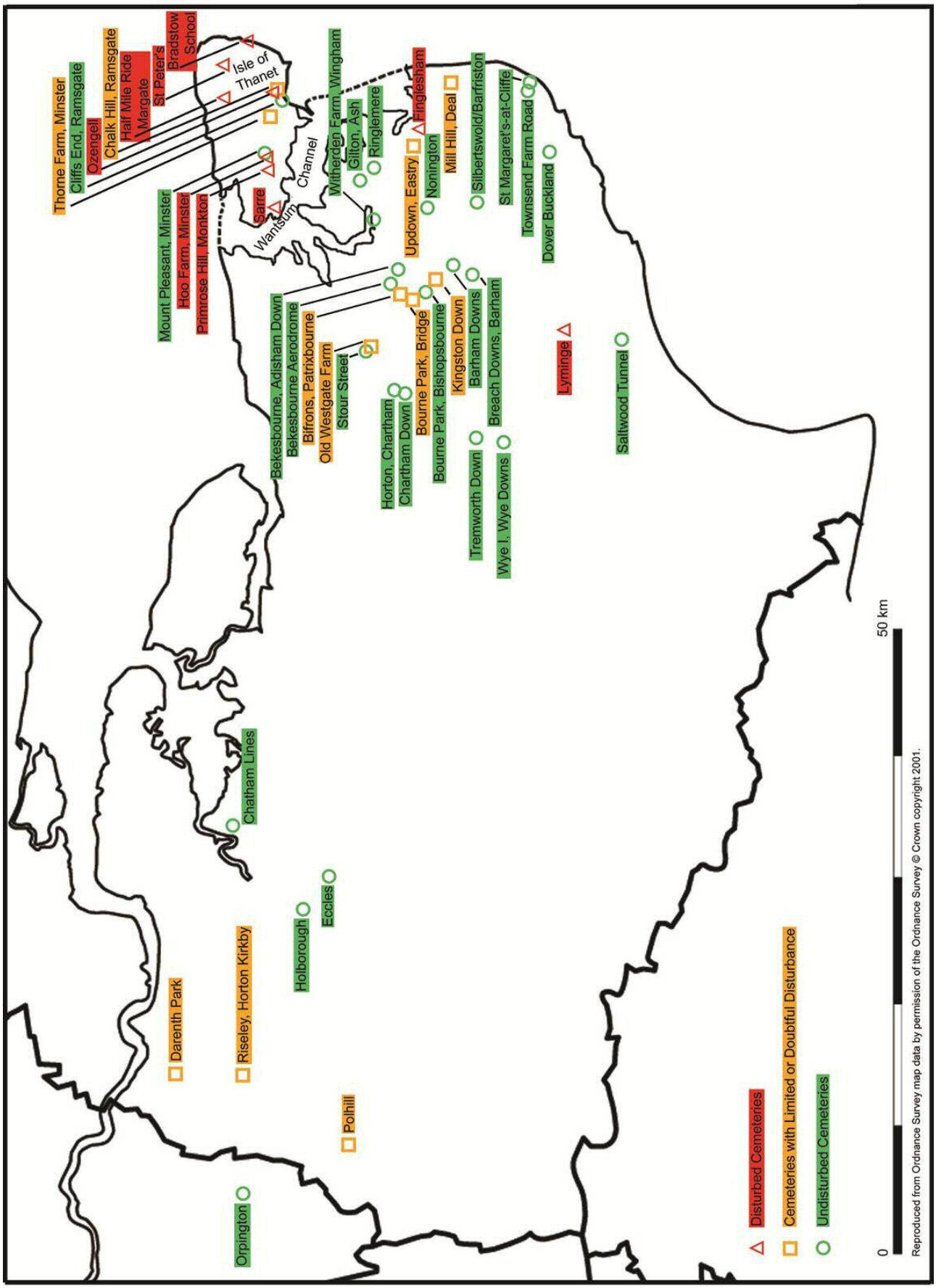


Figure 9: Map of Kent sites

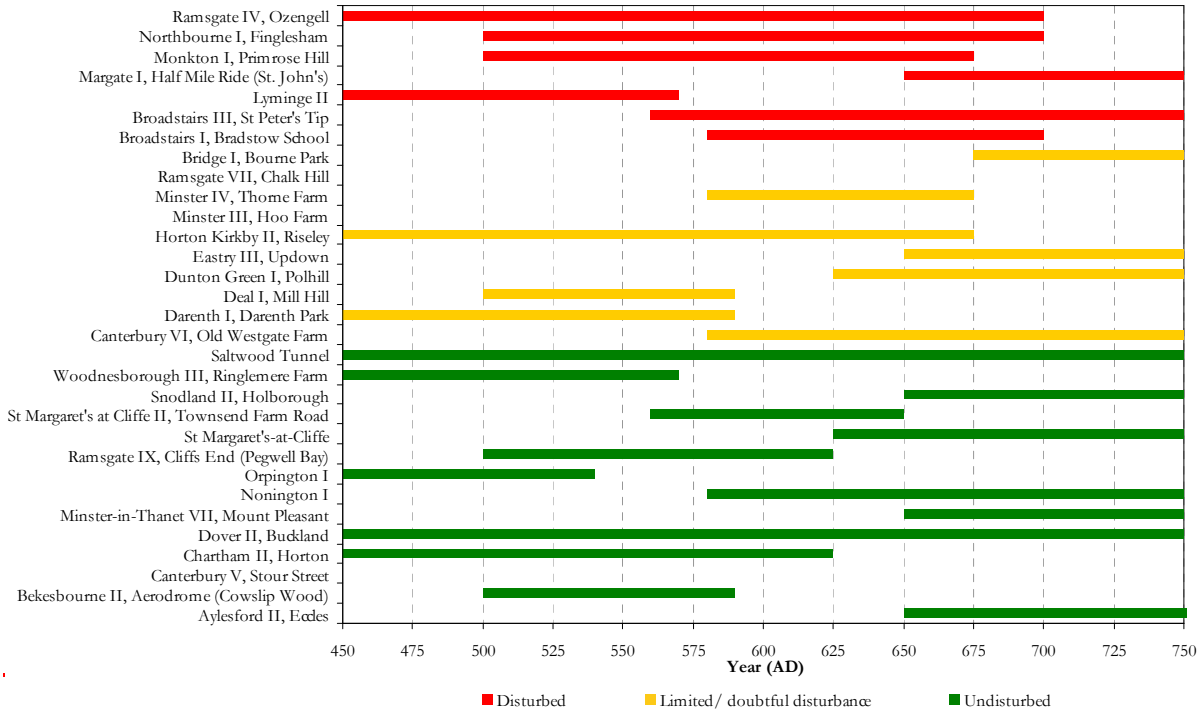


Figure 10: Date ranges of the Kent sites (dates from Richardson 2005)

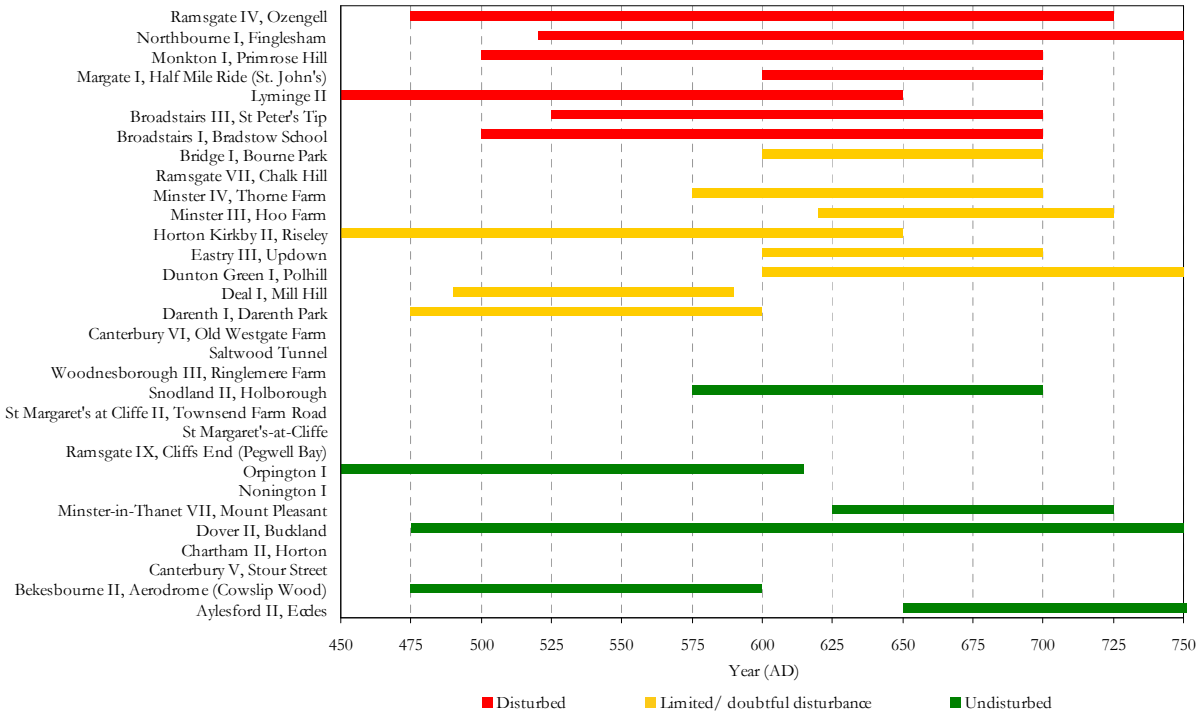


Figure 11: Date ranges of the Kent sites (dates from ASKED)

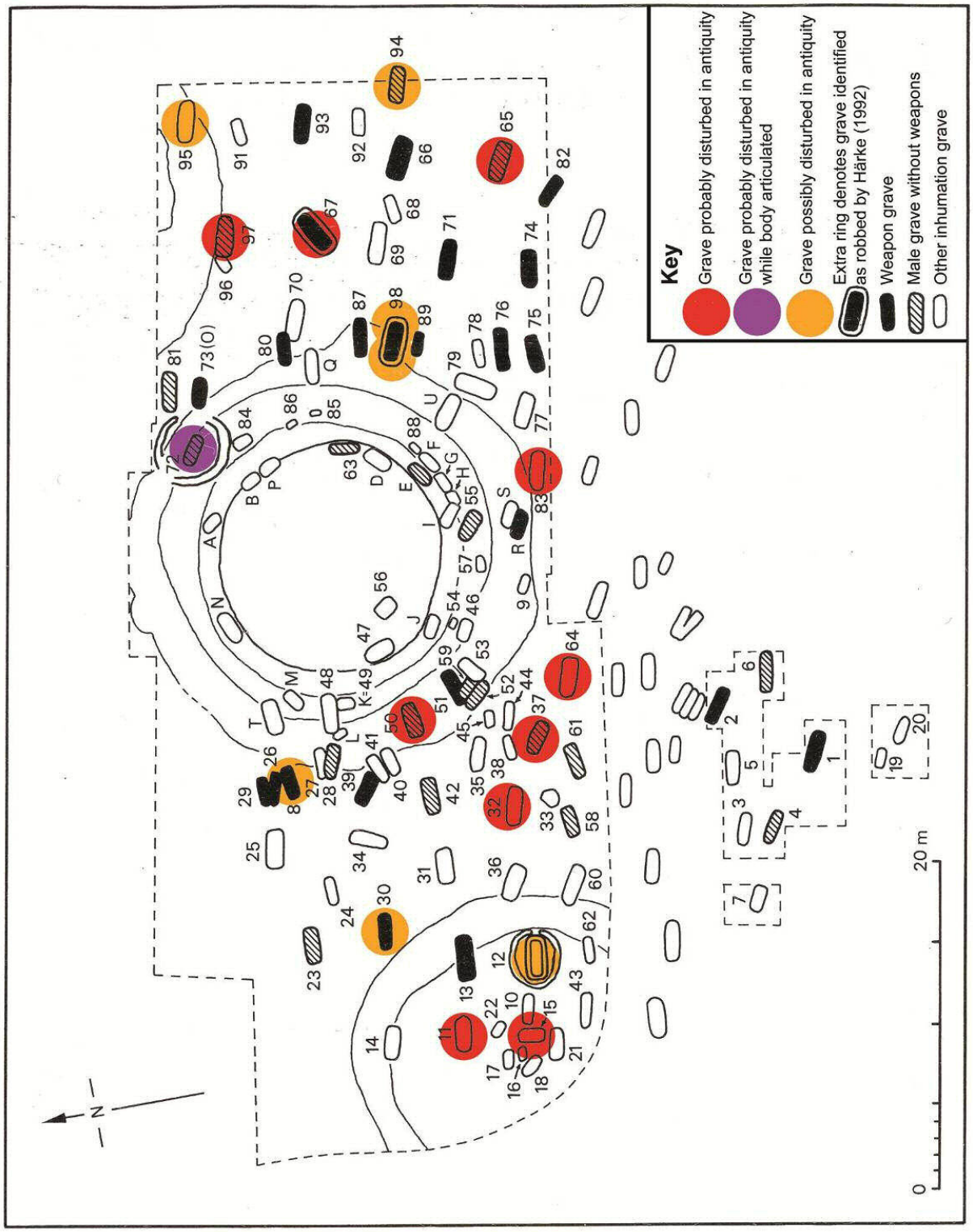


Figure 12: Plan of Broadstairs I, Bradstow School showing the disturbed burials (after Härke 1992)

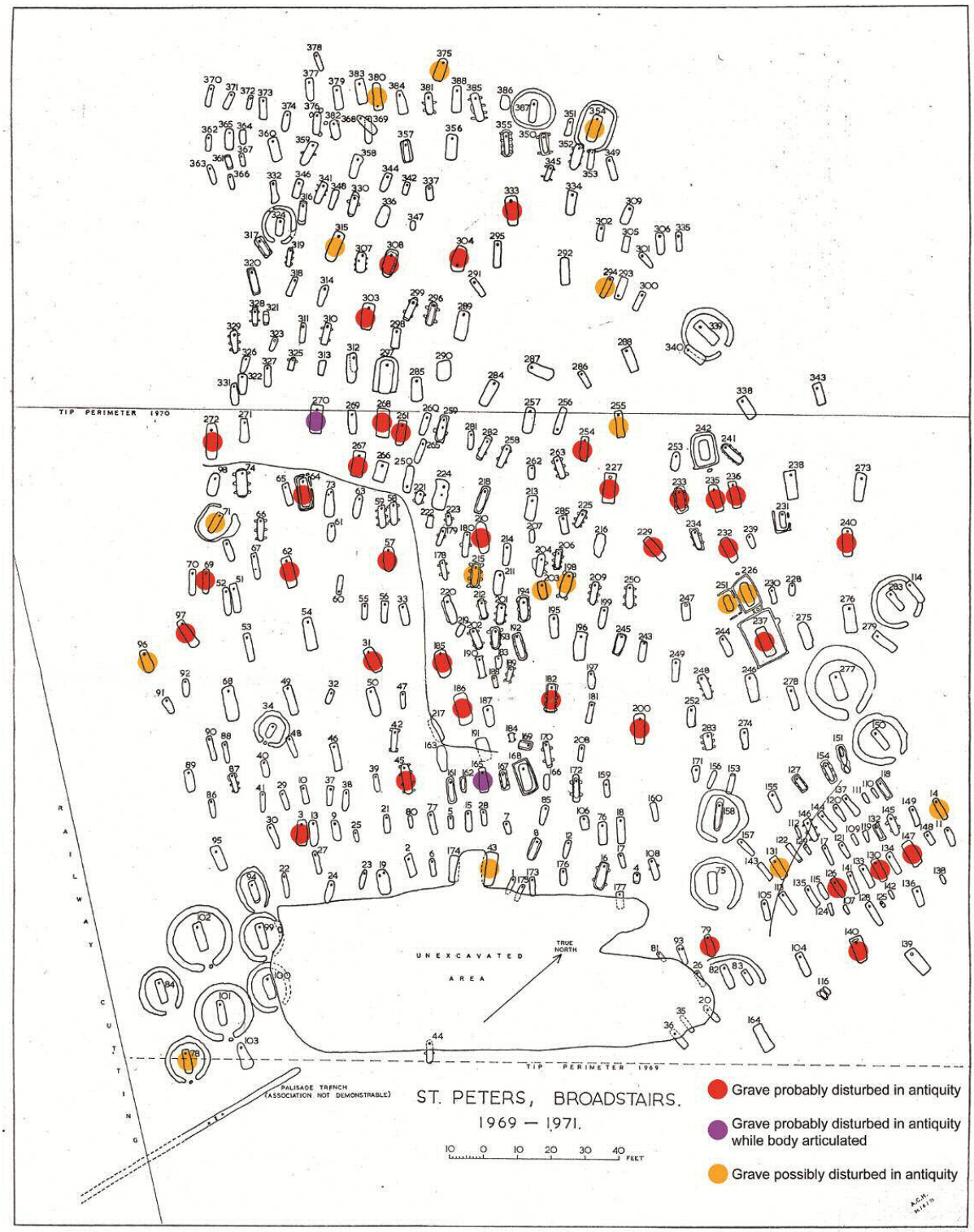


Figure 13: Plan of Broadstairs III, St Peter's Tip showing the disturbed burials (after Hogarth 1973)

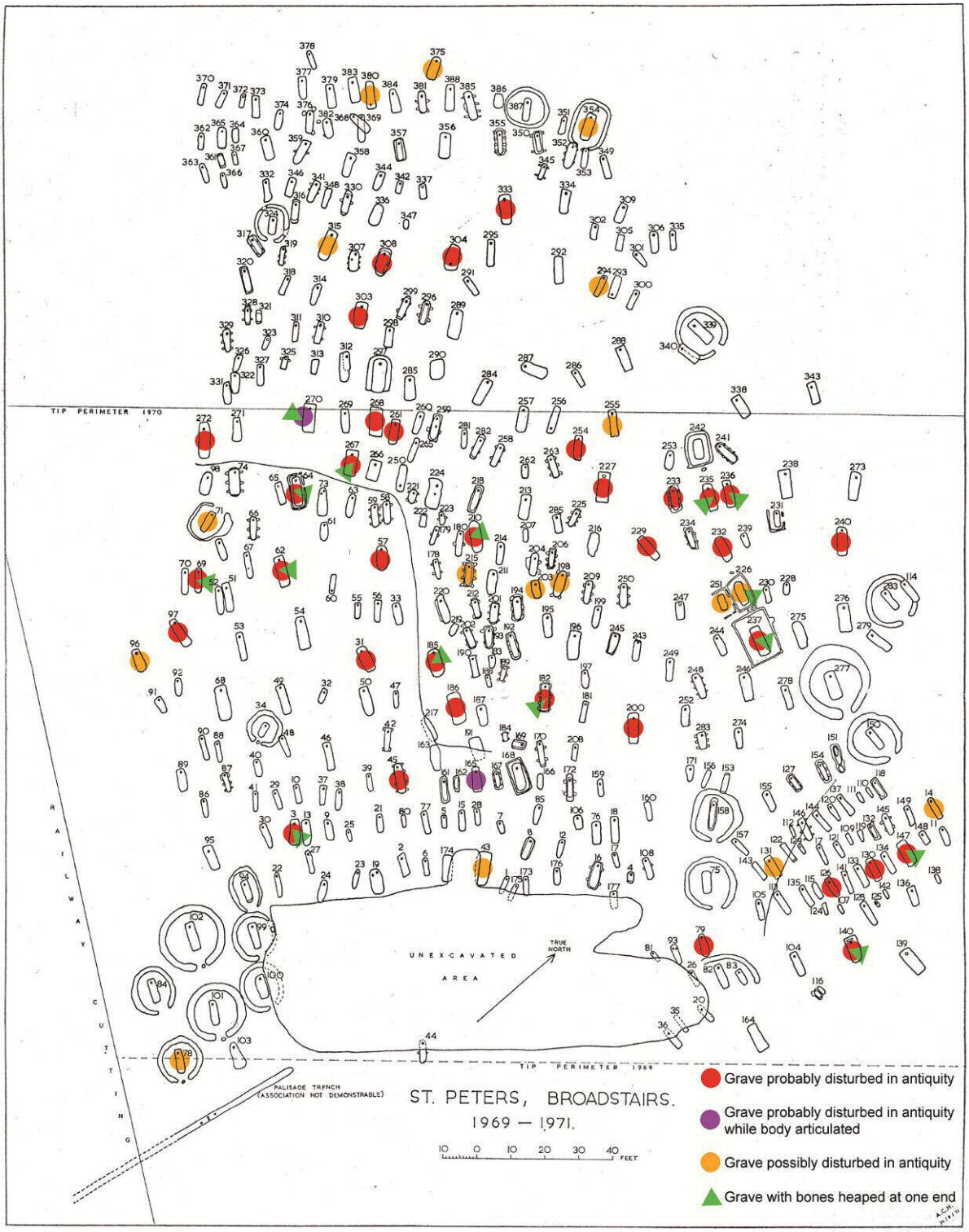


Figure 14: Plan of Broadstairs III, St Peter's Tip showing the disturbed burials in which the bones have been heaped together (after Hogarth 1973)

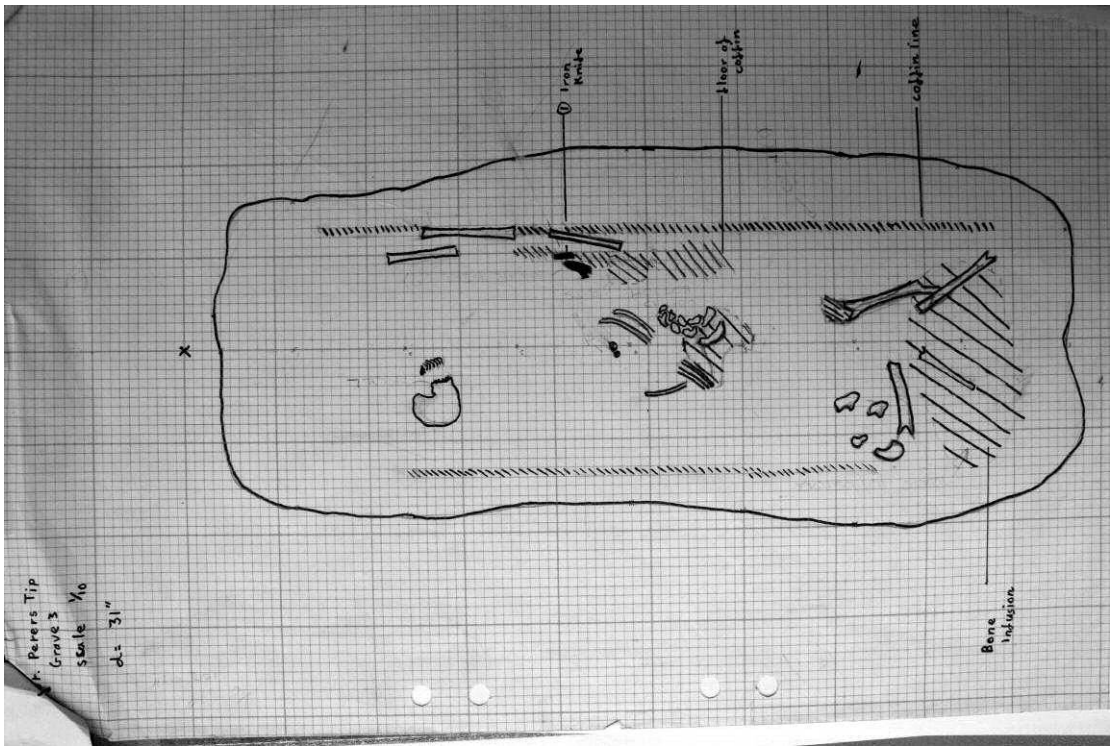


Figure 15: St Peter's Tip Grave 3

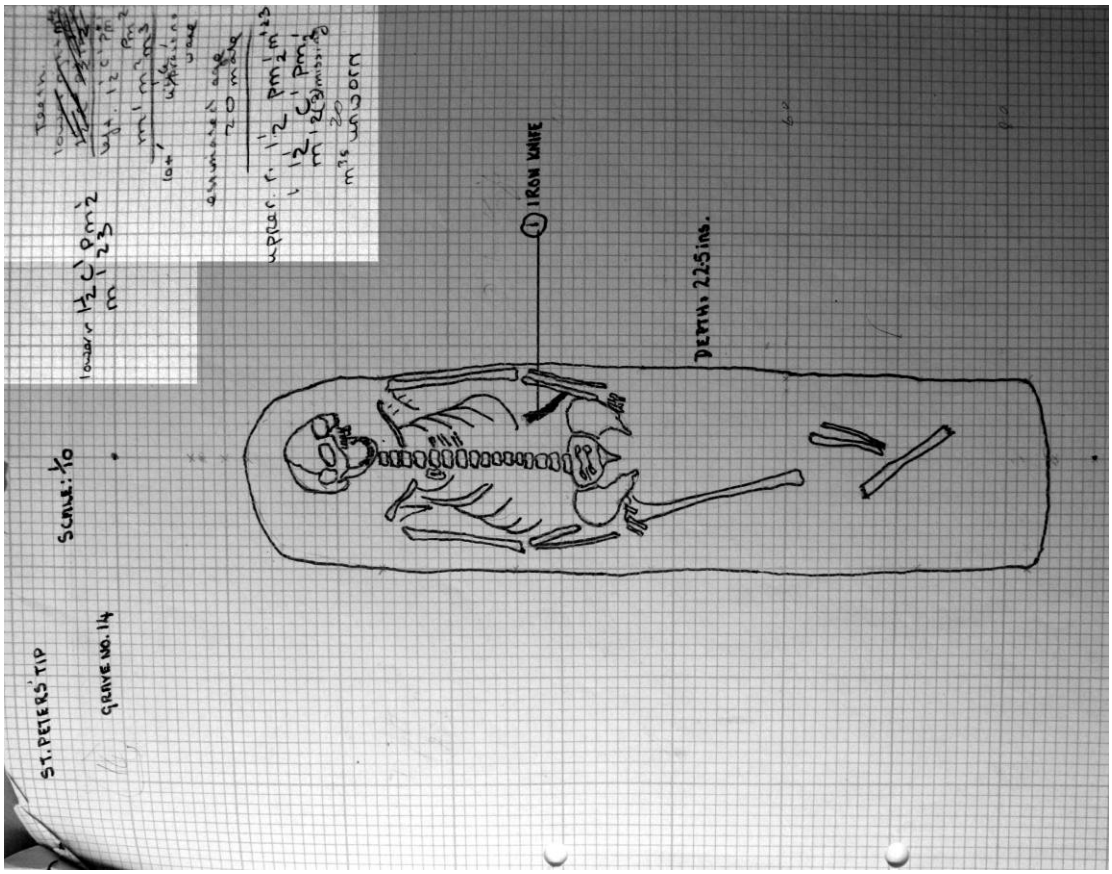


Figure 16: St Peter's Tip Grave 14

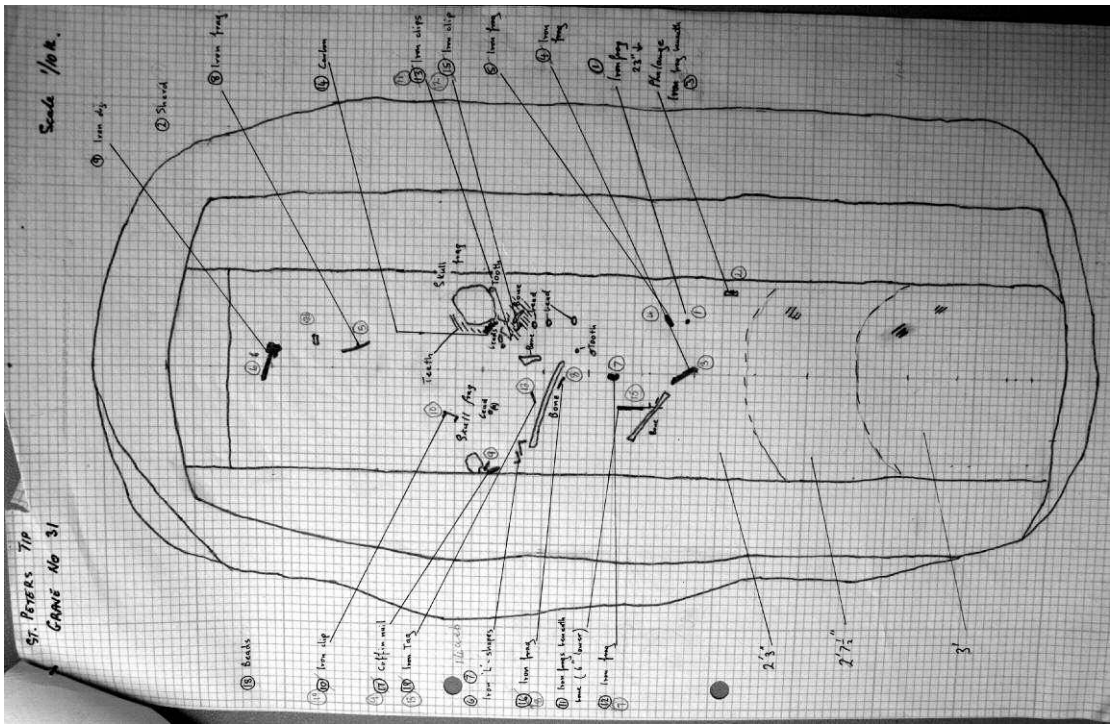


Figure 17: St Peter's Tip Grave 31

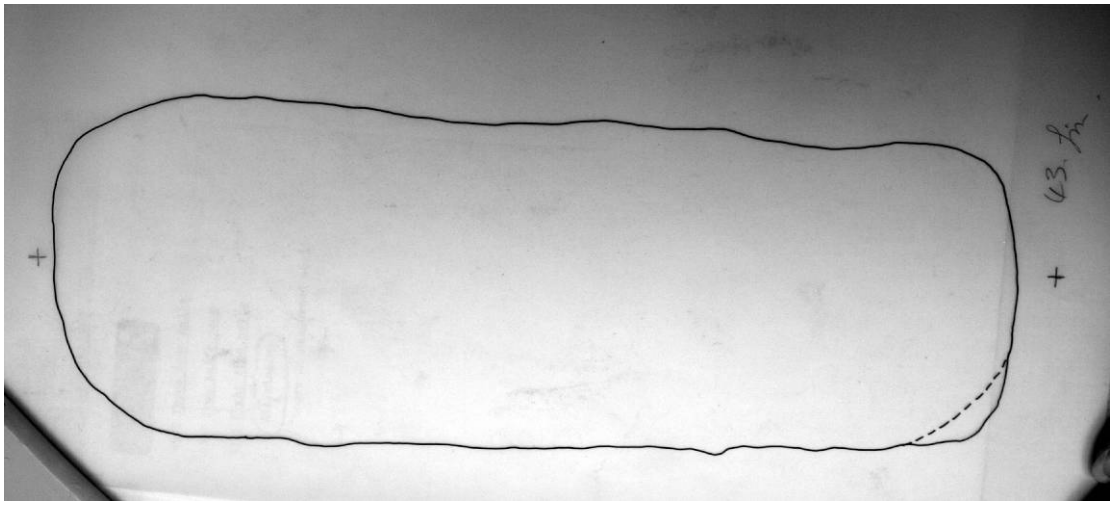


Figure 18: St Peter's Tip Grave 43

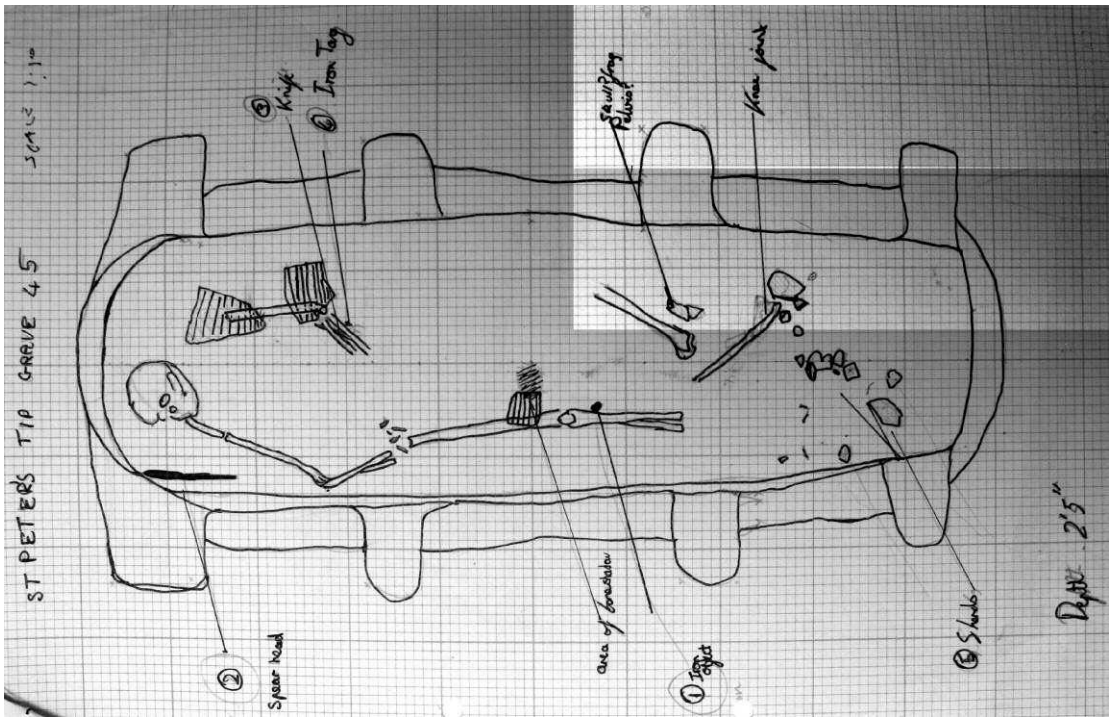


Figure 19: St Peter's Tip Grave 45

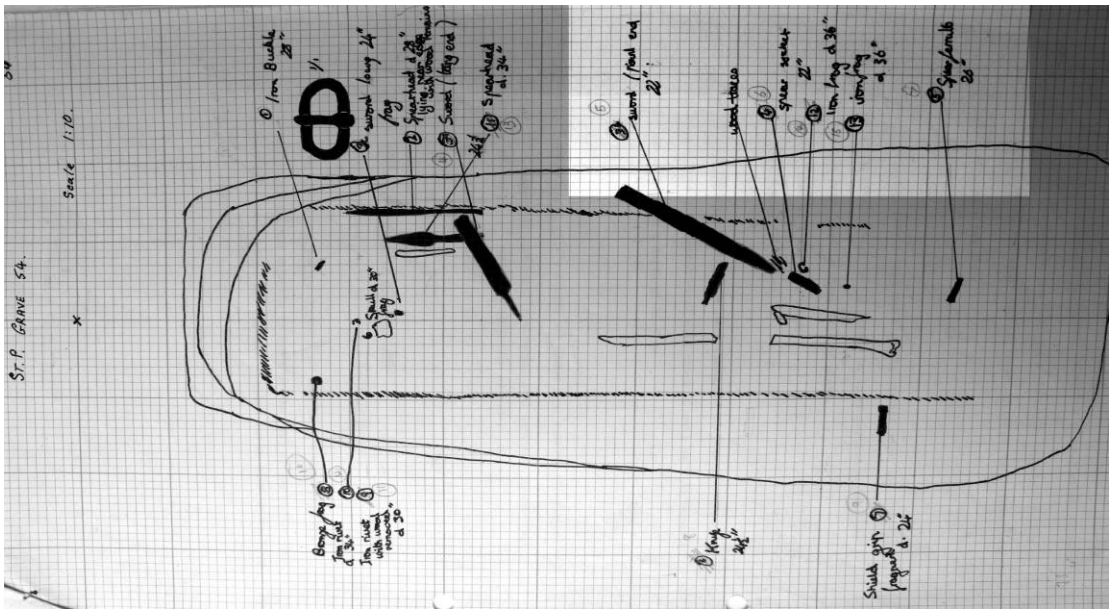


Figure 20: St Peter's Tip Grave 54

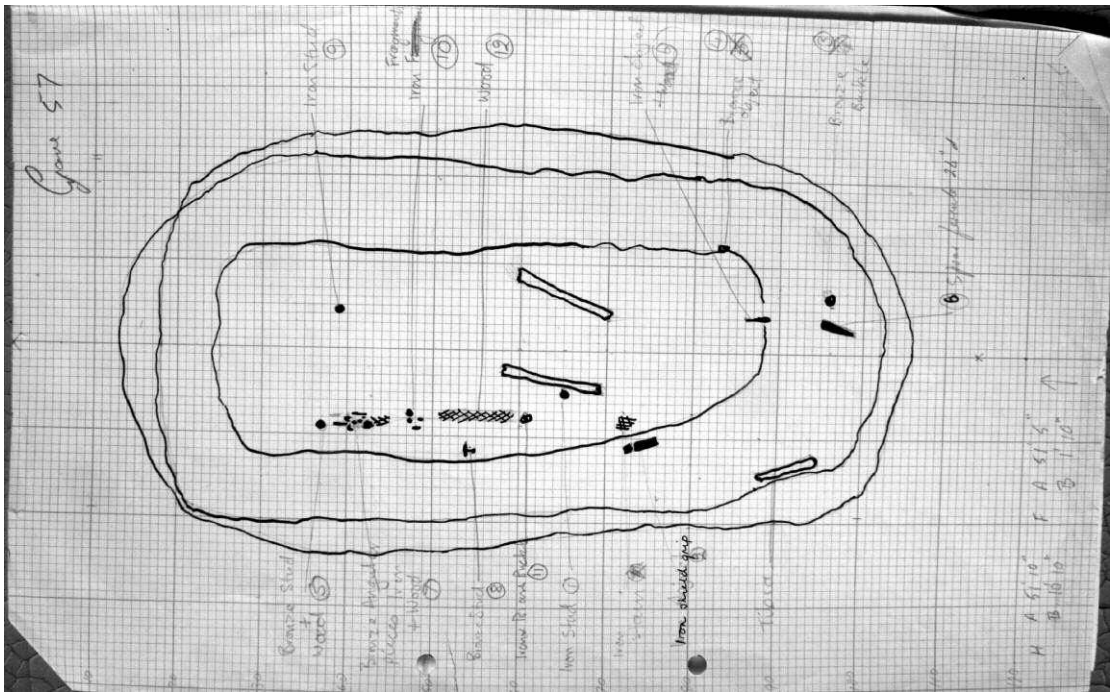


Figure 21: St Peter's Tip Grave 57

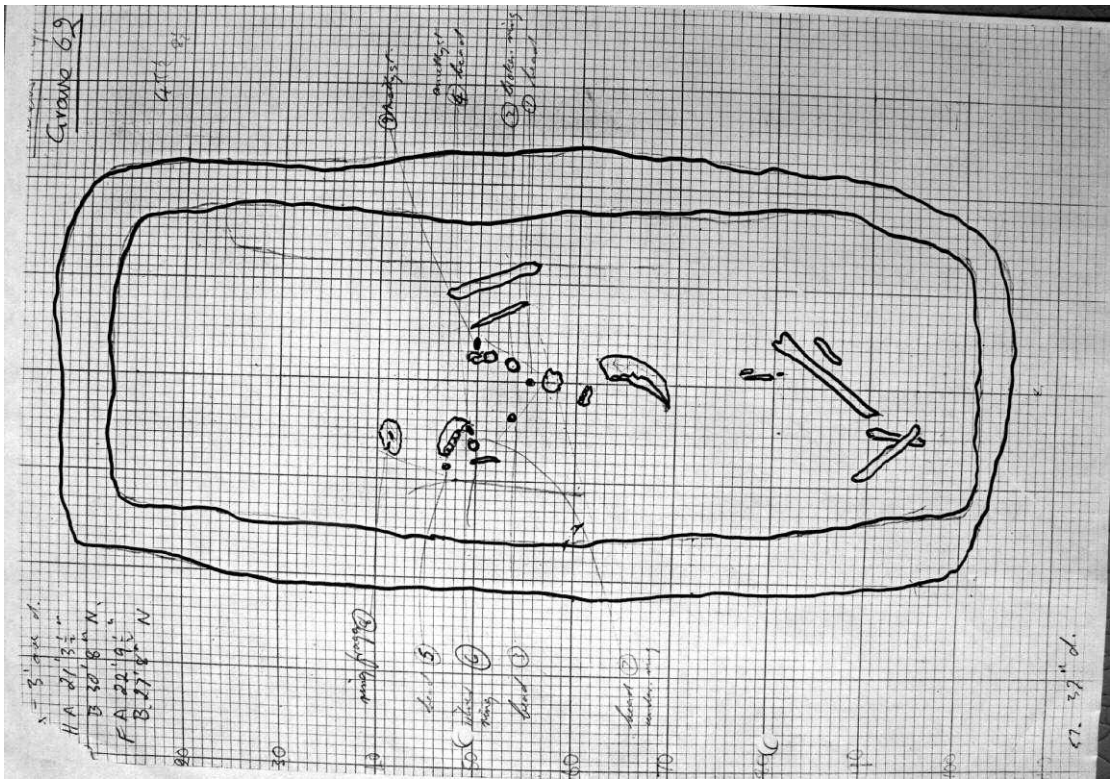


Figure 22: St Peter's Tip Grave 62

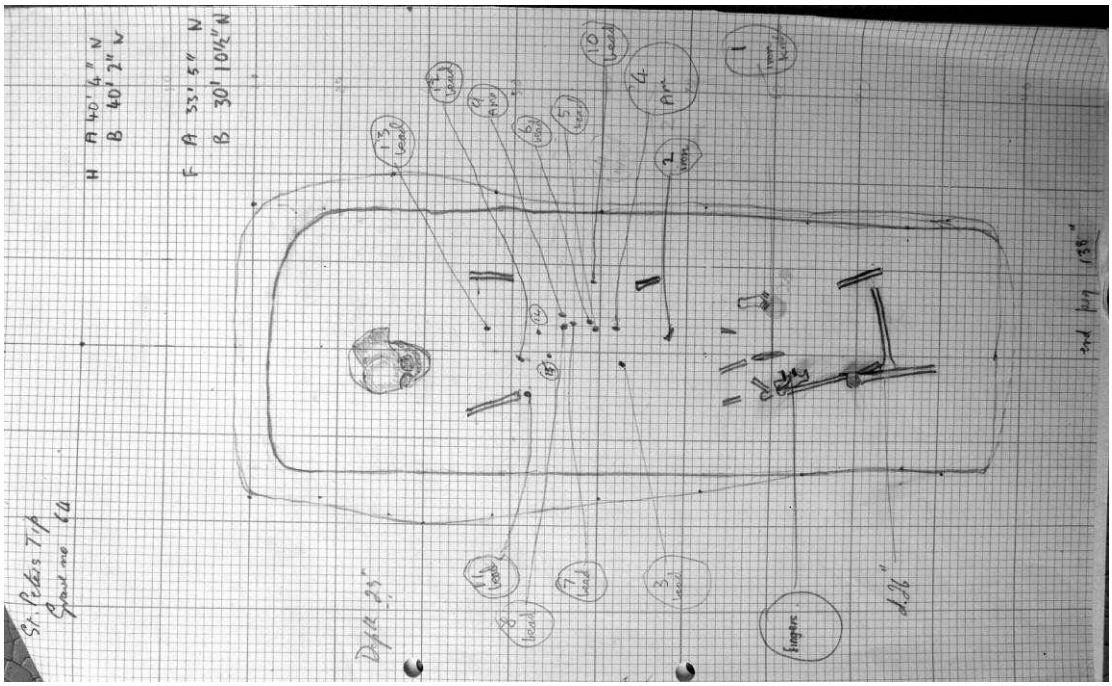


Figure 23: St Peter's Tip Grave 64

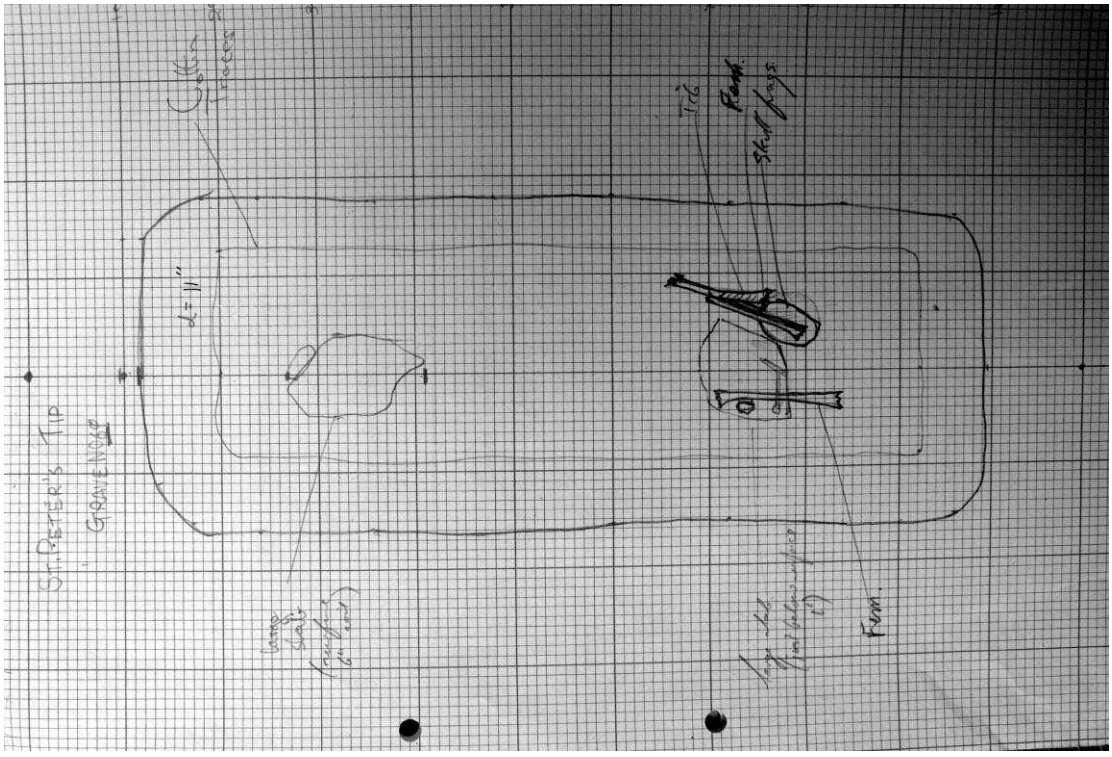


Figure 24: St Peter's Tip Grave 69

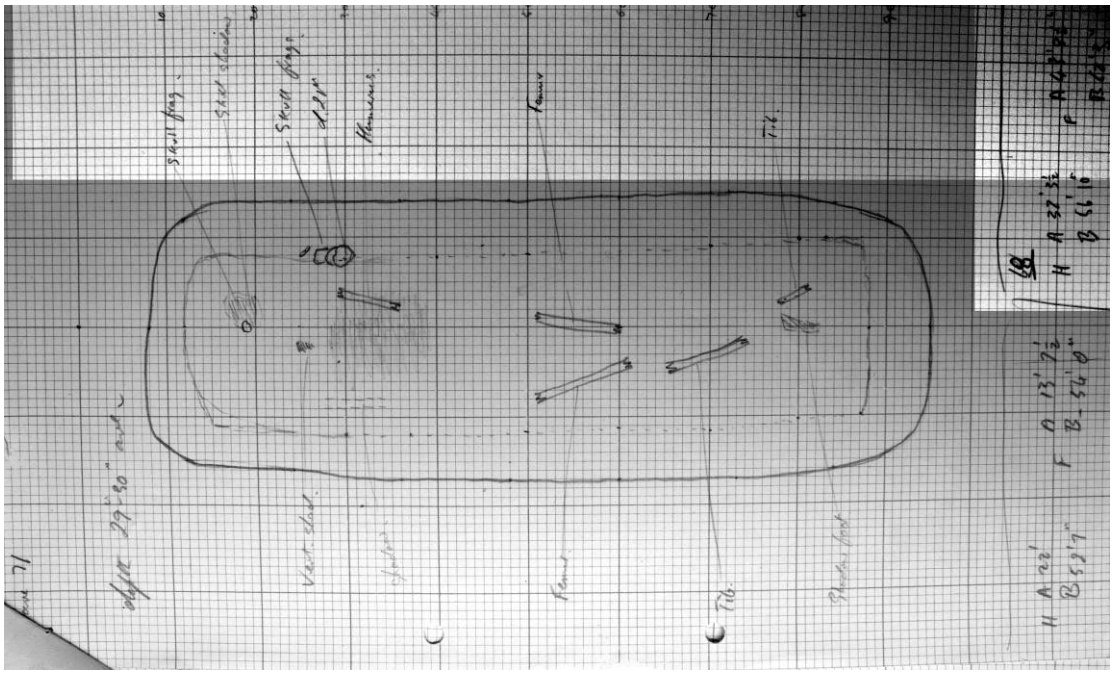


Figure 25: St Peter's Tip Grave 71

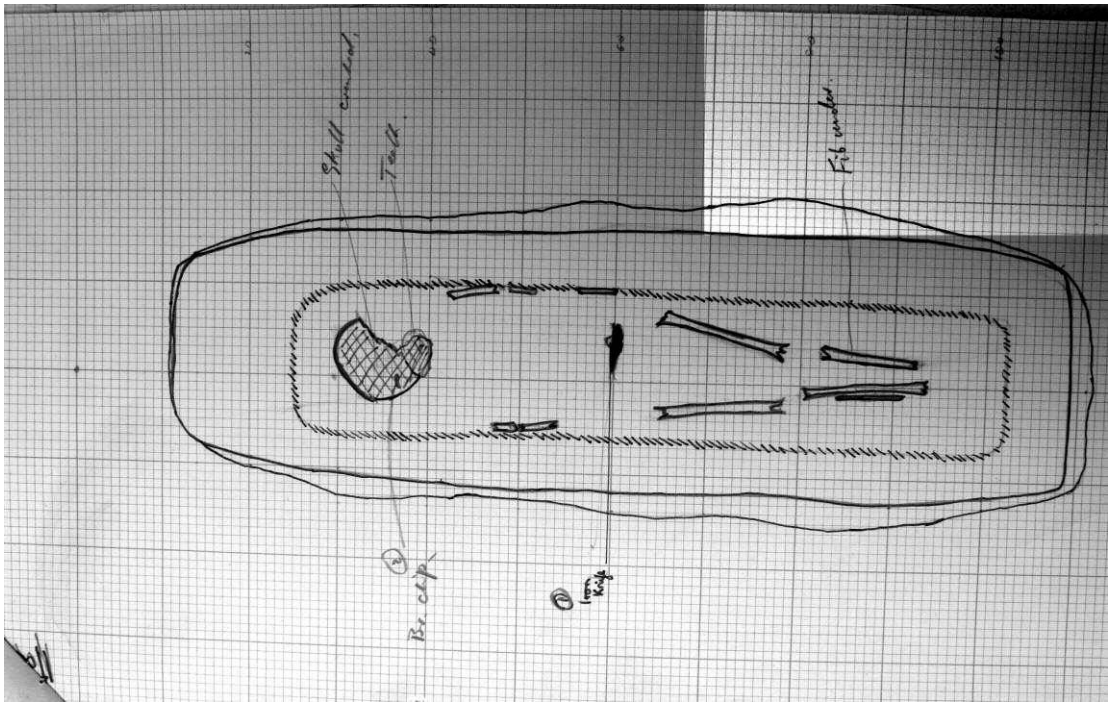


Figure 26: St Peter's Tip Grave 78

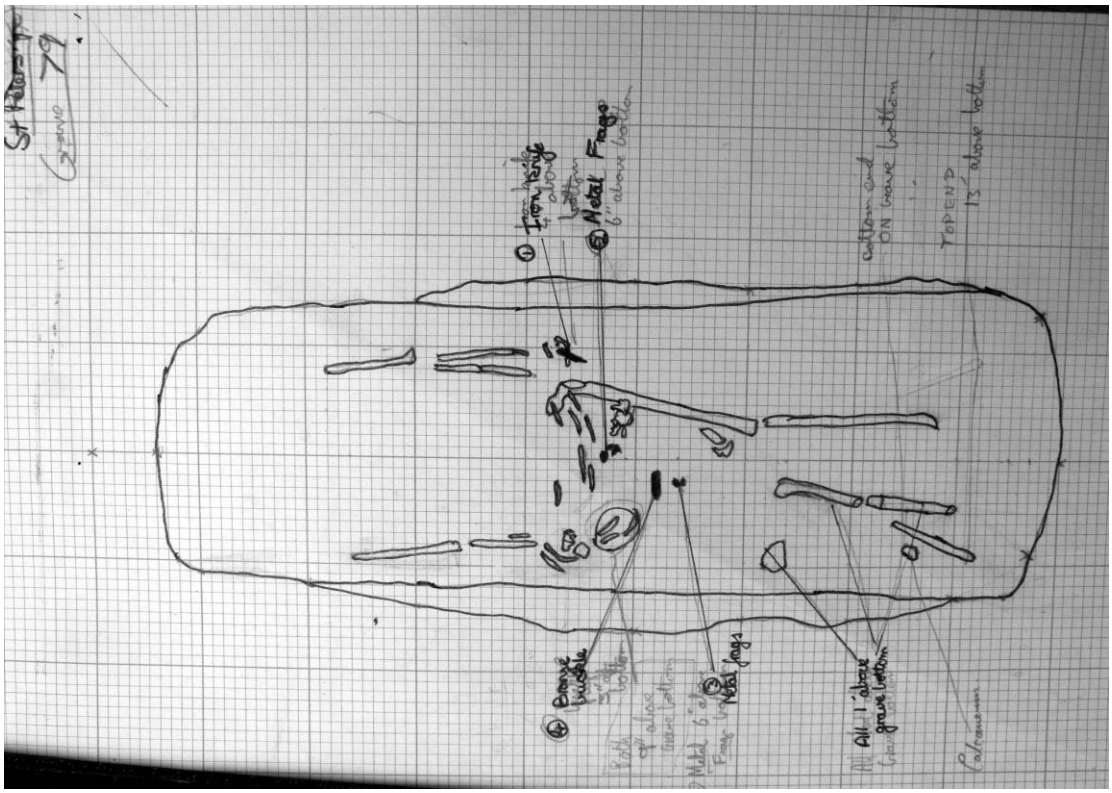


Figure 27: St Peter's Tip Grave 79

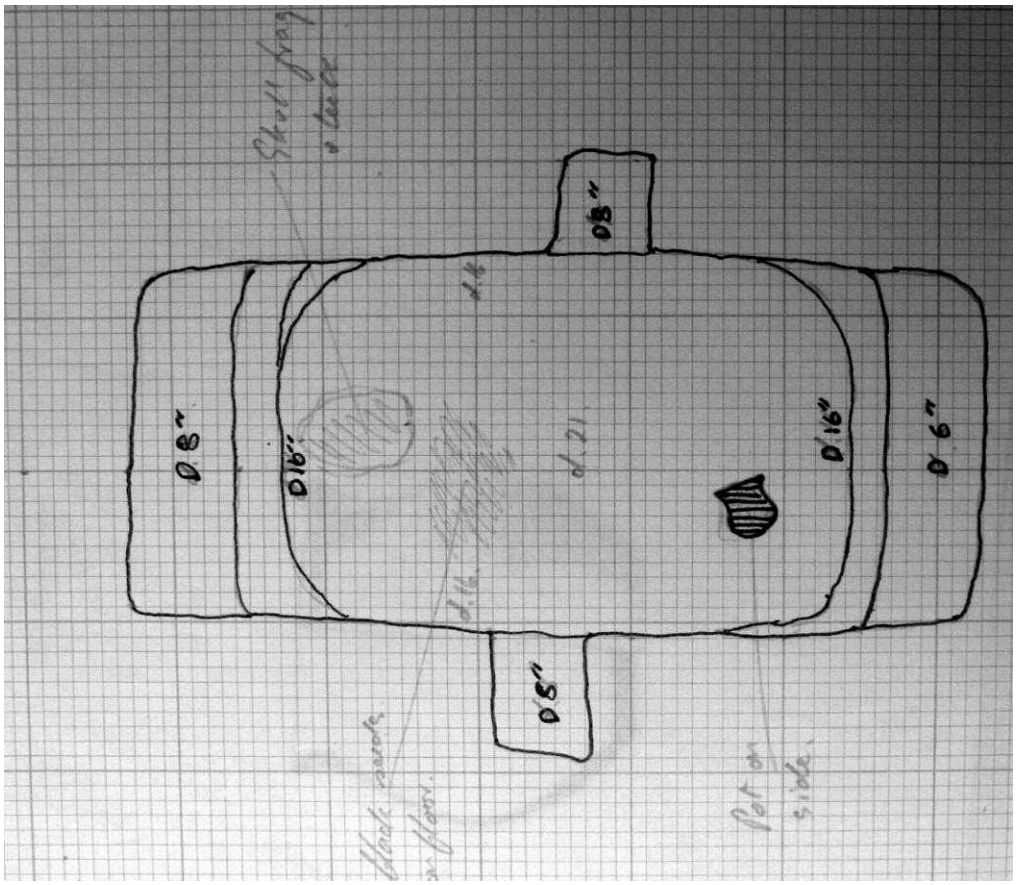


Figure 28: St Peter's Tip Grave 83

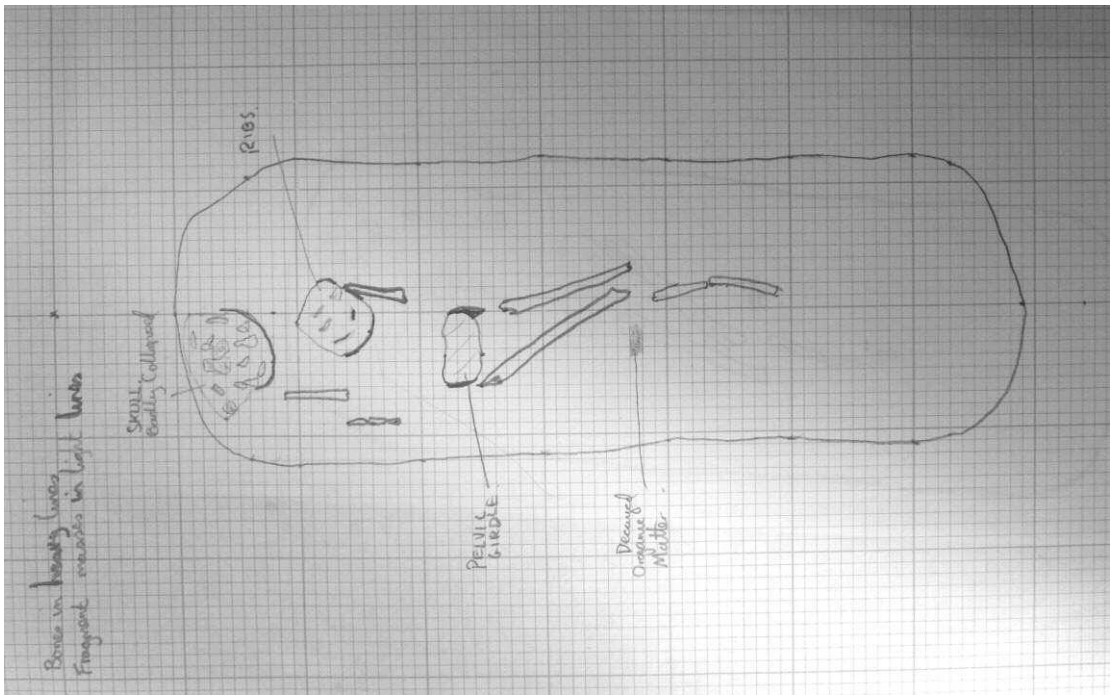


Figure 29: St Peter's Tip Grave 86

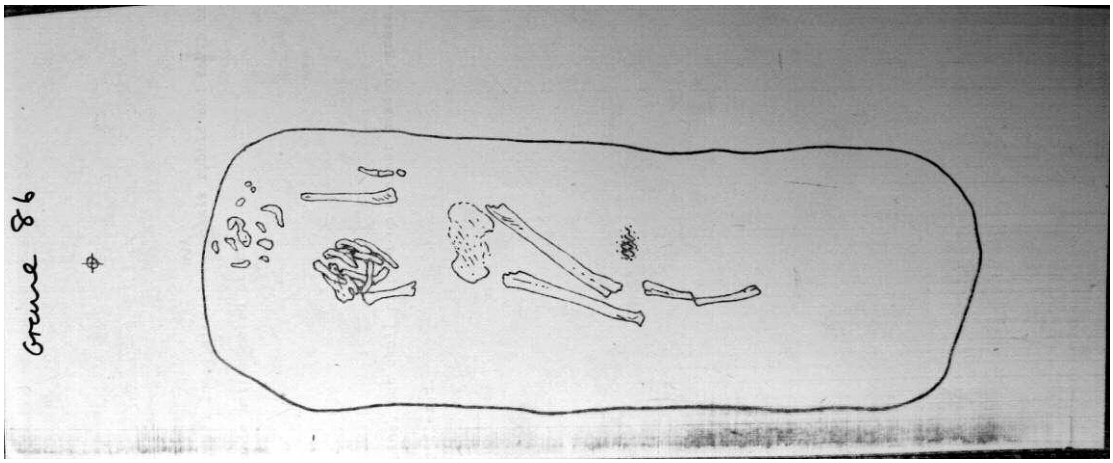


Figure 30: St Peter's Tip Grave 86 Fair Copy

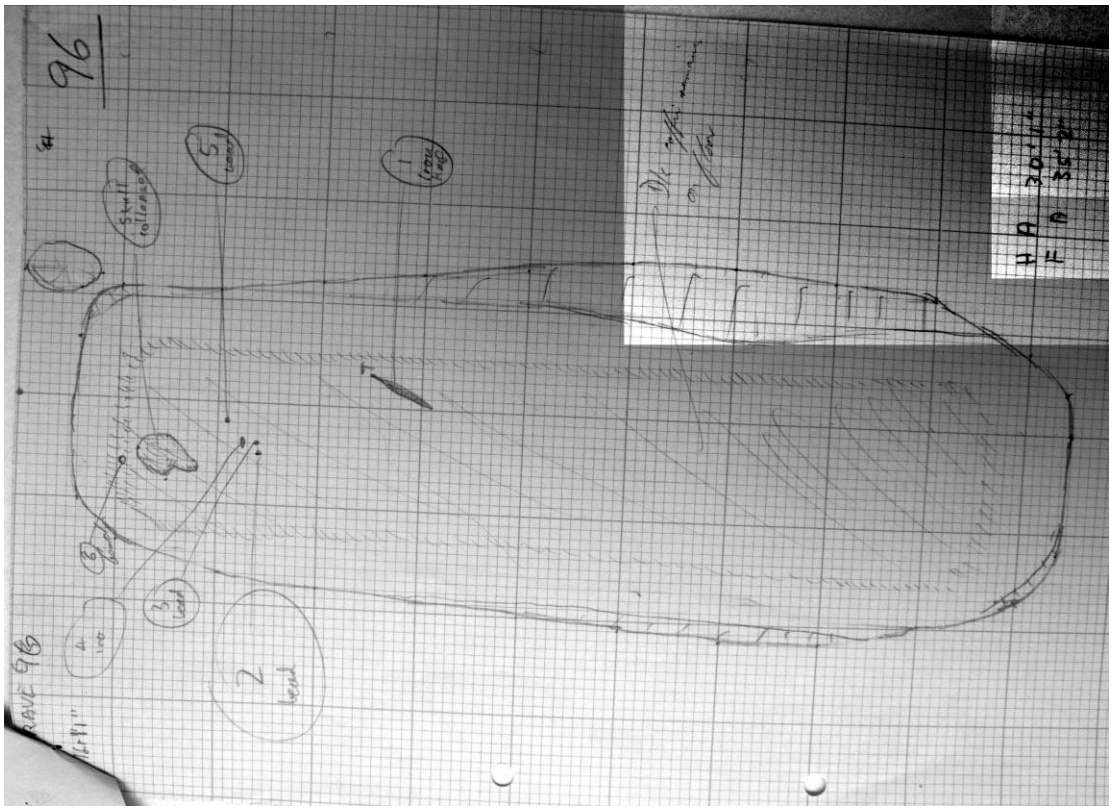


Figure 31: St Peter's Tip Grave 96

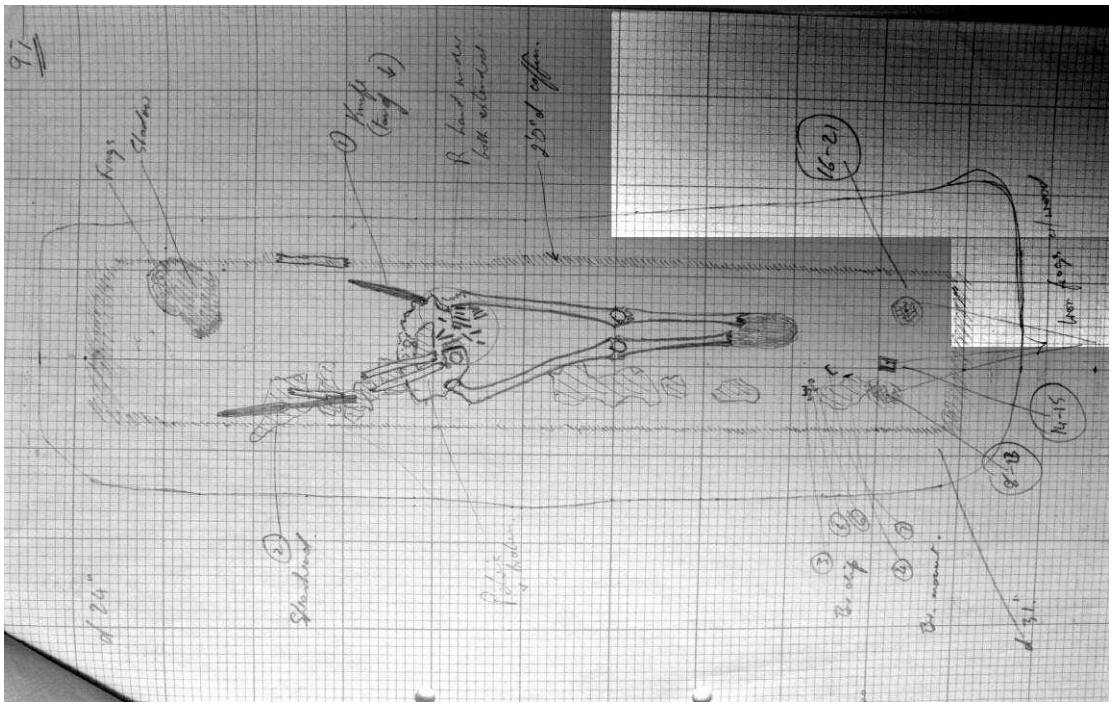


Figure 32: St Peter's Tip Grave 97

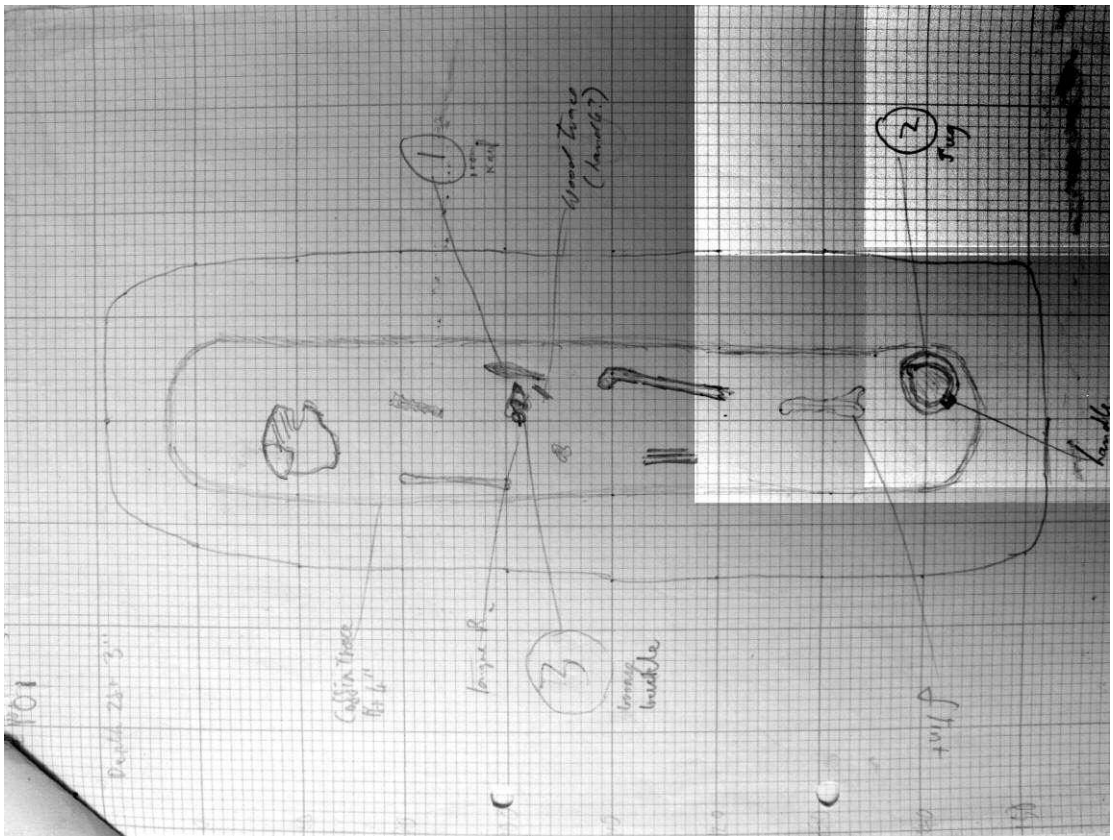


Figure 33: St Peter's Tip Grave 101

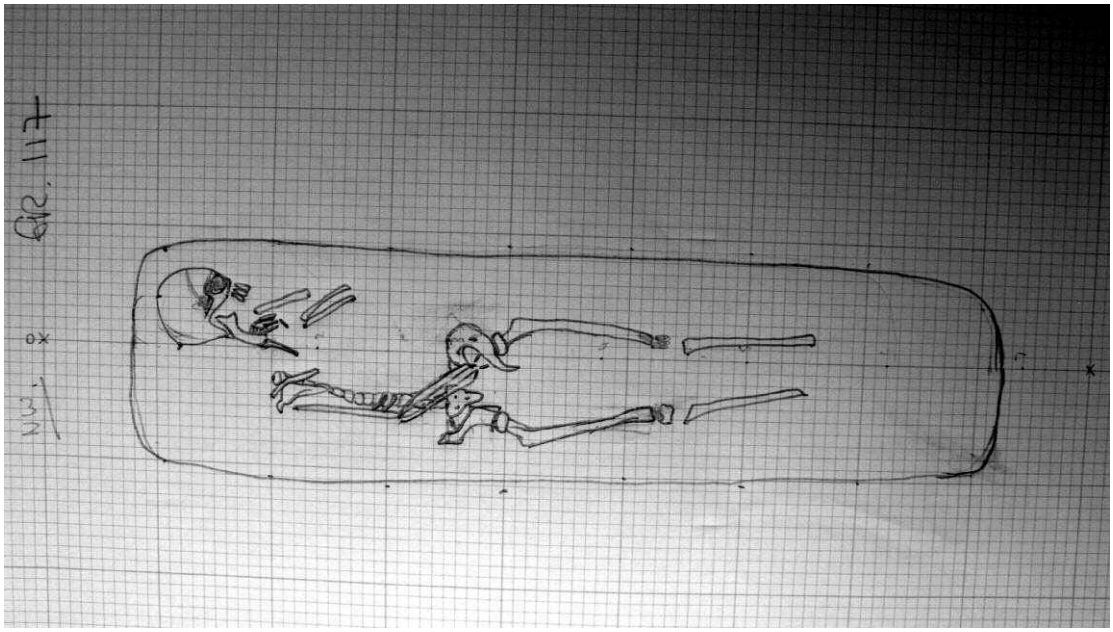


Figure 34: St Peter's Tip Grave 117

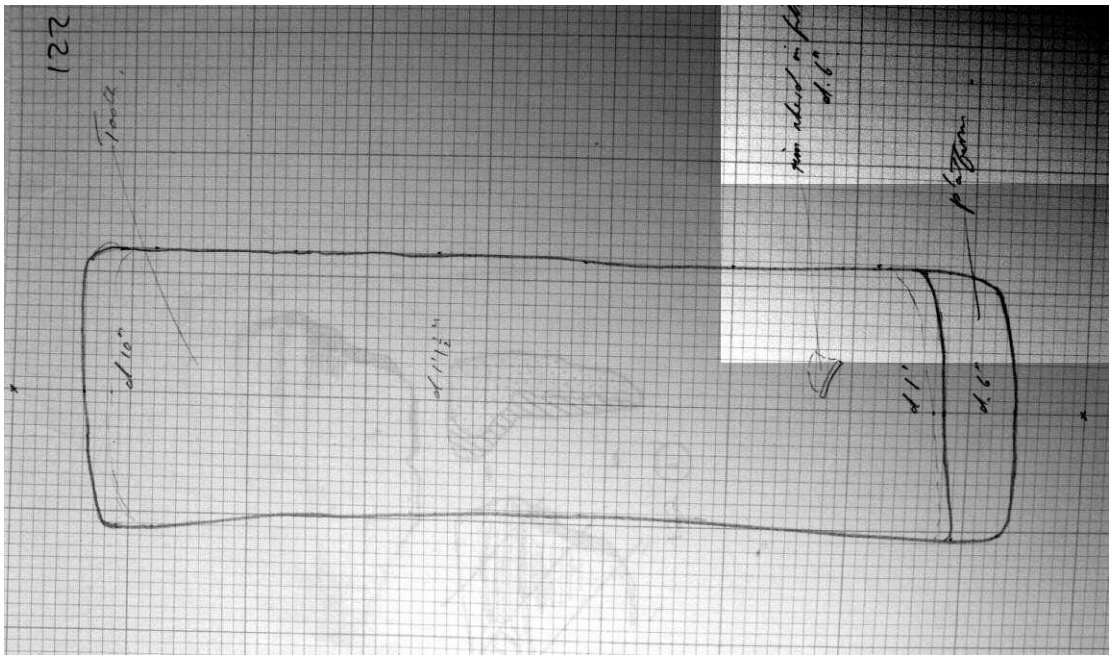


Figure 35: St Peter's Tip Grave 122

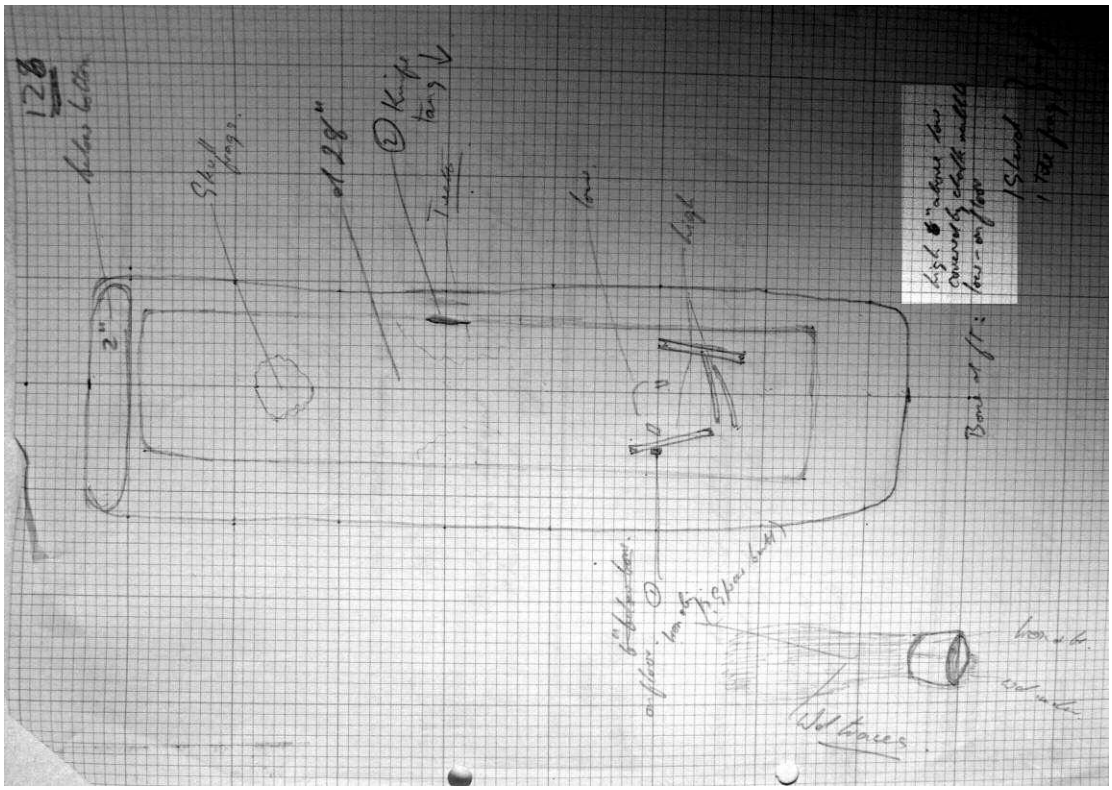


Figure 36: St Peter's Tip Grave 126

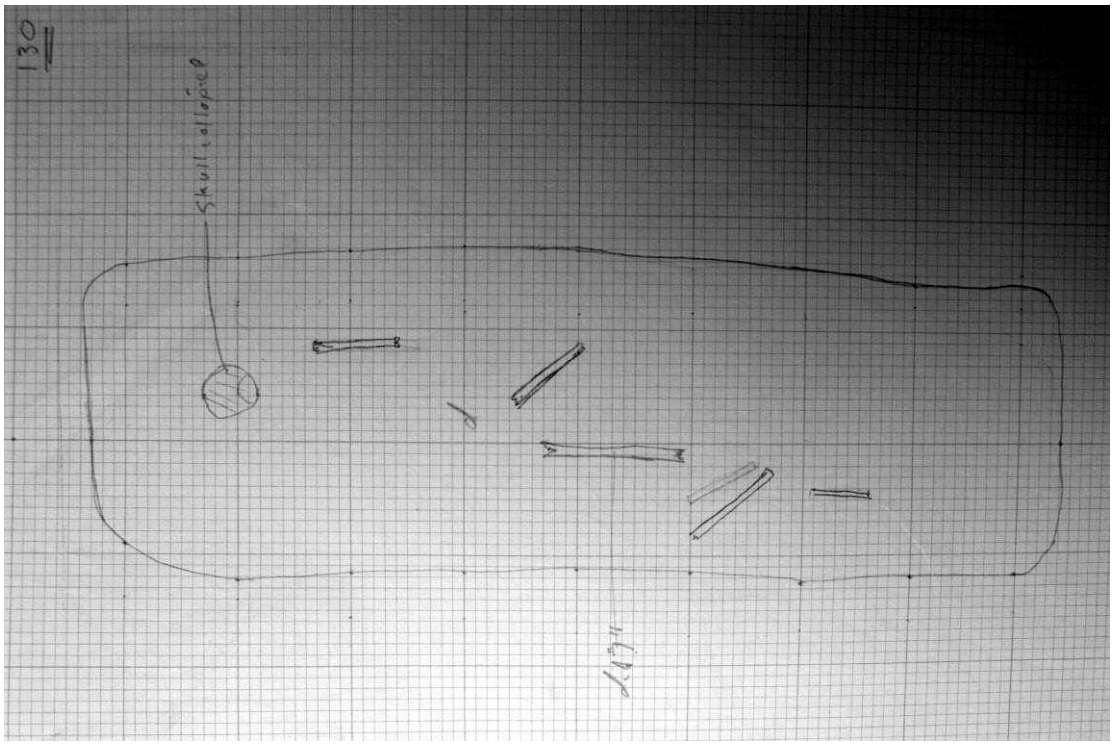


Figure 37: St Peter's Tip Grave 130

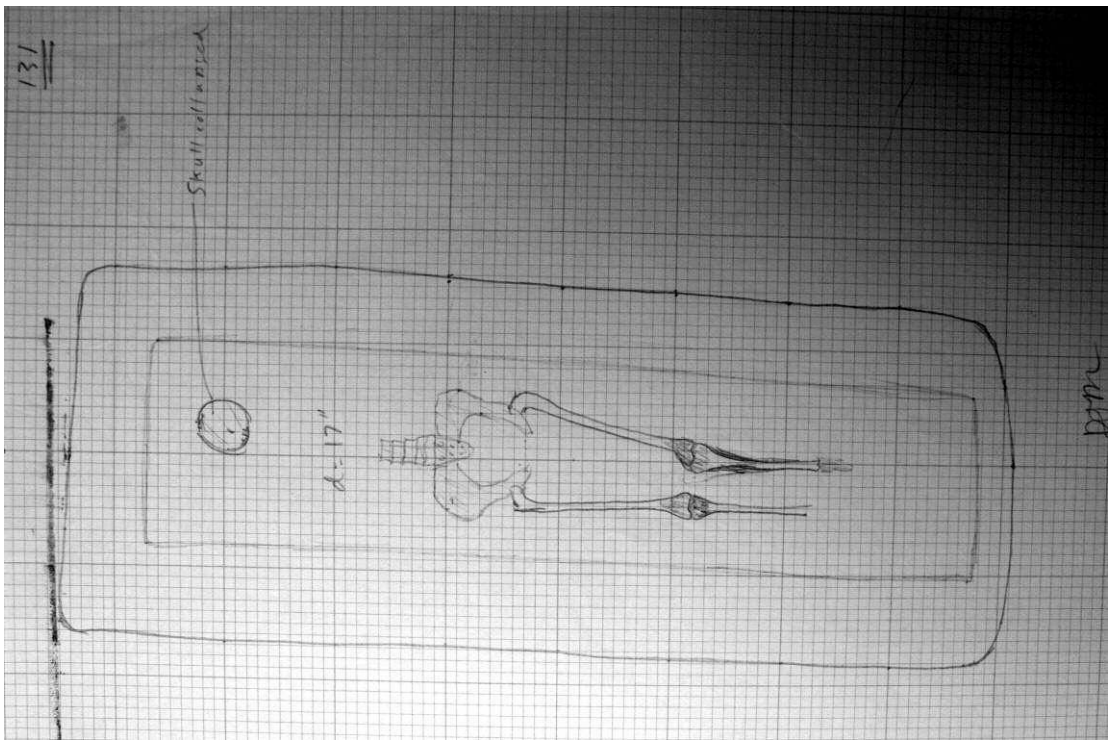


Figure 38: St Peter's Tip Grave 131

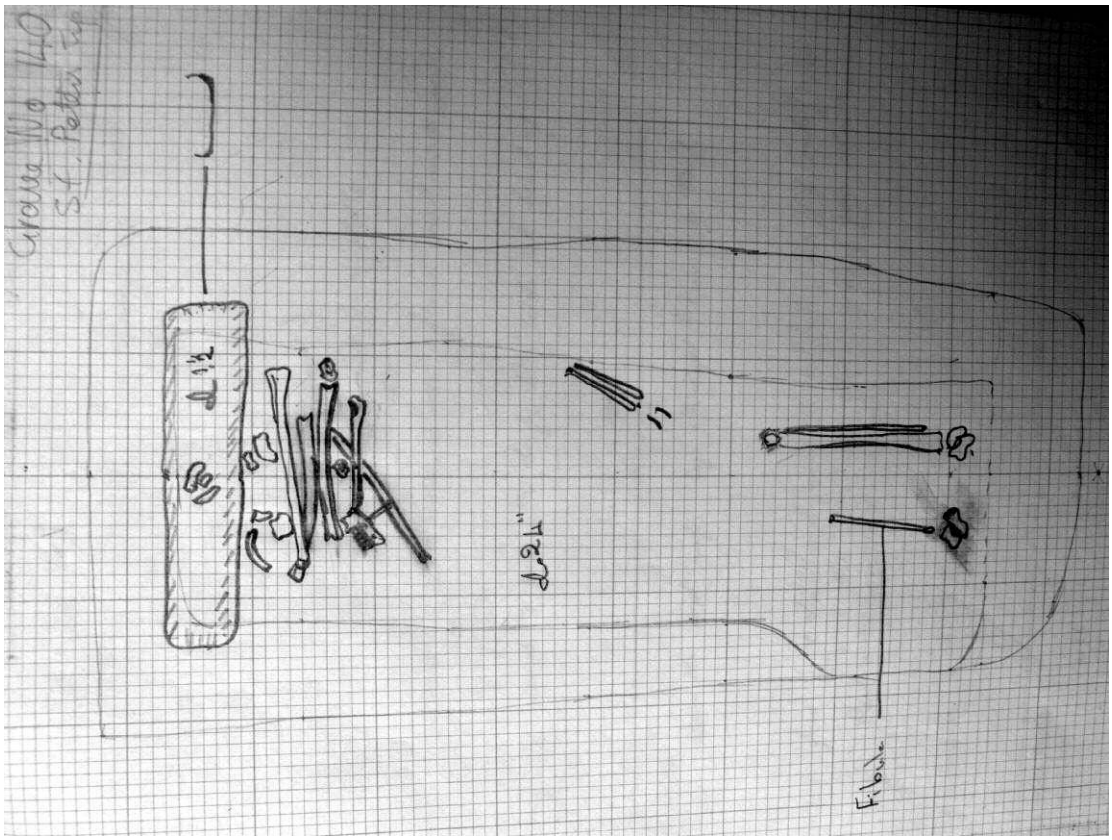


Figure 39: St Peter's Tip Grave 140

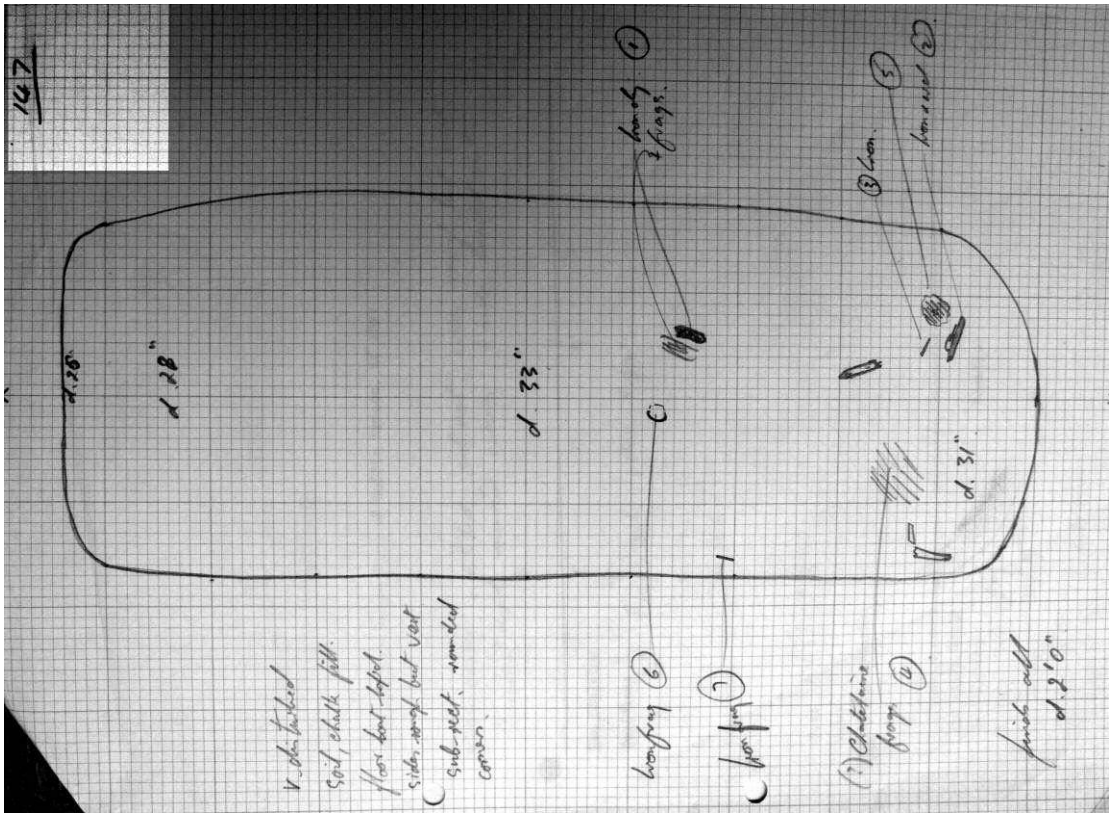


Figure 40: St Peter's Tip Grave 147

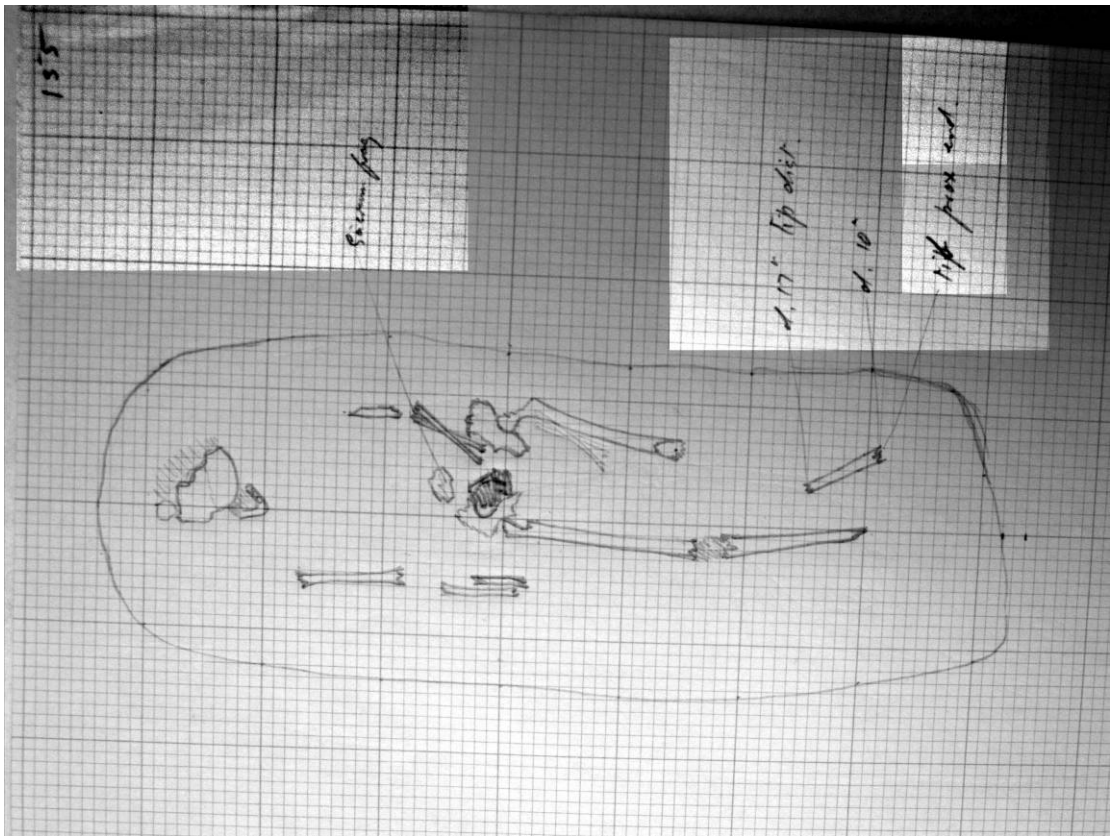


Figure 41: St Peter's Tip Grave 155

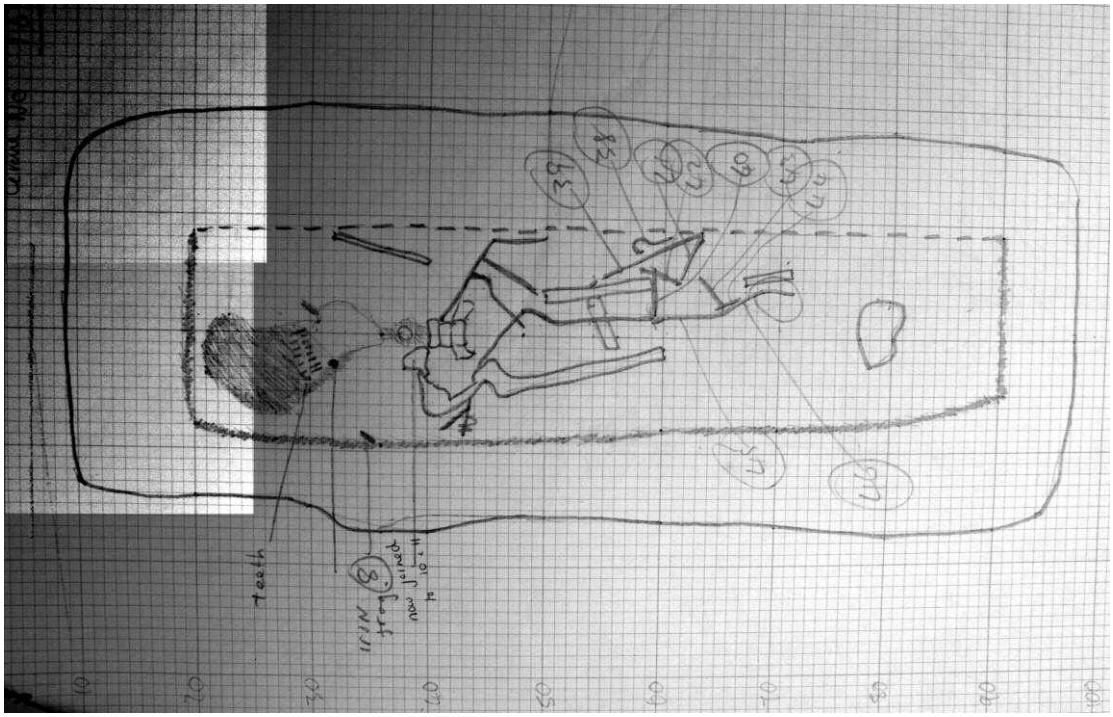


Figure 42: St Peter's Tip Grave 165

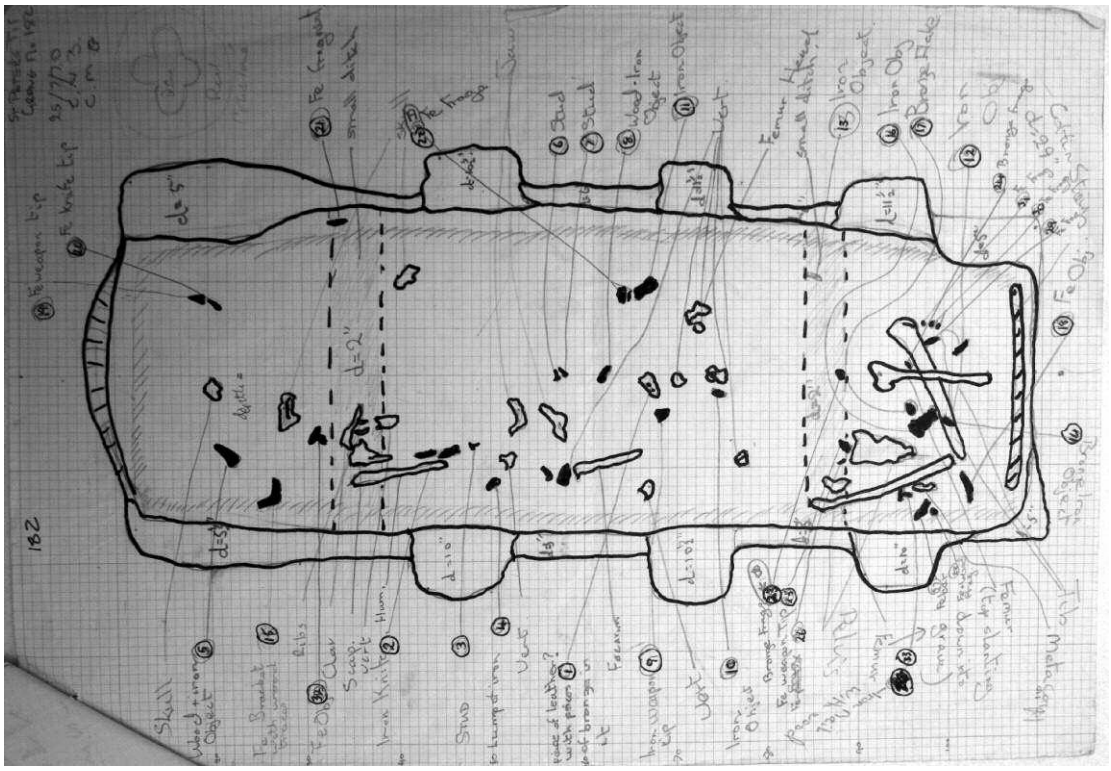


Figure 43: St Peter's Tip Grave 182

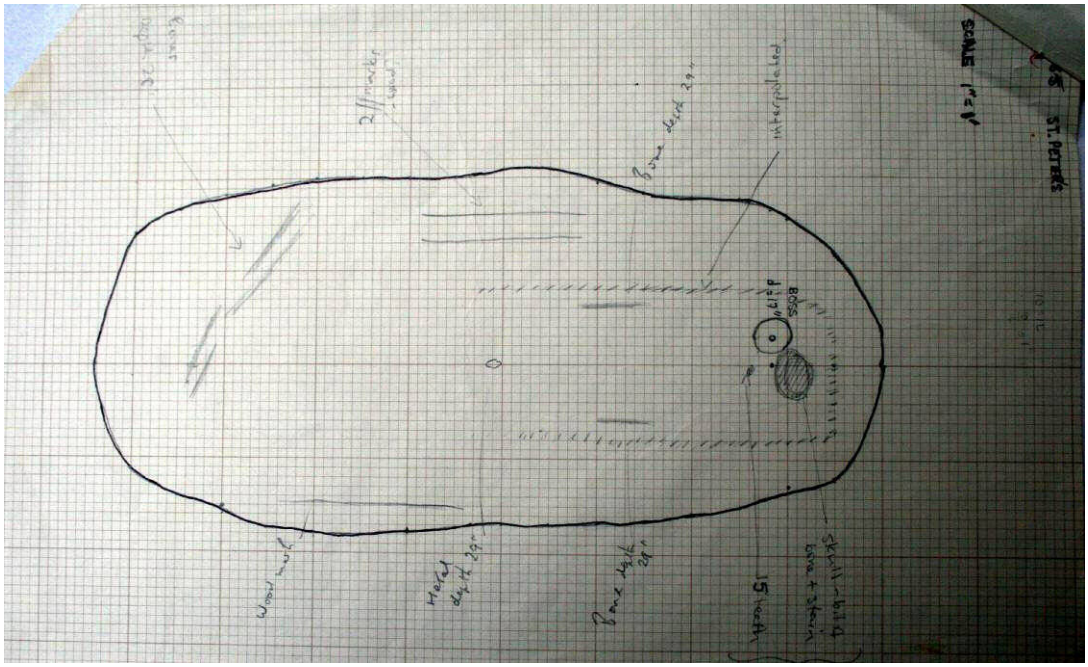


Figure 44: St Peter's Tip Grave 185

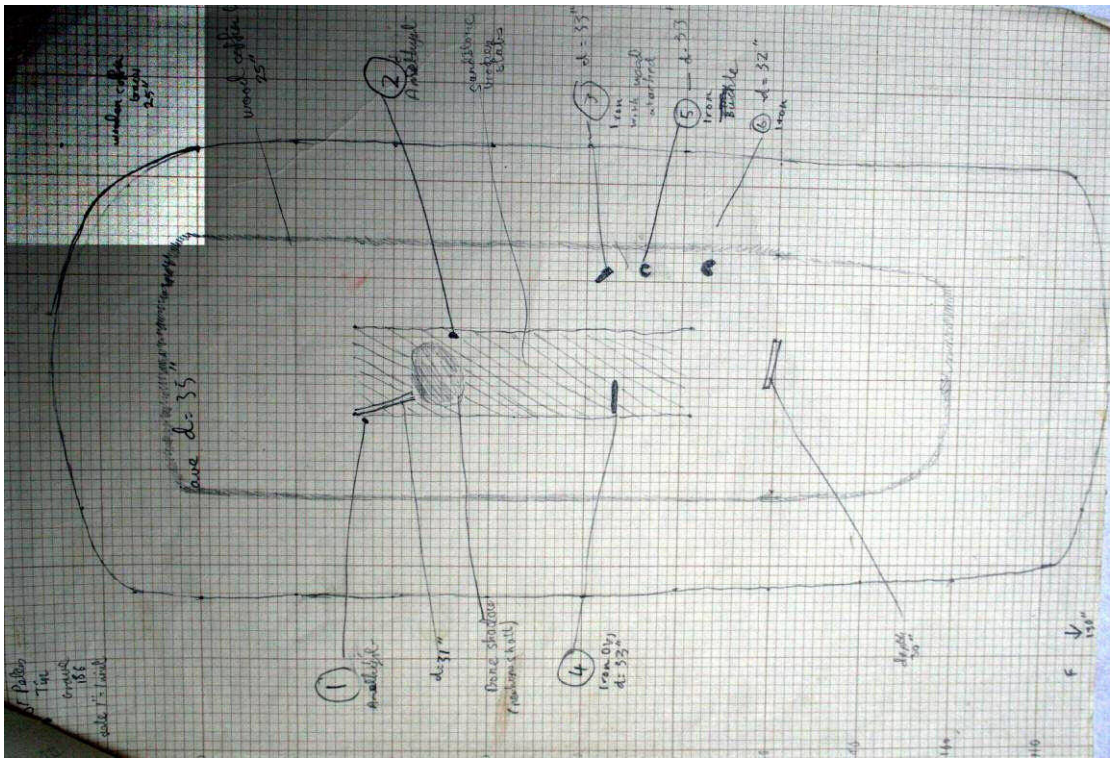


Figure 45: St Peter's Tip Grave 186

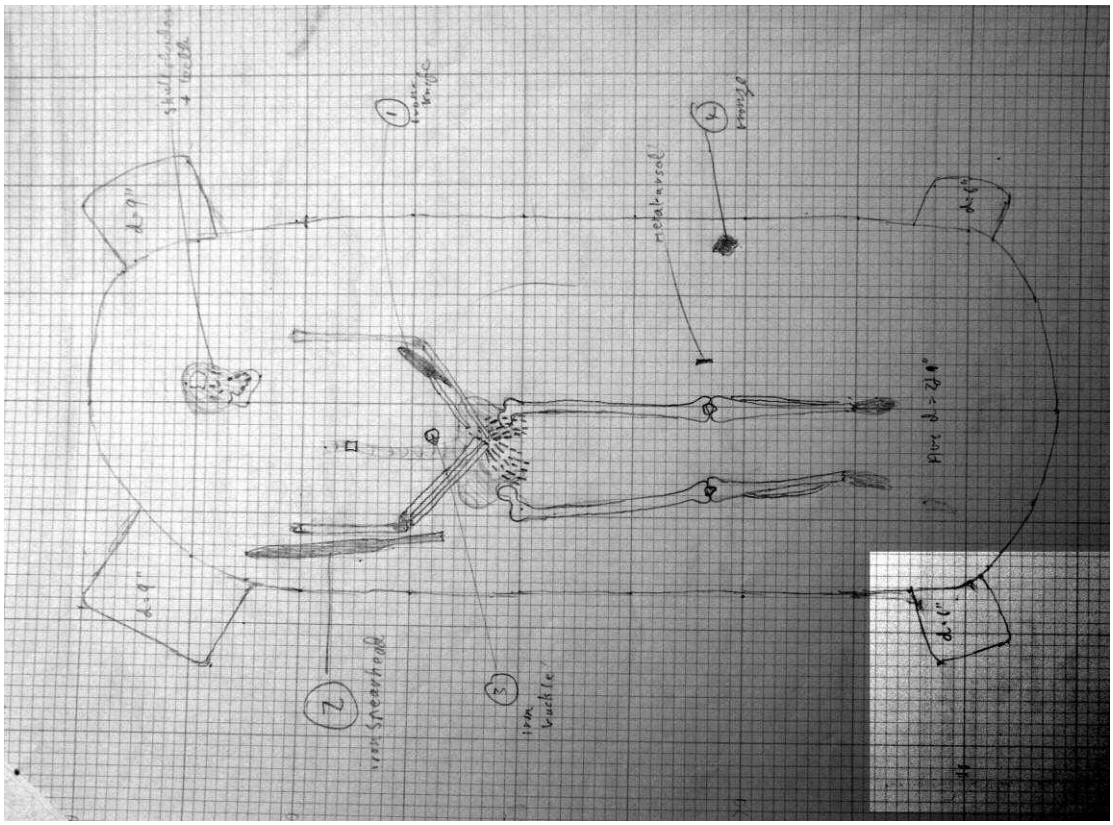


Figure 46: St Peter's Tip Grave 198

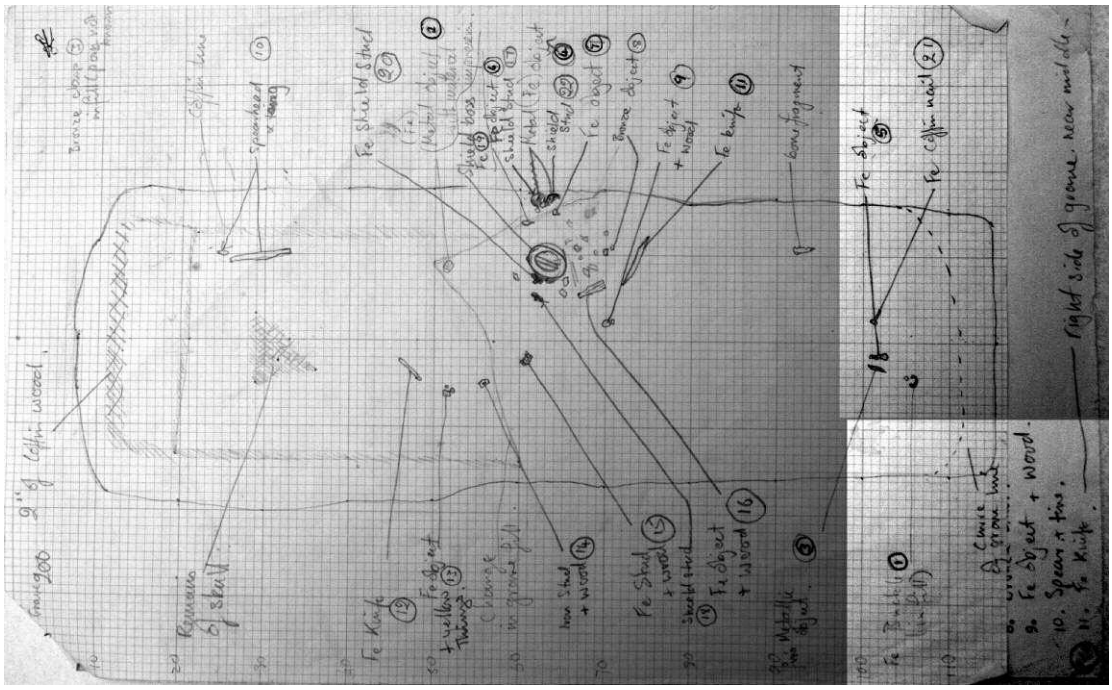


Figure 47: St Peter's Tip Grave 200

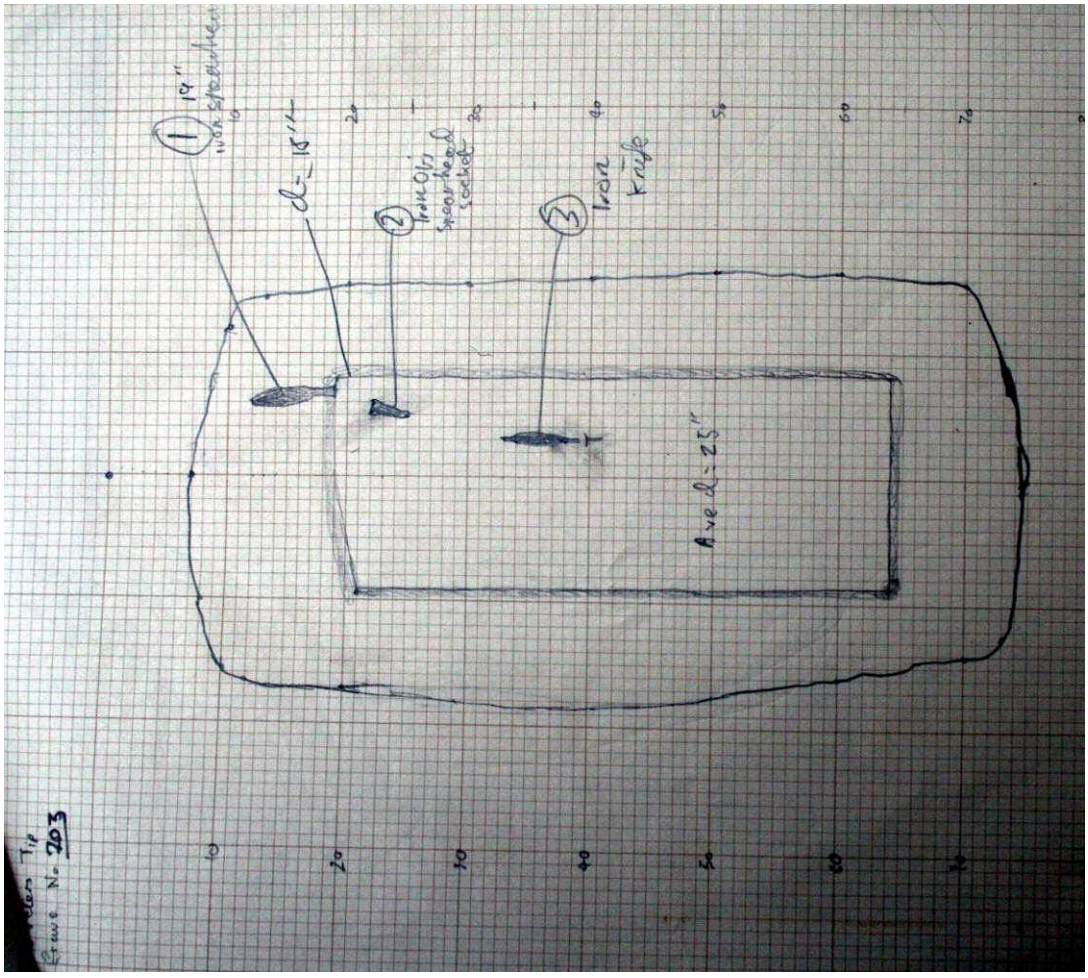


Figure 48: St Peter's Tip Grave 203

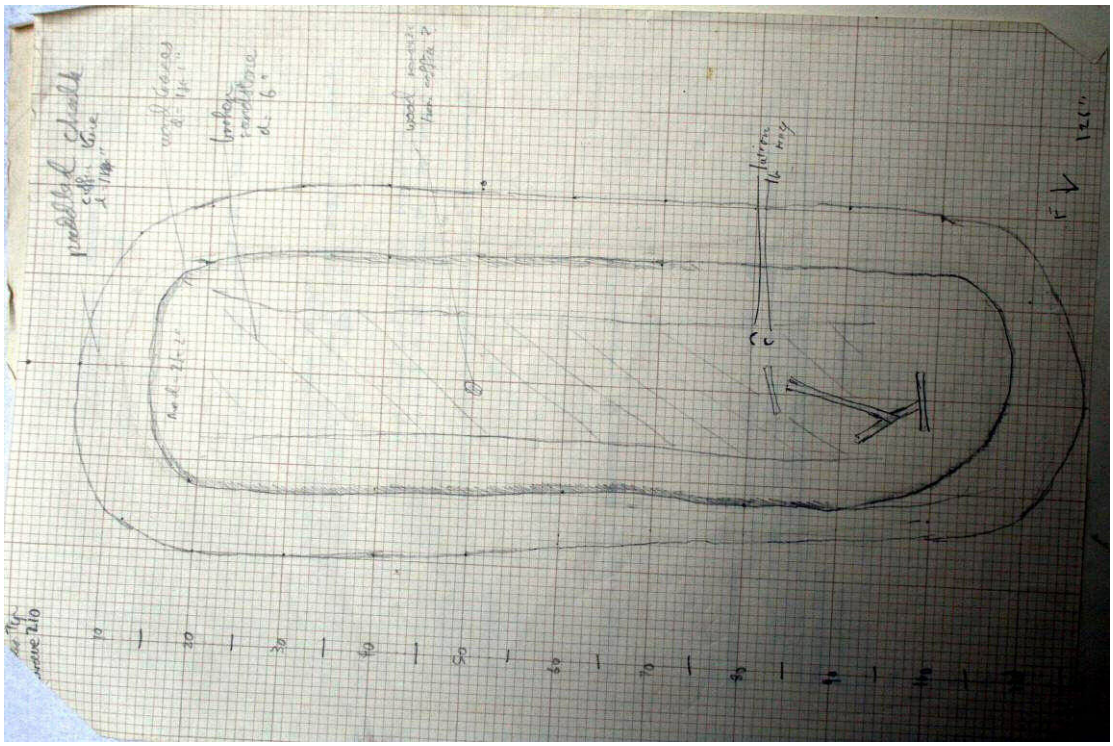


Figure 49: St Peter's Tip Grave 210

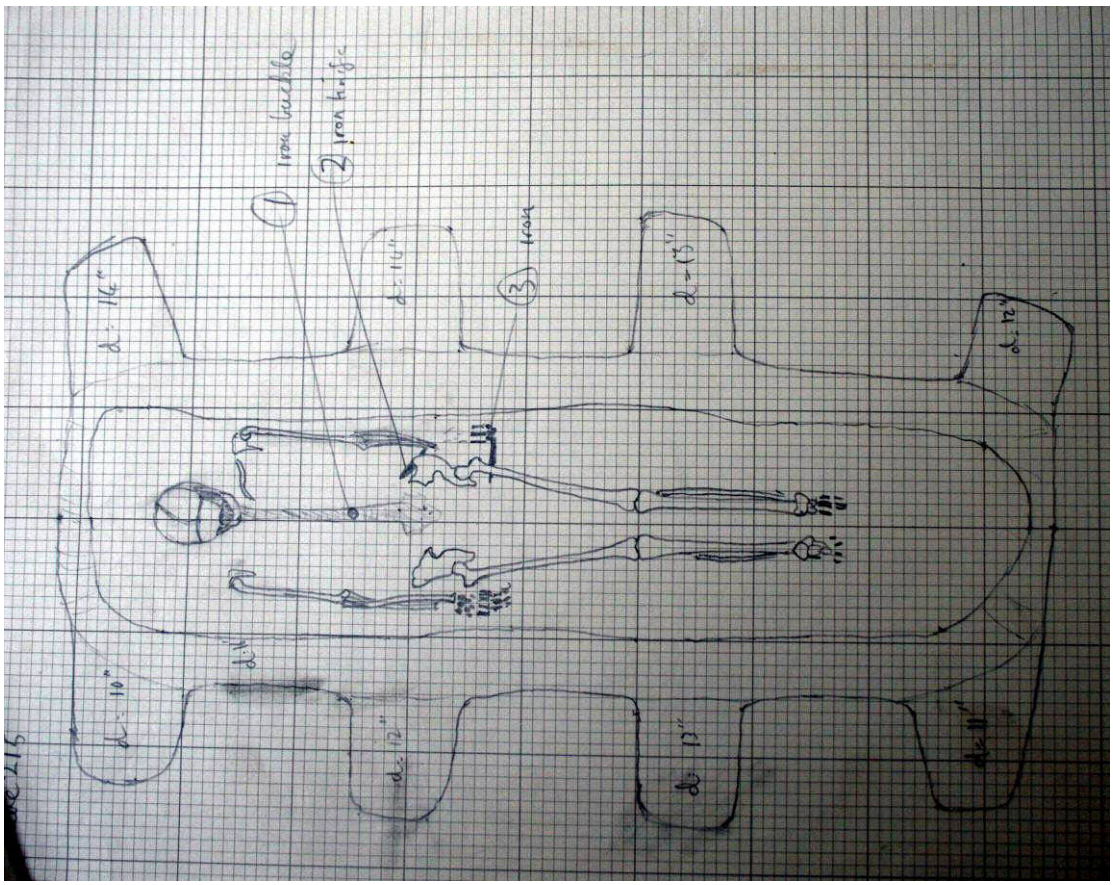


Figure 50: St Peter's Tip Grave 215

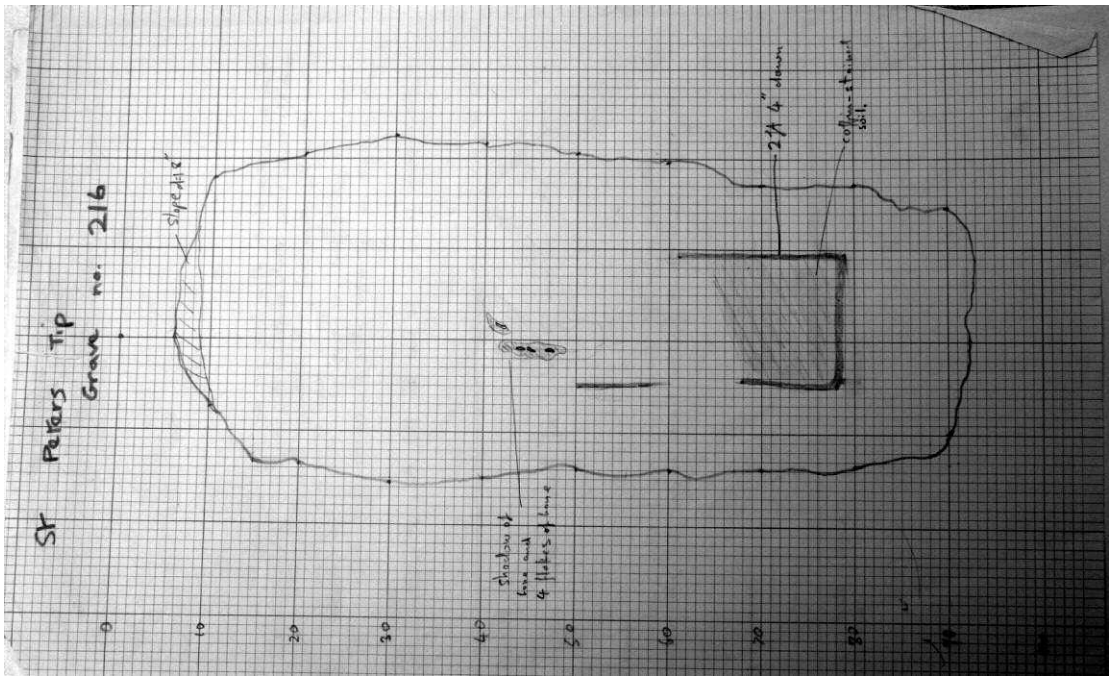


Figure 51: St Peter's Tip Grave 216

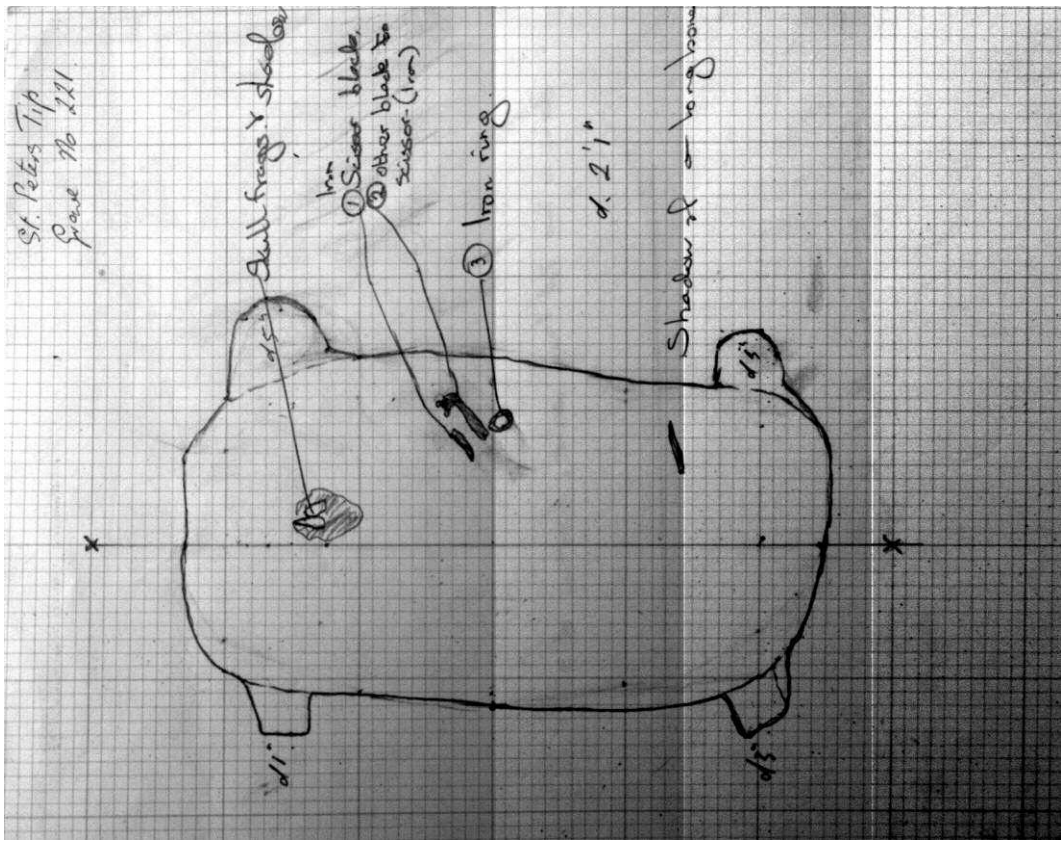


Figure 52: St Peter's Tip Grave 221

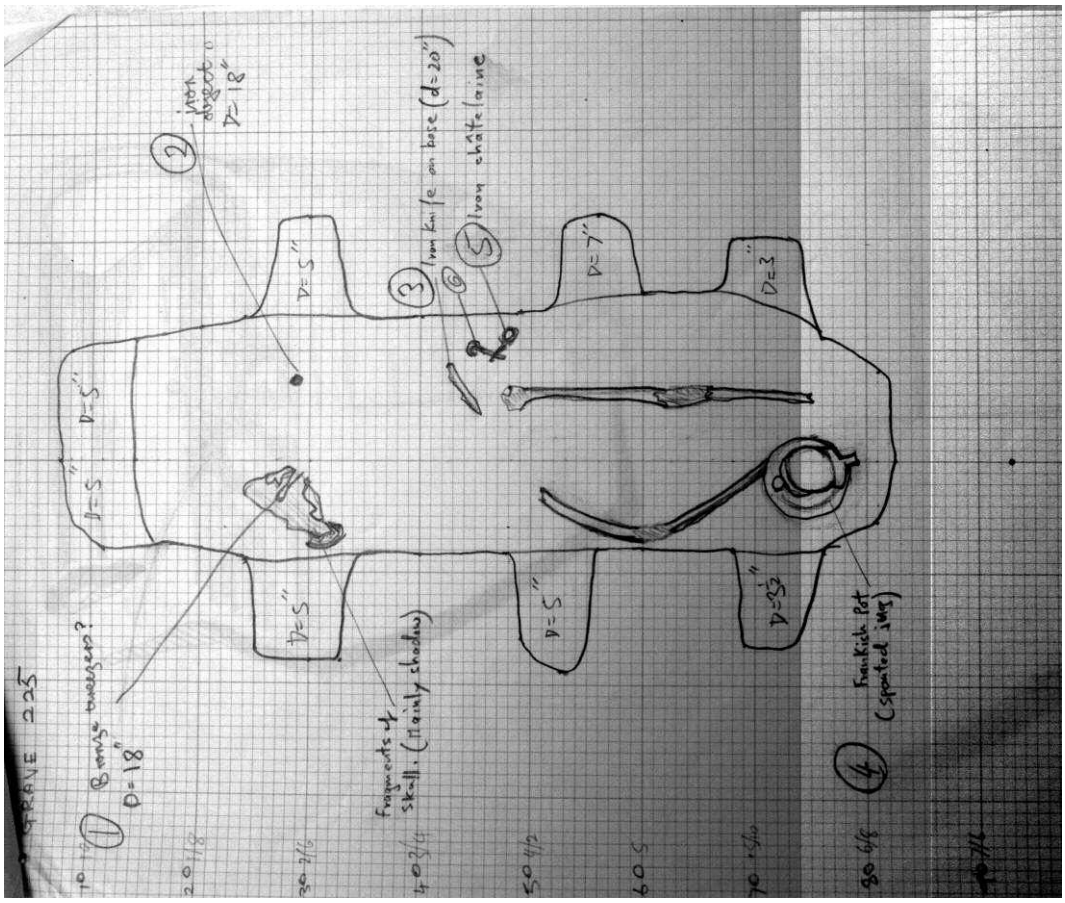


Figure 53: St Peter's Tip Grave 225

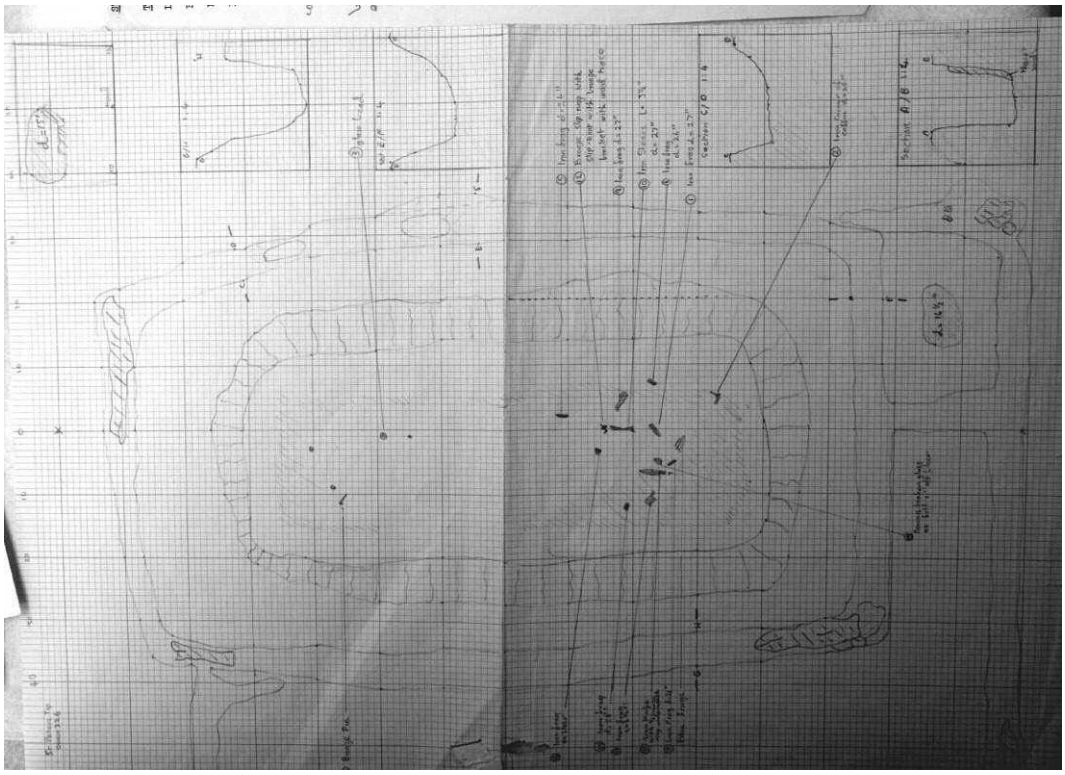


Figure 54: St Peter's Tip Grave 226

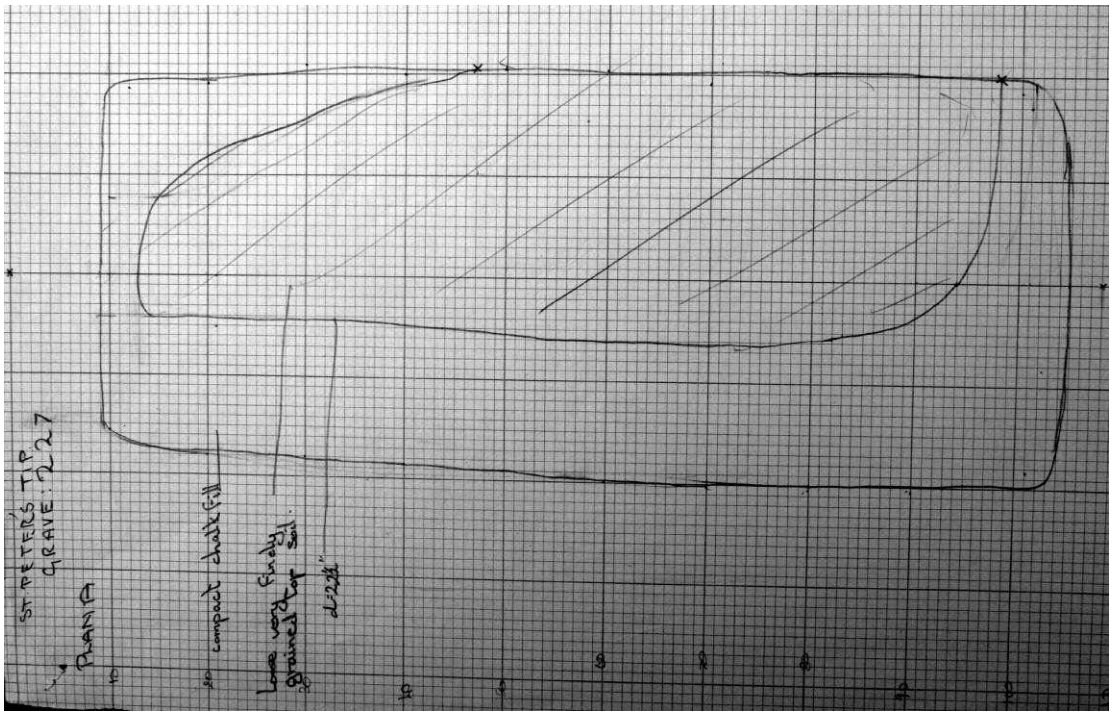


Figure 55: St Peter's Tip Grave 227

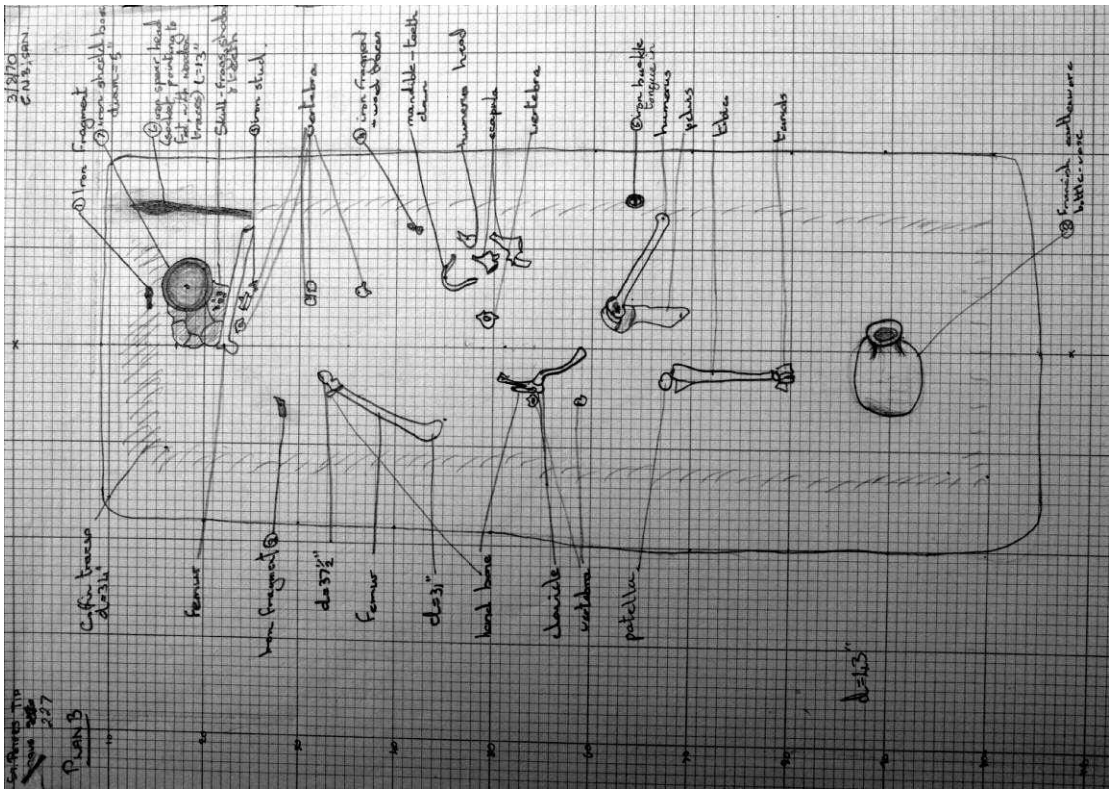


Figure 56: St Peter's Tip Grave 227

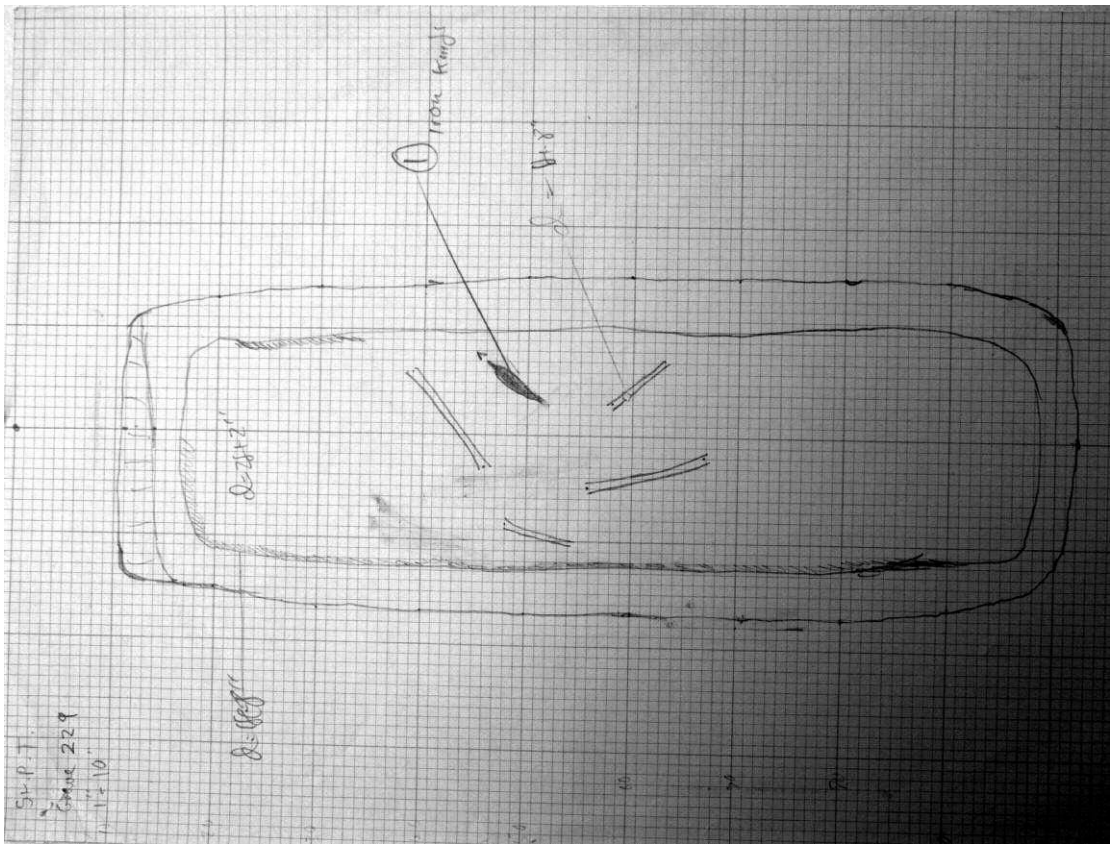


Figure 57: St Peter's Tip Grave 229

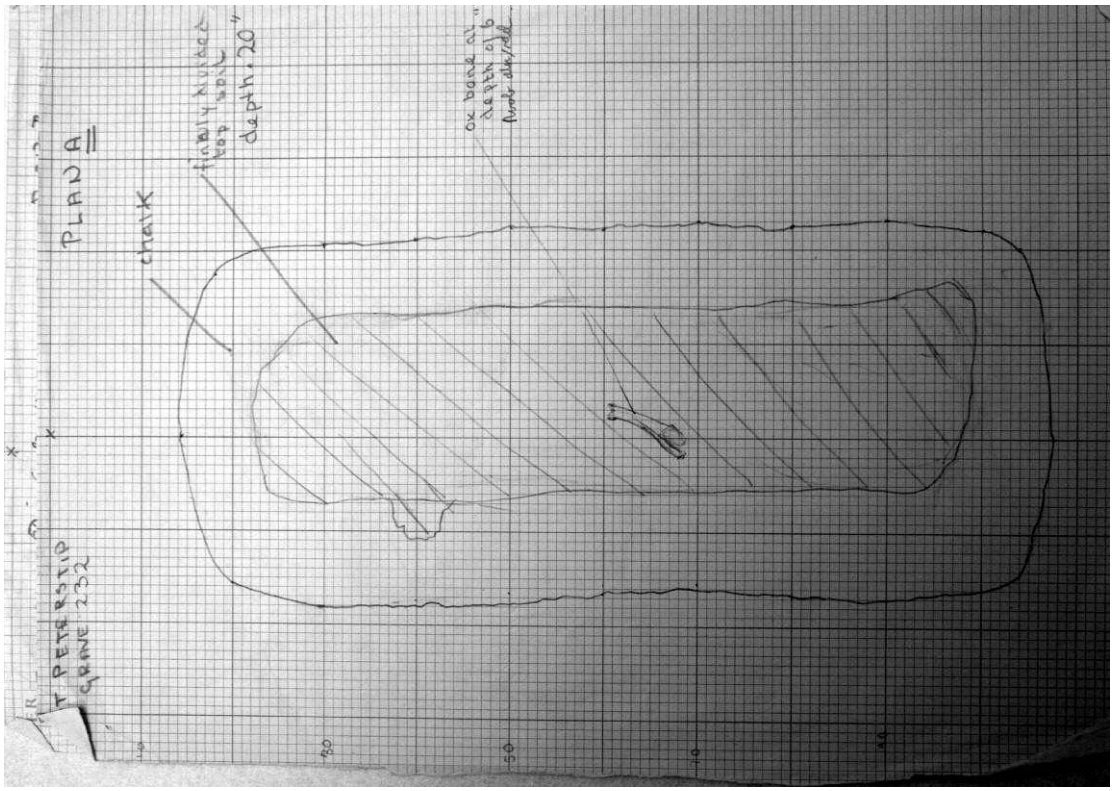


Figure 58: St Peter's Tip Grave 232

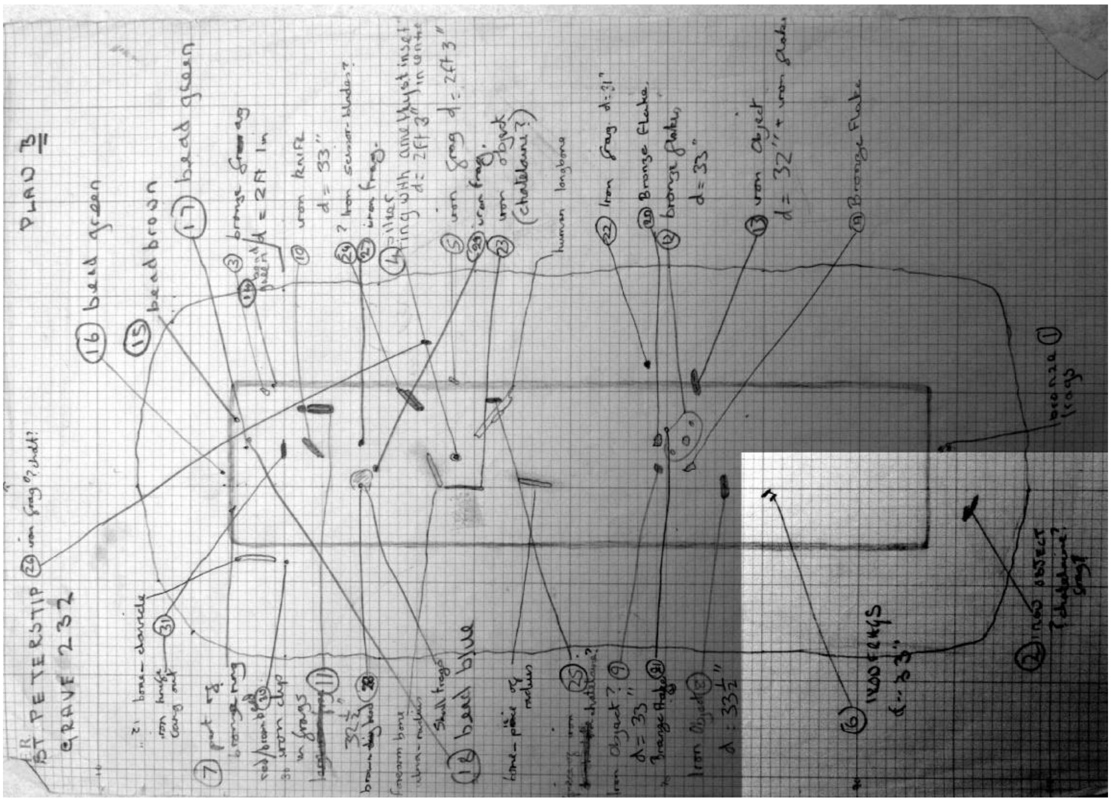


Figure 59: St Peter's Tip Grave 232

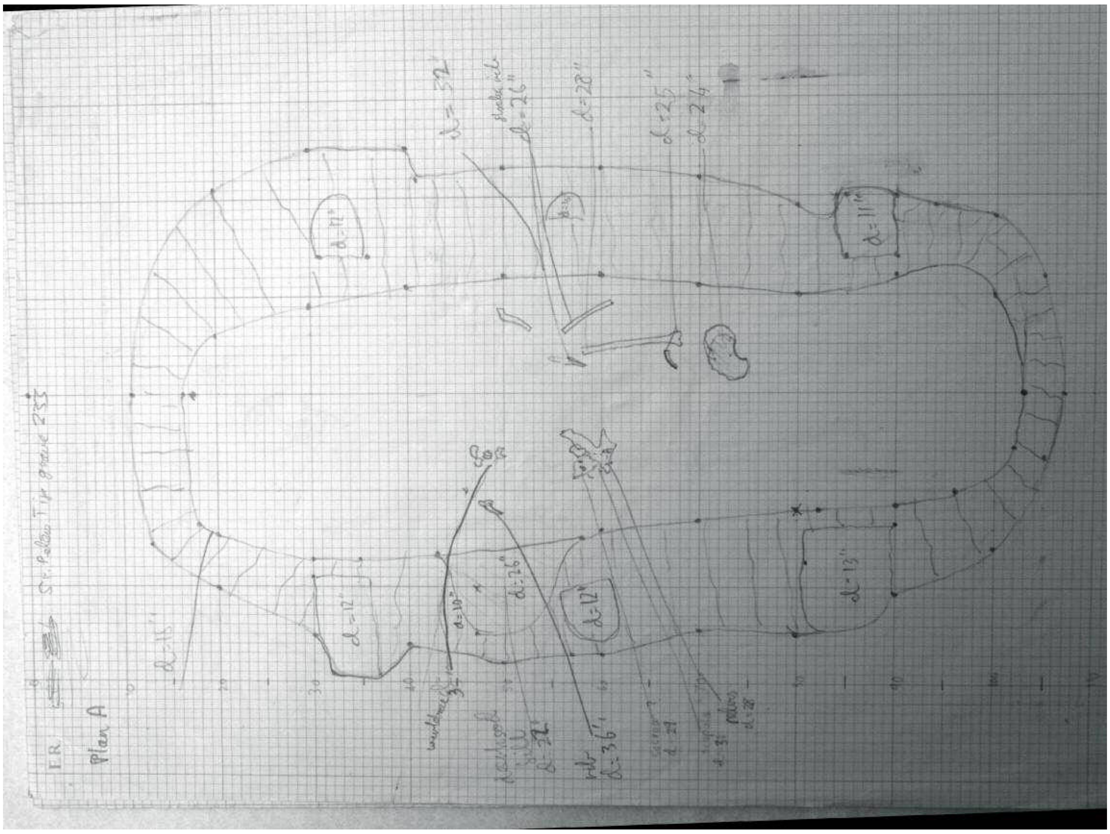


Figure 60: St Peter's Tip Grave 233

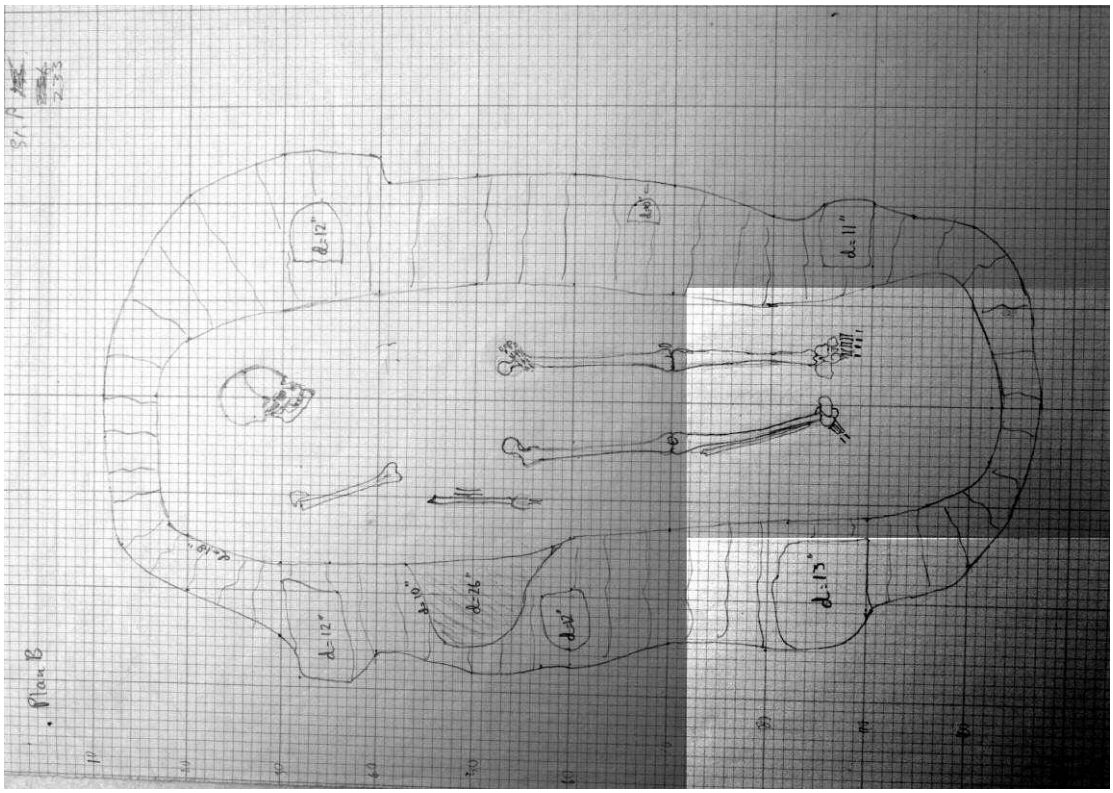


Figure 61: St Peter's Tip Grave 233

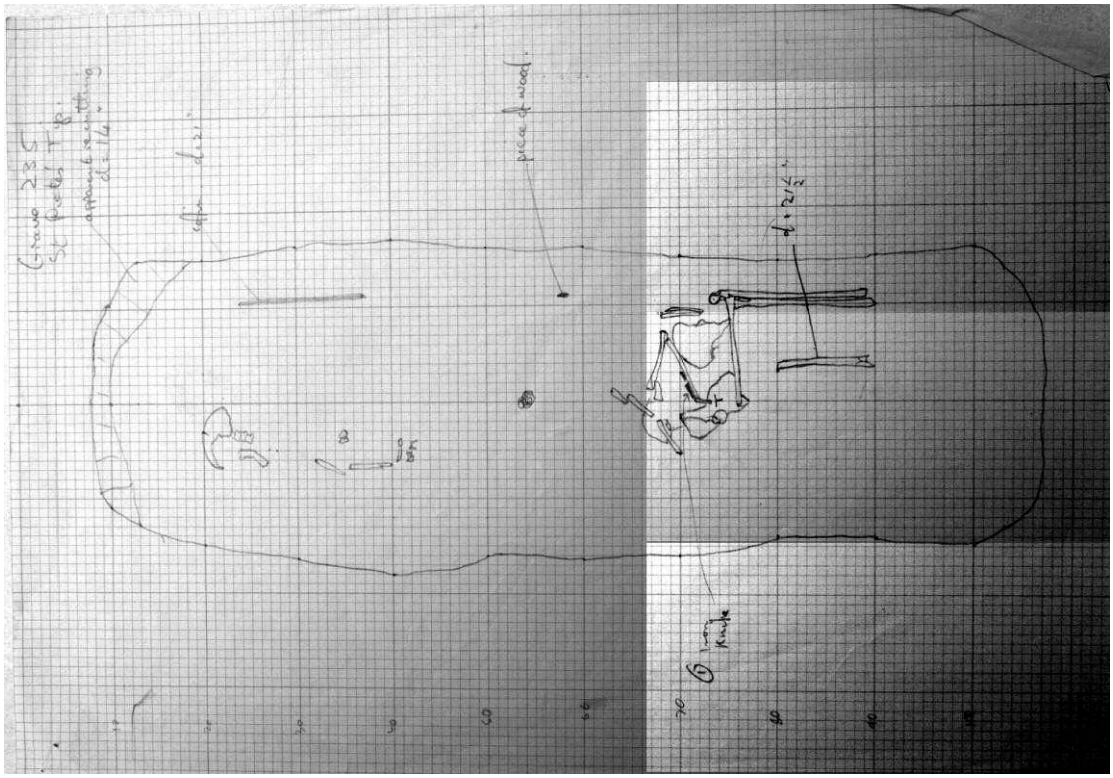


Figure 62: St Peter's Tip Grave 235

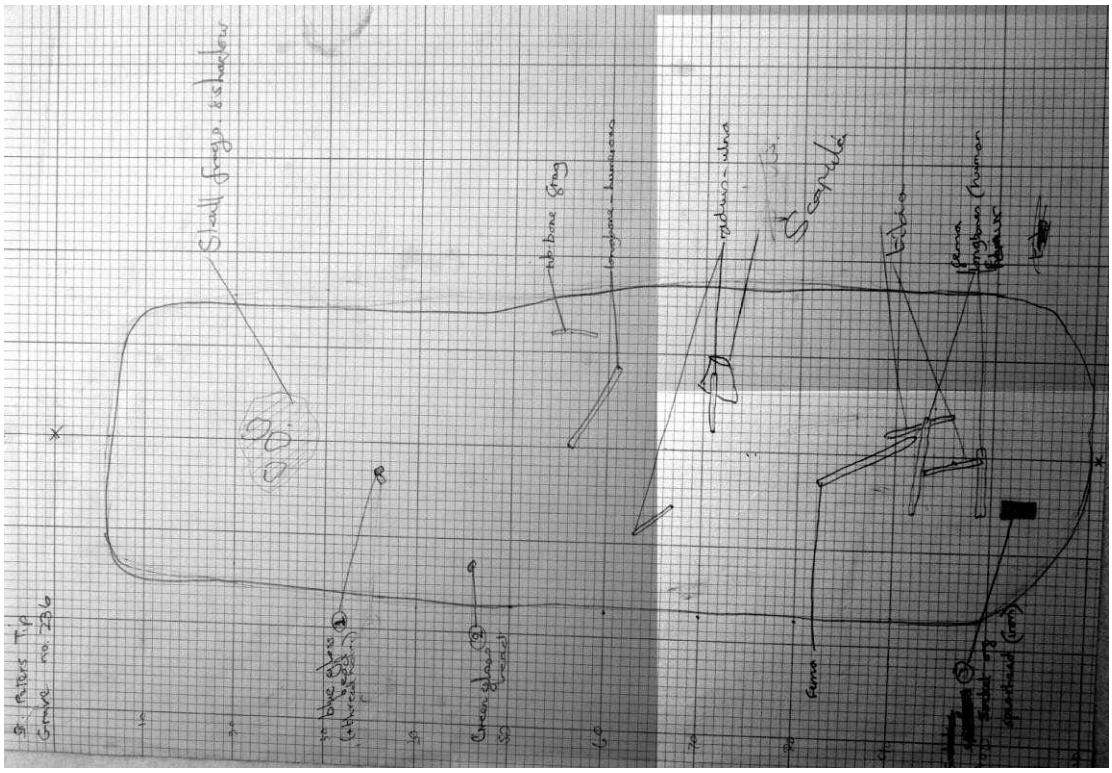


Figure 63: St Peter's Tip Grave 236

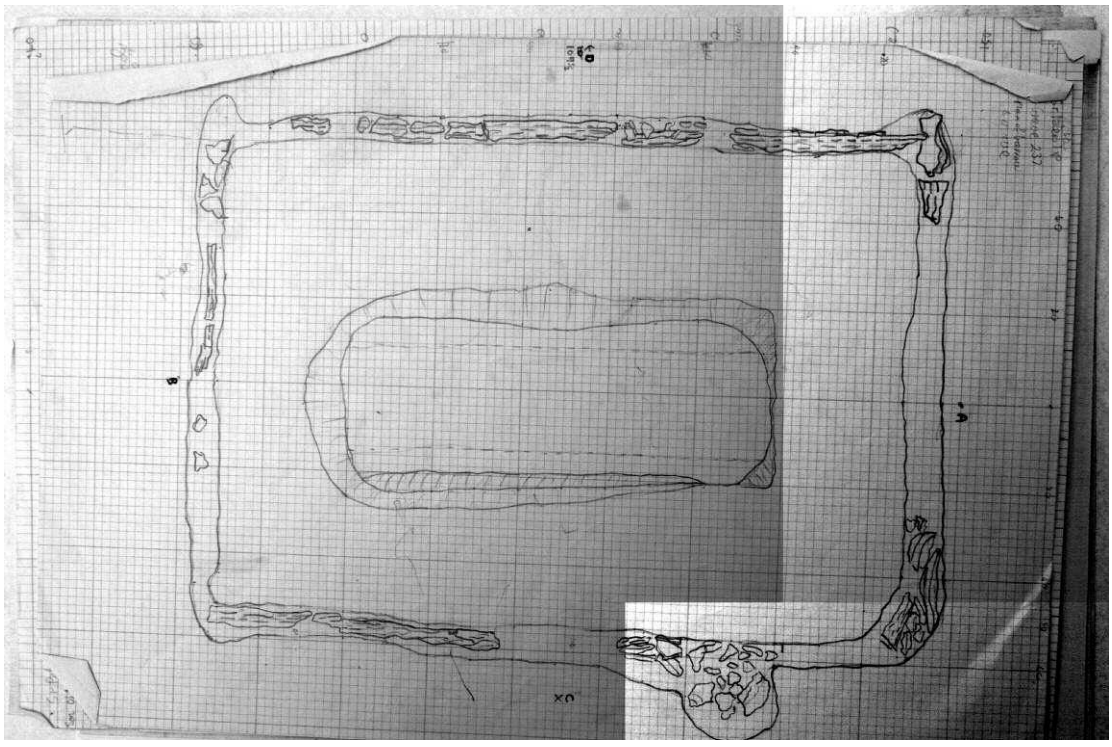


Figure 64: St Peter's Tip Grave 237

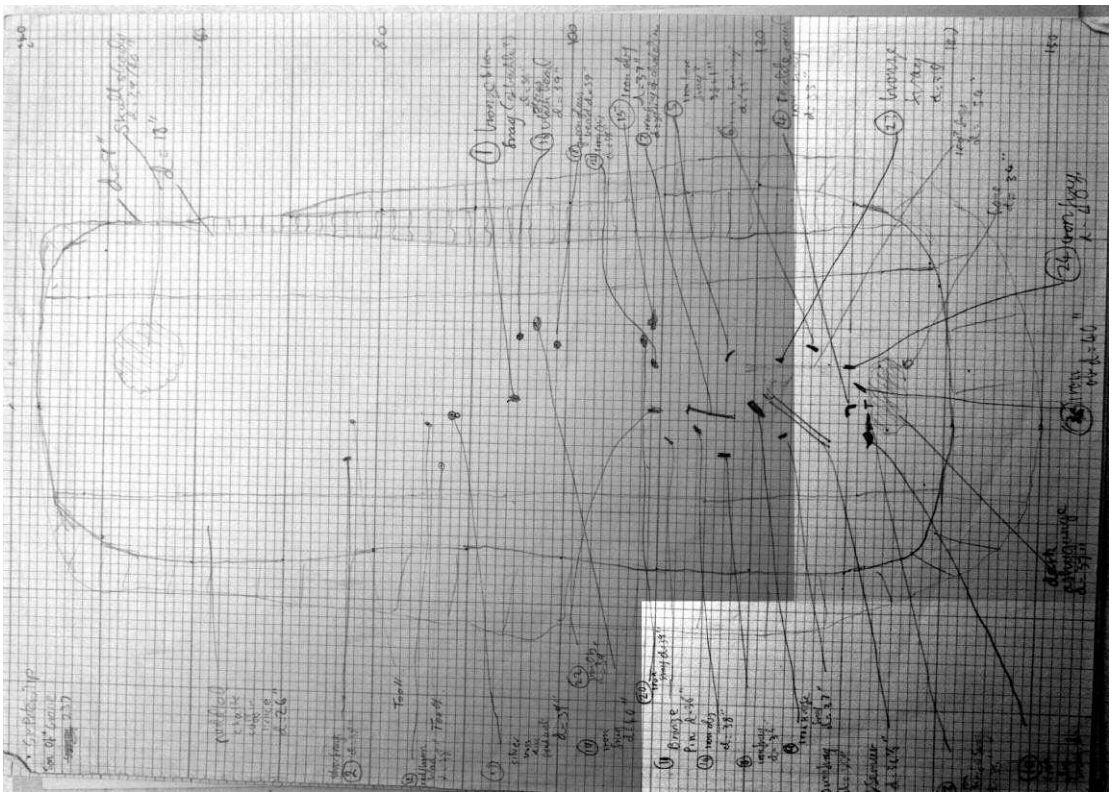


Figure 65: St Peter's Tip Grave 237

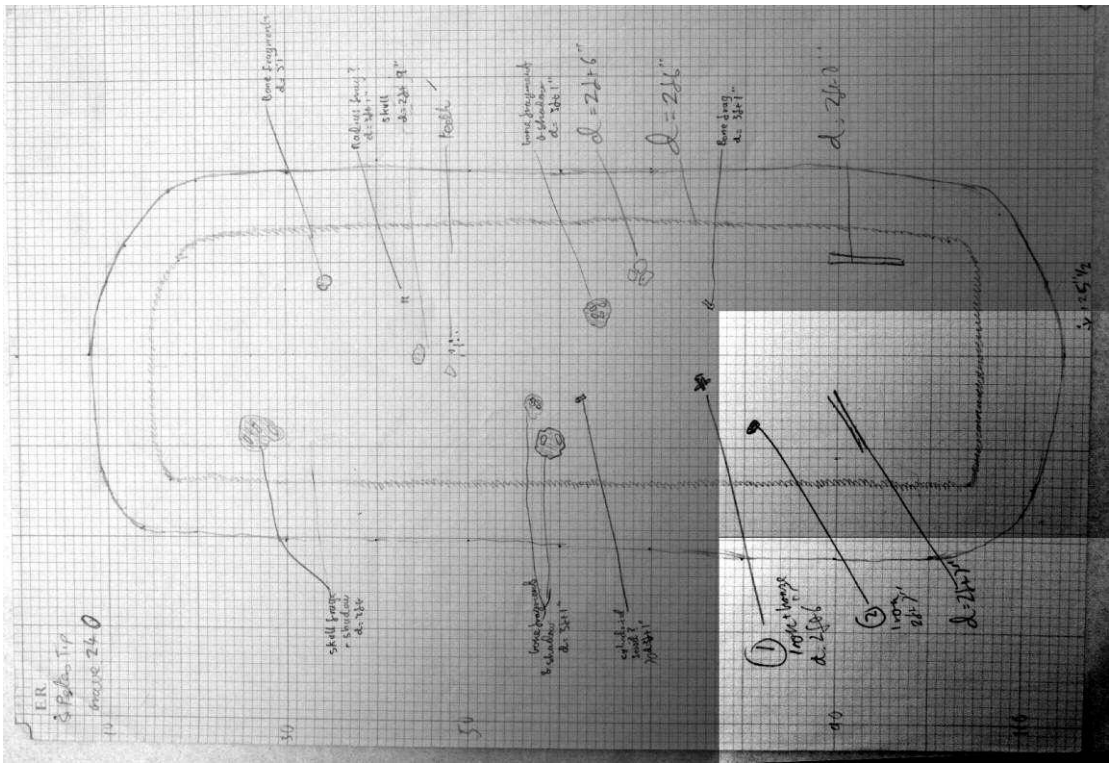


Figure 66: St Peter's Tip Grave 240

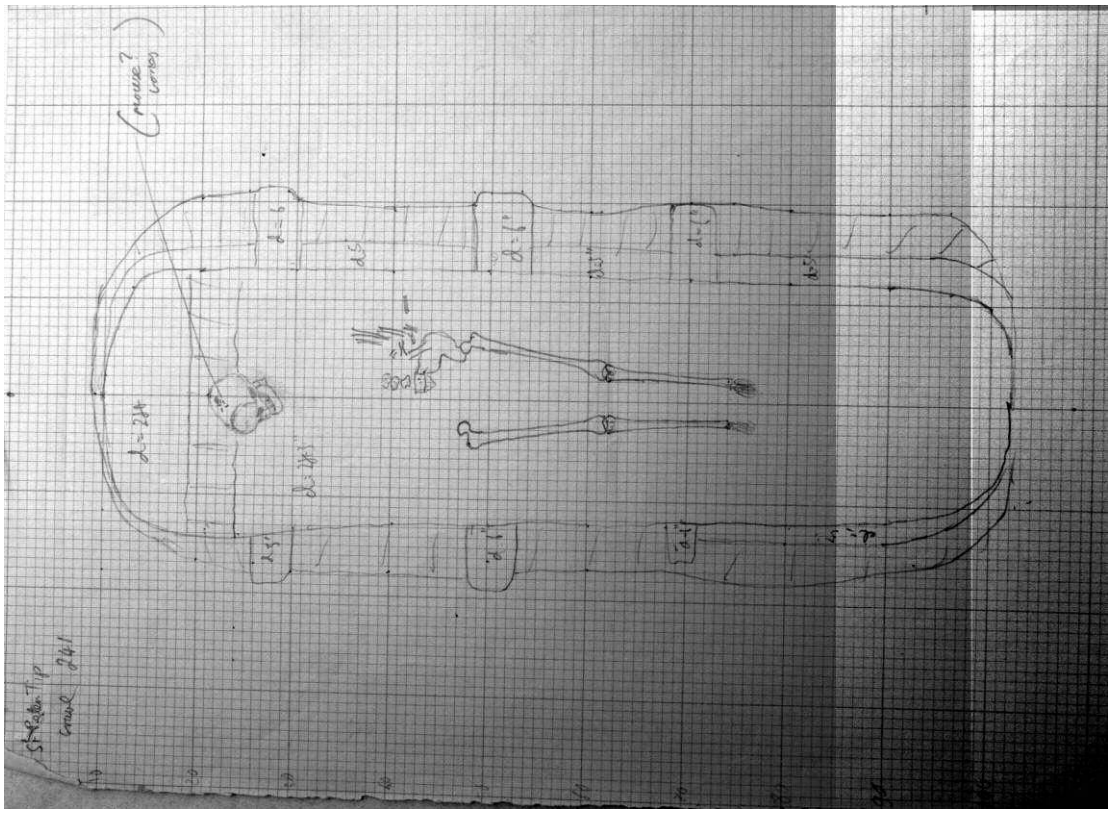


Figure 67: St Peter's Tip Grave 241

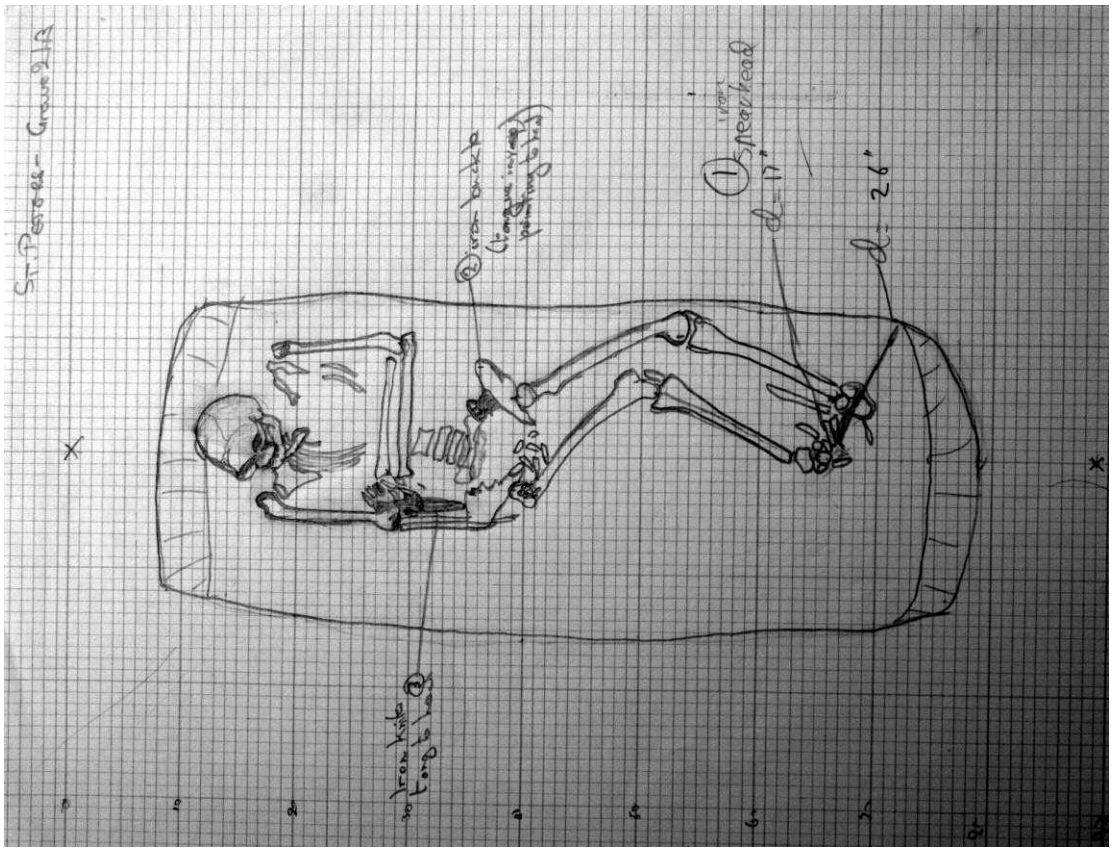


Figure 68: St Peter's Tip Grave 243

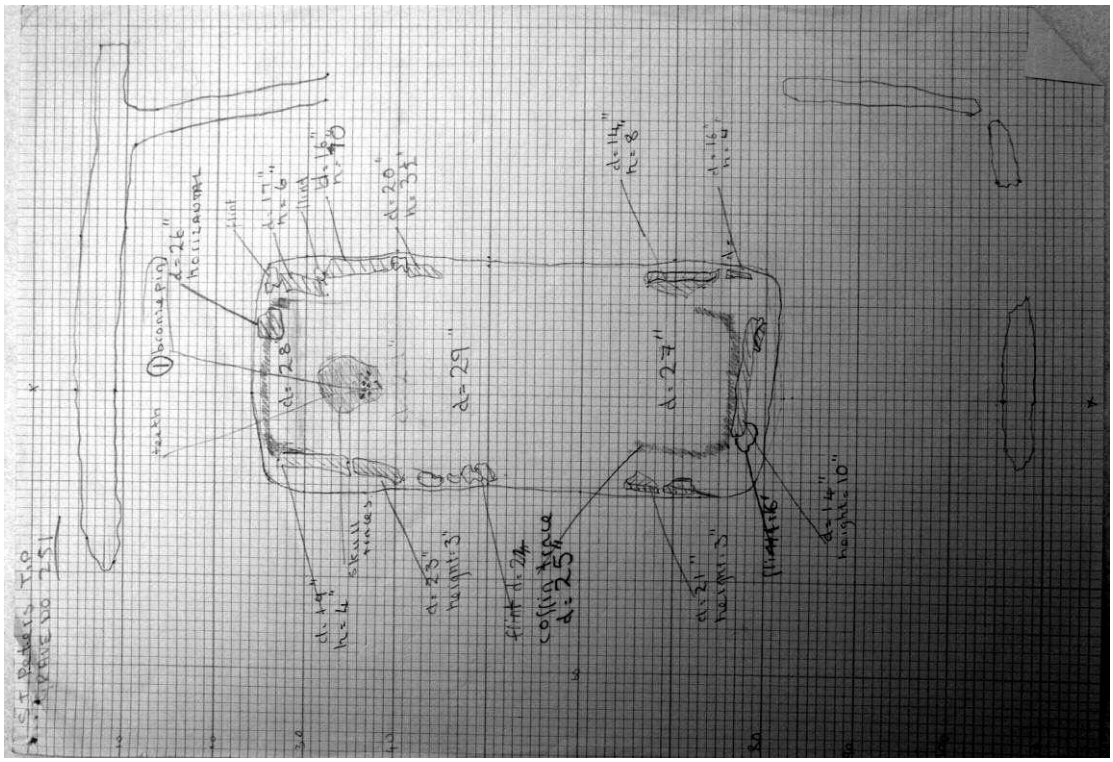


Figure 69: St Peter's Tip Grave 251

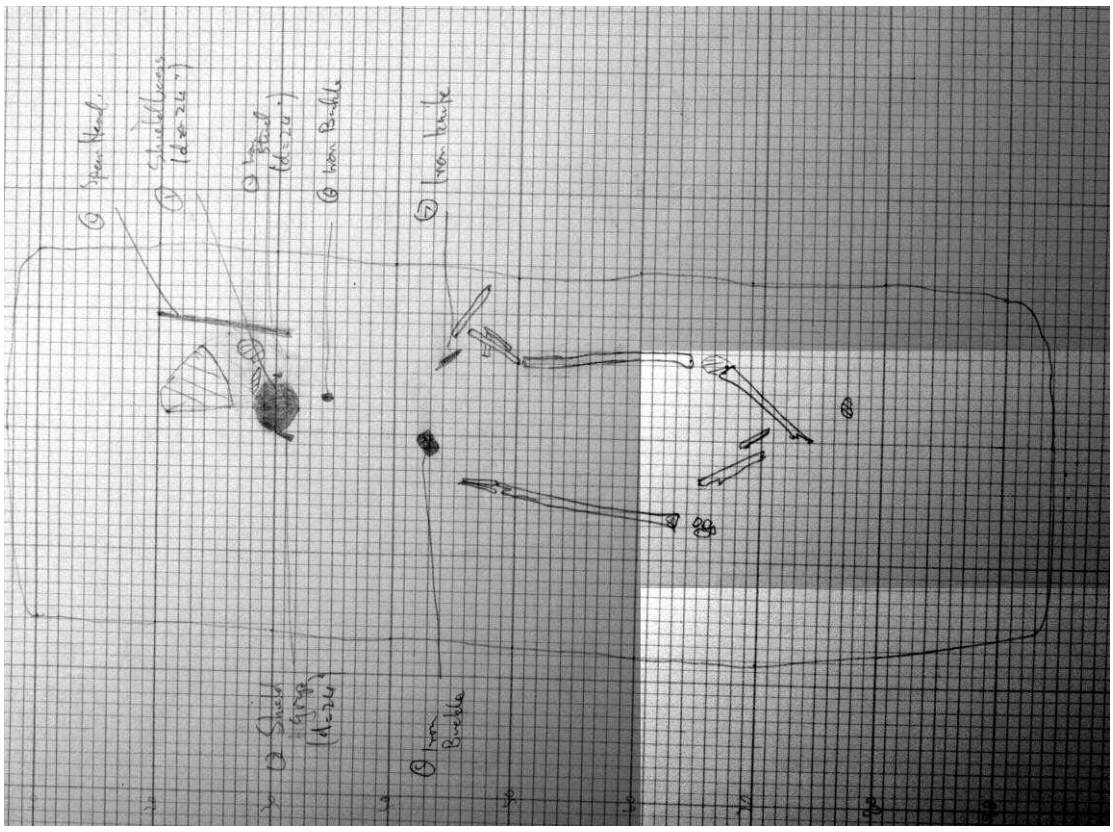


Figure 70: St Peter's Tip Grave 254

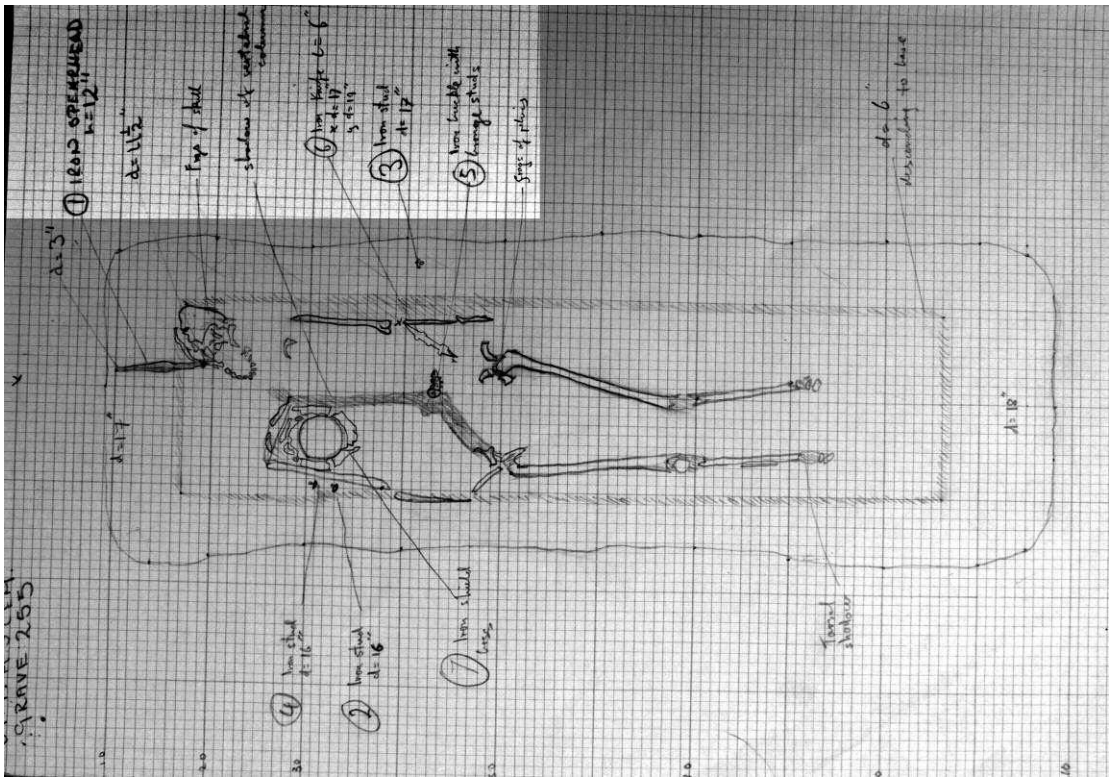


Figure 71: St Peter's Tip Grave 255

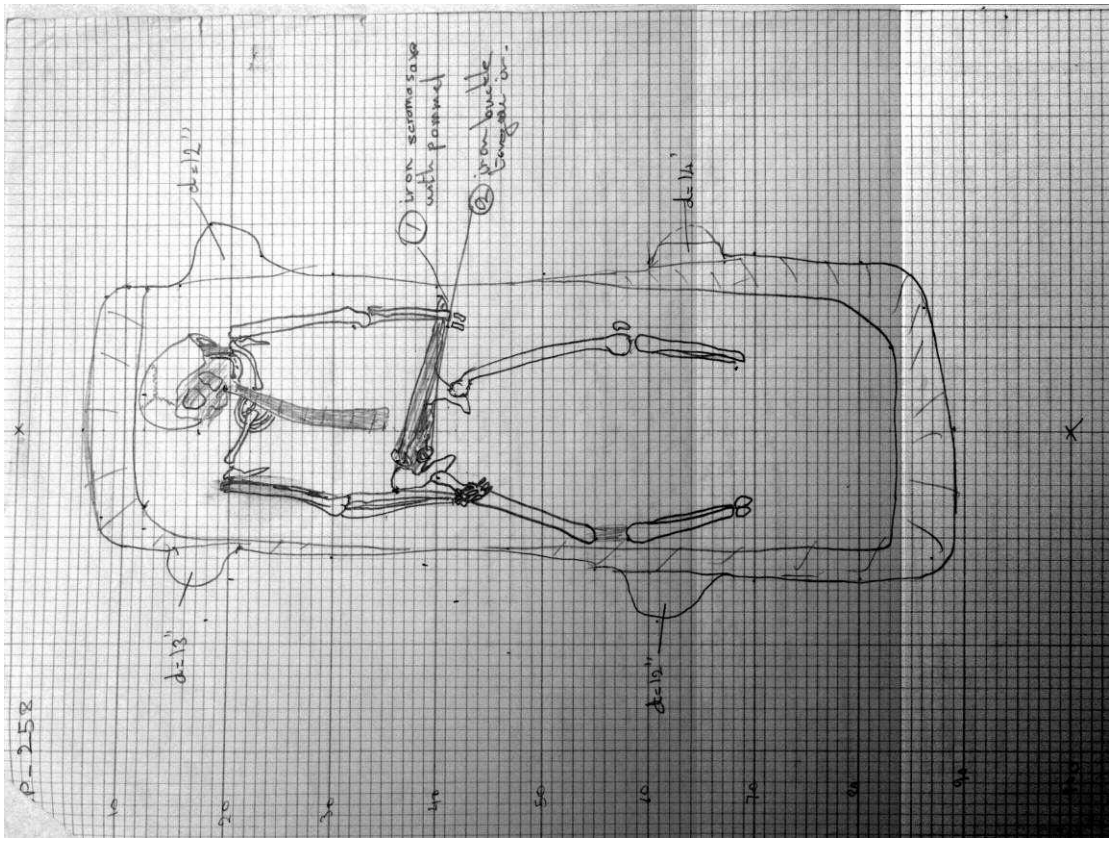


Figure 72: St Peter's Tip Grave 258

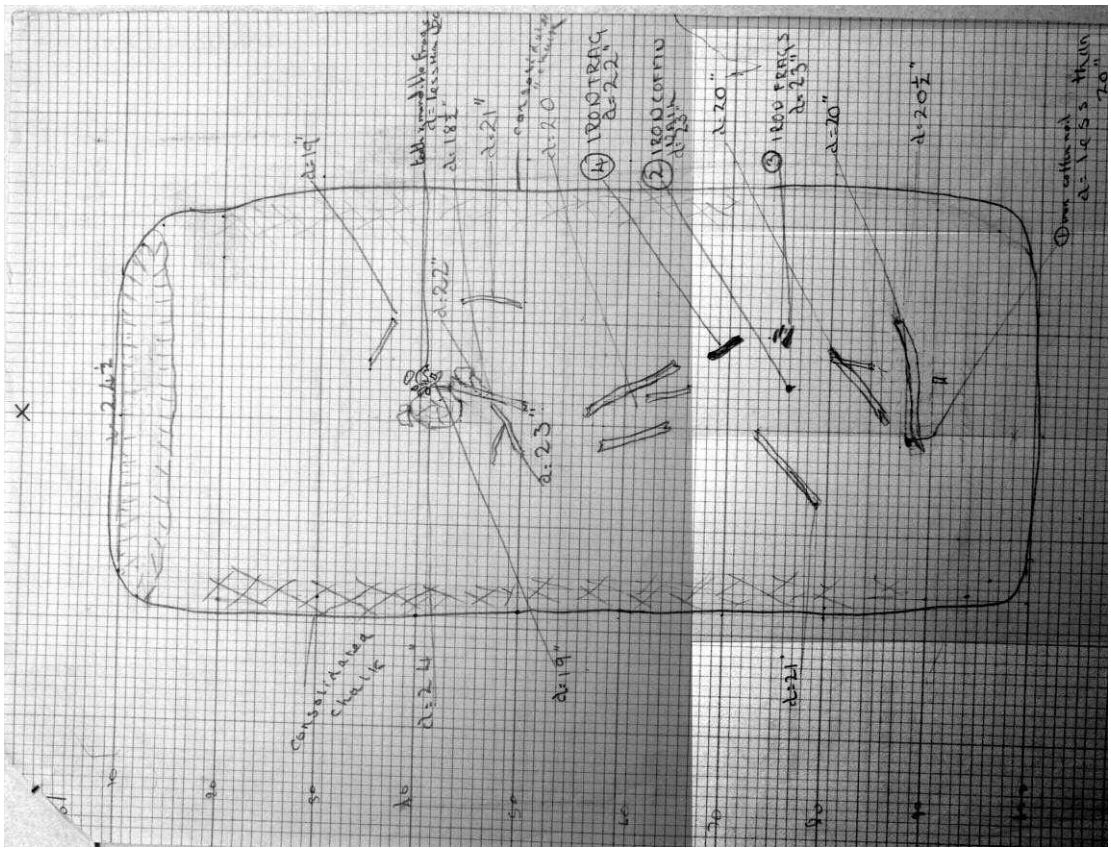


Figure 73: St Peter's Tip Grave 261

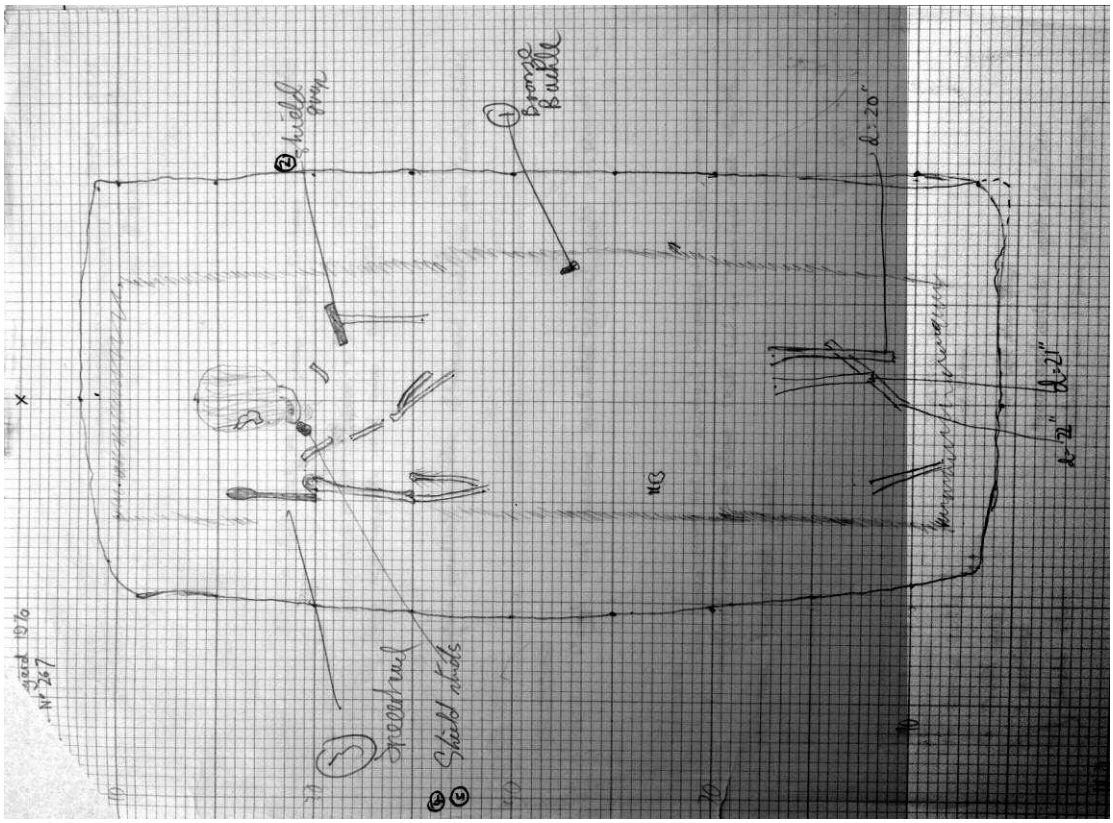


Figure 74: St Peter's Tip Grave 267

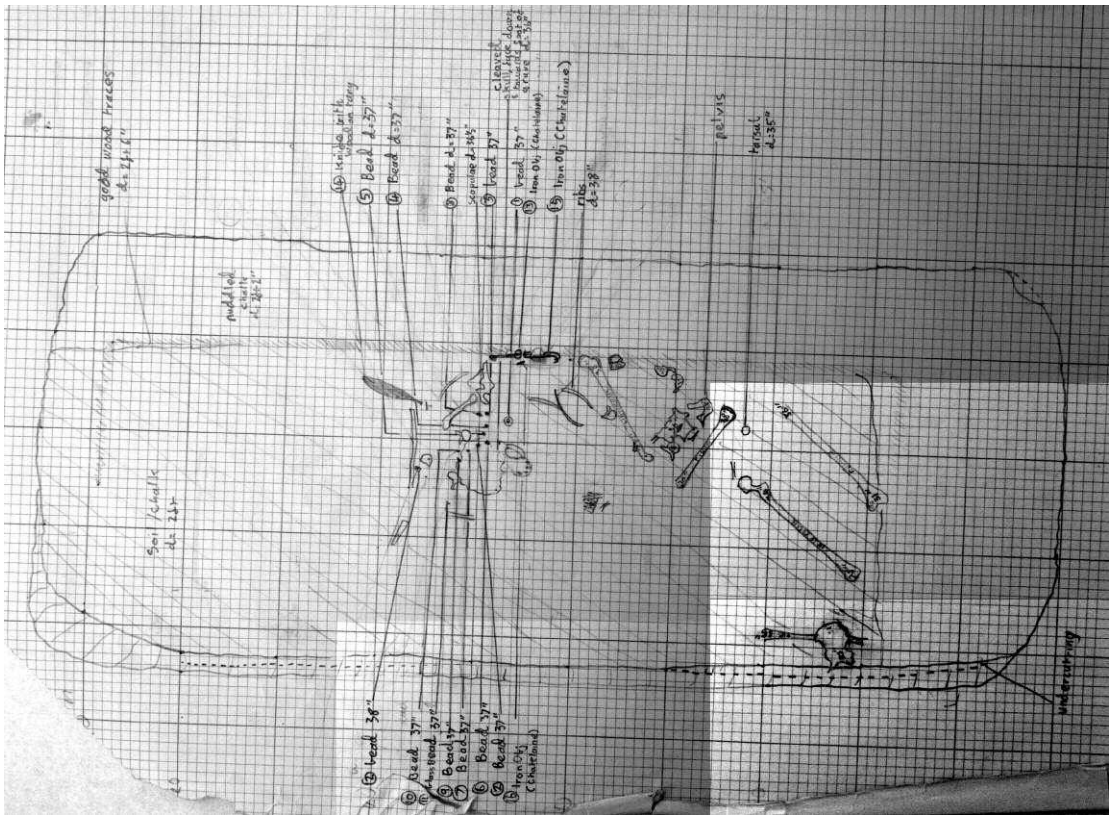


Figure 75: St Peter's Tip Grave 268

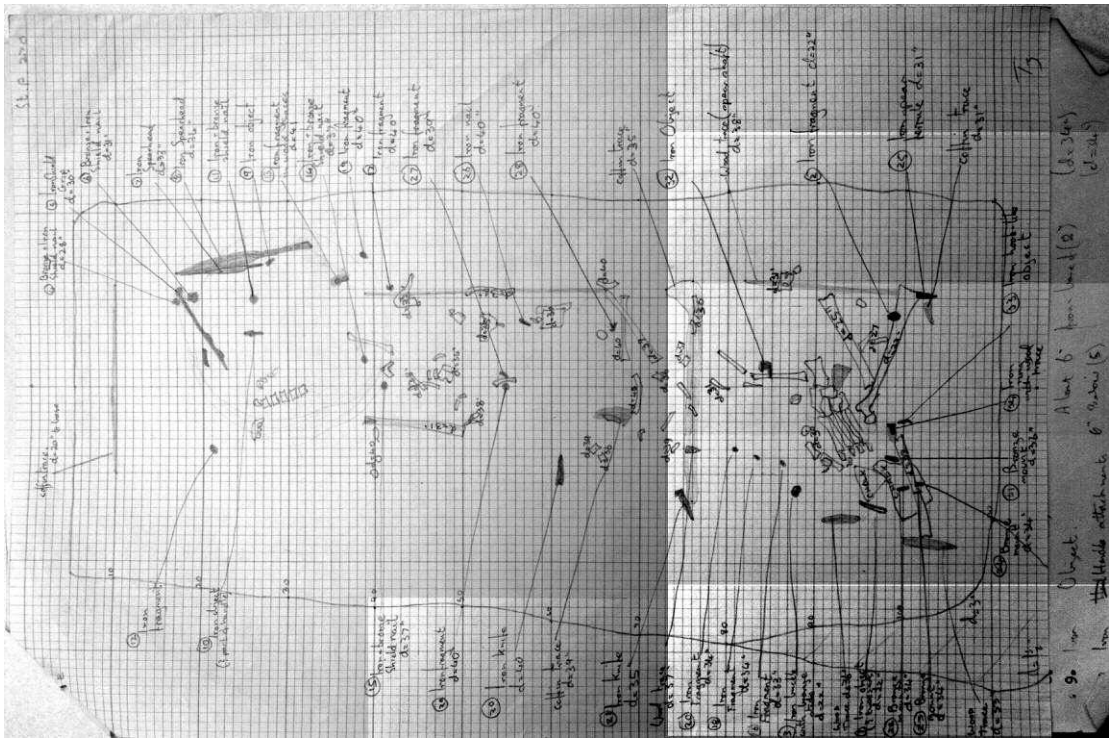


Figure 76: St Peter's Tip Grave 270

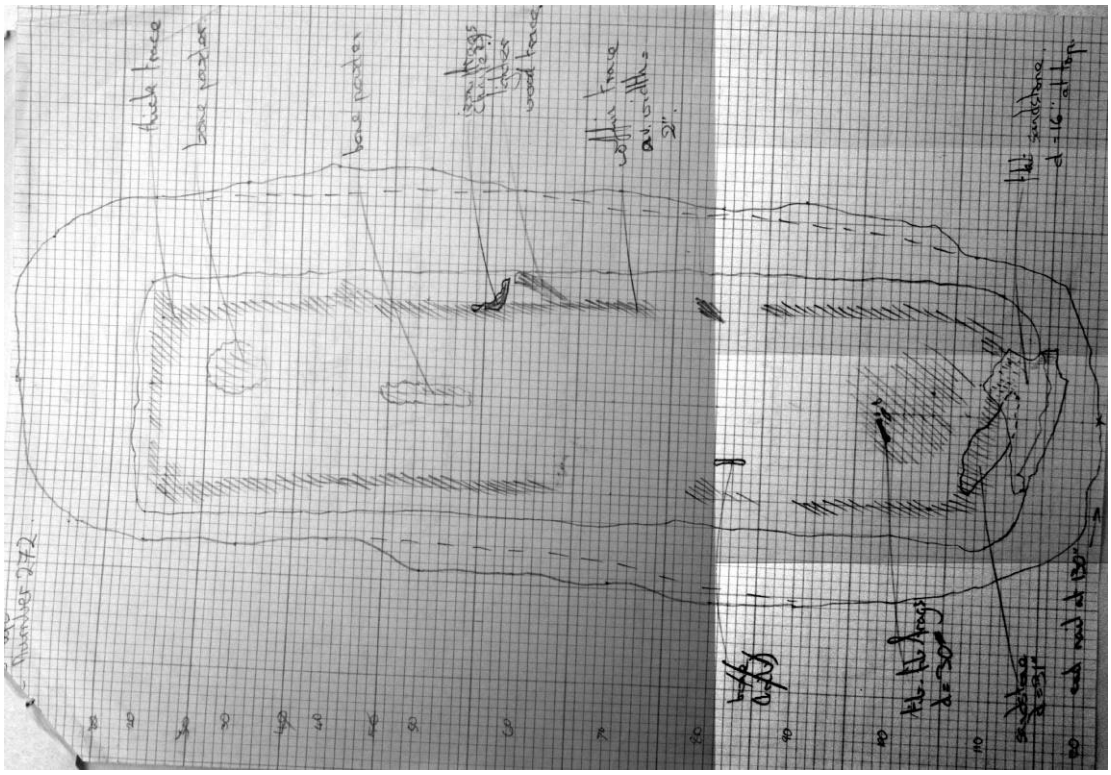


Figure 77: St Peter's Tip Grave 272

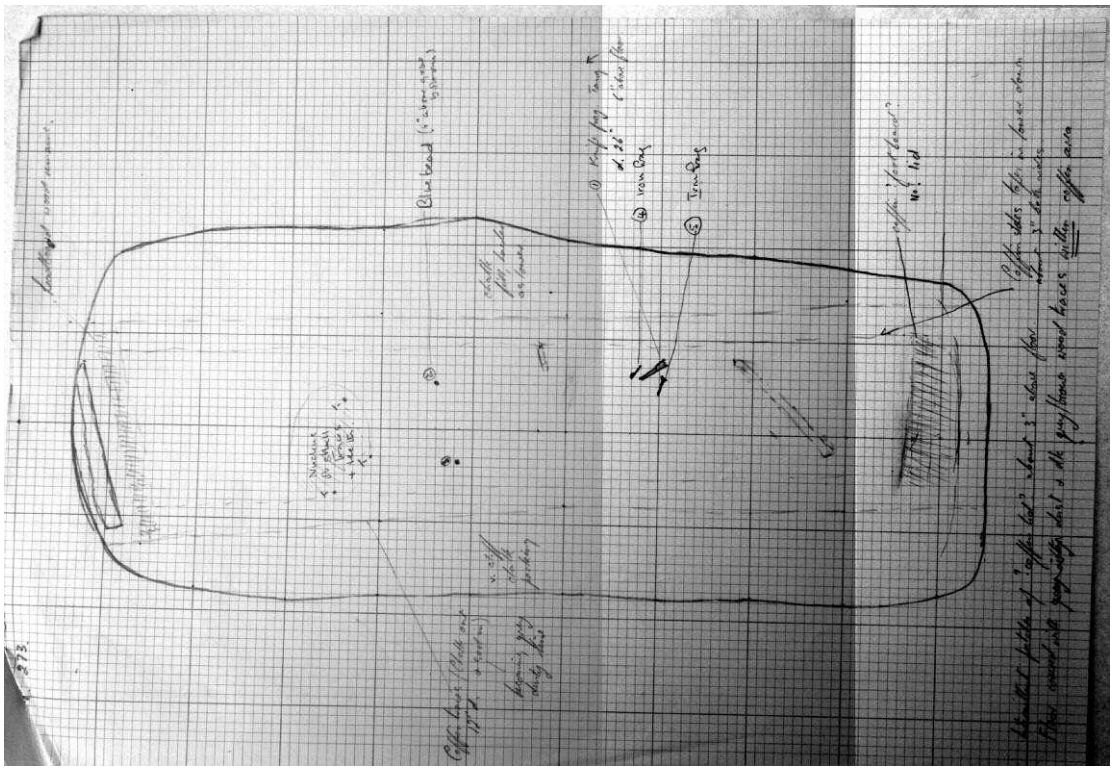


Figure 78: St Peter's Tip Grave 273

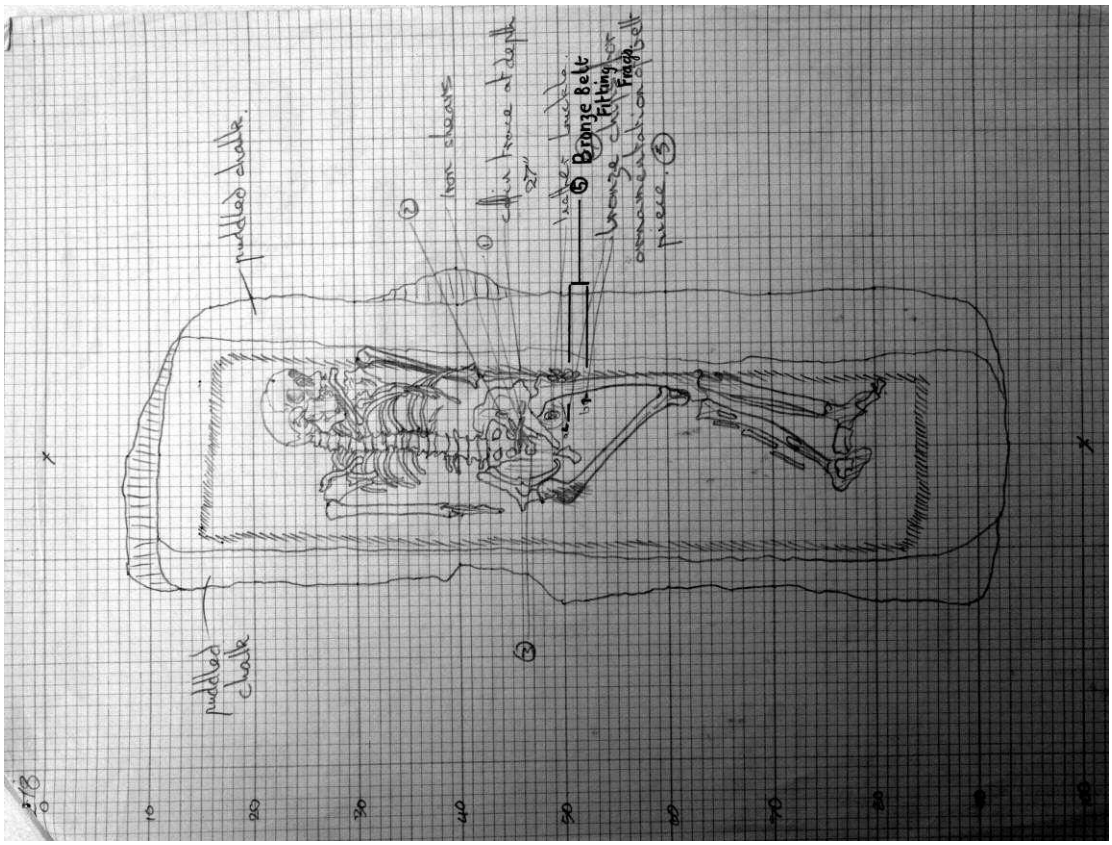


Figure 79: St Peter's Tip Grave 278

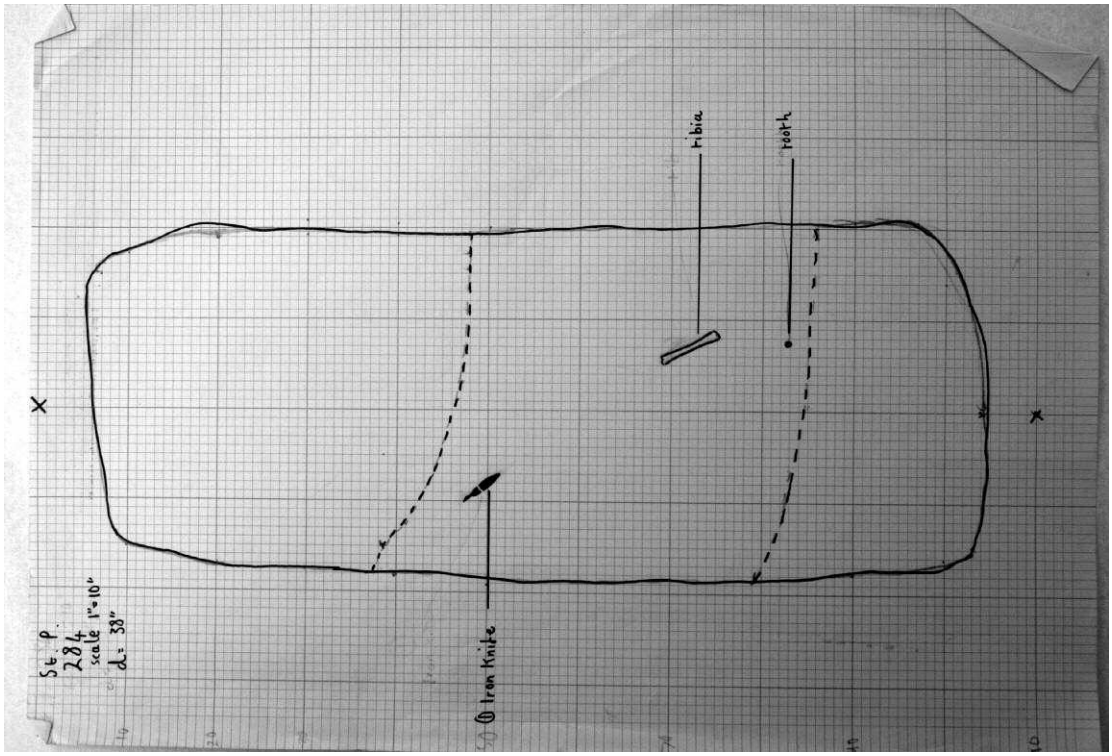


Figure 80: St Peter's Tip Grave 284

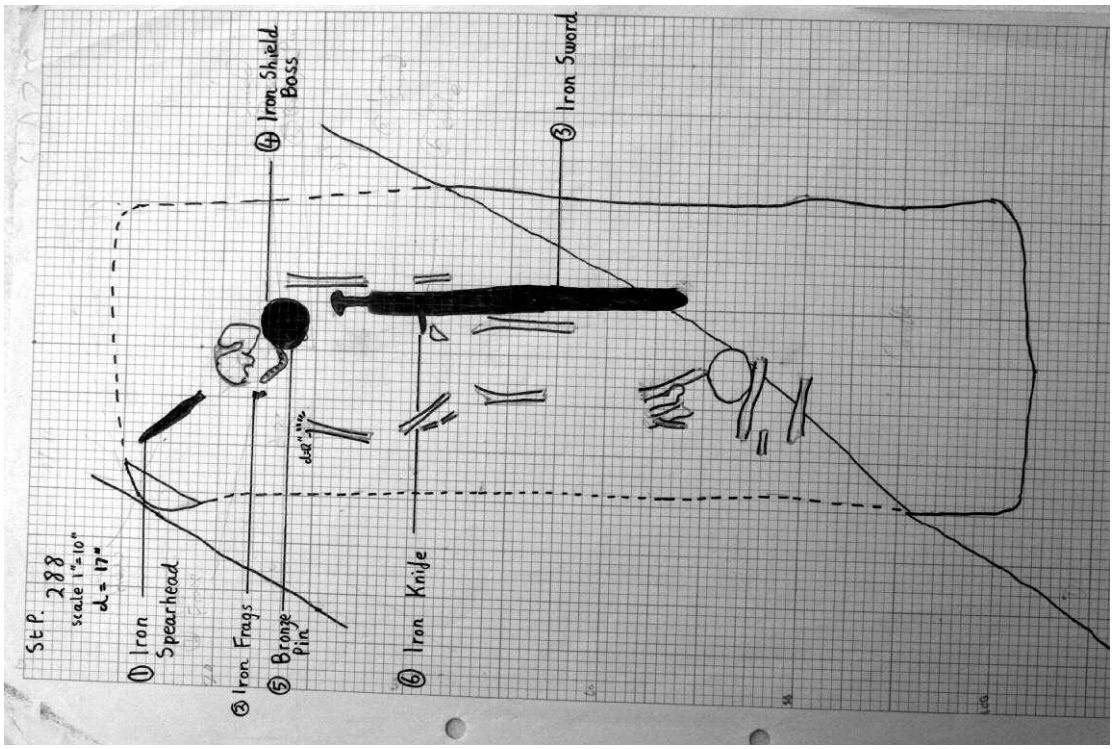


Figure 81: St Peter's Tip Grave 288

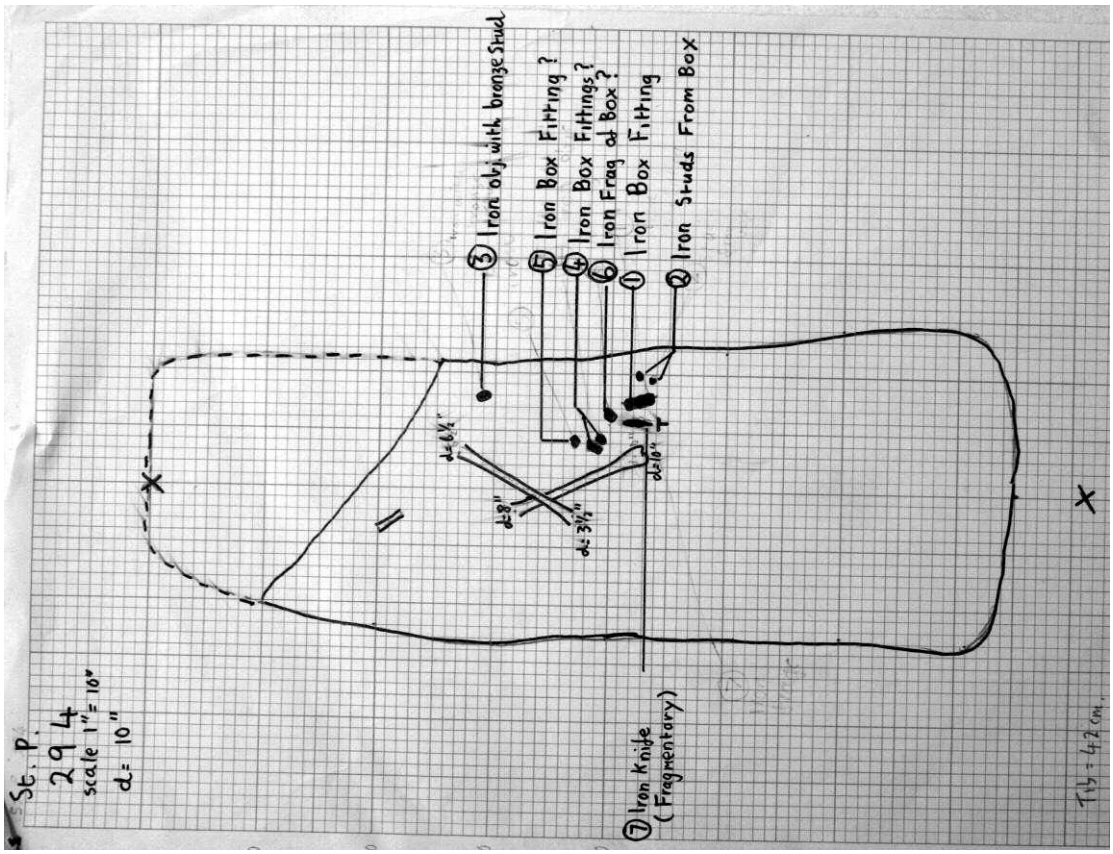


Figure 82: St Peter's Tip Grave 294

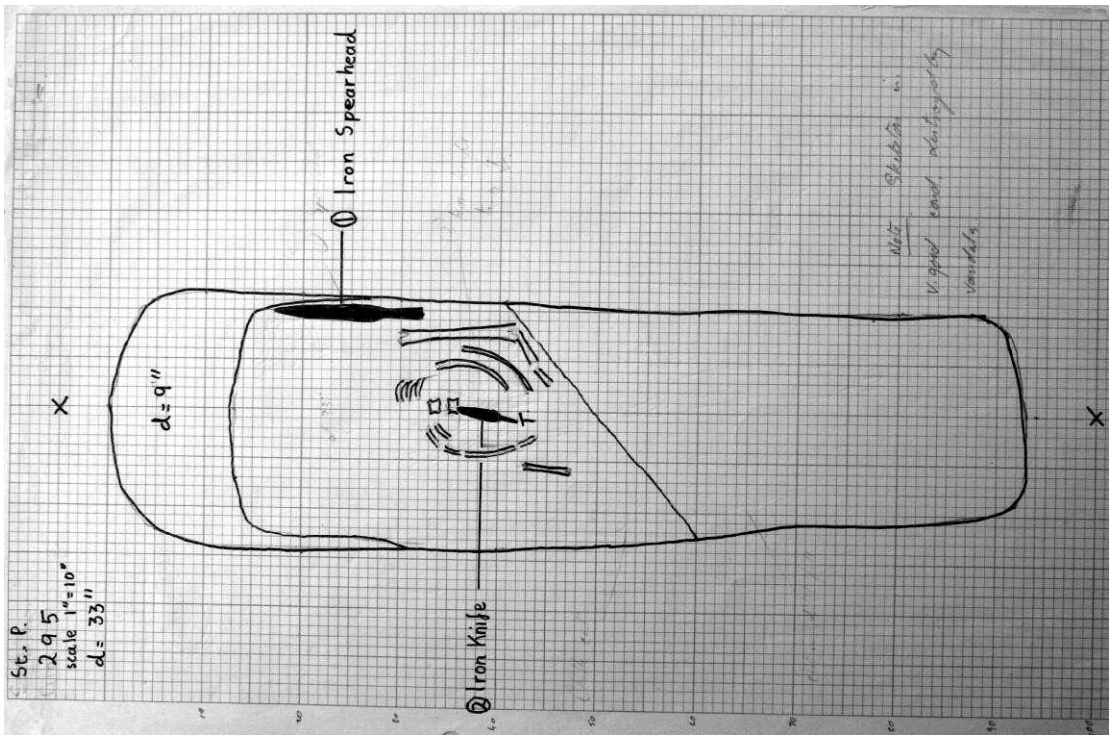


Figure 83: St Peter's Tip Grave 295

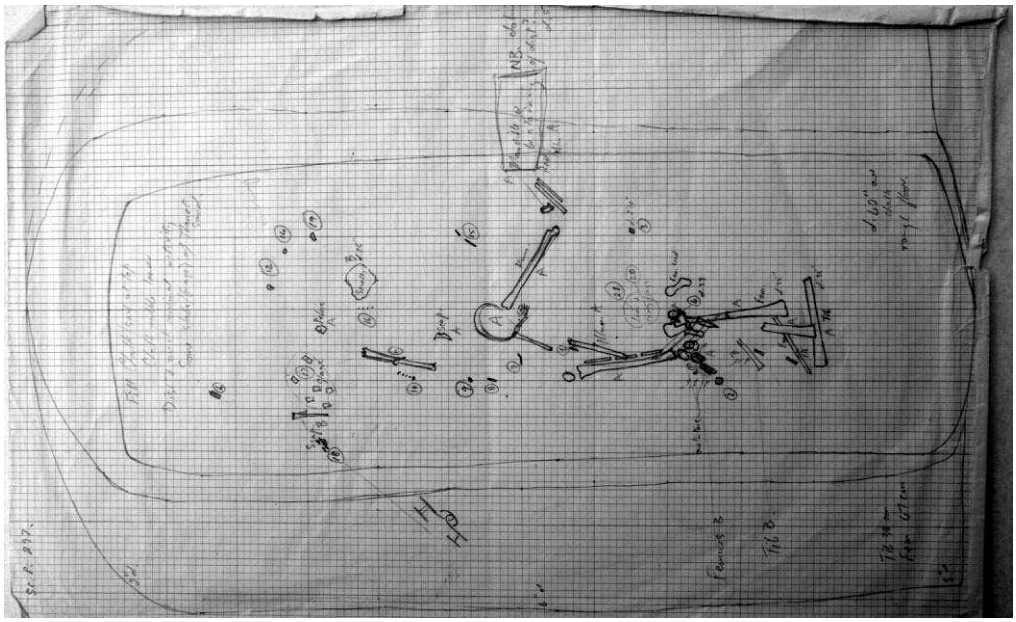


Figure 84: St Peter's Tip Grave 297

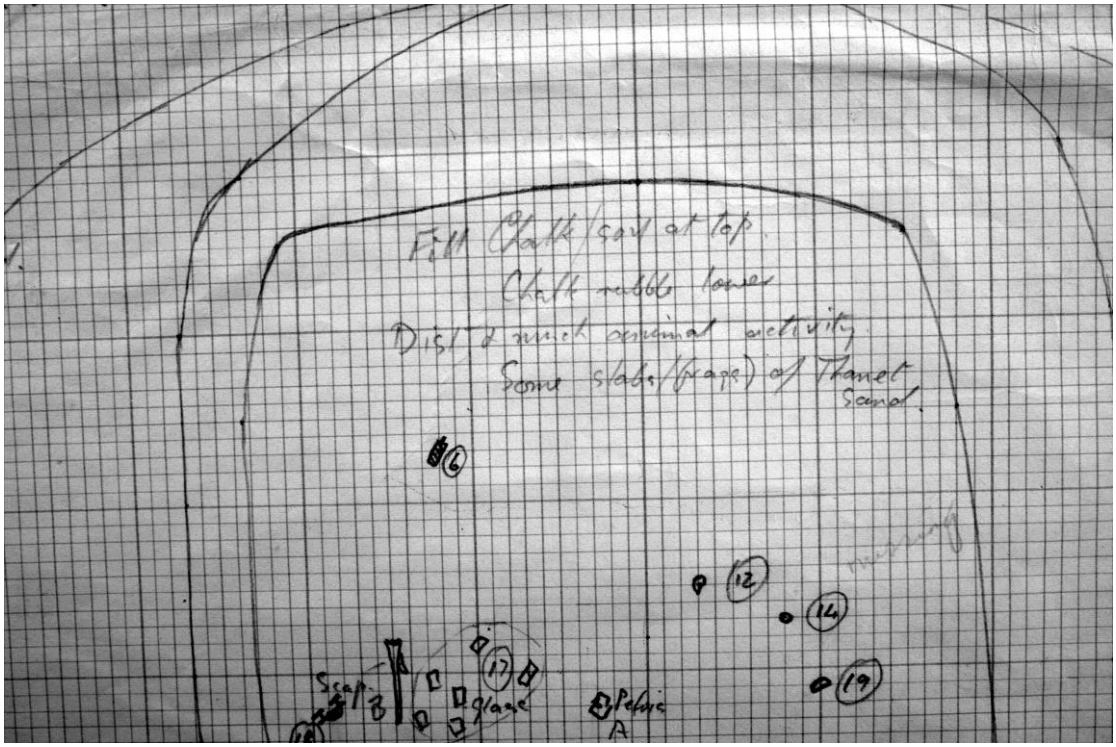


Figure 85: St Peter's Tip Grave 297

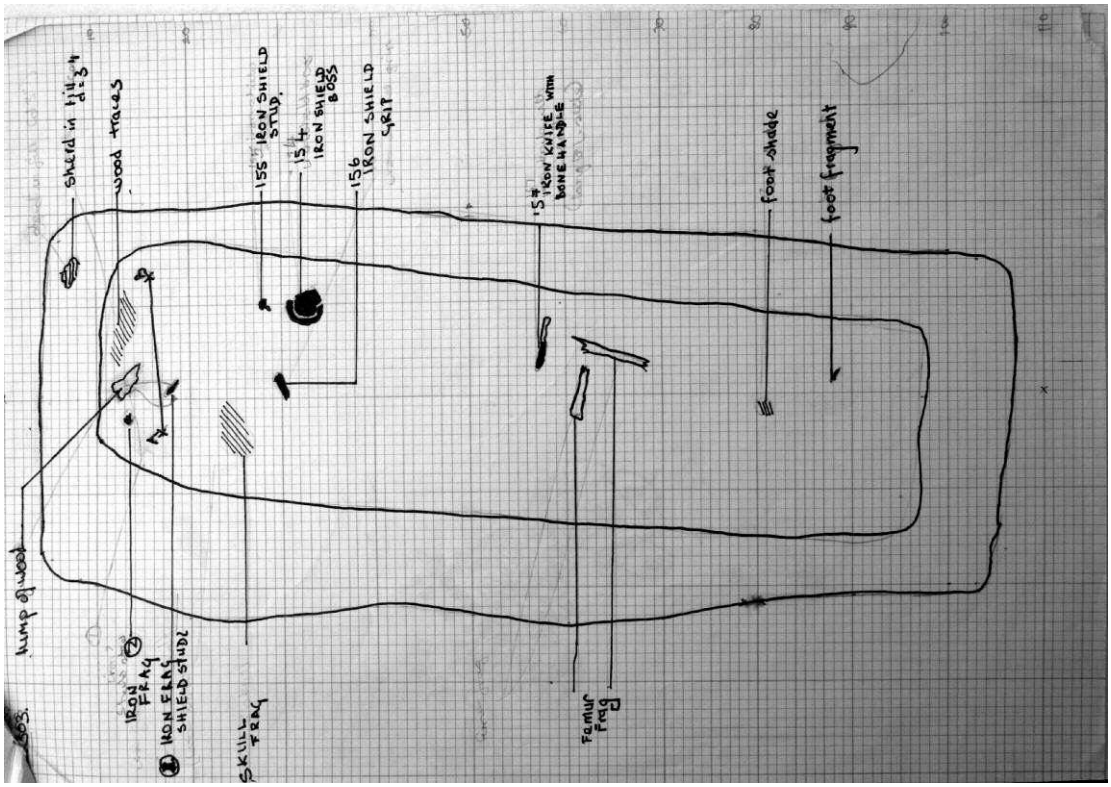


Figure 86: St Peter's Tip Grave 303

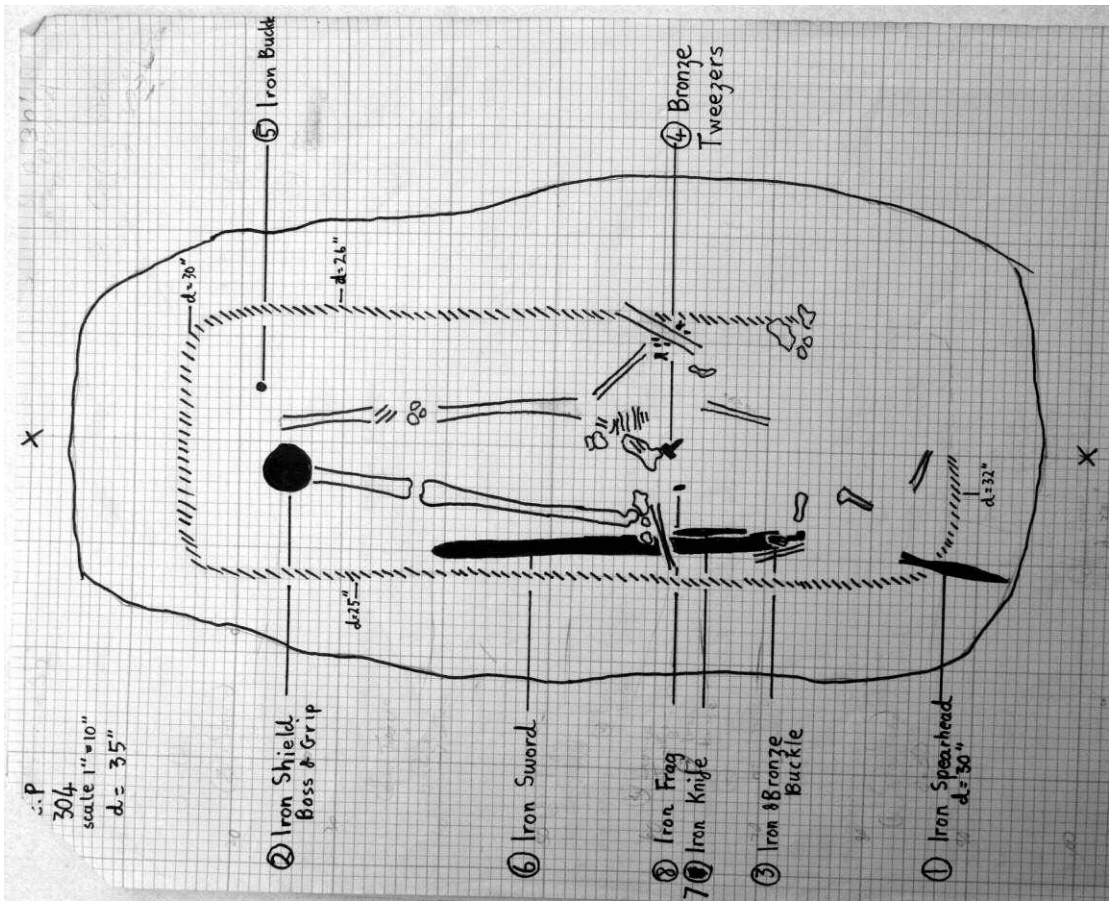


Figure 87: St Peter's Tip Grave 304

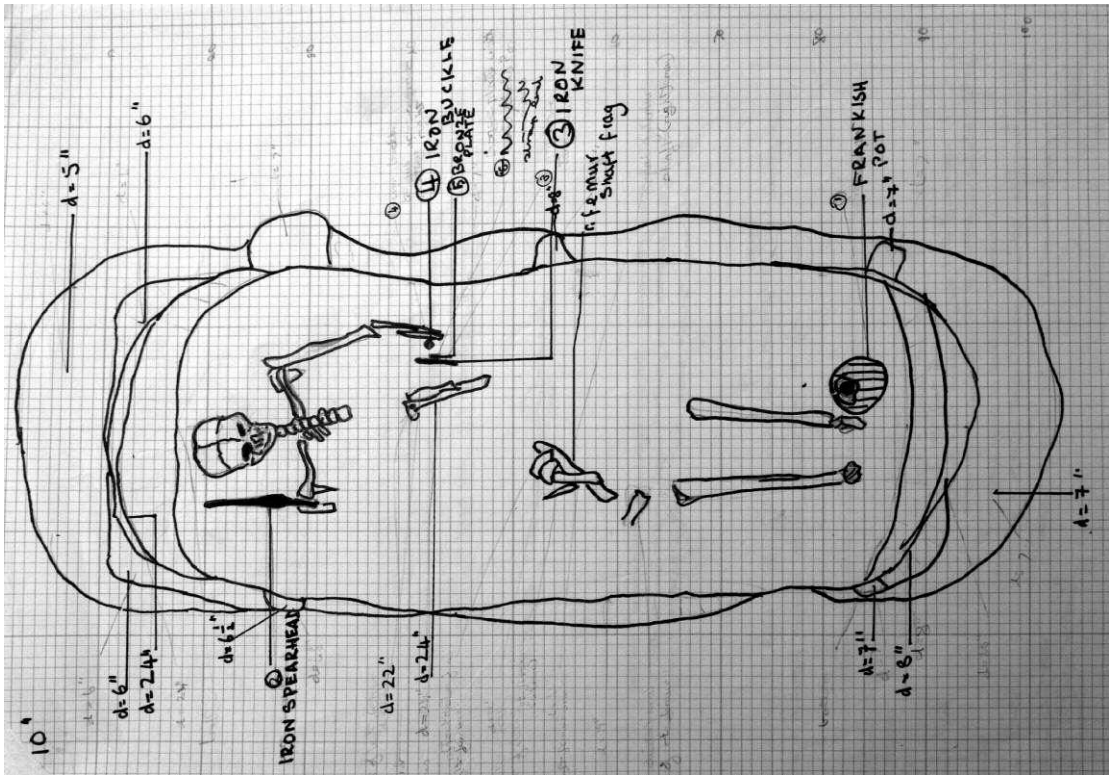


Figure 88: St Peter's Tip Grave 308

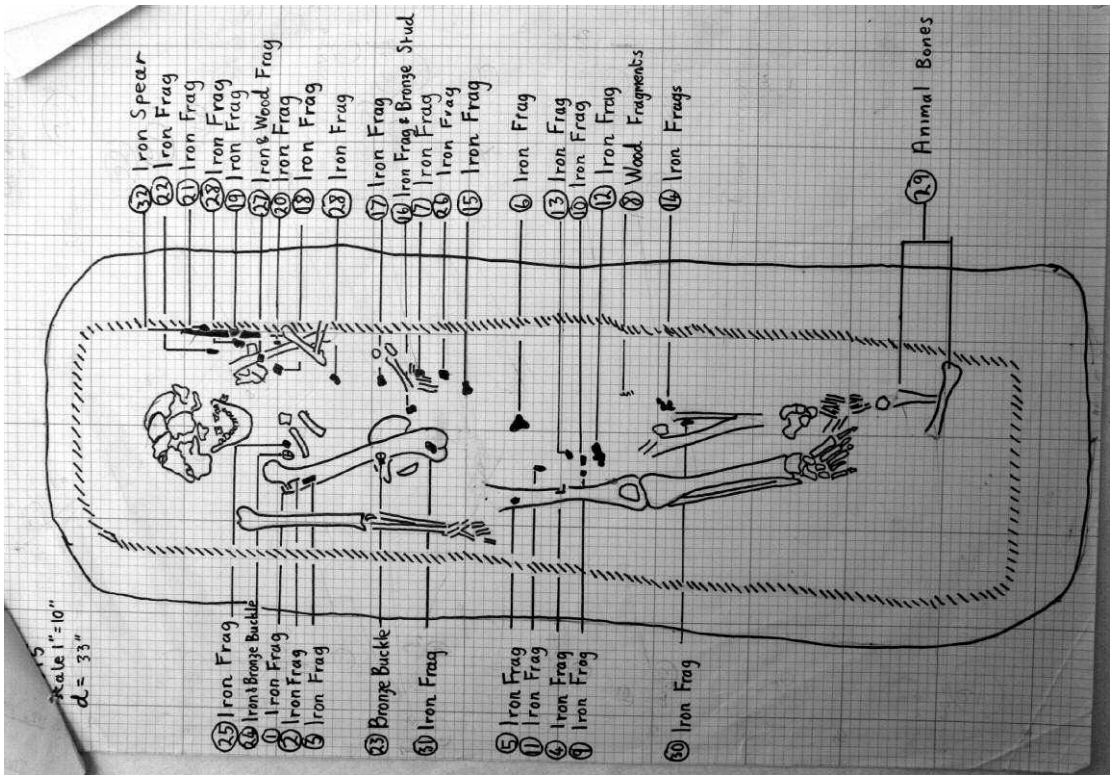


Figure 89: St Peter's Tip Grave 315

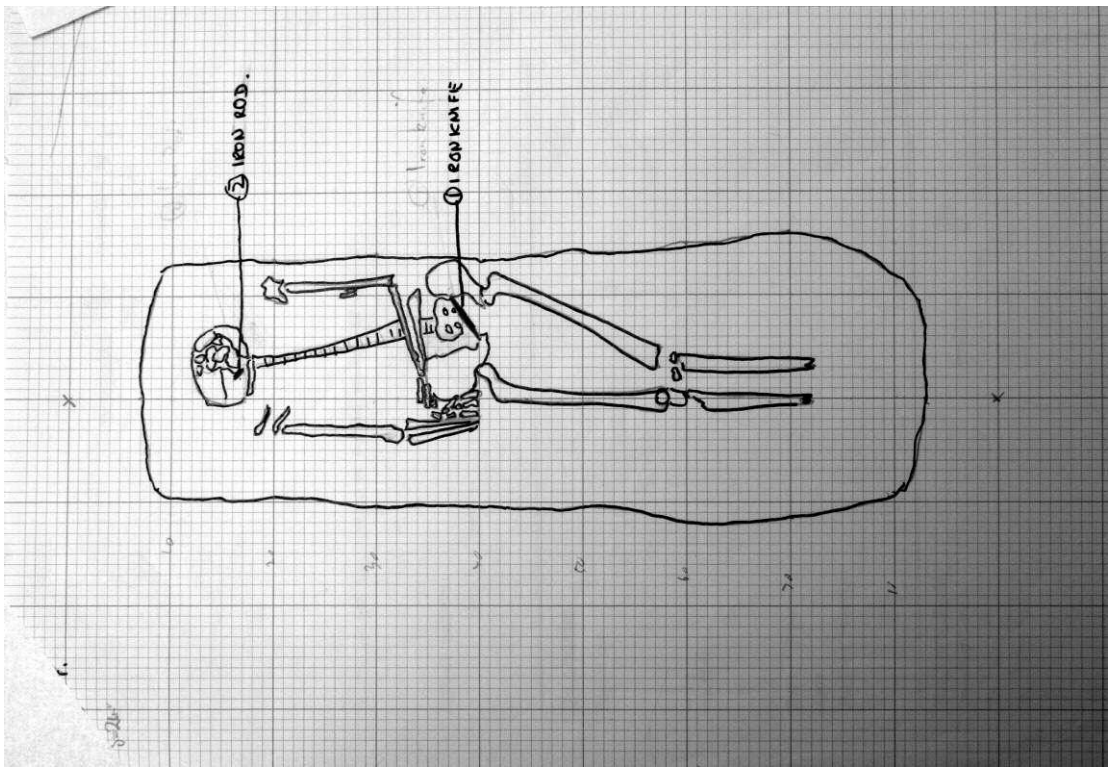


Figure 90: St Peter's Tip Grave 327

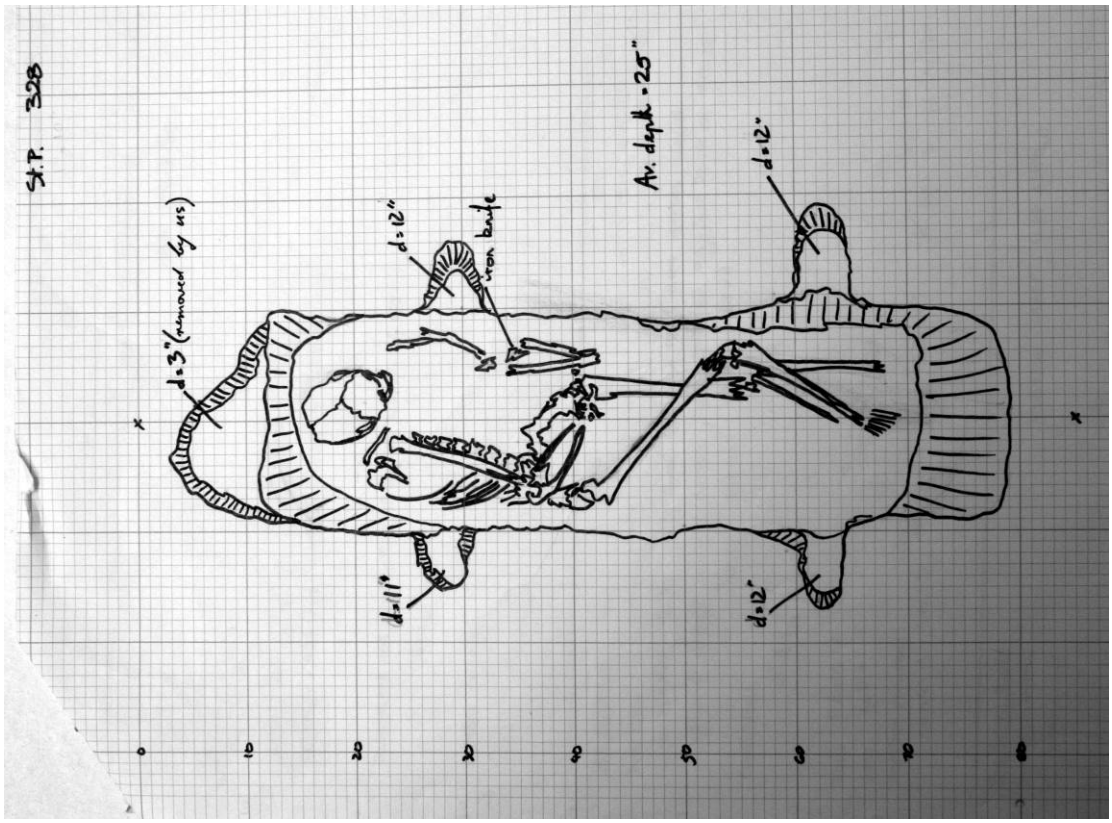


Figure 91: St Peter's Tip Grave 328

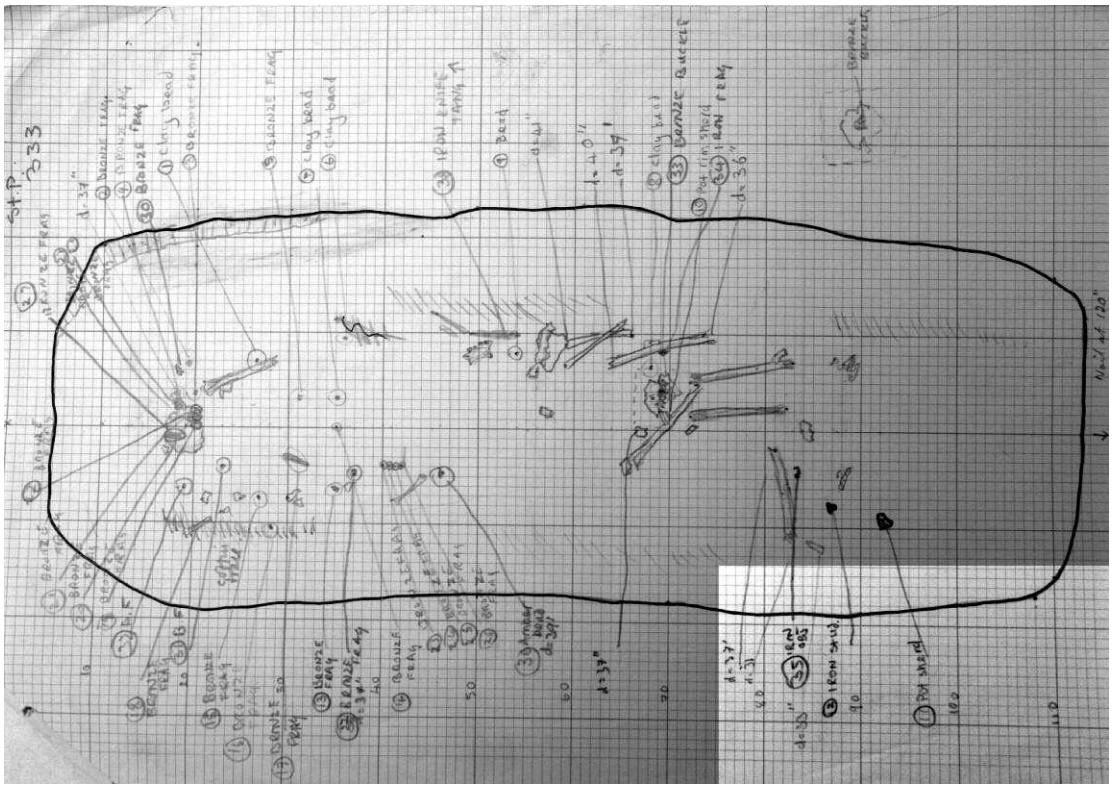


Figure 92: St Peter's Tip Grave 333

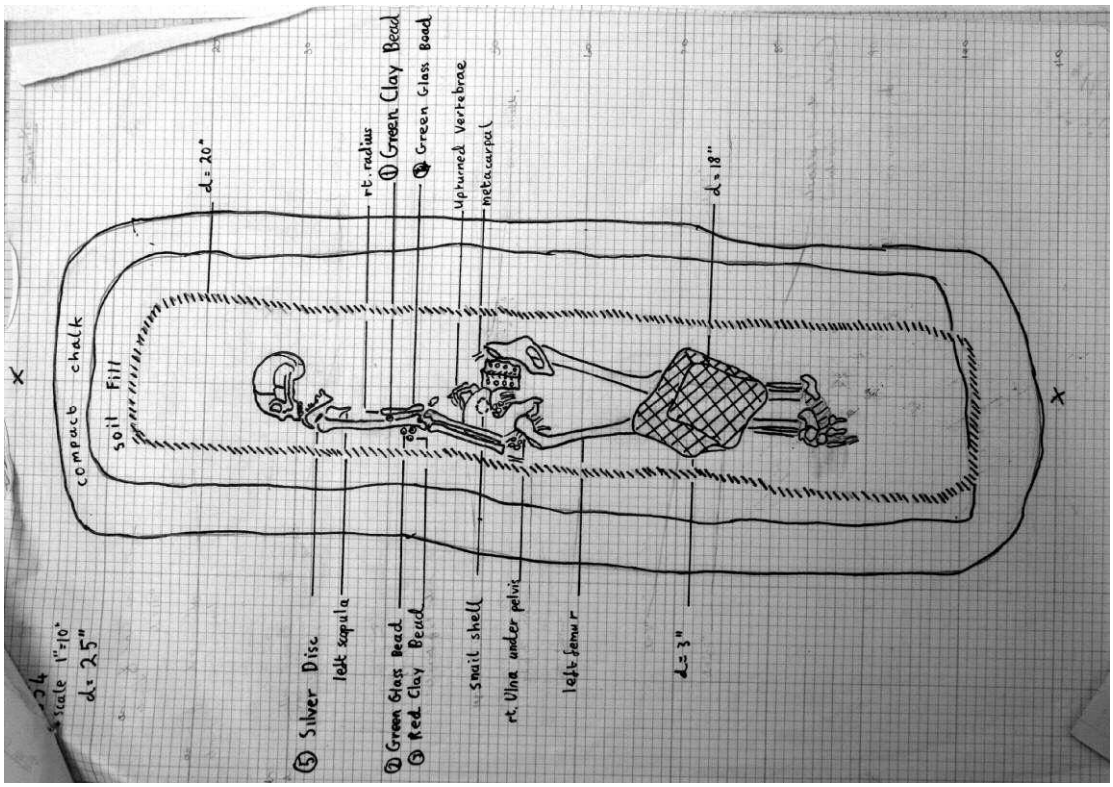


Figure 93: St Peter's Tip Grave 354

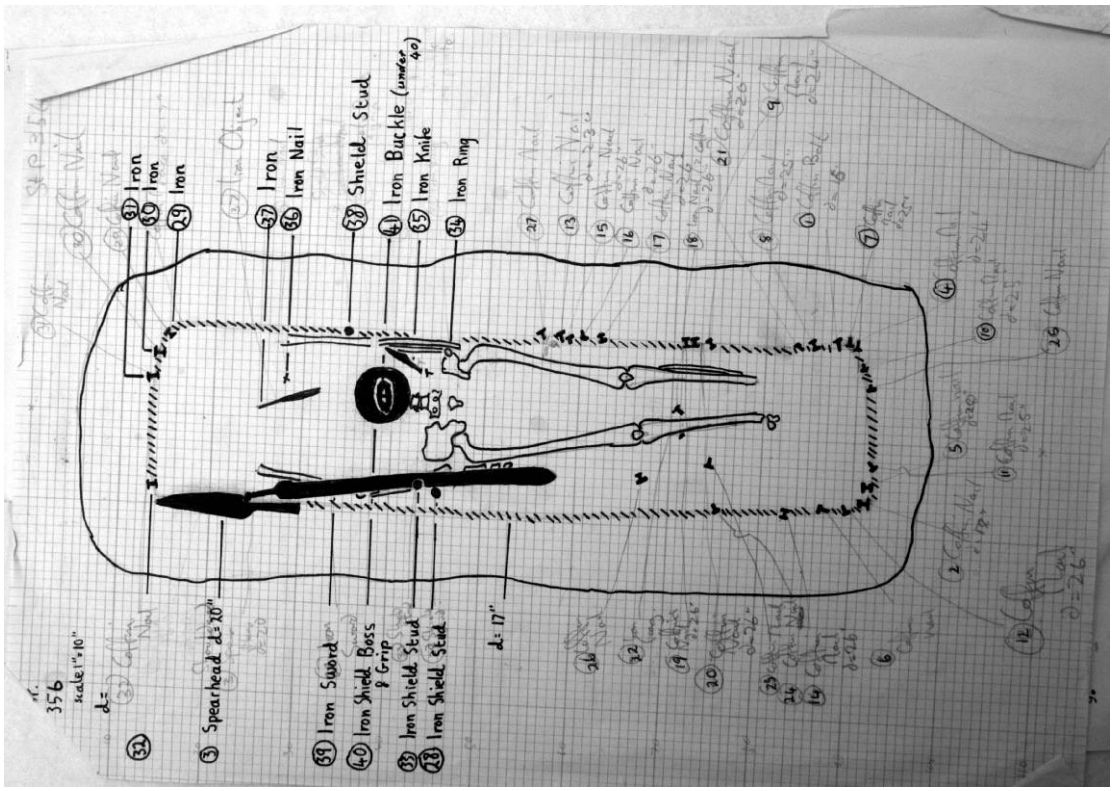


Figure 94: St Peter's Tip Grave 356

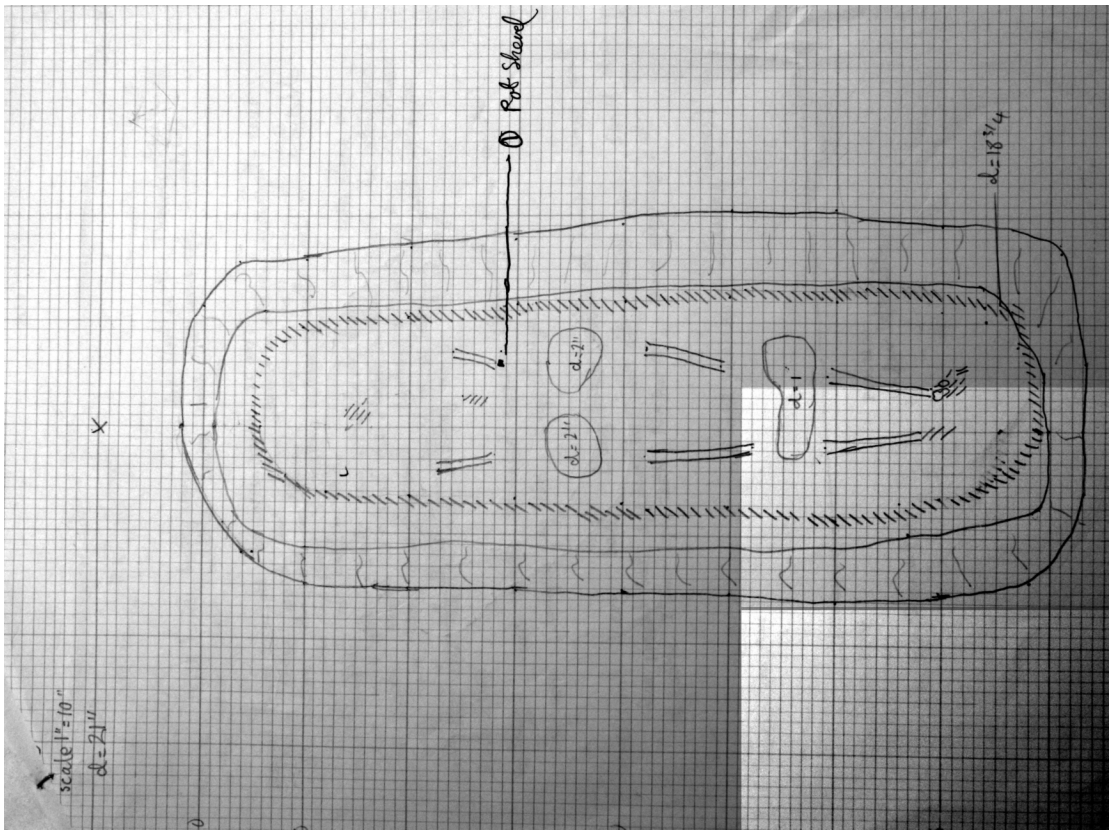


Figure 95: St Peter's Tip Grave 368

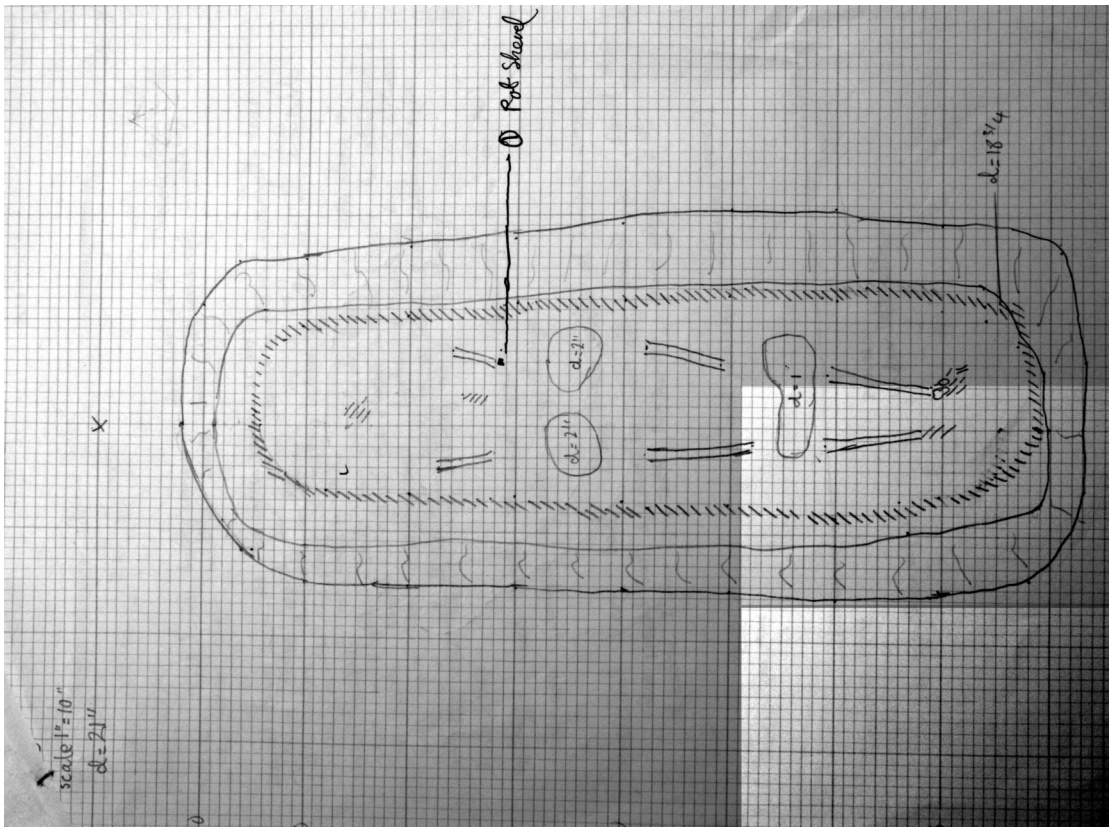


Figure 96: St Peter's Tip Grave 375

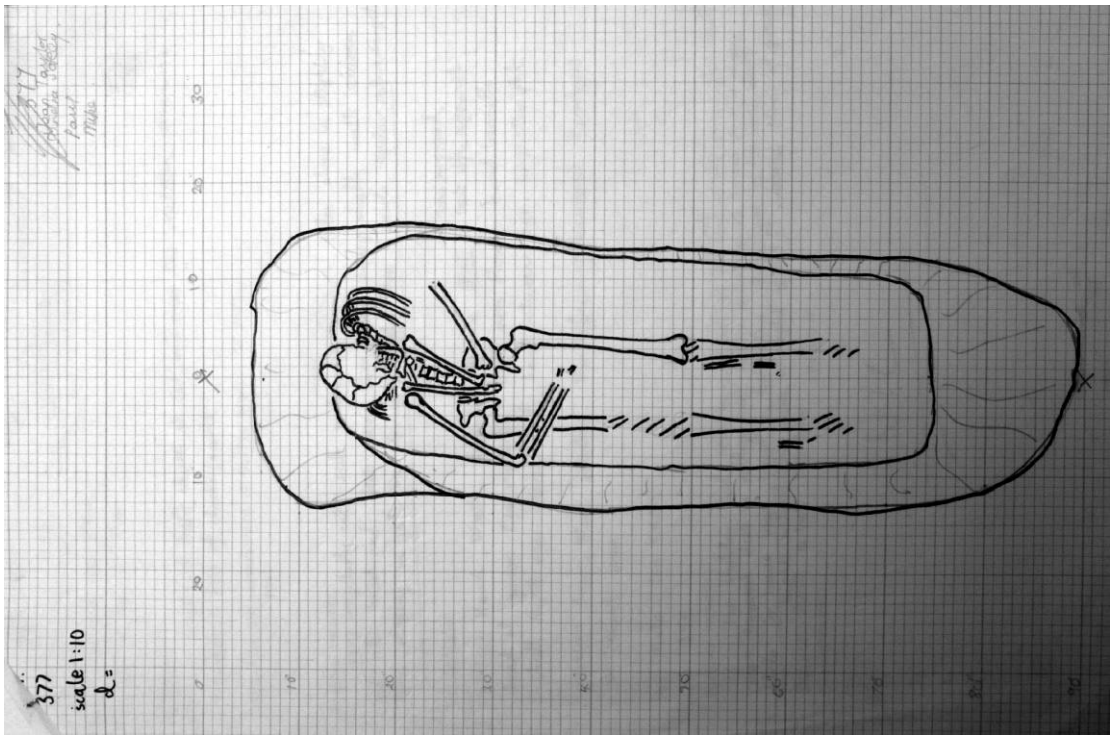


Figure 97: St Peter's Tip Grave 377

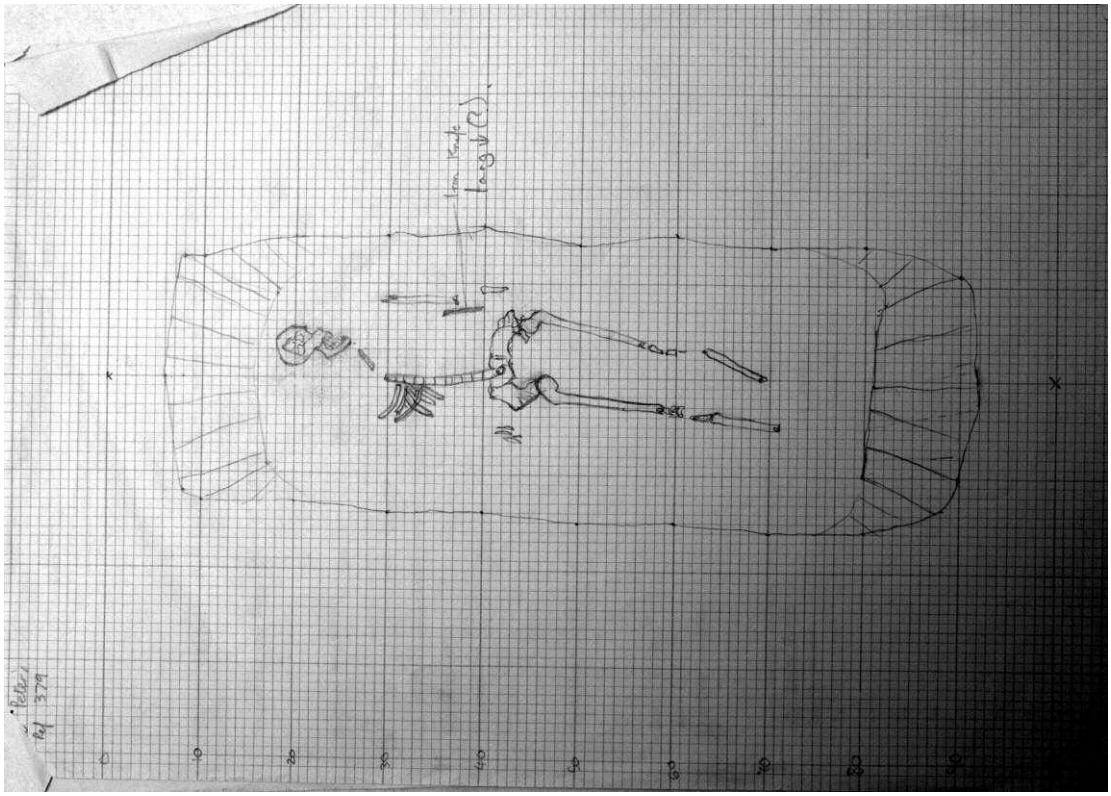


Figure 98: St Peter's Tip Grave 379

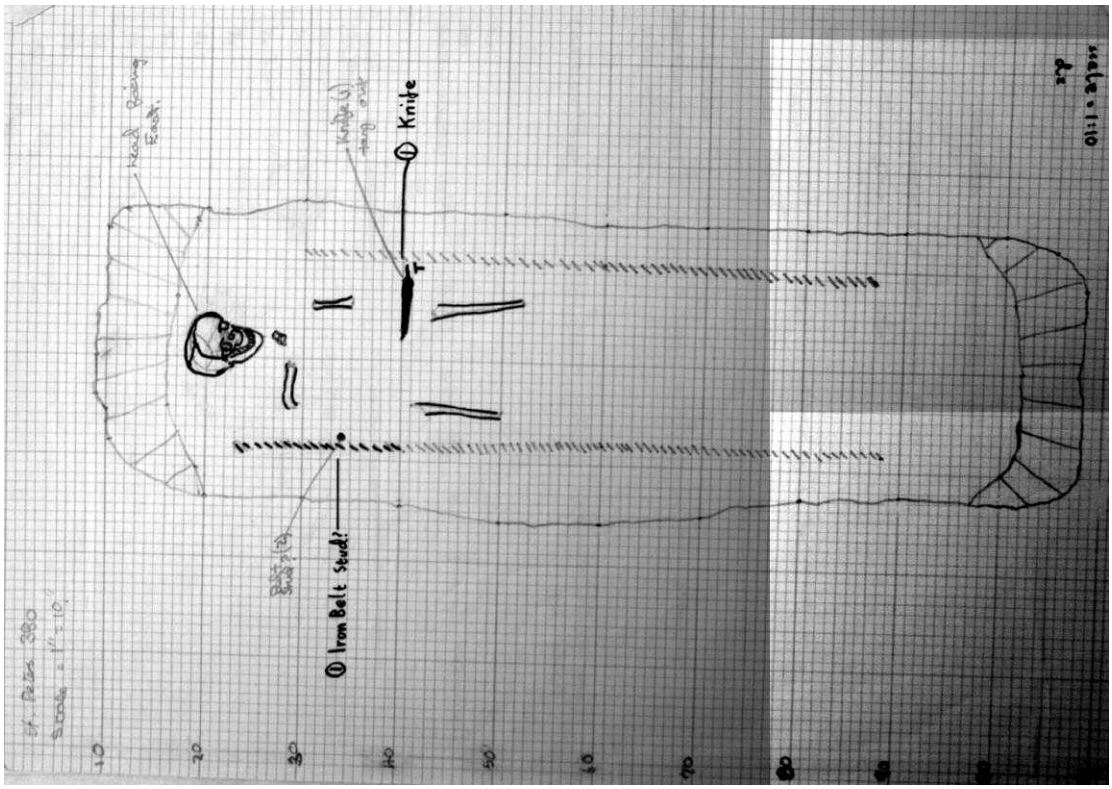


Figure 99: St Peter's Tip Grave 380

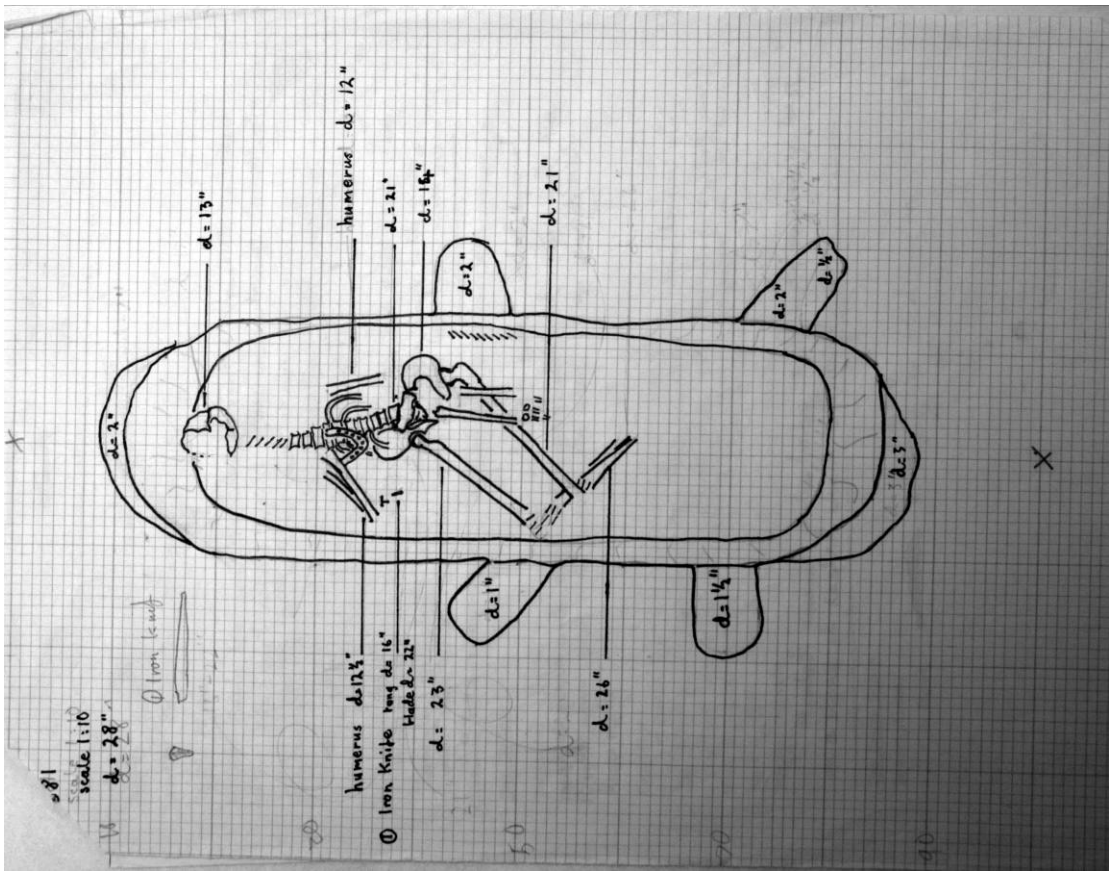


Figure 100: St Peter's Tip Grave 381

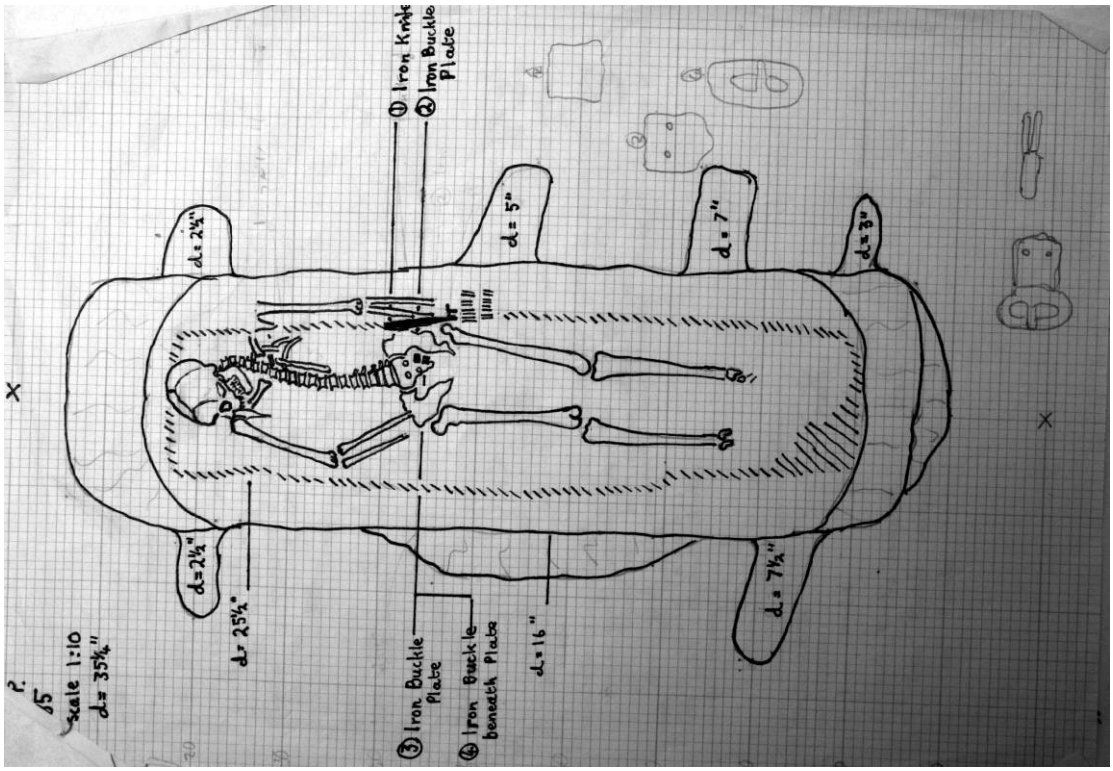


Figure 101: St Peter's Tip Grave 385

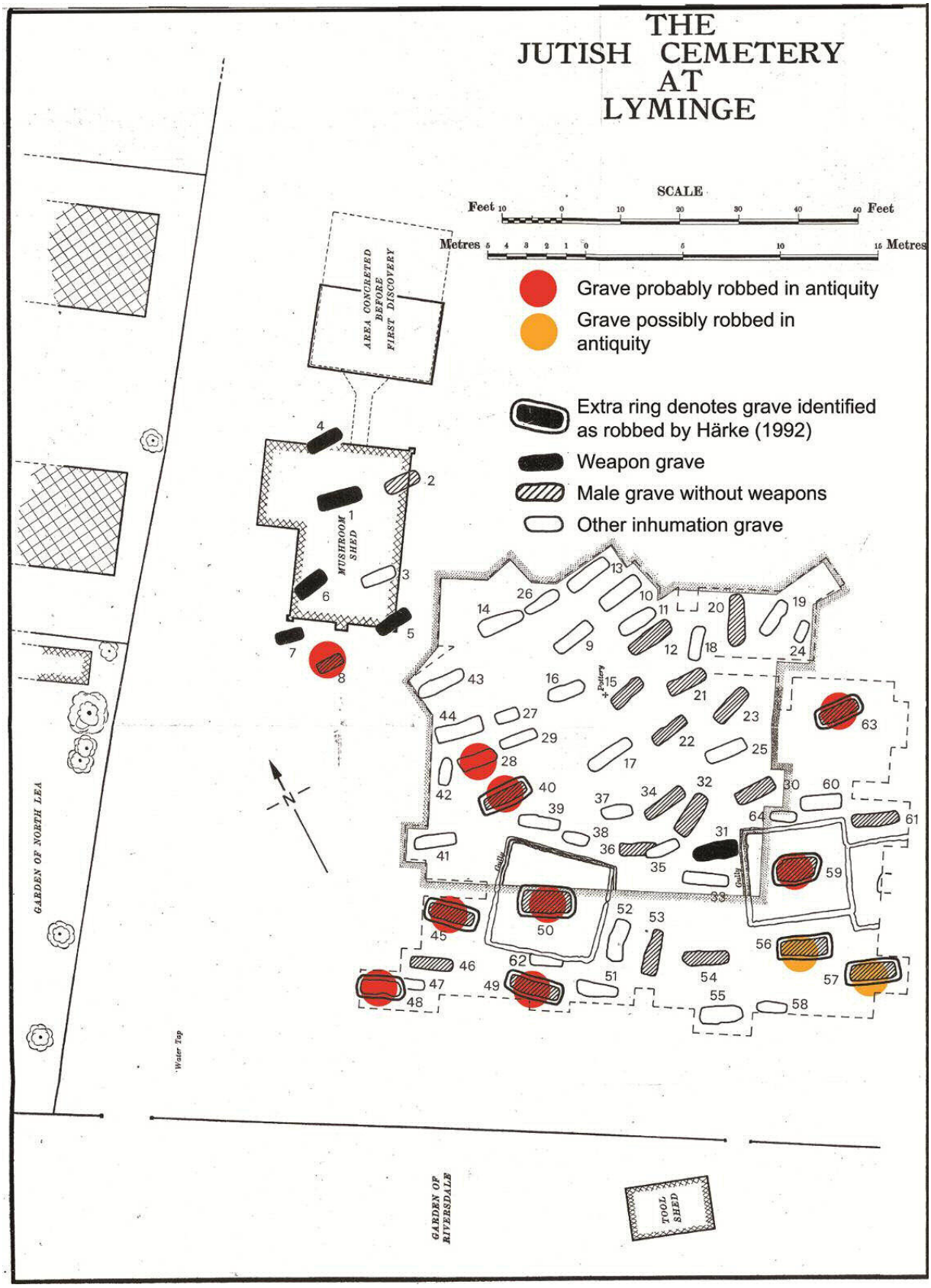


Figure 102: Plan of Lyminge II showing the disturbed burials (after Warhurst 1955 and Härke 1992)

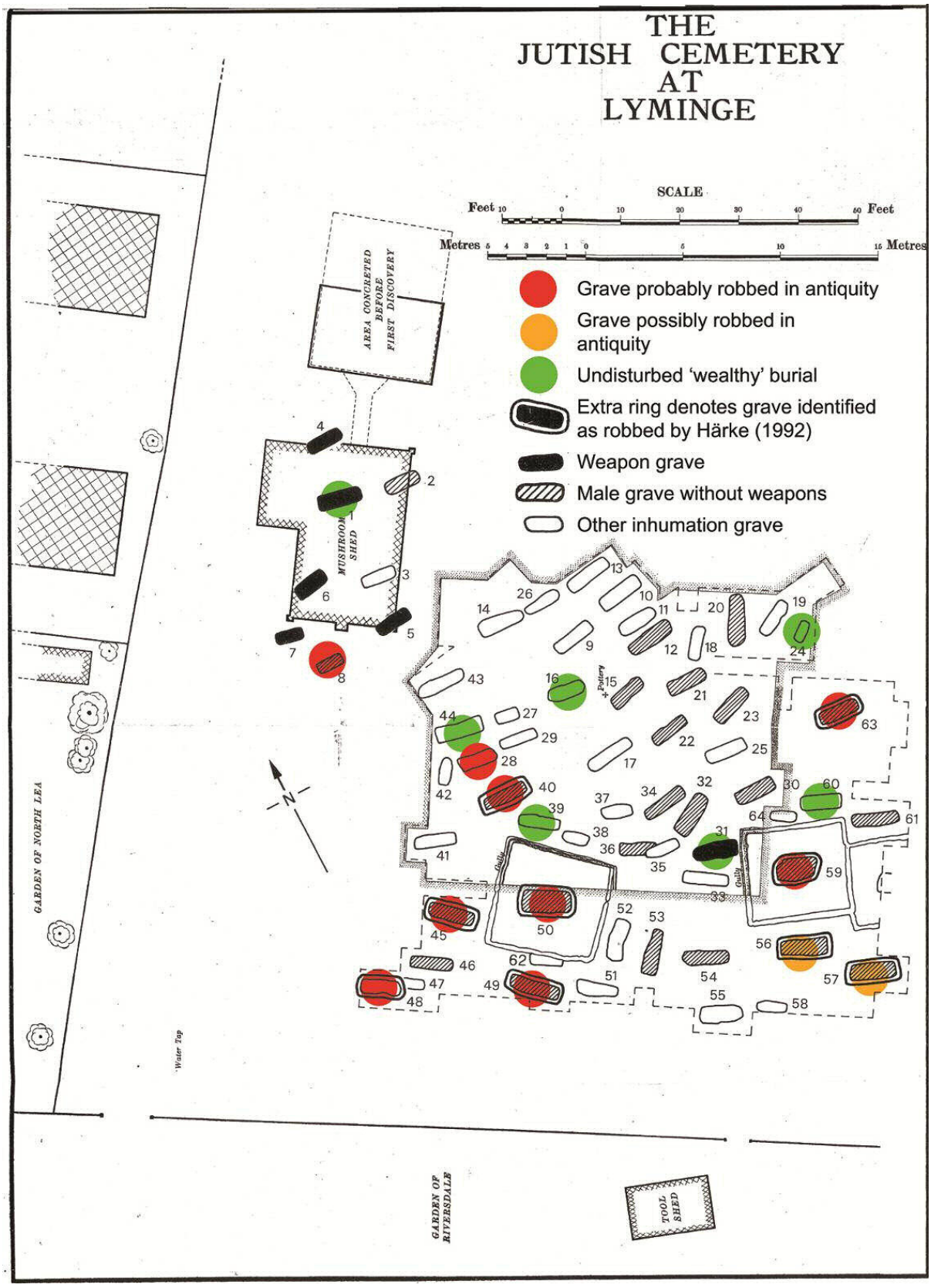


Figure 103: Plan of Lyminge II showing the disturbed burials and the wealthiest intact burials (after Warhurst 1955, Härke 1992, and Schröder 2007)

Figure 104: Plan of Lyminge II showing the burial plots (from Schröder 2007)

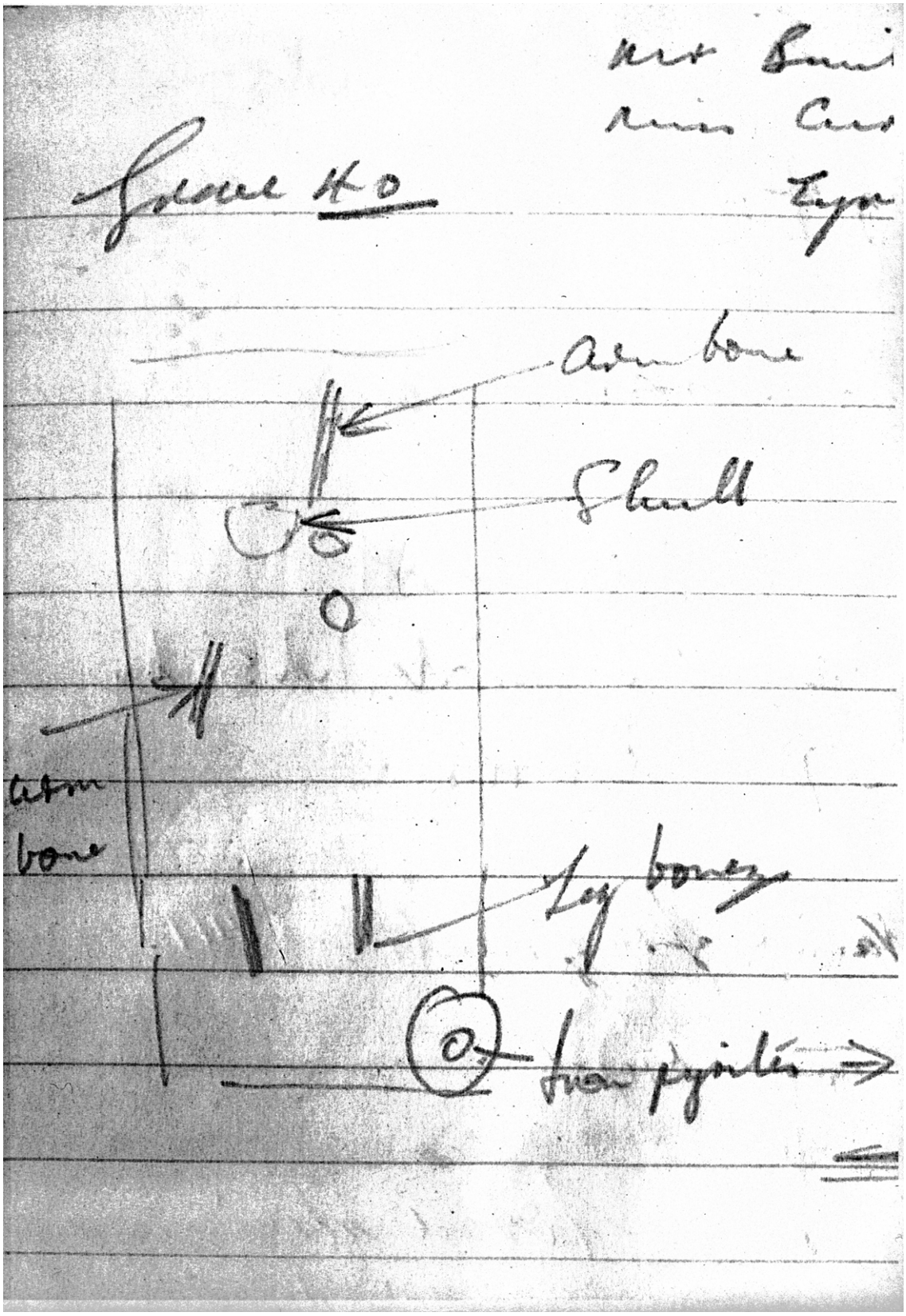


Figure 105: Lyminge II Grave 40, sketch plan from Alan Warhurst's site notebooks.

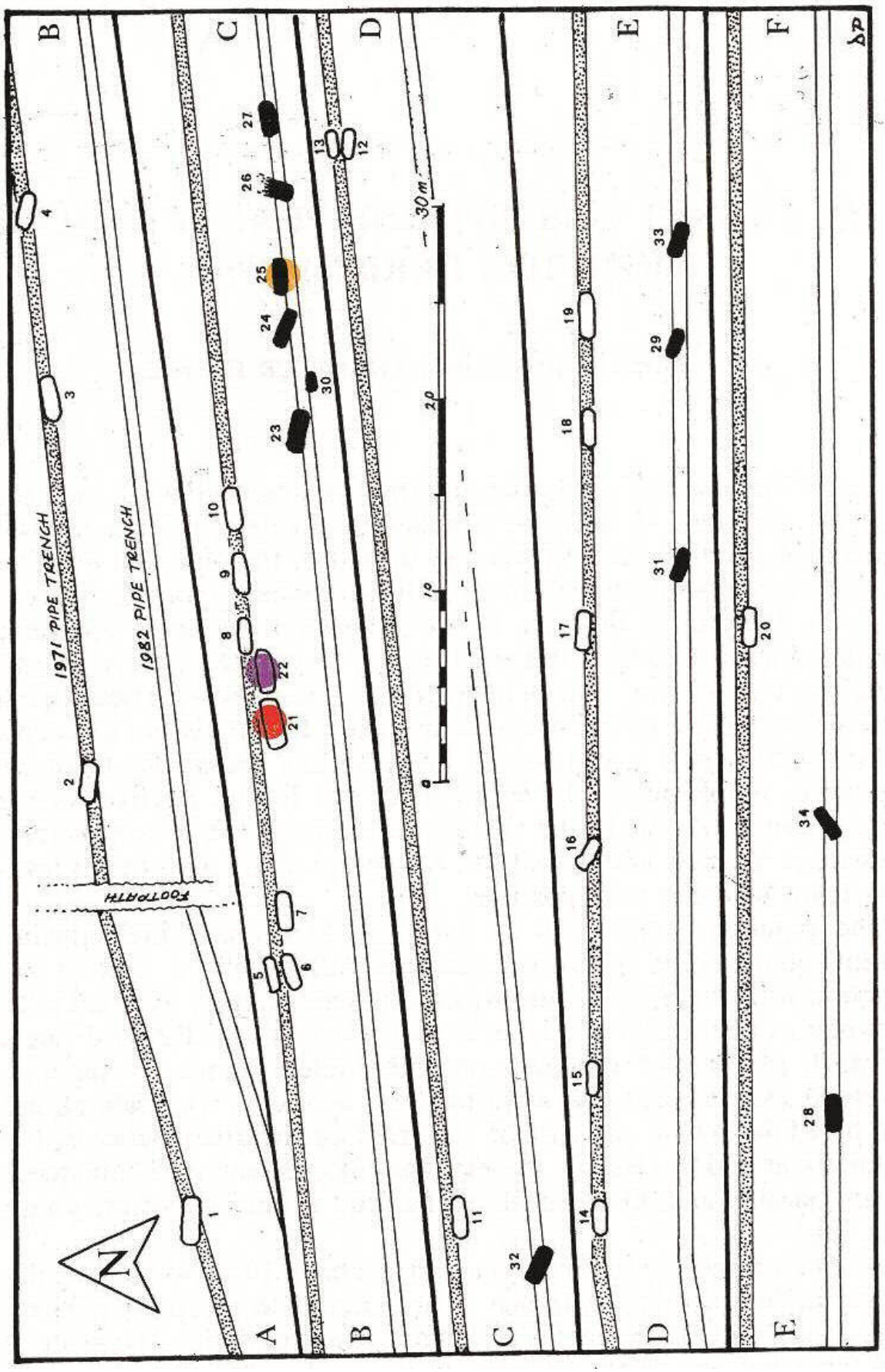


Figure 106: Plan of Monkton I, Primrose Hill showing the disturbed burials (after Perkins & Hawkes 1984)

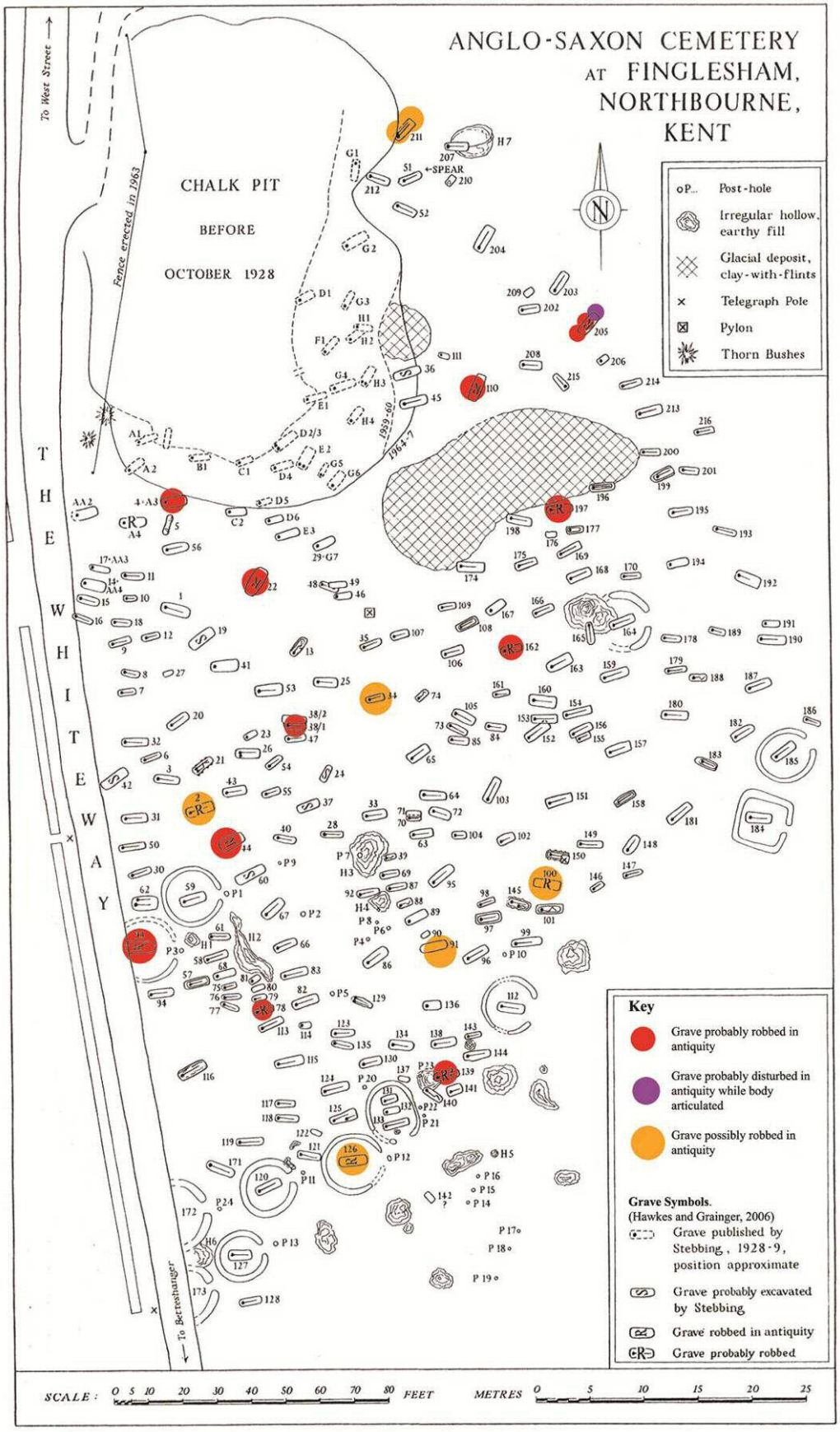


Figure 107: Plan of Northbourne I, Finglesham showing the disturbed burials (after Hawkes & Grainger 2006)

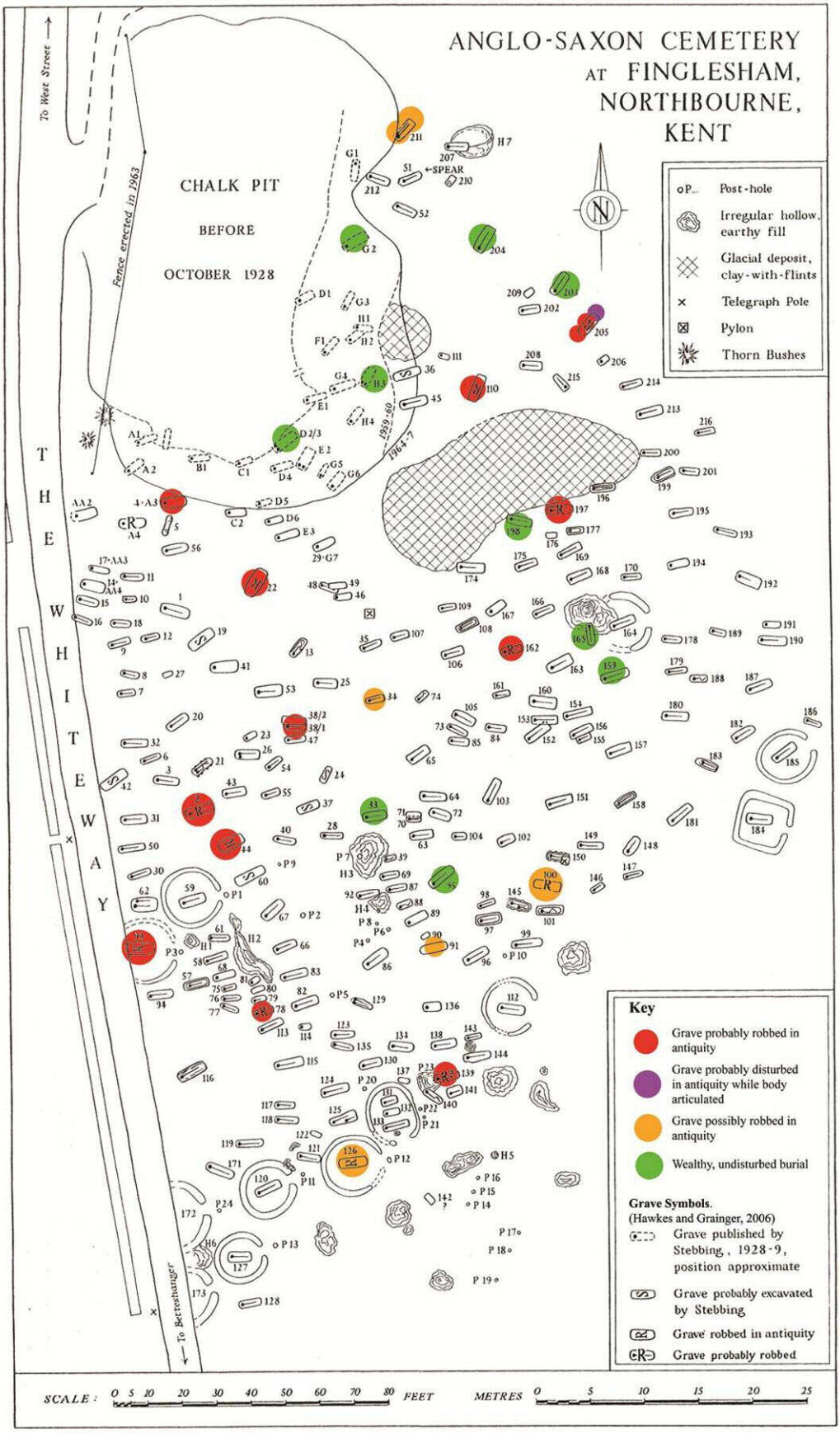


Figure 108: Plan of Northbourne I, Finglesham showing the disturbed burials and the wealthiest intact burials (after Hawkes & Grainger 2006)

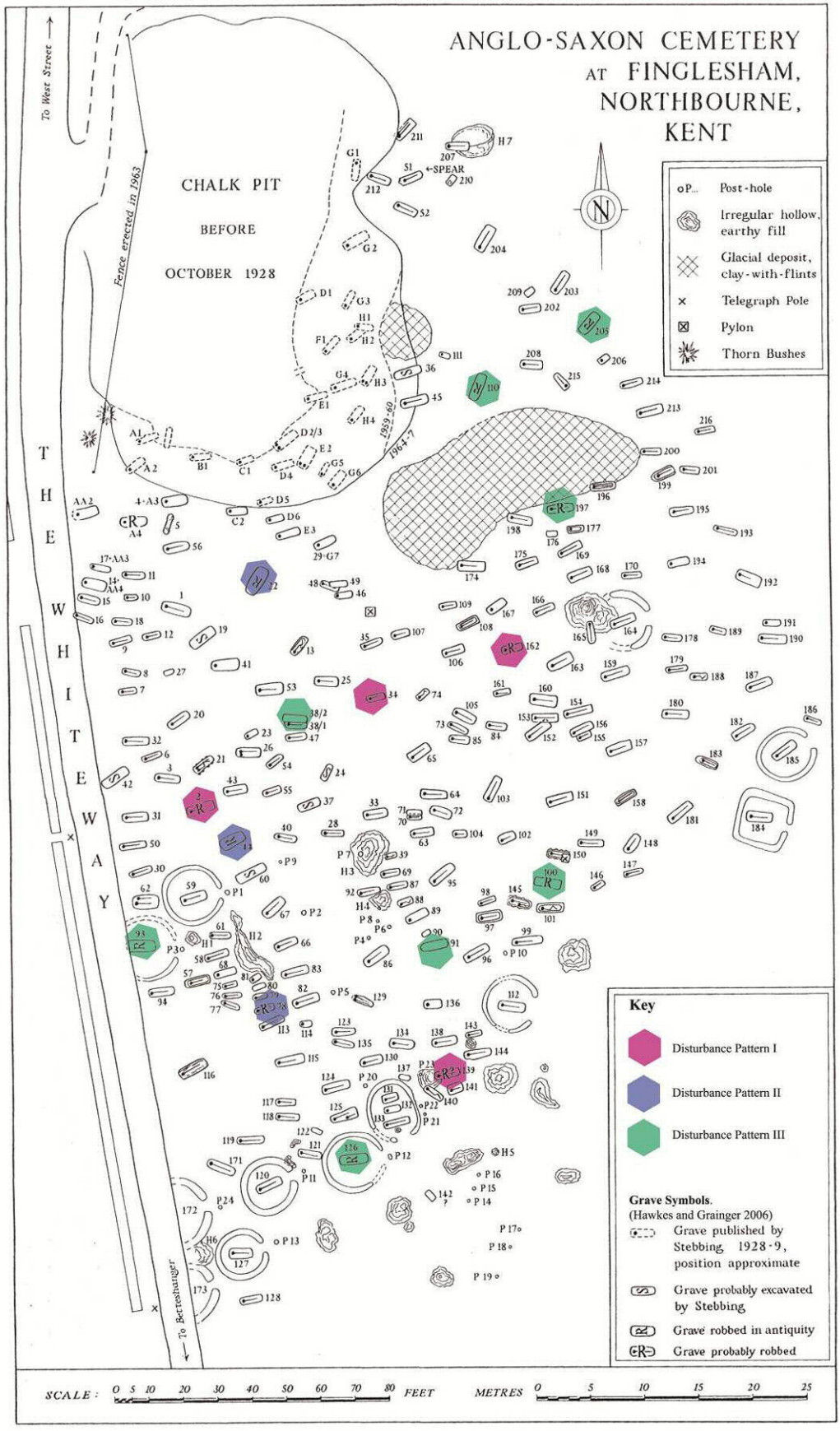


Figure 109: Plan of Northbourne I, Finglesham marked according to the extent and position of damage (after Hawkes & Grainger 2006)

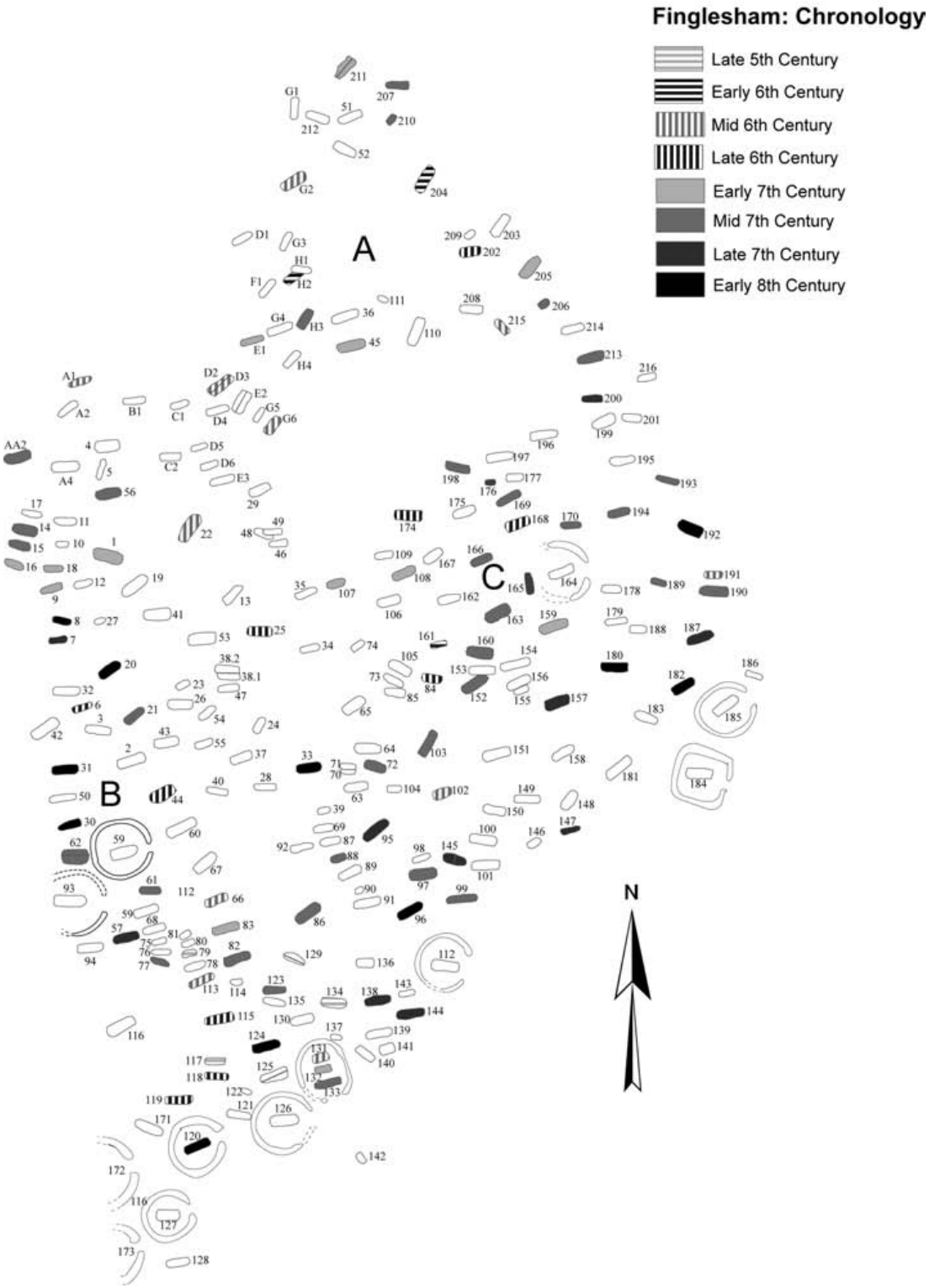


Figure 110: Plan of Northbourne I, Finglesham showing the burial plots and chronology (from Sayer 2009)

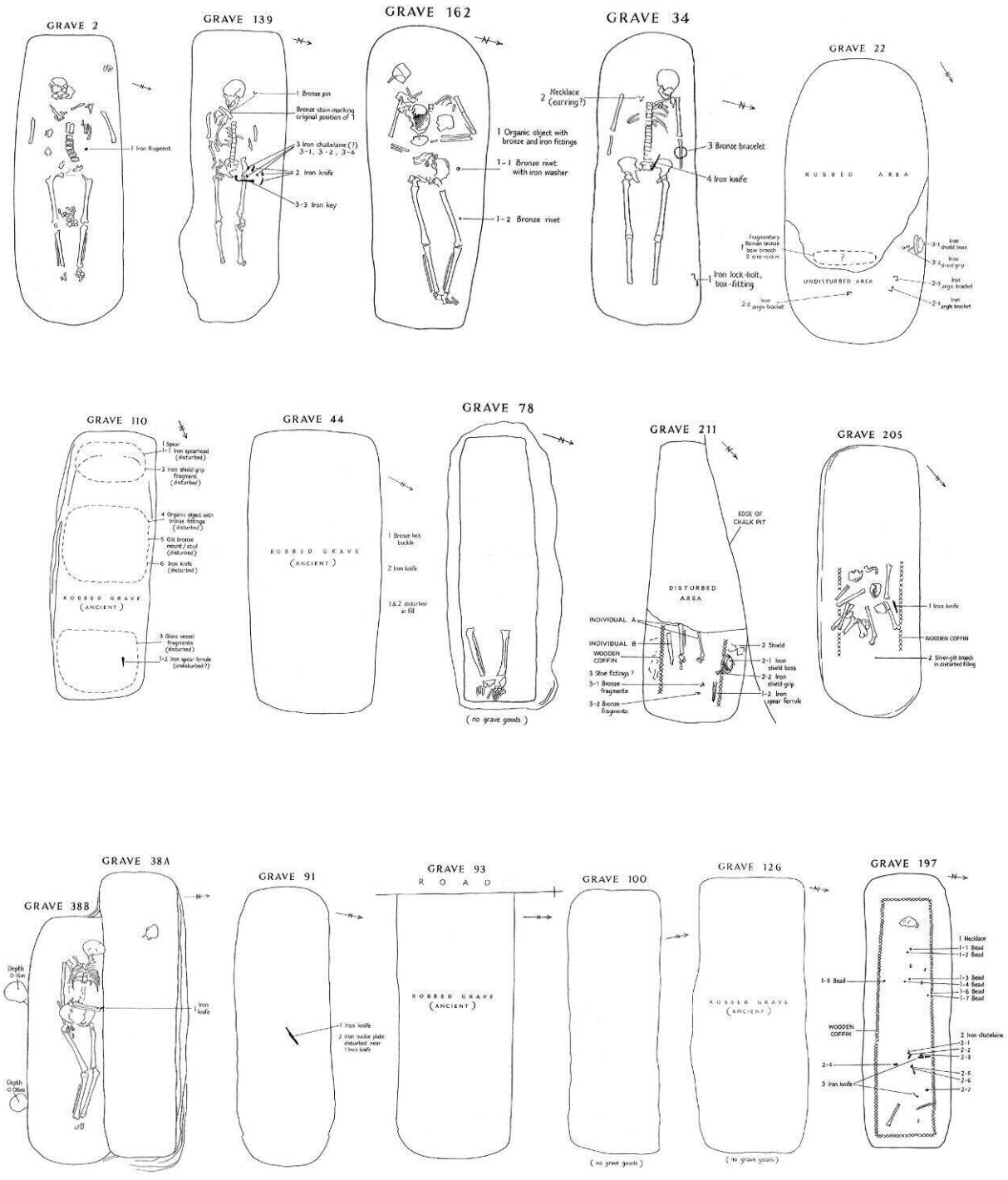


Figure 111: Northbourne I, Finglesham Disturbed Graves (from Sayer 2009)

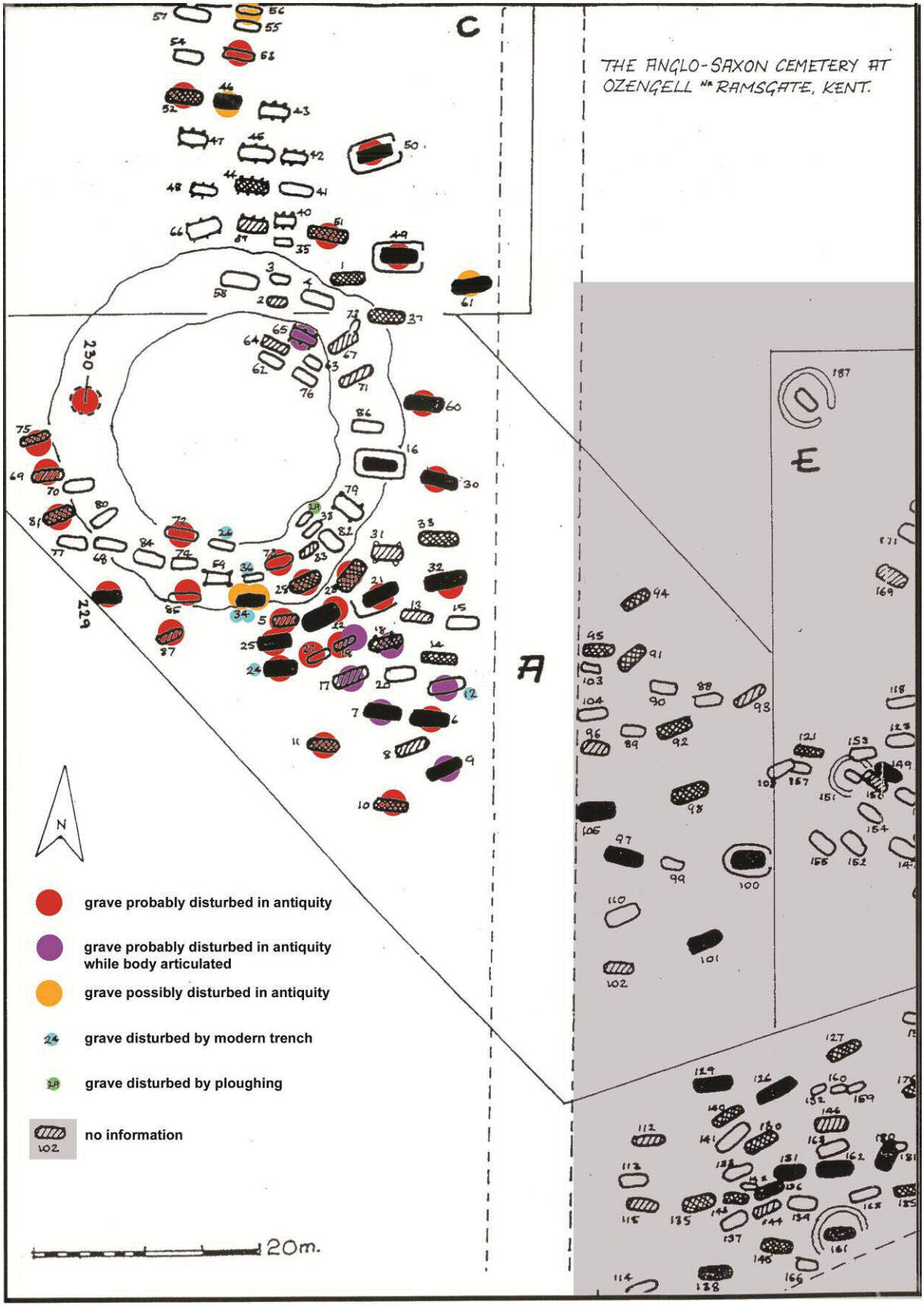


Figure 112: Plan of Ramsgate IV, Ozengell showing the disturbed burials (after Richardson 2005)

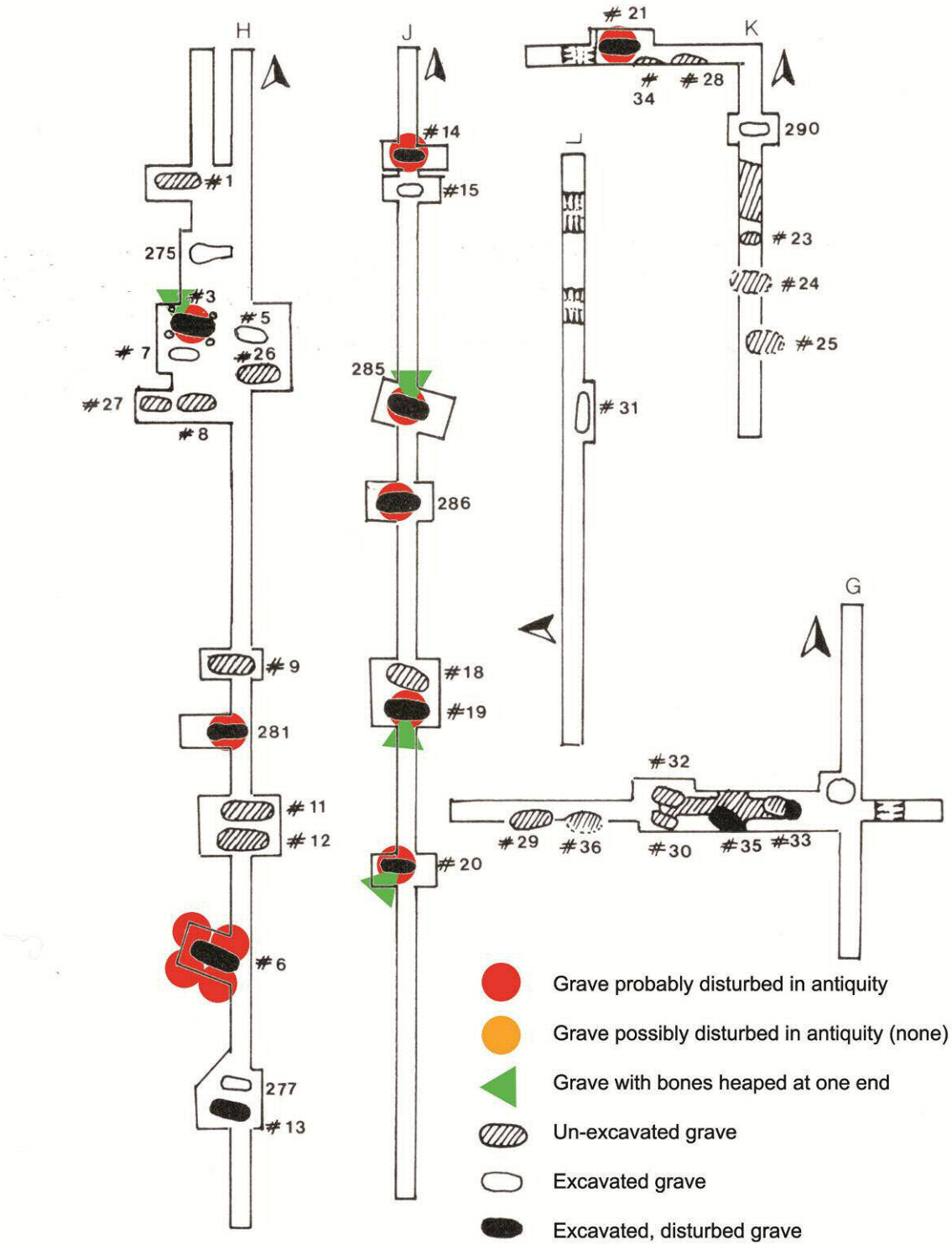


Figure 113: Plan of the 1990 excavations at Sarre I showing the disturbed burials (after Perkins 1991)

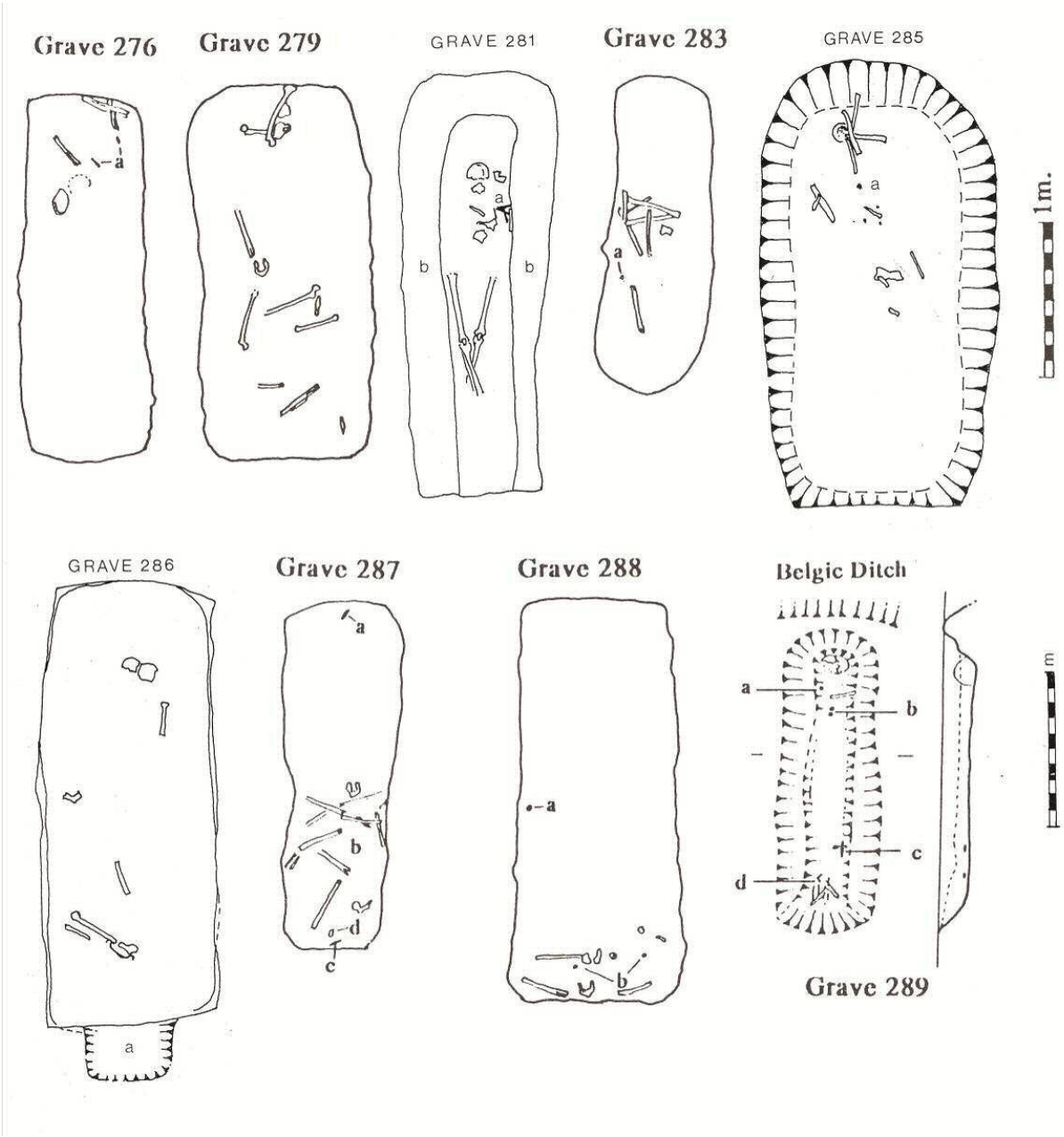


Figure 114: Sarre Graves 276, 279, 281, 283, 285, 286, 287, 288, and 289 (from Perkins 1991 and 1992)

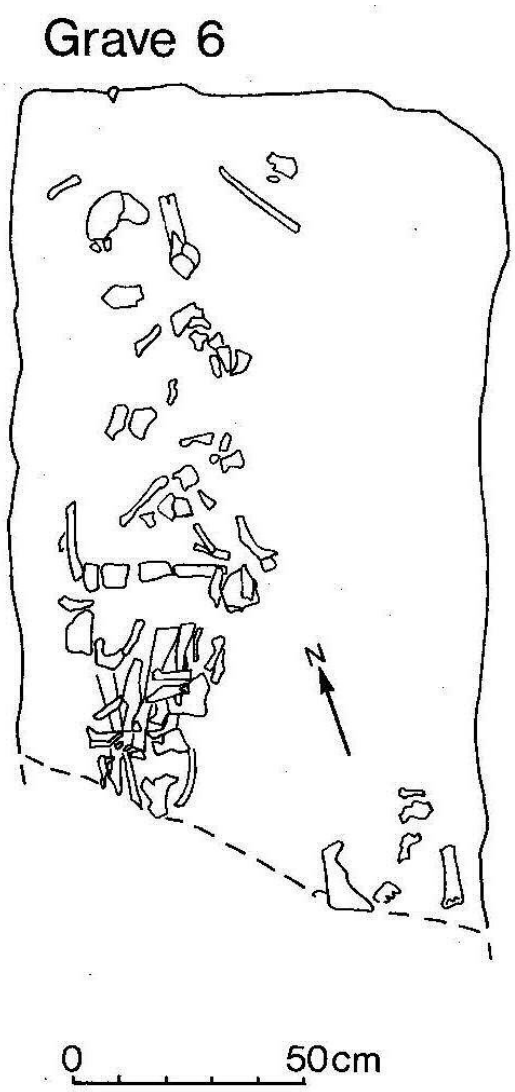


Figure 115: Darenth I, Darenth Park Grave 6 (from Batchelor 1990)

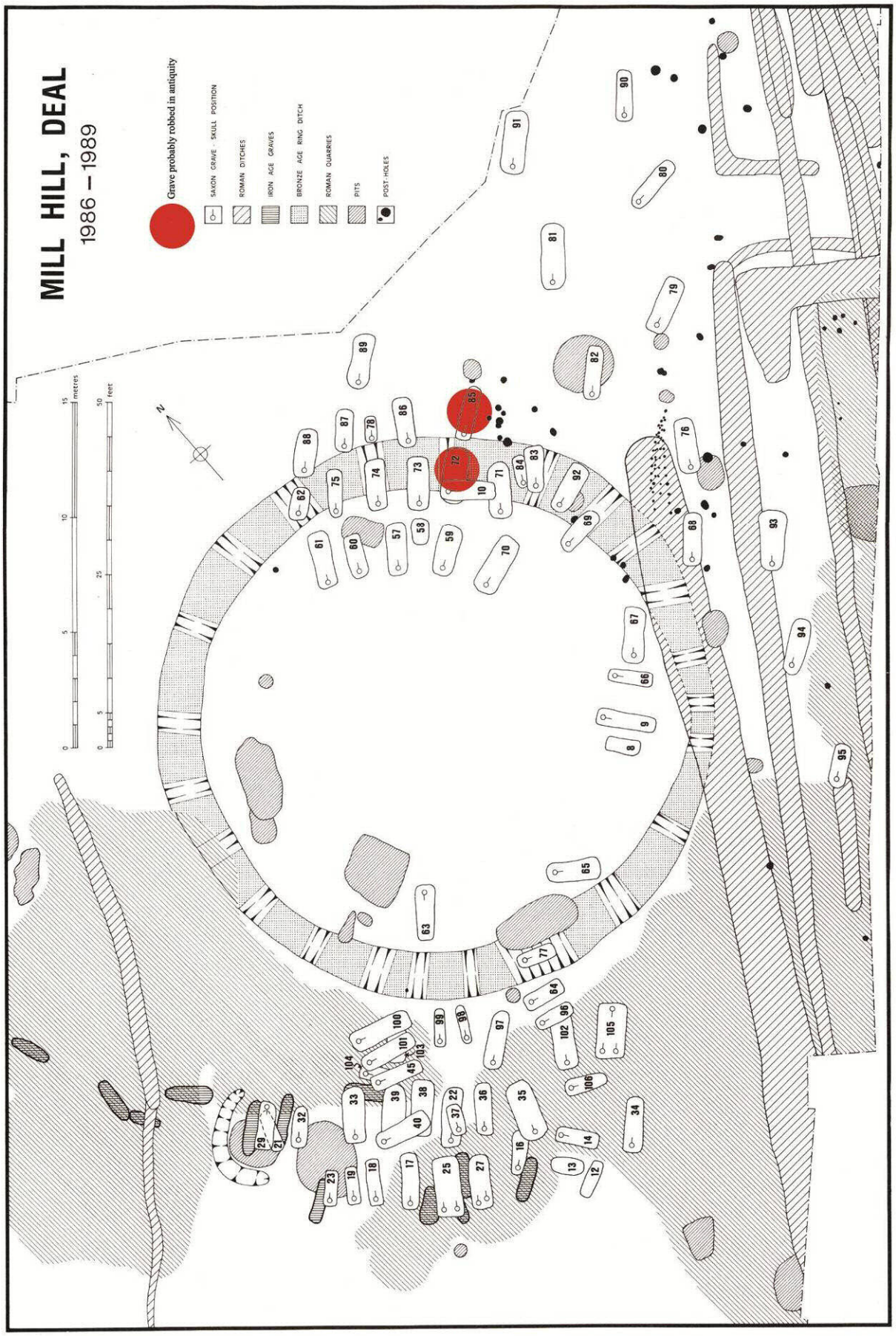


Figure 116: Plan of Deal I, Mill Hill showing the disturbed burials (after Parfitt 1997)

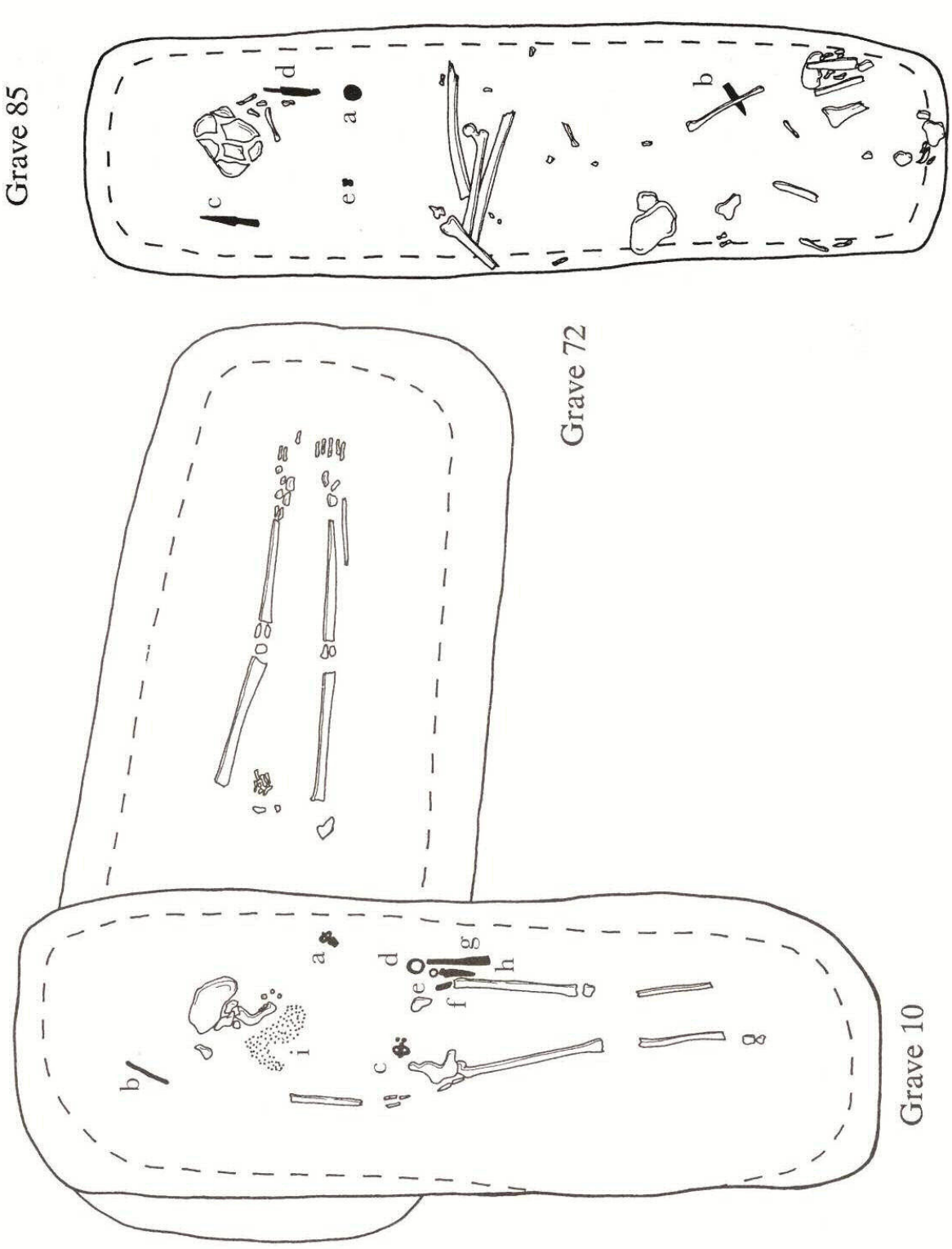


Figure 117: Mill Hill, Deal Graves 72 and 85 (from Parfitt 1997)

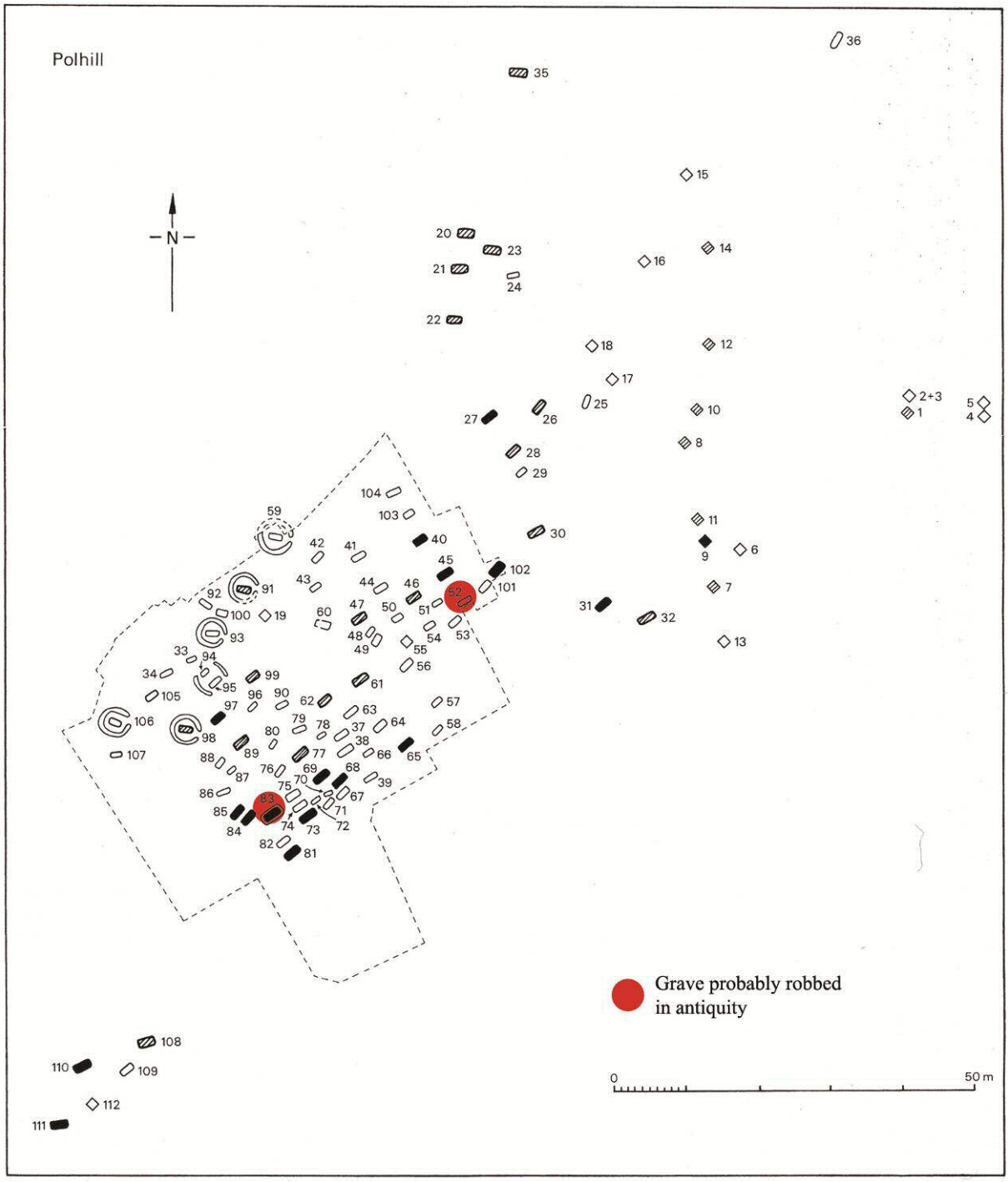


Figure 118: Plan of Dunton Green I, Polhill showing the disturbed burials (after Härke 1992)

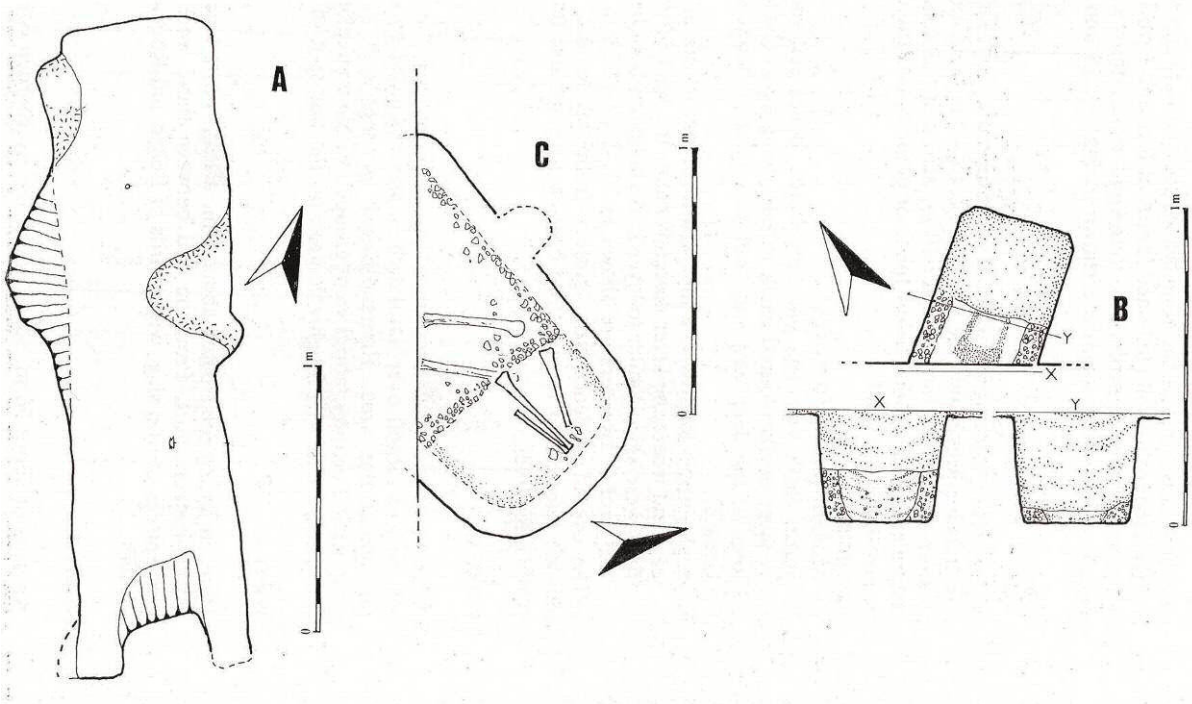


Figure 119: Minster-in-Thanet III, Hoo Farm Graves A, B, C (from Perkins 1985)

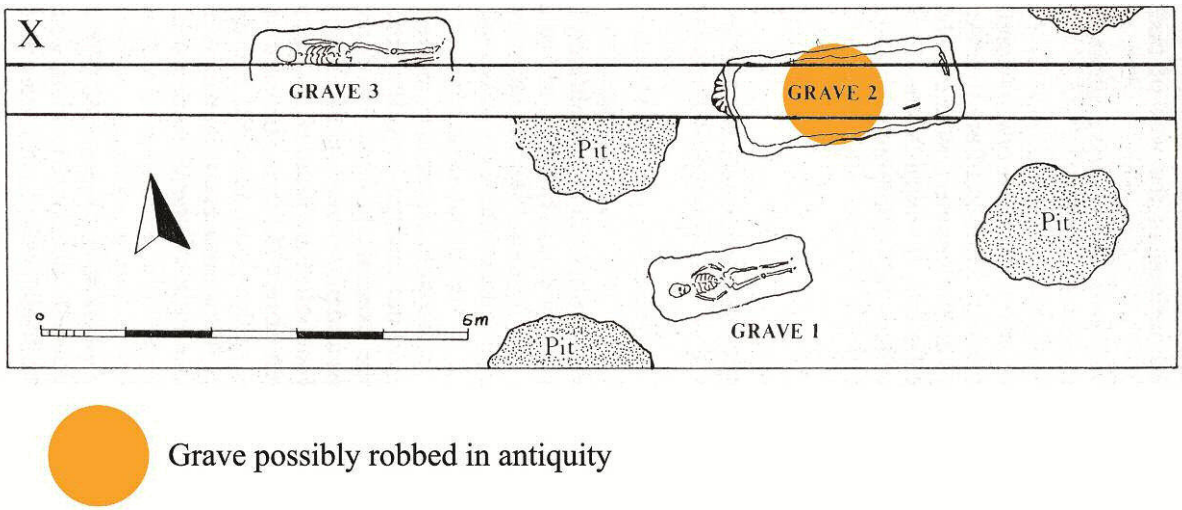


Figure 120: Plan of Minster IV, Thorne Farm showing the disturbed burials (after Perkins 1985)

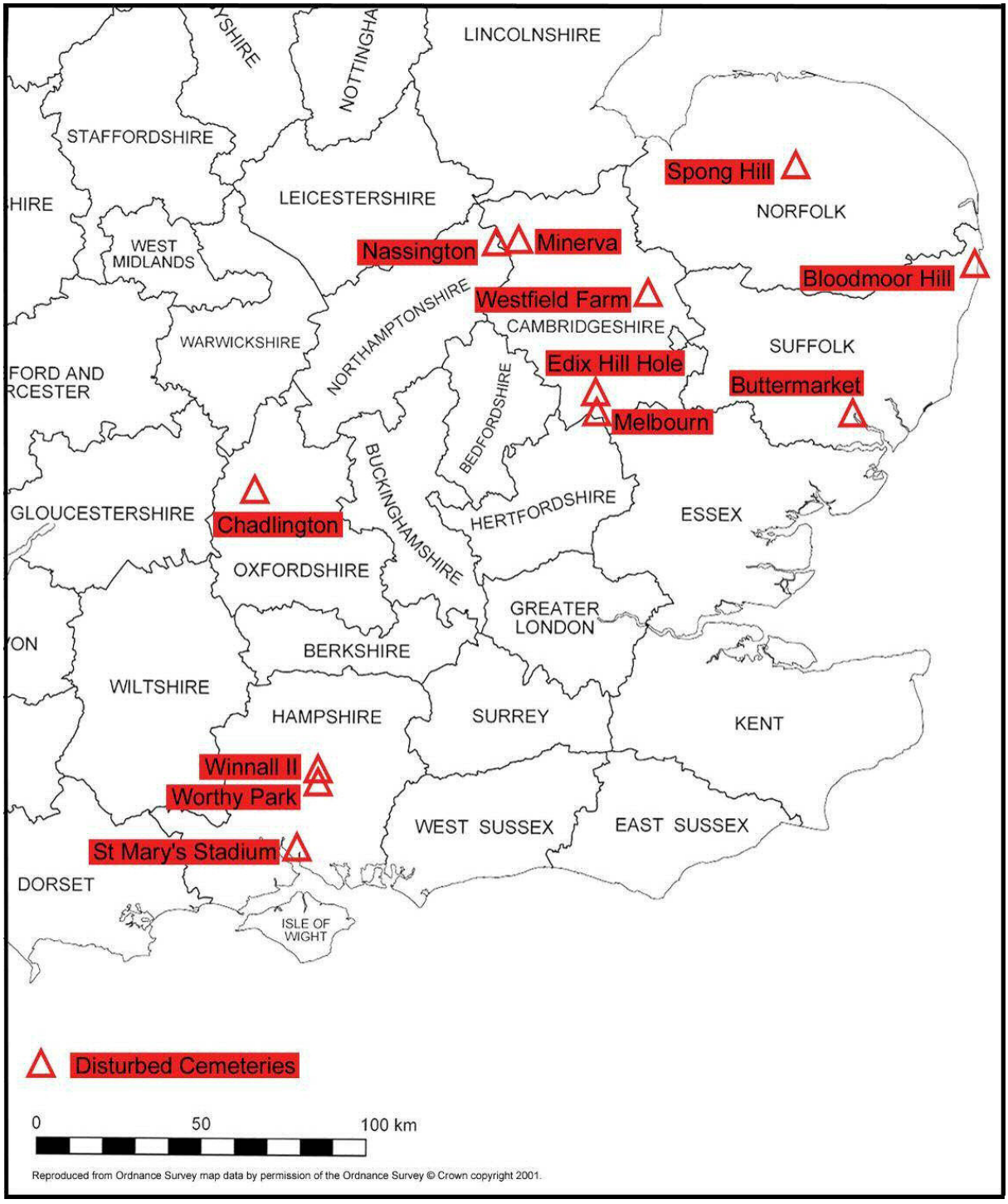


Figure 121: Map of cemeteries with early grave disturbance in Anglo-Saxon England beyond Kent

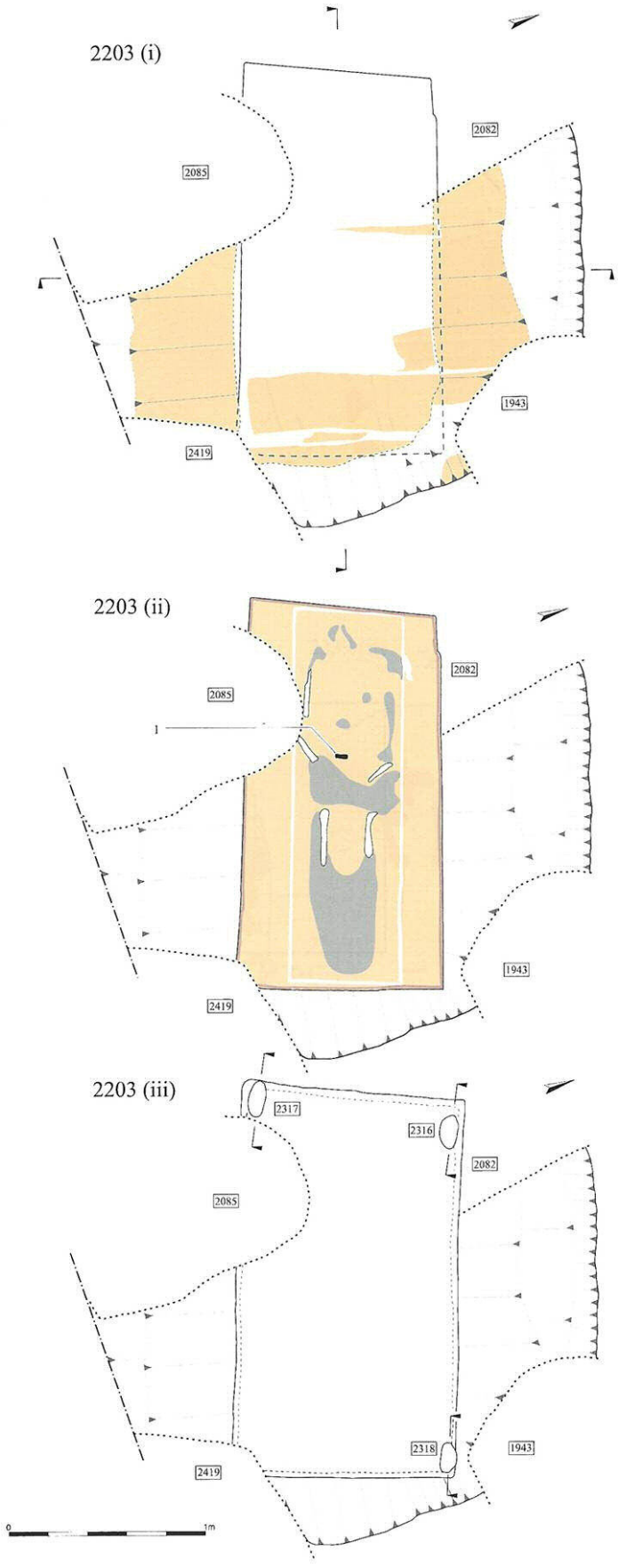


Figure 122: Buttermarket, Ipswich, Suffolk Grave 2203 (from Scull 2009)

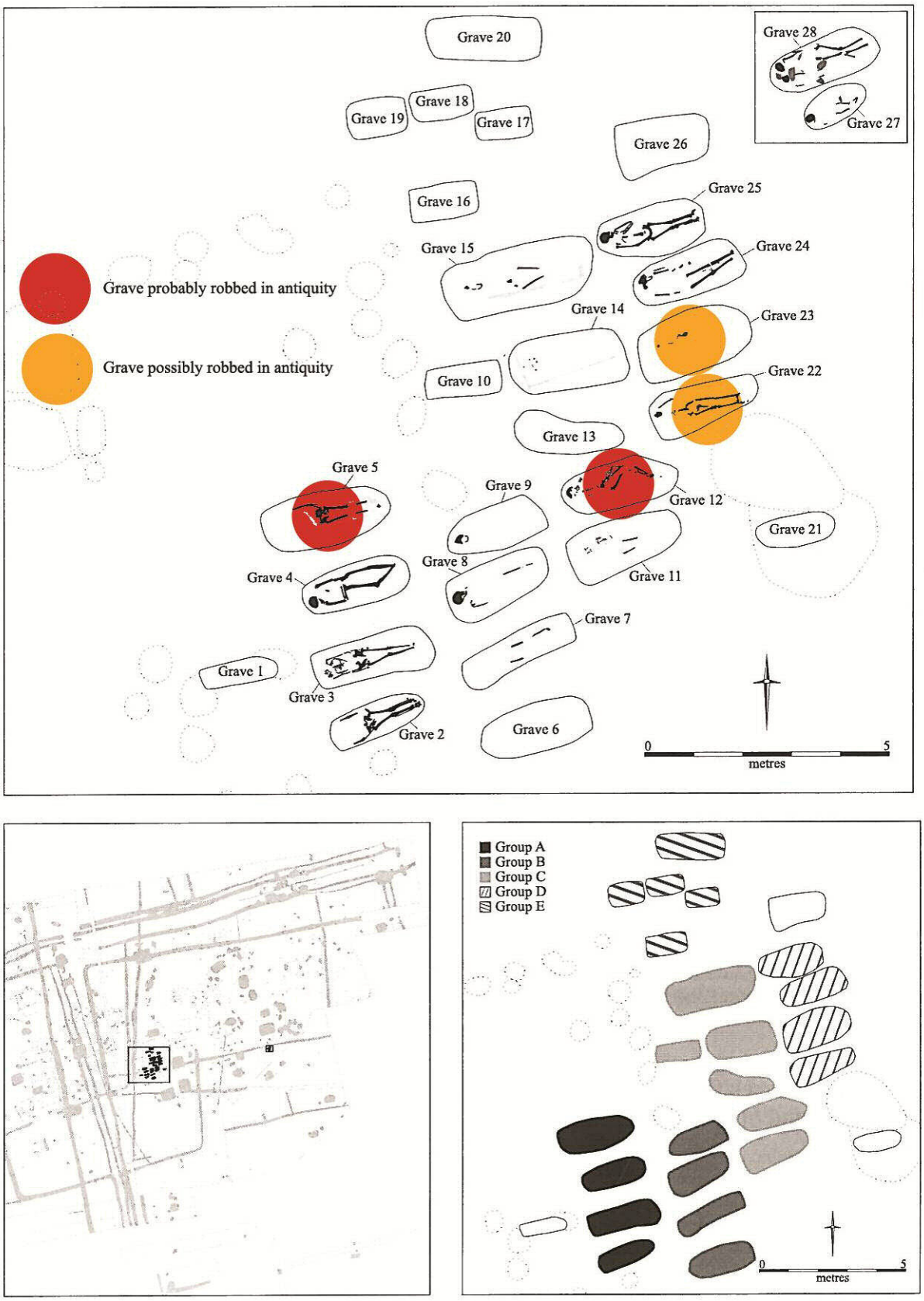


Figure 123: Plan of Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville, Suffolk showing the disturbed burials (after Lucy, Tipper, & Dickens 2009)

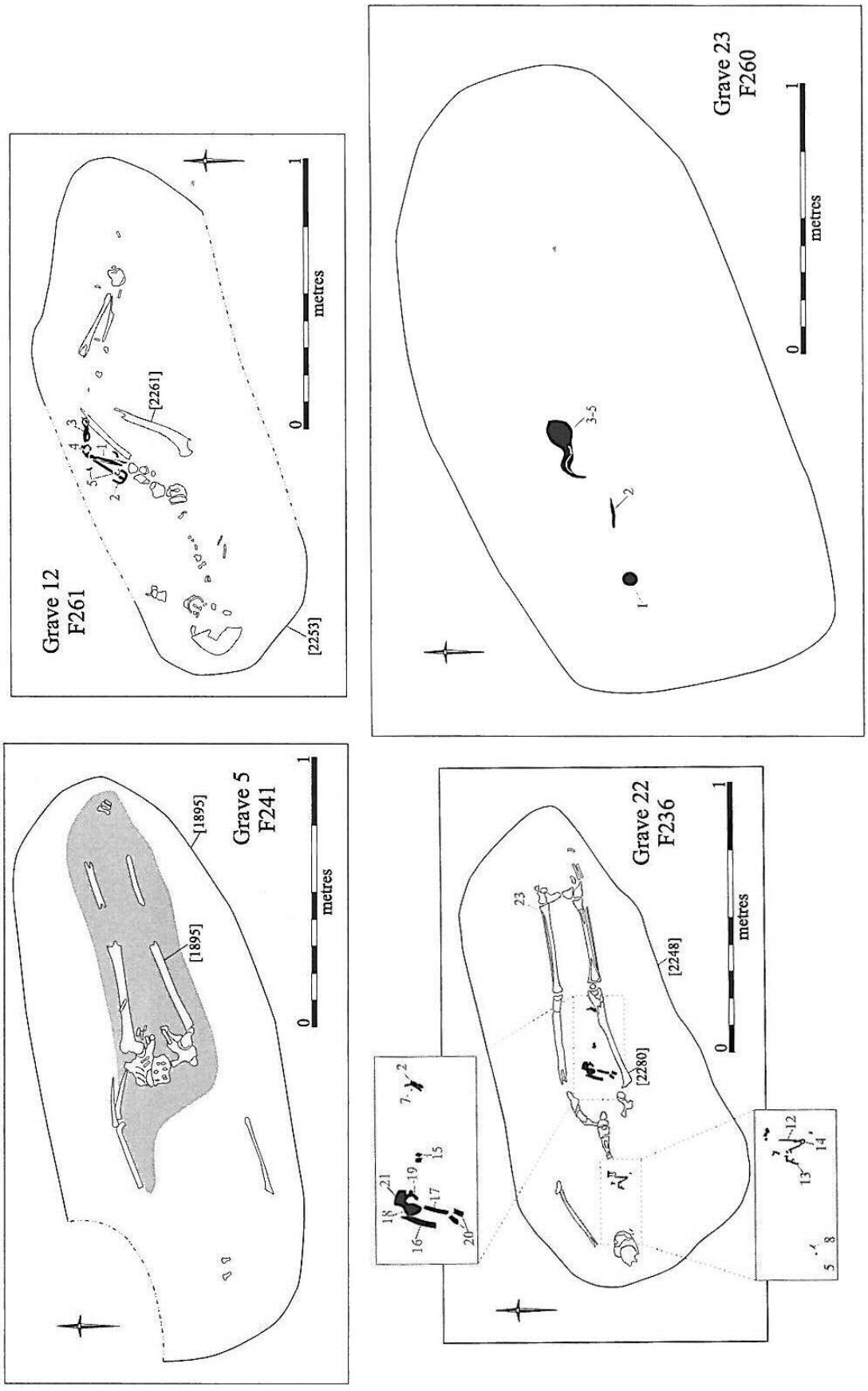


Figure 124: Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville, Suffolk Graves 5, 12, 22 and 23 (from Lucy, Tipper, & Dickens 2009)

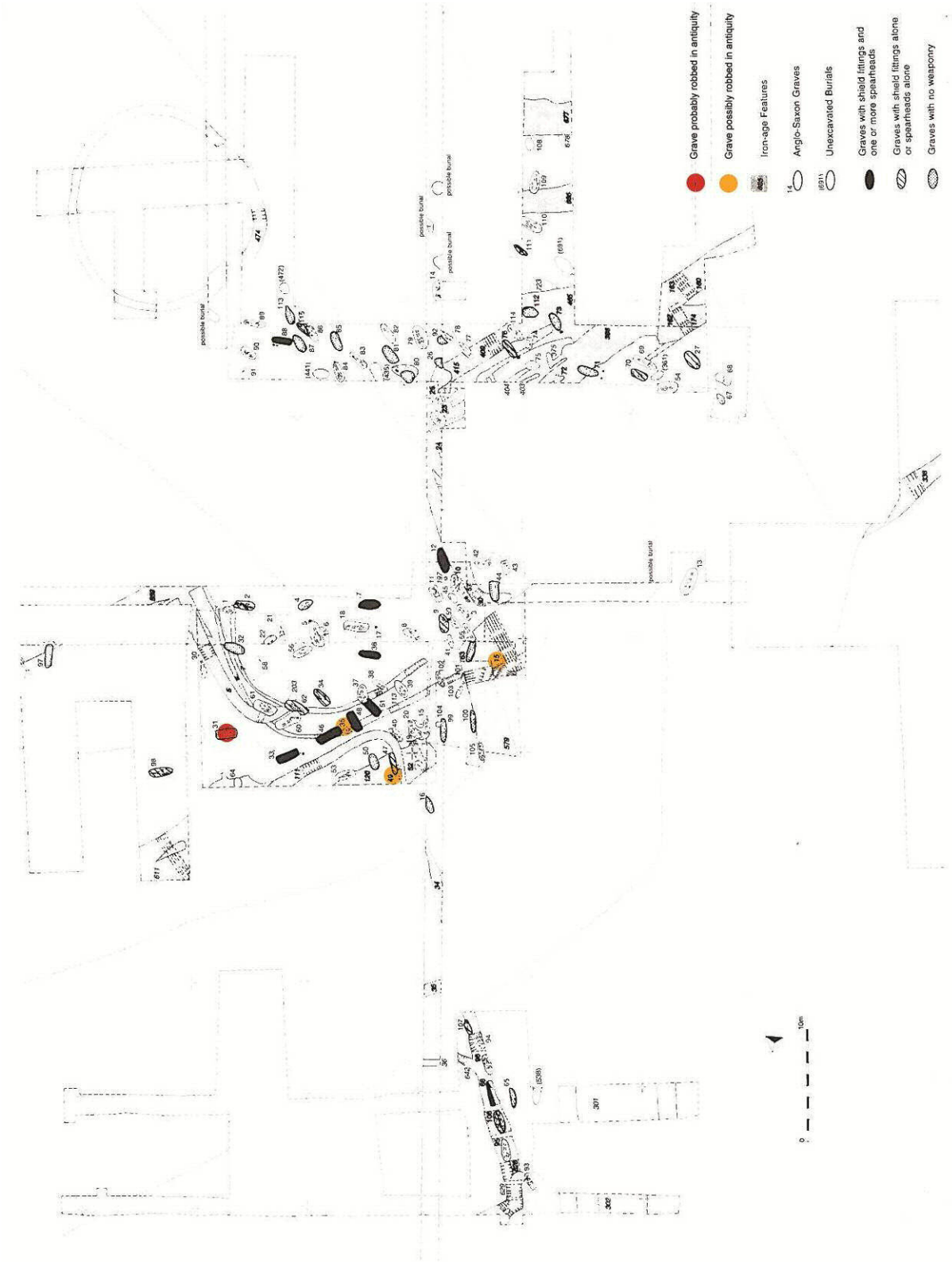


Figure 125: Plan of Edix Hill, Barrington A, Cambridgeshire showing the disturbed burials (after Malim & Hines 1998)

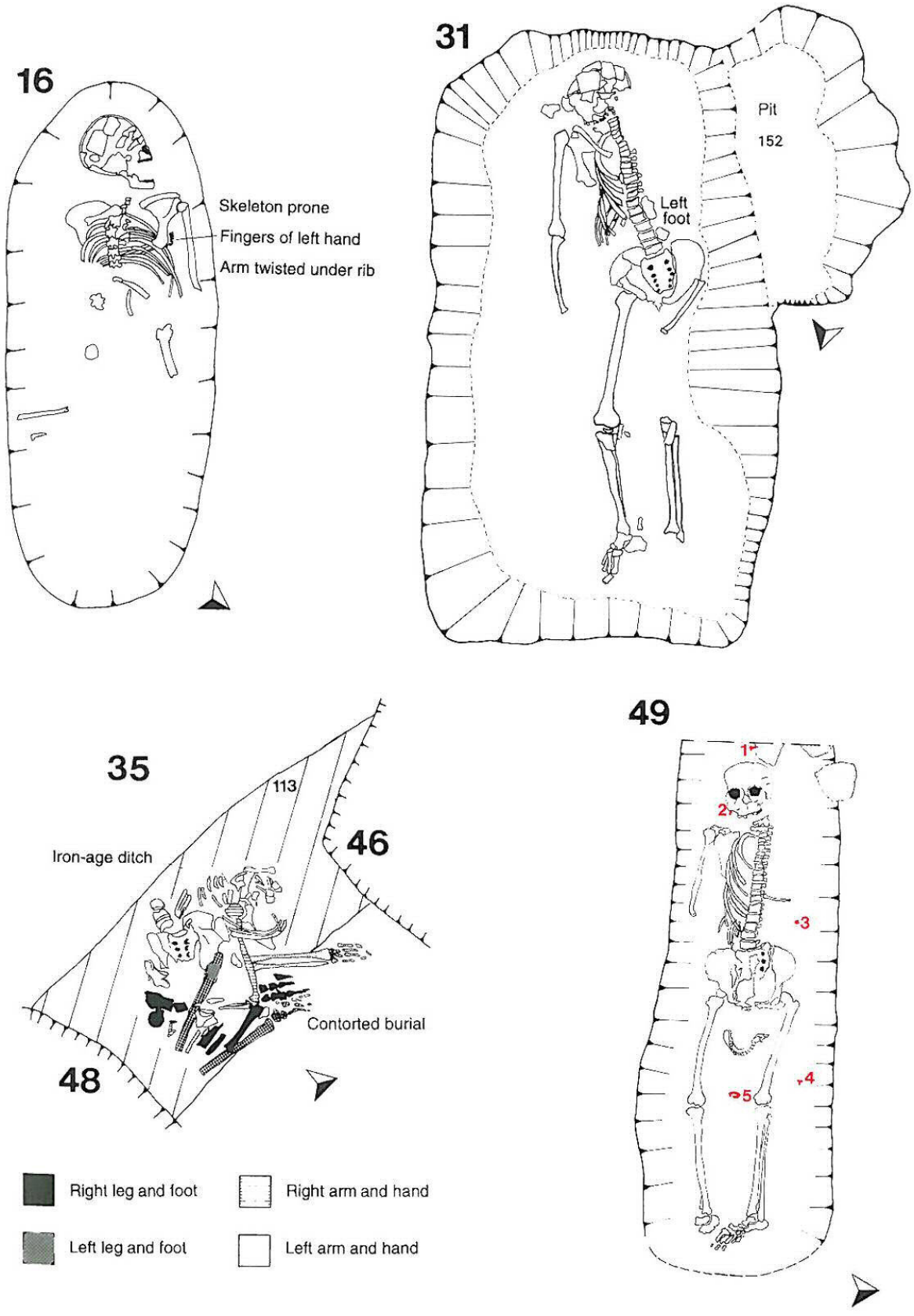


Figure 126: Edix Hill, Barrington A, Cambridgeshire Grave 16 (Sk 33), Grave 31 (Sk 103), Grave 35 (Sk 119), Grave 49 (Sk 149) (from Malim & Hines 1998)

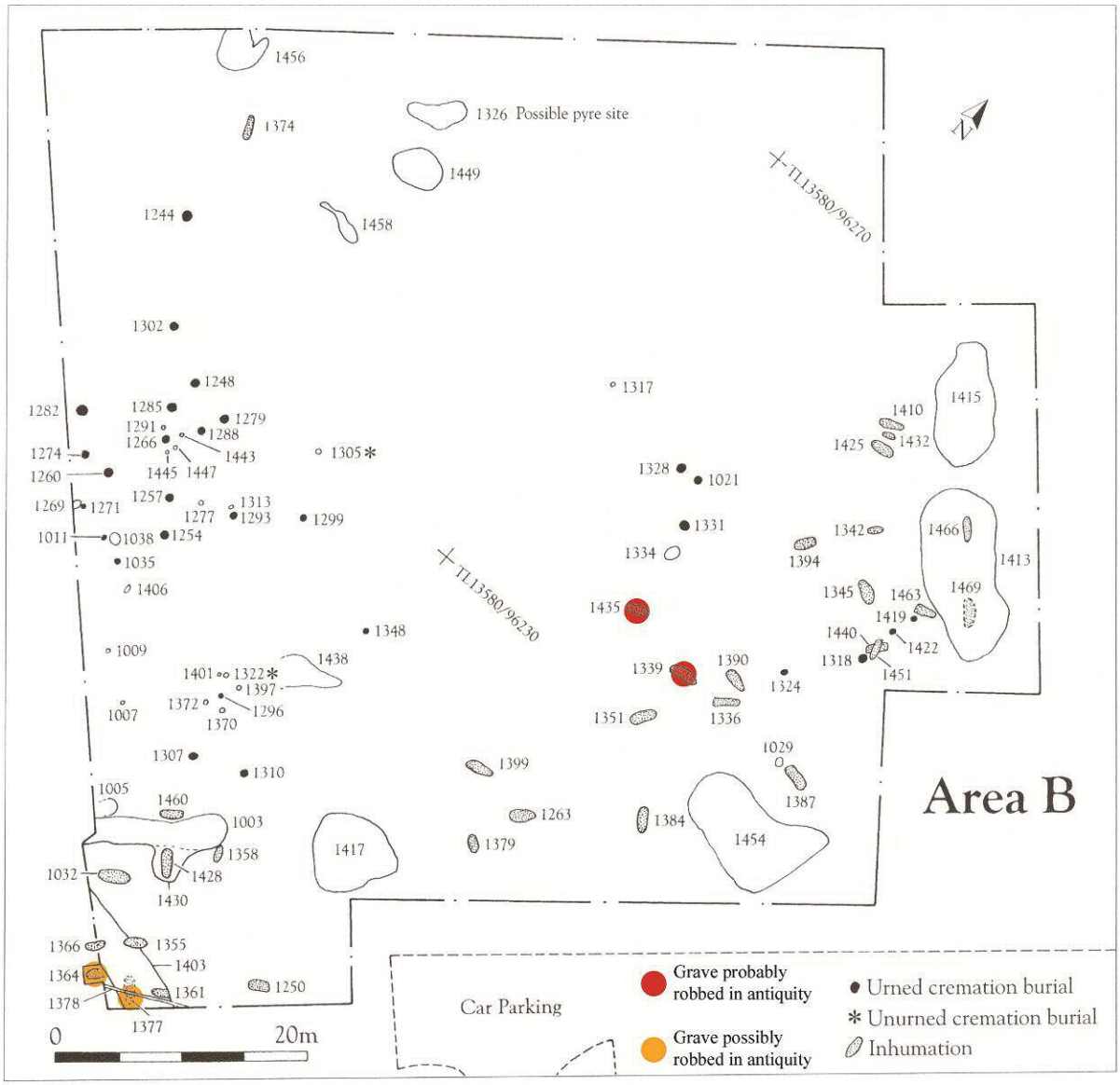


Figure 127: Plan of Minerva, Alwalton, Cambridgeshire showing the disturbed burials (after Gibson 2007)

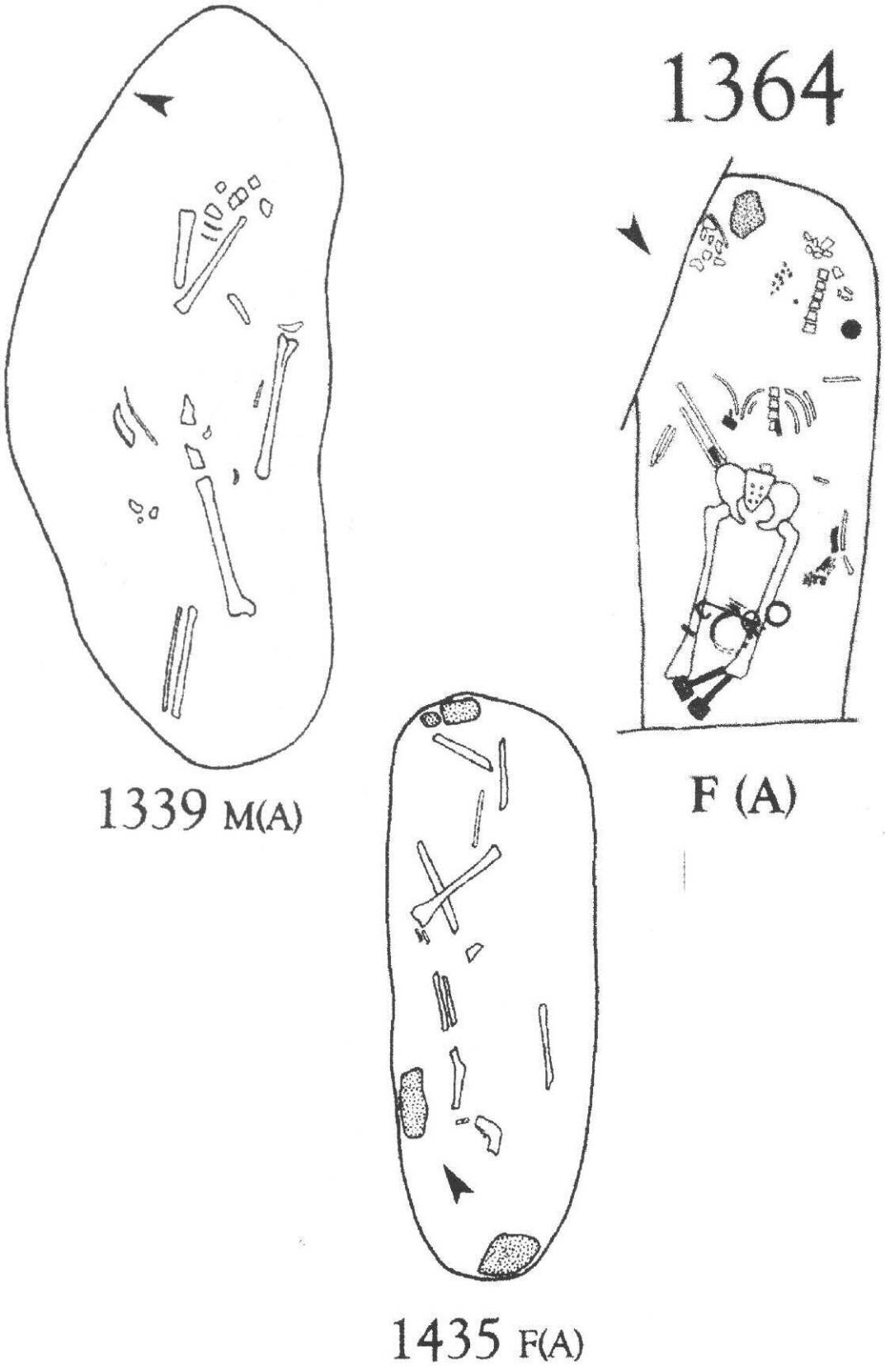


Figure 128: Minerva, Alwalton, Cambridgeshire Graves 1339, 1364 and 1435 (from Gibson 2007)

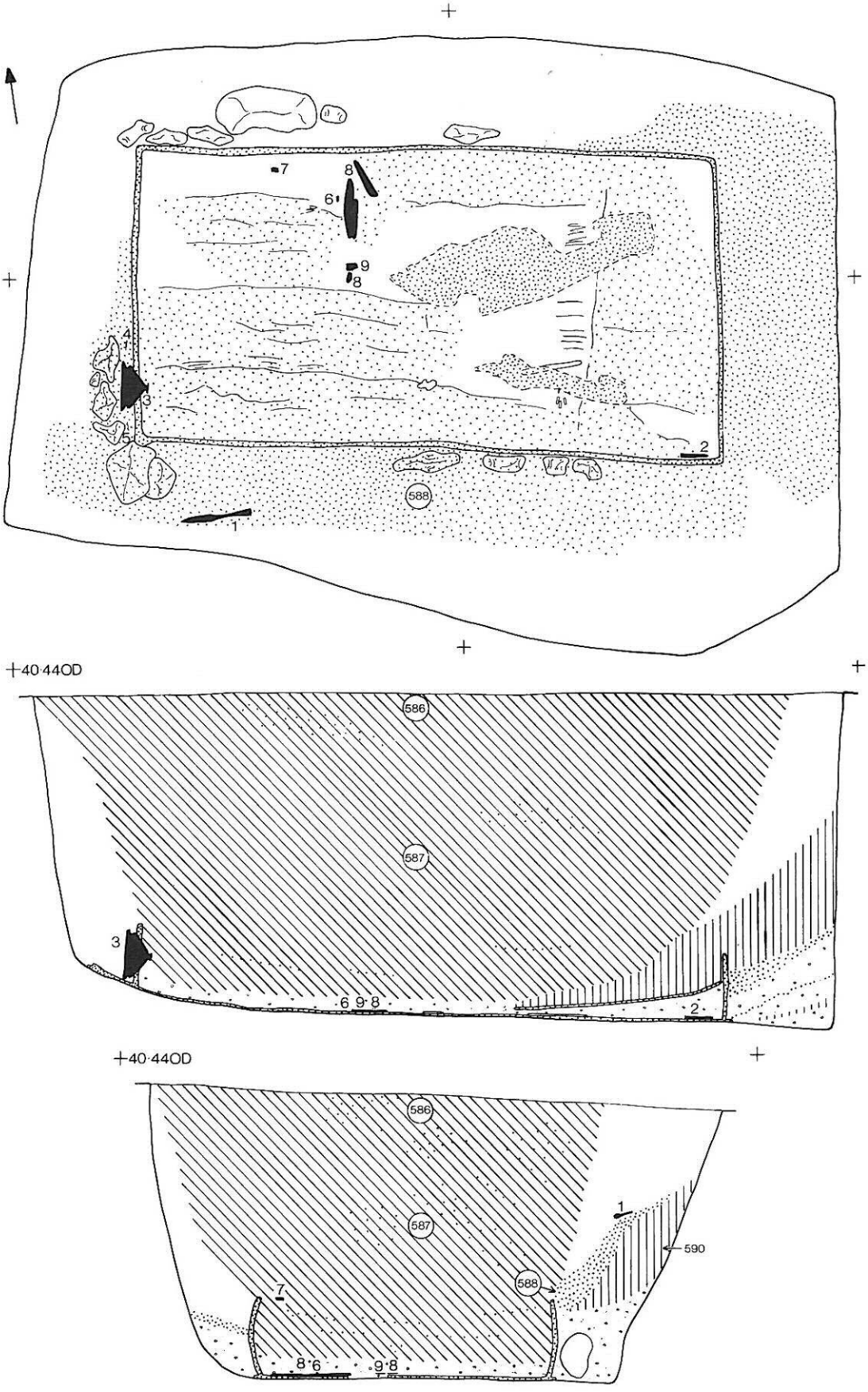


Figure 129: Spong Hill, Norfolk Grave 31 (from Hills et al 1984)

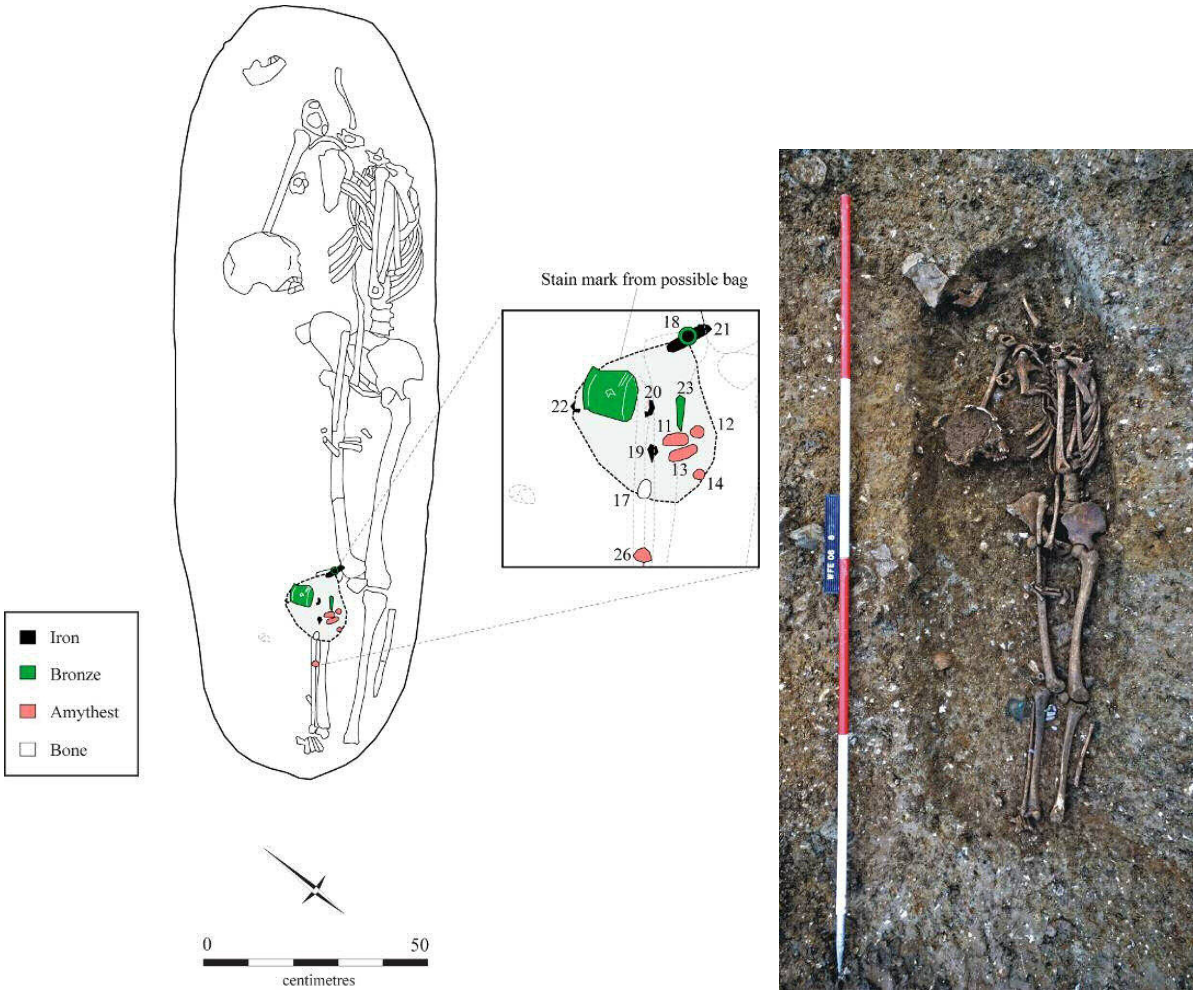


Figure 130: Westfield Farm, Ely, Cambridgeshire Grave 2 (from Lucy et al 2009, with thanks to CAU)

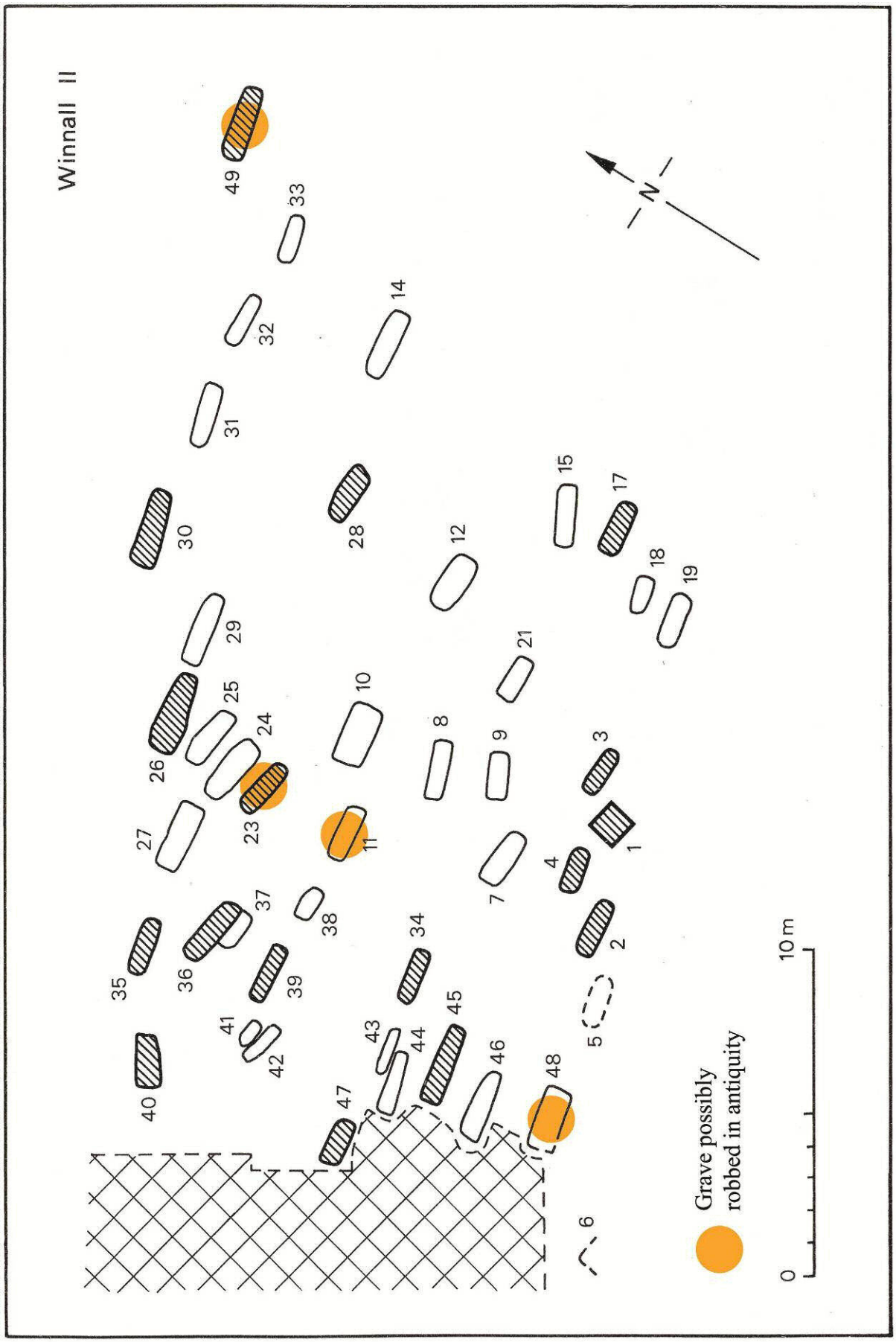


Figure 131: Plan of Winnall II, Hampshire showing the disturbed burials (after Härke 1992)

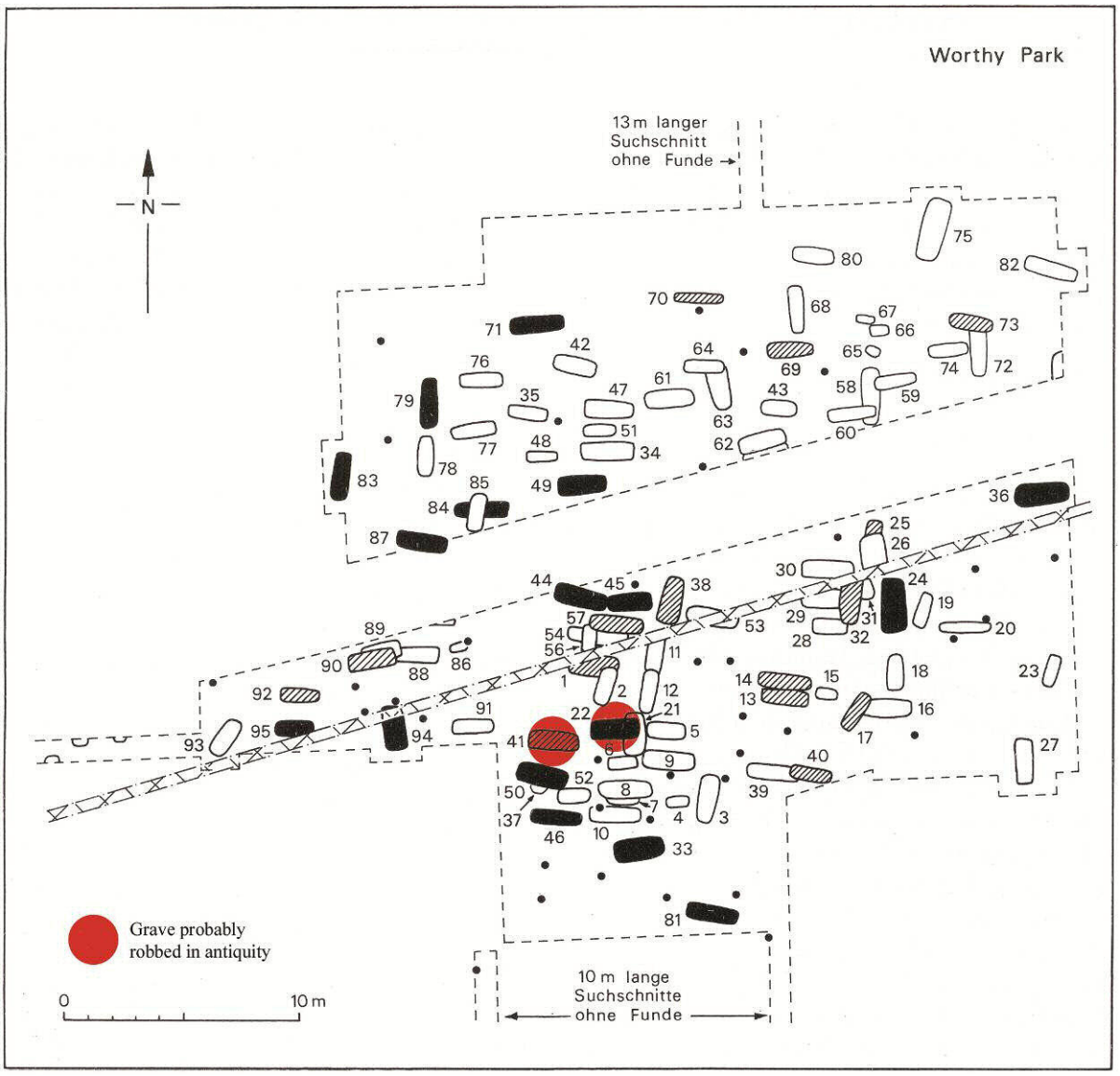


Figure 132: Plan of Worthy Park, Kingsworthy, Hampshire showing the disturbed burials (after Härke 1992)

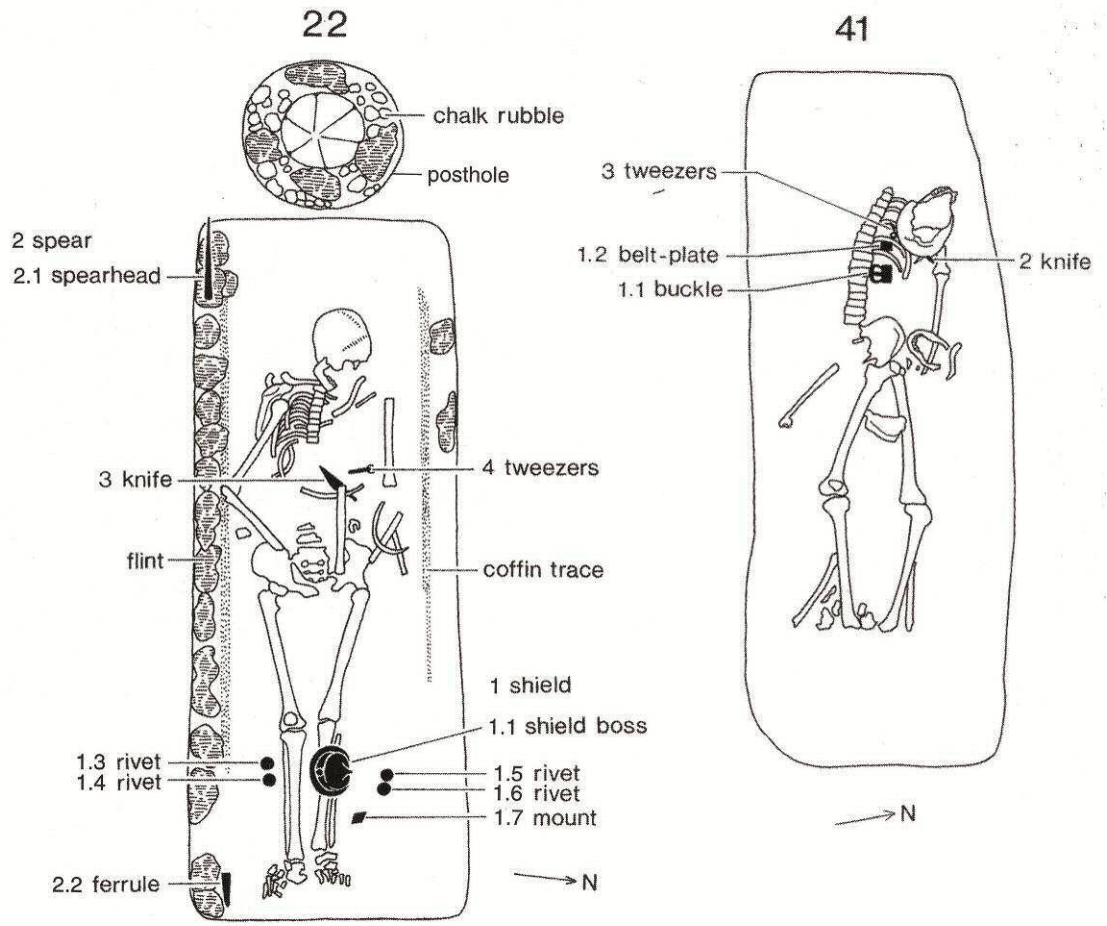


Figure 133: Worthy Park, Kingsworthy, Hampshire Graves 22 and 41 (from Hawkes & Grainger 2003)

References

Aðalsteinsson, J. H. (1998). A piece of horse liver: myth, ritual and folklore in Old Icelandic sources. Reykjavik, Haskolautgafan Felagsvisindastofnun.

Adams, M. (1996). "Excavation of a pre-conquest cemetery at Addingham, West Yorkshire." Medieval Archaeology 40: 62-150.

Adler, H. (1970). "Zur Ausplünderung langobardischer Gräberfelder in Österreich." Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien: 138-147.

Akerman, J. Y. (1855). Remains of pagan Saxondom. London.

Andersen, H. (1951). "Tomme Høje." Kuml.

Andersen, H. (1996). "The Graves of the Jelling Dynasty." Acta Archaeologica 66: 281-300.

Andrews, P. and S. Bello (2006). Pattern in human burial practice. The social archaeology of funerary remains. R. Gowland and C. Knüsel. Oxford, Oxbow: 14-29.

Anonymous (1859). "The Kent Archaeological Society 2nd annual meeting." Archaeologia Cantiana 2: xxxiii-xliii.

Anonymous (1951). "The Royal Museum, Canterbury, report for 1950." Archaeologia Cantiana 64: xliii-xliv.

Anonymous (2003). "North of Saltwood tunnel." Archaeologia Cantiana CXXIII: 302-305.

Anonymous (2004). "Interim reports on recent work carried out by the Canterbury Archaeological Trust." Archaeologia Cantiana 124: 365-374.

Anonymous (1847). "Archaeological intelligence." The Archaeological Journal 4: 145-164 and 252-264.

Arnold, C. J. (1980). Wealth and social structure: a matter of life and death. Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries, 1979. P. Rahtz, T. Dickinson and L. Watts. Oxford, BAR British Series 82: 81-142.

Aspöck, E. (2002). Graböffnungen im Frühmittelalter und das langobardenzeitlichen Gräberfeld von Brunn am Gebirge, Flur Wolfholz. Diplomarbeit zur Erlangung des Magistergrades der Philosophie aus der Studienrichtung Ur- und Frühgeschichte eingereicht an der Geistes- und Kulturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Wien.

Aspöck, E. (2003). "Graböffnungen im Frühmittelalter und das Beispiel der langobardenzeitlichen Gräber von Brunn am Gebirge, Flur Wolfholz, Niederösterreich." Archaeologia Austriaca 87: 225-265.

Aspöck, E. (2008). What actually is a 'deviant burial'? Comparing German-language and anglophone research on 'deviant burials'. Deviant Burial in the Archaeological Record. E. M. Murphy. Oxford, Oxbow: 17-34.

Aspöck, E. and P. Stadler (2003). "Die langobardenzeitlichen Gräber von Brunn am Gebirge, Flur Wolfholz, Niederösterreich." Archaeologia Austriaca 87: 169-224.

Baitinger, H. (1992). "Zur Beraubung hallstattzeitlicher Gräber in Süddeutschland. Dittigheim Grab 607." Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg 17(1): 327-345.

Barber, P. (1988). Vampires, burial and death - folklore and reality. Yale, Yale University Press.

Barnes, M. (1994). The runic inscriptions of Maeshowe, Orkney. Uppsala.

Bartelheim, M. and V. Heyd (2001). Cult after burial: patterns of post-funeral treatment in the Bronze and Iron ages of central Europe. The archaeology of cult and religion. P. F. Biehl, F. Bertemes and H. Meller. Budapest, Archaeolingua: 261-276.

Bartlett, R. (2002). Geoffrey of Burton: Life and miracles of St Modwenna. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Batchelor, D. (1982). "Darenth Park, Dartford: interim report." Kent Archaeological Review 67: 160.

Batchelor, D. (1990). "Darenth Park Anglo-Saxon cemetery, Dartford." Archaeologia Cantiana 108: 35-72.

Beck, H. (1978). *Haugbrot* im Altnordischen. Zum Grabfrevel in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit : Untersuchungen zu Grabraub und 'haugbrot' in Mittel- und Nordeuropa : Bericht über ein Kolloquium der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas vom 14. bis 16. Februar 1977. H. Jankuhn, H. Nehlsen and H. Roth. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 211-228.

Beckett, J. and J. Robb (2006). Neolithic burial taphonomy, ritual, and interpretation in Britain and Ireland: a review. The social archaeology of funerary remains. R. Gowland and C. Knüsel. Oxford, Oxbow: 57-80.

Behr, C. (2001). Do bracteates identify influential women in Early Medieval kingdoms? Kingdoms and regionality. Transactions from the 49th Sachsensymposium 1998 in Uppsala. B. Arrhenius. Stockholm, Archaeological Research Laboratory, University of Stockholm: 95-101.

Behrends, O. (1978). Grabraub und Grabfrevel im römischen Recht. Zum Grabfrevel in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit : Untersuchungen zu Grabraub und 'haugbrot' in Mittel- und Nordeuropa : Bericht über ein Kolloquium der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas vom 14. bis 16. Februar 1977. H. Jankuhn, H. Nehlsen and H. Roth. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 85-106.

Bello, S. and P. Andrews (2006). The intrinsic pattern of preservation of human skeletons and its influence on the interpretation of funerary behaviours. The social archaeology of funerary remains. R. Gowland and C. Knüsel. Oxford, Oxbow: 1-13.

Beninger, E. (1931). "Die Leichenzerstückelung als vor- under frühgeschichtliche Bestattungsitte." Anthropos: 769-781.

Beninger, E. and H. Mitscha Märheim (1966). "Der langobardenfriedhof von Poysdorf, NÖ." Archaeologia Austriaca 40: 167-187.

Bennett, P. (1980). "Interim report on excavations in 1980 by the Canterbury Archaeological Trust." Archaeologia Cantiana 96: 406-410.

Bennett, P. (1982). "Old Westgate Court Farm site, London Road." Archaeologia Cantiana 98: 220-222.

Bennett, P. and J. Williams (1997). "Monkton." Current Archaeology 151: 258-264.

Bersu, G. W., DM (1966). Three Viking graves in the Isle of Man. London, The Society for Medieval Archaeology.

Birbeck, V. (2005). The origins of mid-Saxon Southampton: excavations at the Friends Provident St Mary's Stadium 1998-2000. Old Sarum, Wessex Archaeology.

Birch and D. R. J. Perkins (1987). The Gateway Island: archaeological discoveries on the Isle of Thanet 1630-1987, Thanet District Council.

Blaich, M. C. and M. Geschwinde (2007). Zur Binnenstruktur des karolingerzeitlichen Gräberfeldes von Werlaburgdorf. Innere Strukturen von Siedlungen und Gräberfeldern als Spiegel gesellschaftlicher Wirklichkeit? Akten des 57. Internationalen Sachsensymposions vom 26. bis 30. August 2006 in Münster. C. Grünewald and T. Capelle. Münster, Veröffentlichungen der Altertumskommission für Westfalen: 109-117.

Blair, J. (2002). A handlist of Anglo-Saxon saints. Local saints and local churches in the early medieval west. A. Thacker and R. Sharpe. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 495-565.

Blair, J. (2002). A saint for every minster? Local cults in Anglo-Saxon England. Local saints and local churches in the early medieval west. A. Thacker and R. Sharpe. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 455-494.

Blair, J. (2005). The Church in Anglo-Saxon society. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Blair, J. (2009). The dangerous dead in early medieval England. Early medieval studies in memory of Patrick Wormald. S. Baxtor, C. E. Karkov, J. L. Nelson and D. A. E. Pelteret. Aldershot, Ashgate.

Blesl, C. (2005). Das frühbronzezeitliche Gräberfeld von Pottenbrunn. Horn, Berger & Söhne.

Blumstein, M. (1956). "The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Polhill." Archaeologia Cantiana LXX: 278-280.

Boddington, A. (1987). Chaos, disturbance and decay in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery. Death, decay and reconstruction. Approaches to archaeology and forensic science. A. Boddington, A. Garland and R. Janaway. Manchester, Manchester University Press: 27-42.

Boddington, A. (1990). Models of burial, settlement and worship: the Final Phase reviewed. Anglo-Saxon cemeteries : a reappraisal: proceedings of a conference held at Liverpool Museum 1986. E. Southworth. Stroud, Sutton: 177-199.

Boddington, A., Ed. (1996). Raunds Furnells: the Anglo-Saxon church and churchyard. London, English Heritage.

Boddington, A. (1996). "Raunds, Northamptonshire: analysis of a country churchyard." World Archaeology 18(3): 411-425.

Boddington, A., A. Garland, et al. (1987). Death, decay and reconstruction. Approaches to archaeology and forensic science. Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Bofinger, J. and S. Przemyslaw (2008). Reihenweise ausgeraubt: Beobachtungen zum Grabraub im frühen Mittelalter. Raubgräber - Schatzgräber. F. Brunecker, Biberach: 48-59.

Böhner, K. (1958). Die fränkische Altertümer des Trierer Landes. Berlin.

Bóna, I. (1993). Bestattung der Langobarden. Hunok -- gepidák -- langobardok. I. Bóna, J. Cseh, M. Nagy, P. Tomka and Á. Tóth. Szeged, JATE Magyar Őstörténeti Kutatócsoportja: 121-125.

Brather, S. (2007). Wiedergänger und Vampire? Bauch- und Seitenlage bei westslawischen Bestattungen des 9. bis 12. Jh. aedificatio terrae: Festschrift für Eike Gringmuth-Dallmer zum 65. Geburtstag. G. H. Jeute, J. Schneeweiß and C. Theune. Rahden/Westf., Verlag Marie Leidorf: 109-117.

Brendalsmo, J. and G. Røthe (1992). "Haugbrot eller de levendes forhold til de døde – en komparativ analyse." Meta 1-2: 84-119.

Brent, J. (1863). "Account of the Society's Researches in the Saxon Cemetery at Sarr. Part I." Archaeologia Cantiana V: 305-322.

Brent, J. (1866). "Account of the Society's Researches in the Saxon Cemetery at Sarr. Part II." Archaeologia Cantiana VI: 157-185.

Brent, J. (1868). "Account of the Society's Researches in the Saxon Cemetery at Sarr. Part III." Archaeologia Cantiana VII: 307-321.

Brøgger, A. (1945). "Oseberggraven-Haugbrottet." Viking 9: 1-44.

Brøgger, A., H. Falk, et al. (1917). Osebergfundet. Kristiania, Universitetets Oldsaksamling.

Brøgger, A., H. Shetelig, et al. (1951). The Viking ships: their ancestry and evolution. Oslo, Dreyers Forlag.

Brookes, S. (2002). Landscapes, communities and exchange: a reassessment of Anglo-Saxon economics and social change AD 400-900 with special reference to Kent, University College London. PhD thesis.

Brookes, S. (2003). The early Anglo-Saxon framework for middle Anglo-Saxon economics: the case of east Kent. Markets in early medieval Europe. T. Pestell and K. Ulmschneider. Macclesfield, Windgather: 84-96.

Brookes, S. (2007). Economics and social change in Anglo-Saxon Kent AD 400-900. Landscapes, communities and exchange. Oxford, British Archaeological Reports British Series 431.

Brookes, S. (2007). Walking with the Anglo-Saxons: landscapes of the living and landscapes of the dead in early Anglo-Saxon Kent. Anglo-Saxon studies in Archaeology and History 14. S. Semple and H. Williams. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.

Brookes, S. J., S. Harrington, et al. (2006). "Documenting the dead: creating an on-line census of Anglo-Saxon burials from Kent." Archaeology International 9 2005/2006: 28-31.

Brothwell, D. (1981). Digging up bones. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Brothwell, D. (1987). Decay and disorder in the York Jewbury skeletons. Death, decay and reconstruction: approaches to archaeology and forensic science. A. Boddington, A. Garland and R. Janaway. Manchester, Manchester University Press: 22-42.

Brown (1981). The cult of the saints - its rise and function in Latin Christianity. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Brugmann, B. (1999). The role of Continental artefact-types in sixth-century Kentish chronology. The pace of change: studies in early-medieval chronology. J. Hines, K. Høilund Nielsen and F. Siegmund. Oxford, Oxbow.

Brugmann, B. (2004). Glass Beads from Early Anglo-Saxon Graves. Oxford, Oxbow.

Brunecker, F., Ed. (2008). Raubgräber - Schatzgräber, Biberach.

Bubb, R. (1883). Historical and descriptive guide to the Isle of Thanet.

Bullough (1983). Burial, community and belief in the early medieval west. Ideal and reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon society. P. Wormald. Oxford: 177-201.

Burleigh, G. (1993). Some aspects of burial types in the cemeteries of the Romano-British settlement at Baldock, Hertfordshire, England. Romerzeitliche Graber als Quellen zu Religion, Bevolkerungsstruktur und Sozialgeschichte. M. Struck. Mainz, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte: 41-49.

Caciola, N. (1996). "Wraiths, Revenants and Ritual in Medieval Culture." Past and Present 152: 3-45.

Cameron, E. A. (2000). Sheaths and scabbards in England AD 400 - 1100, BAR British Series 301.

Capelle, T. (1978). Grabraub im wikingischen Norden. Zum Grabfrevel in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit : Untersuchungen zu Grabraub und 'haugbrot' in Mittel- und Nordeuropa : Bericht über ein Kolloquium der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas vom 14. bis 16. Februar 1977. H. Jankuhn, H. Nehlsen and H. Roth. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 197-210.

Carver, M., Ed. (2003). The cross goes north: processes of conversion in northern Europe, AD 300 -1300. York/Woodbridge, York Medieval Press in association with Boydell & Brewer.

Chadwick, S. E. (1958). "The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Finglesham, Kent: a reconsideration." Medieval Archaeology 2: 1 - 71.

Cheetham, M. Cox, et al. (2008). Search, location, excavation and recovery. The scientific investigation of mass graves. M. Cox. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Cherryson, A. K. (2007). Disturbing the dead: urbanisation, the Church and the post-burial treatment of human remains in early medieval Wessex, c. 600-1100 AD. Anglo-Saxon studies in Archaeology and History 14. S. Semple and H. Williams. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology: 131-142.

Cherryson, A. K. (2008). Normal, deviant and atypical: burial variation in Late Saxon Wessex, c. AD 700-1100. Deviant Burial in the Archaeological Record. E. M. Murphy. Oxford, Oxbow: 115-131.

Chlingensperg-Berg, M. v. (1890). Das Gräberfeld von Reichenhall in Oberbayern. Reichenhall.

Christensen, A., A. Ingstad, et al., Eds. (1992). Oseberg-Dronningens Grav. Oslo, Schibsted.

Christlein, R. (1966). Der alamannische Reihengräberfeld von Marktoberdorf in Allgäu.

Christlein, R. (1971). Das alamannische Reihengräberfeld von Dirlewang bei Mindelheim. Kallmünz.

Chropovský, B. (1960). Gräberfelder aus der älteren Bronzezeit in Veľký Grob. Gräberfelder aus der älteren Bronzezeit in der Slowakei. B. Chropovský, M. s. Dušek and B. Polla. Bratislava, Verlag der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Cochet, L. a. (1854). La Normandie souterraine ou notices sur des cimetières romains et des cimetières francs explorés en Normandie. Rouen.

Codreanu-Windauer, S. (1997). Pliening im Frühmittelalter. Materialhefte zur Bayerischen Vorgeschichte A 74. Kallmünz, Lassleben.

Colgrave, B., Ed. (1956). Felix's life of Guthlac. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Conyngham, A. (1844). "An account of the opening and examination of a considerable number of tumuli on Breach Downs, in the county of Kent." Archaeologia 30: 47-56.

Cosack, E. (1982). Das sächsische Gräberfeld bei Liebenau, Kr. Nienburg (Weser). Berlin, Mann.

Cox, M., Ed. (2008). The scientific investigation of mass graves. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Cox, M. and S. Mays, Eds. (2000). Human osteology in archaeology and forensic science. London, Greenwich Medical Media.

Coxe, H., Ed. (1841). Rogeri de Wendover chronica sive flores historiarum. London, English Historical Society.

Crawford, S. (2003). Anglo-Saxon women, furnished burial, and the Church. Women and religion in medieval England. D. Wood. Oxford, Oxbow: 1-12.

Crawford, S. (2004). "Votive desposition, religion and the Anglo-Saxon furnished burial ritual." World Archaeology 36(1): 87-102.

Croker, T. (1844). "An account of further excavations of barrows on Breach Downs." The Archaeological Journal 1: 379-380.

Crumlin-Pedersen, O. (1995). Boat-burials at Slusegaard and the Interpretation of the Boat-grave custom. The Ship as Symbol. O. T. Crumlin-Pedersen, B. Copenhagen, National Museum.

Cumberland, A. (1937). ""Riseley", Saxon cemetery, Horton Kirkby. Interim report." Transcripts of the Dartford and District Antiquarian Society 7: 17-18.

Cumberland, A. (1940). "Riseley Anglo-Saxon cemetery." Archaeologia Cantiana 53: 142.

Dannheimer, H. (1968). Epolding - Mühltal, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften München.

Dannheimer, H. (1968). Lauterhofen im frühen Mittelalter. Kallmünz.

Dannheimer, H. (1998). Das bajuwarische Reihengräberfeld von Aubing, Stadt München. Stuttgart, Theiss.

Dannheimer, H. and G. Ulbert (1956). Die bajuwarischen Reihengräber von Feldmoching und Sendling.

Dannhorn, T. (1994). Beobachtungen zu den antiken Beraubungsmethoden im frühmittelalterlichen Reihengräberfeld von Viecht, "Unterfeld", Gde. Eching, Lkr. Landshut. Vorträge des 12. Niederbayerischen Archäologentages. K. Schmotz. Deggendorf: 295-306.

Devlin, Z. (2007). Remembering the Dead in Anglo-Saxon England: Memory Theory in Archaeology and History British Archaeological Reports 446.

Devlin, Z. (2007). Social memory, material culture and community identity in early medieval mortuary practices. Anglo-Saxon studies in Archaeology and History 14. S. Semple and H. Williams. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology: 38-46.

Diack, M. (2004). Bradstow School, Broadstairs. Canterbury's Archaeology 2003–2004, Canterbury Archaeological Trust: 19-21.

Dickinson, T. (1993). An Anglo-Saxon "cunning woman" from Bidford-on-Avon. In search of cult: archaeological investigations in honour of Philip Rahtz. M. O. H. Carver. Woodbridge, Boydell: 45-54.

Dickinson, T. (2006). "The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Finglesham, Kent by Sonia Chadwick Hawkes and Guy Grainger." Antiquity 80(310): 1023-1024.

Dixon, C. (1848). New historical guide to the Isle of Thanet.

Dixon, C. (1850). The visitor's new guide...to the Isle of Thanet...Margate. Margate.

Down, A. and M. Welch (1990). Chichester excavations 7: Apple Down and the Mardens. Chichester, Chichester District Council.

Driehaus, J. (1978). Der Grabraub in Mitteleuropa während der älteren Eisenzeit. Zum Grabfrevel in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit : Untersuchungen zu Grabraub und 'haugbrot' in Mittel- und Nordeuropa : Bericht über ein Kolloquium der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas vom 14. bis 16. Februar 1977. H. Jankuhn, H. Nehlsen and H. Roth. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 18-47.

Drinkall, G. and M. Foreman (1998). The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Castledyke South, Barton-on-Humber. Sheffield.

Duday, H. (2006). L'archéothanatologie ou l'archéologie de la mort. The social archaeology of funerary remains. R. Gowland and C. Knüsel. Oxford, Oxbow: 30-56.

Düwel, K. (1978). Grabraub, Totenschutz, Platzweihe nach dem Zeugnis der Runeninchriften. Zum Grabfrevel in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit : Untersuchungen zu Grabraub und 'haugbrot' in Mittel- und Nordeuropa : Bericht über ein Kolloquium der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas vom 14. bis 16. Februar 1977. H. Jankuhn, H. Nehlsen and H. Roth. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 229-243.

Dušek, M. s. (1969). Bronzezeitliche Gräberfelder in der Südwestslawakei. Bratislava, Vydavatel'stvo Slovenskej Akademie vied.

Eckardt, H. and H. Williams (2003). Objects without a past? The use of Roman objects in early Anglo-Saxon graves. Archaeologies of remembrance: death and memory in past societies. H. Williams. New York: 141-170.

Effros, B. (2002). Caring for Body and Soul: Burial and the Afterlife in the Merovingian World.

Effros, B. (2003). Merovingian Mortuary Archaeology and the Making of the Early Middle Ages.

Ellis Davidson, H. R. (1994). The sword in Anglo-Saxon England: its archaeology and literature. Woodbridge, Boydell Press.

Ellis, H. R. (1943). The road to Hel: a study of the conception of the dead in Old Norse Literature. Westport (CT), Greenwood Press.

Evison, V. (1982). "Anglo-Saxon glass claw-beakers." Archaeologia 107: 43-76.

Evison, V. (1987). Dover: Buckland Anglo-Saxon cemetery. London.

Evison, V. I. (1956). "An Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Holborough, Kent." Archaeologia Cantiana LXX: 84-141.

Faussett, B. and C. R. Smith (1856). Inventorium sepulchrale: An account of some antiquities dug up at Gilton, Kingston, Sibertswold, Barfriston, Beakesbourne, Chartham and Crundale in the county of Kent, from A.D. 1757 to A.D. 1773.

Fingerlin, G. (1971). Die alamannische Gräberfelder von Güttningen und Merdingen in Südbaden, de Gruyter.

Foster, W. (1883). "Account of the excavation of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Barrington, Cambridgeshire." CAS forum?? V: 5-32.

Fox, D. and H. Pálsson (1974). Grettir's Saga. Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

Fremersdorf, F. (1955). Das fränkische Reihengräberfeld Köln-Müngersdorf. Berlin, W. de Gruyter.

Frere, S. and P. Bennett (1987). Canterbury excavations: intra- and extra-mural sites, 1949-55 and 1980-84. Maidstone, Kent Archaeological Society.

Friesinger, H. (1988). Die Langobarden in Österreich. Die Langobarden. Von der Unterelbe nach Italian. R. Busch, Veröffentlichungen des Hamburger Museums für Archäologie und Geschichte. 54.

Gansum, T. and T. Risan (1999). "Oseberghaugen – en stratigrafisk historie." Vestfoldminne 1998-1999: 60-72.

Garland, A. and R. Janaway (1989). The taphonomy of inhumation burials. Burial archaeology: current research, methods and developments. C. Roberts, F. Lee and J. Bintliff. Oxford, BAR British Series 211: 83-94.

Garscha, F. (1970). Die Alamannen in Südbaden. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter.

Geake, H. (1992). Burial practice in seventh- and eighth-century England. The age of Sutton Hoo. M. O. H. Carver. Woodbridge, Boydell Press: 83-94.

Geake, H. (1997). The use of grave-goods in conversion-period England, c.600-c.850, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 261.

Geake, H. (1999). Invisible kingdoms: the use of grave-goods in seventh-century England. Anglo-Saxon studies in Archaeology and History 10. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology: 203-215.

Geake, H. (2002). Persistent problems in the study of conversion-period burials in England. Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales. S. Lucy and A. Reynolds. London, Society for Medieval Archaeology. 17: 122-131.

Geake, H. (2003). "Plough damage on Anglo-Saxon cemeteries." Archaeologist 47: 16-17.

Geary, P. (1986). Sacred commodities: the circulation of medieval relics. The social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective. A. Appadurai. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 169-191.

Geary, P. (1987). "Germanic tradition and royal ideology in the ninth century: the 'Visio Karoli Magni'." Frühmittelalterliche Studien 21: 274-294.

Geary, P. (1994). Living with the dead in the middle ages. Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

Geary, P. (1994). Phantoms of remembrance: memory and oblivion at the end of the first millennium. Princeton.

Geary, P. J. (1990). Furta sacra: thefts of relics in the central Middle Ages. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Genrich, A. U. (1971). "Grabbeigaben und germanisches Recht." Die Kunde 22: 189-226.

Genrich, A. U. (1981). A remarkable inhumation grave from Liebenau, Nienburg, Germany. Angles, Saxons and Jutes. V. I. Evison. Oxford: 59-71.

Geschiere, P. (1997). The modernity of witchcraft: politics and the occult in postcolonial Africa. . Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press.

Gibson, C. (2007). Minerva: an early Anglo-Saxon mixed-rite cemetery in Alwalton, Cambridgeshire. Anglo-Saxon studies in Archaeology and History 14. S. Semple and H. Williams. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology: 238-250.

Gilchrist, R. and B. Sloane (2005). Requiem. The medieval monastic cemetery in Britain. London, Museum of London Archaeology Service.

Giles, J., Ed. (1840). Roger of Wendover's flowers of history. Comprising the history of England from the descent of the Saxons to AD 1235. Formerly ascribed to Matthew Paris. London, Bohn.

Godfrey-Faussett, T. (1876). "The Saxon cemetery at Bifrons." Archaeologia Cantiana X: 298-315.

Godfrey-Faussett, T. (1880). "The Saxon cemetery at Bifrons." Archaeologia Cantiana XIII: 522-556.

Gowland, R. and C. Knüsel, Eds. (2006). Social archaeology of funerary remains. Oxford, Oxbow.

Grainger, I. and C. Phillpotts (in prep). Excavations at the abbey of St Mary Graces, East Smithfield, London. London, Museum of London Archaeology Service.

Grammaticus, S. (1886). Saxonis Grammatici Gesta Danorum. Straßburg.

Green, M. (2005). "Discourses on inequality: poverty, public bads and entrenching witchcraft in post-adjustment Tanzania." Anthropological Theory 5: 247-266.

Griffiths, B. (1995). An introduction to early English law. Norfolk, Anglo-Saxon Books.

Griffiths, B. (2003). Aspects of Anglo-Saxon magic. Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Anglo-Saxon.

Grinsell, L. (1967). "Barrow treasure, in fact, tradition and legislation." Folklore 78(spring): 1-38.

Grinsell, L. V. (1961). "The breaking of objects as a funerary rite." Folklore 72.

Grinsell, L. V. (1975). The ancient burial-mounds of England. Westport, Conn, Greenwood Press.

Grinsell, L. V. (1976). Folklore of prehistoric sites in Britain. Newton Abbot, David and Charles.

Grinsell, L. V. (1979). Barrows in England and Wales. Aylesbury, Bucks, Shire Publications.

Grinsell, L. V. (1991). "Barrows in Anglo-Saxon land charters." Antiquaries Journal.

Groop, N. (2000). Öppnad eller Plundrad? Department of Archaeology. Uppsala, University of Uppsala. MA.

Grünewald, C. (1988). Das alamannische Gräberfeld von Unterthürheim, Bayerisch-Schwaben.

Hadley, D. M. (2001). "Whitton: SE 9035 2450." Lincolnshire History and Archaeology 36: 59.

Haglund, W. D. and M. H. Sorg, Eds. (1997). Forensic taphonomy: the postmortem fate of human remains, CRC Press.

Haglund, W. D. and M. H. Sorg, Eds. (2001). Advances in forensic taphonomy: method, theory, and archaeological perspective, CRC Press.

Halsall, G. (2003). Burial writes: graves, texts and time in early Merovingian Gaul. Erinnerungskultur im Bestattungsritual. J. Jarnut and M. Wemhoff. Munich, Wilhelm Fink: 61-74.

Hamerow, H. (1993). Excavations at Mucking Vol 2: the Anglo-Saxon settlement, English Heritage / British Museum Press.

Hampl, F. (1964). "Die langobardischen Gräberfelder von Rohrendorf und Erpersdorf, NÖ." Archaeologia Austriaca 36: 40-78.

Hampl, F., H. Kerchler, et al. (1981-1991). Das mittelbronzezeitliche Gräberfeld von Pitten in Niederösterreich: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des Niederösterreichischen Landesmuseums in den Jahren 1967 bis 1973 mit Beiträgen über Funde aus anderen urzeitlichen Perioden Wien, Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Hannibal-Deraniyagala, A. S. (2007). Das bajuwarische Gräberfeld von Künzig-Bruck, Lkr. Deggendorf. Bonn, Bonner Beiträge zur vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie 8.

Hänsel, B. and N. Kalicz (1986). "Das Bronzezeitliche Gräberfeld von Mezőcsát, Kom. Borsod, Nordostungarn." Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission 67: 5-88.

Hanson, I. (2004). The importance of stratigraphy in forensic excavation. Forensic geoscience: principles, techniques and applications. K. Pye and D. Croft. London, Conference Abstracts, Geological Society of London**:** 39-48.

Härke, H. (1989). Early Saxon weapon burials: frequencies, distributions and weapon combinations. Weapons and warfare in Anglo-Saxon England. S. C. Hawkes. Oxford.

Härke, H. (1990). ""Warrior graves"? The background of the Anglo-Saxon burial rite." Past and Present 126: 22-43.

Härke, H. (1992). Angelsächsische Waffengräber der 5. bis 7. Jahrhunderts. Cologne and Bonn, Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters. Beiheft 6.

Härke, H. (1992). Changing symbols in a changing society: the Anglo-Saxon weapon burial rite. The Age of Sutton Hoo : the seventh century in north-western Europe. M. O. H. Carver. Woodbridge, Suffolk, Boydell Press.

Härke, H. (1997). Material culture as myth: weapons in Anglo-Saxon graves. Burial and society: the chronological and social analysis of archaeological burial data. C. Jensen and K. Nielsen. Aarhus: 119-128.

Härke, H. (2000). The circulation of weapons in Anglo-Saxon society. Rituals of power: from late antiquity to the early Middle Ages. F. Theuws and J. L. Nelson. Leiden; Boston, Brill.

Harman, Molleson, et al. (1981). "Burials, bodies and beheadings in Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon cemeteries." Bulletin of the British Museum of Natural History 35: 145-188.

Harrington, S. (2007). Soft furnished burial: an assessment of the role of textiles in early Anglo-Saxon inhumations, with particular reference to east Kent. Anglo-Saxon studies in Archaeology and History 14. S. Semple and H. Williams. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology**:** 110-116.

Hart, D. (2006). "Excavations at Bradstow School, Broadstairs." Kent Archaeological Society Newsletter(69): 14-15.

Hässler, H.-J. (1983). Das sächsische Gräberfeld bei Liebenau, Kr. Nienburg (Weser). Hildesheim, Lax.

Hawkes, S. C. (1960). "Note." Medieval Archaeology 4: 135.

Hawkes, S. C. (1965). "Note." Medieval Archaeology 9: 172.

Hawkes, S. C. (1966). "Note." Medieval Archaeology 10: 171.

Hawkes, S. C. (1968). "Note." Medieval Archaeology 12: 158.

Hawkes, S. C. (1974). "The Monkton Brooch." The Antiquaries Journal 54: 245-256.

Hawkes, S. C. (1976). "Interim report by Mrs SC Hawkes, MA, FAS, on the excavations at Eastry." Archaeologia Cantiana 92: 247-248.

Hawkes, S. C. (1979). Eastry in Anglo-Saxon Kent: its importance, and a newly found grave. Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History I. S. C. Hawkes, D. Brown and J. Campbell. Oxford, British Archaeological Reports British Series 72: 81-113.

Hawkes, S. C. (1981). "Recent finds of inlaid iron buckles and belt-plates from seventh-century Kent." Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 2: 49-70.

Hawkes, S. C. (1982). Finglesham: a cemetery in East Kent. The Anglo-Saxons. J. Campbell. Oxford: 24 f.

Hawkes, S. C. (1984). "The Amherst brooch." Archaeologia Cantiana 100: 129-151.

Hawkes, S. C. (1990). Bryan Faussett and the Faussett Collection: An Assessment. Anglo-Saxon cemeteries: a reappraisal. Proceedings of a conference held at Liverpool Museum 1986. E. Southworth. Stroud, Sutton.

Hawkes, S. C. (2000). The Anglo-Saxon cemetery of Bifrons. Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 11. D. Griffiths. Oxford, Oxford University School of Archaeology: 1-94.

Hawkes, S. C., H. R. Ellis Davidson, et al. (1965). "The Finglesham man." Antiquity 39: 17-32.

Hawkes, S. C. and G. Grainger (2003). The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Worthy Park, Kingsworthy, near Winchester, Hampshire. Oxford, University of Oxford, School of Archaeology.

Hawkes, S. C. and G. Grainger (2006). The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Finglesham, Kent. Oxford, OUSA.

Hawkes, S. C., A. Hogarth, et al. (1974). "The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Monkton, Thanet." Archaeologia Cantiana 89: 49-89.

Hawkes, S. C. and M. Pollard (1981). "The gold bracteates from sixth-century Kent, in the light of a new find from Finglesham." Frühmittelalterliche Studien 15: 316-370.

Hearne, C., D. Perkins, et al. (1995). "The Sandwich Bay wastewater treatment scheme archaeological project, 1992-1994." Archaeologia Cantiana 115: 239-354.

Henderson, J. (1987). Factors determining the state of preservation of human remains. Death, decay and reconstruction. Approaches to archaeology and forensic science. A. Boddington, A. Garland and R. Janaway. Manchester, Manchester University Press: 43-54.

Henning, R. (1907). Der Helm von Baldenheim und die verwandten Helme des frühen Mittelalters. Strassburg, Karl L. Trübner.

Herschend, F. (2001). Journey of Civilisation: The Late Iron Age view of the human world, Uppsala.

Hills, C. (1977). "Chamber grave from Spong Hill, North Elmham, Norfolk." Medieval Archaeology 21: 167-76.

Hills, C., K. Penn, et al. (1984). The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham. Part III: Catalogue of inhumations. Gressenhall, Norfolk, East Anglian archaeology reports.

Hines, J. (1997). A new corpus of Anglo-Saxon great square-headed brooches. London, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 51.

Hines, J., K. Høilund Nielsen, et al., Eds. (1999). The pace of change: studies in early-medieval chronology. Cardiff studies in archaeology. Oxford, Oxbow.

Hinz, H. (1969). Das fränkische Gräberfeld von Eick, Gemeinde Rheinkamp, Kreis Moers. Berlin, Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn des Landeschaftsverbandes Rheinland.

Hirst, S. and D. Clark (2009). Excavations at Mucking: Volume 3, The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries, Museum of London Archaeology.

Hogarth, A. (1973). "Structural features in Anglo-Saxon graves." Archaeological Journal CXXX: 104 -119.

Holck, P. (2006). "The Oseberg Ship Burial, Norway: New Thoughts On the Skeletons From the Grave Mound." European Journal of Archaeology 9: 185-210.

Hollstein, E. (1973). "Die Jahrringe vom Magdalenenberg: dendrochronologische Datierung des hallstattzeitlichen Fürstengrabes bei Villingen im Schwarzwald." Trierer Zeitschrift 36.

Howlett, R. (1884-9). William of Newburgh, Historia rerum Anglicarum in Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I. London.

Hunter, J. and M. Cox, Eds. (2005). Advances in forensic archaeology, Routledge.

Hunter, J., C. Roberts, et al. (1997). Studies in crime: an introduction to forensic archaeology. London, Batsford.

Hurd, H. (1913). Some notes on recent archaeological discoveries at Broadstairs. Broadstairs.

Hurd, H. and R. Smith (1910). "An Anglo-Saxon burial ground at Broadstairs." Proceedings of the Society of Antiquarians of London 23: 272-282.

Isbell, W. H. (2004). "Mortuary preferences: a Wari culture case study from middle horizon Peru." Latin American Antiquity **15**(1): 3-32.

James, M. (1922). "Twelve medieval ghost stories." English Historical Review xxxvii: 413-422.

Janes, D. (1998). Treasure bequest: death and gift in the early Middle Ages. The community, the family and the saint: patterns of power in early medieval Europe. J. Hill and M. Swan. Turnhout, Brepols: 363-378.

Jankuhn, H., H. Nehlsen, et al., Eds. (1978). Zum Grabfrevel in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit: Untersuchungen zu Grabraub und 'haugbrot' in Mittel- und Nordeuropa: Bericht über ein Kolloquium der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas vom 14. bis 16. Februar 1977. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Janssen, W. (1993). Das fränkische Reihengräberfeld von Rödingen, Kr. Düren. Germanische Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit B16, Stuttgart.

Jay, L. (1990). "The Trust for Thanet Archaeology: excavations and evaluations, 1989-1990." Archaeologia Cantiana 108: 271-277.

Jenkins, F. (1955). "Excavations and discoveries: Bekesbourne." Archaeologia Cantiana 69: xlii.

Jenkins, F. (1957). "The Bekesbourne excavations." Kent and Sussex Journal 2(11): 294-295.

Jessup, R. (1930). The archaeology of Kent. London.

Jessup, R. (1943). "Field notes in East Kent." Archaeologia Cantiana 56: 68-70.

Johns, C. (1982). "Finds from a late Roman burial from Stour Street, Canterbury." The Antiquaries Journal 62: 361.

Keats, G. (1846-7). "A Saxon weapon, recently discovered in a grave at Osengal, in the Isle of Thanet." Journal of the British Archaeological Association 2: 338.

Kelchner, G. D. (1935). Dreams in Old Norse literature and their affinities in folklore. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Kelly, D. (1987). "Archaeological notes from Maidstone Museum." Archaeologia Cantiana 104: 350-67.

King, J. (2004). "Grave-goods as gifts in early Saxon burials." Journal of Social Archaeology 4(2): 214-238.

Klevnäs, A. M. (2004). Disturbing the dead: grave-robbing and body-snatching in Late Iron Age Scandinavia, Unpublished MA dissertation, Uppsala University.

Klevnäs, A. M. (2007). "Robbing the dead at Gamla Uppsala, Sweden." Archaeological Review from Cambridge 22(1): 24-42.

Klinkhammer, H. (2008). Der Topos der Schatzsuche: Raubgräber, Weisheitssucher und Dämonenbeschwörer. Raubgräber - Schatzgräber. F. Brunecker, Biberach: 64-87.

Knüsel, C., R. Janaway, et al. (1996). "Death, decay and ritual reconstruction: archaeological evidence for cadaveric spasm." Oxford Journal of Archaeology 15(2): 121-128.

Koch, U. (1968). Die Grabfunde der Merowingerzeit aus dem Donautal um Regensburg. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter.

Koch, U. (1973). "Das fränkische Gräberfeld von Berghausen." Denkmalpflege in Baden-Württemberg 2: 34.

Koch, U. (1973). "Grabräuber als Zeugen frühen Christentums." Archäologische Nachrichten aus Baden 11: 22-26.

Koch, U. (1974). "Beobachtungen zum frühen Christentum an den fränkischen Gräberfeldern von Bargen und Berghausen in Nordbaden." Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt 4: 259-266.

Koch, U. (1991). Führer zu archäologischen Denkmälern in Deutschland: Heilbronn und das mittlere Neckarland. Stuttgart. 22.

Kokowski, A. (1991). Das Problem der Wiederöffnung der Gräber in den Friedhöfen der Masłomęcz-Gruppe (aus den Studien über die Kulturveränderung bei den Goten während ihrer Wanderung). Peregrinatio Gothica III. Oslo, Universitets Oldsaksamling: 115-132.

Krag, C. (1999). "Hrani-konungsfostri and Olafr-Geirstathaalfr. On the development of two saga figures." Historisk Tidsskrift 129(1): 21-47.

Krogh, K. (1982). "The royal Viking-age monuments at Jelling [Jylland] in the light of recent archaeological excavations. A preliminary report." Acta Archaeologica 53: 183-216.

Krogh, K. (1993). Gåden om kong Groms grav. Herning.

Krüger, K. H. (1978). Grabraub in erzählenden Quellen des frühen Mittelalters. Zum Grabfrevel in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit : Untersuchungen zu Grabraub und 'haugbrot' in Mittel- und Nordeuropa : Bericht über ein Kolloquium der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas vom 14. bis 16. Februar 1977. H. Jankuhn, H. Nehlsen and H. Roth. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 169-187.

Kümmel, C. (2005). Ur- und frühgeschichtlicher Grabraub: Archäologische Interpretation und kulturanthropologische Erklärung, Tübingen. Unpublished PhD Thesis.

Kümmel, C. (2008). Raubgräber der Frühzeit: Grabraub oder Grabmanipulation? Raubgräber - Schatzgräber. F. Brunecker, Biberach: 40-47.

La Baume, P. (1967). Das fränkische Gräberfeld von Junkersdorf bei Köln. Berlin.

La Fontaine, J. S. (1998). Speak of the devil: tales of satanic abuse in contemporary England. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Ladenbauer Orel, H. (1960). Linz-Zizlau. Das baierische Gräberfeld an der Traunmündung. Vienna.

Leahy, K. (2003). Anglo-Saxon crafts. Stroud, Tempus.

Lecouteux, C. (1987). Geschichte der Gespenster und Wiedergänger im Mittelalter. Köln, Böhlau.

Leeds, E. (1938). "An Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Wallingford, Berkshire." Berkshire Archaeological Journal 42: 93-101.

Leeds, E. (1940). "Two Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in North Oxfordshire." Oxonensia V: 23-30.

Leeds, E. and R. Atkinson (1944). "An Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Nassington, Northants." Antiquaries Journal 24: 100-128.

Leeds, E. and D. Harden (1936). The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Abingdon, Oxford. Oxford, Ashmolean Museums, University of Oxford.

Leinthaler, B. (1995-1996). "Ein frühmittlelalterliches Reihengräberfeld bei Eußenheim." Das archäologische Jahr in Bayern: 130-133.

Lillios, K. T. (1999). "Objects of memory: The ethnography and archaeology of heirlooms." Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory 6(3): 235-262.

Lucy, S. (2000). The Anglo-Saxon way of death: burial rites in early England. Stroud, Sutton.

Lucy, S. and A. J. Reynolds (2002). Burial in early medieval England and Wales: past, present and future. Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales. S. Lucy and A. J. Reynolds. London, Society for Medieval Archaeology. 17: 1-23.

Lucy, S., J. Tipper, et al. (2009). Anglo-Saxon Cemetery and Settlement at Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville, Suffolk, East Anglian Archaeology 131.

Lüdemann, H. (1994). "Mehrfachbelegte Gräber im frühen Mittelalter." Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg 19(1): 421-589.

Mack, I., G. McDonnell, et al. (2000). "Liquid steel in Anglo-Saxon England." Historical Metallurgy 34(2).

Macpherson-Grant, N. (1972-3). "Operation Gas Pipe: Thanet section." Kent Archaeological Review 30: 298-301.

Malim, T. and J. Hines (1998). The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Edix Hill (Barrington A), Cambridgeshire. London, Council for British Archaeology.

Malmesbury, W. o. (1964). Gesta Pontificum Anglorum, Rolls Series, Kraus reprint.

Malone, C. A. T., S. K. F. Stoddart, et al., Eds. (2009). Mortuary ritual in prehistoric Malta. The Brochtorff Circle excavations (1987-1994). Cambridge, McDonald Institute.

Mant, A. (1987). Knowledge acquired from post-war exhumations. Death, decay and reconstruction. Approaches to archaeology and forensic science. A. Boddington, A. Garland and R. Janaway. Manchester, Manchester University Press: 65-78.

Map, W. (1983). De nugis curialium: Courtiers' trifles M. James, C. Brooke and R. Mynors. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Marzinzik, S. (2003). Early Anglo-Saxon Belt Buckles (late 5th to early 8th centuries A.D.): Their classification and context. . Oxford.

Marzinzik, S. (2007). But where did it all come from? Production and raw materials in an Early Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Ringlemere, East Kent. The 58th International Sachsensymposium. T. Brattli, Vitark 7.

Matthews, C. (1962). "The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Marina Drive, Dunstable." Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal 1: 25-47.

McDonnell, G. (1989). "Iron and its alloys in the fifth to eleventh centuries AD in England." World Archaeology 20(3).

McKinley, J. (1994). The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham. Part VIII: the cremations. Dereham, East Anglian Archaeology Research Report, 69.

McKinley, J. (2003). "The early Saxon cemetery at Park Lane, Croydon." Surrey Archaeological Collections 90: 1-116.

Meaney, A. (1984). "Ælfric and idolatry." Journal of Religious History 13: 119-128.

Meaney, A. (2001). "Felix's life of St Guthlac: hagiography and/or truth?" Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society 90: 29-48.

Meaney, A. (2003). Anglo-Saxon pagan and early Christian attitudes to the dead. The cross goes north: processes of conversion in northern Europe, AD 300 -1300. M. Carver. York/Woodbridge, York Medieval Press in association with Boydell & Brewer.

Meaney, A. L. (1981). Anglo-Saxon amulets and curing stones. Oxford, British Archaeological Reports.

Meaney, A. L. and S. C. Hawkes (1970). Two Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Winnall, Winchester, Hampshire. London, The Society for Medieval Archaeology.

Meaney, A. L. S. (1964). A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites. London, George Allen & Unwin.

Merkel, J. (1863). Leges Alamannorum. Hannover, Hahn.

Mildenberger, G. (1981). "Tomb desecrations in prehistorical and ancient-times - grave robbing in middle and northern europe - reports from colloquium on the archaeology of middle and northern europe, february 14-16, 1977 - German - Jankuhn, H, Nehlsen, H, Roth, H." Historische Zeitschrift 232 (1): 116.

Millard, L., S. Jarman, et al. (1969). "Anglo-Saxon burials near The Lord of the Manor, Ramsgate. New light on the site of Ozengell?" Archaeologia Cantiana 84: 9-30.

Mittermeier, I. (2003). Die Deutung von Grabbeigaben des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit - eine Interpretationshilfe für das frühe Mittelalter? Erinnerungskultur im Bestattungsritual. J. Jarnut and M. Wemhoff. Munich, Wilhelm Fink: 219-236.

Mortimer, C. (1999). Technical analysis of the cruciform brooch. Völker an Nord- und Ostsee und die Franken. U. von Freeden, U. Koch and A. Wieczorek. Bonn, Habelt: 83–90.

Müller, H. F. (1976). Das alamannische Gräberfeld von Hemmingen (Kreis Ludwigsburg). Stuttgart, Müller & Gräff.

Murphy, E. M., Ed. (2008). Deviant Burial in the Archaeological Record. Studies in Funerary Archaeology 2. Oxford, Oxbow.

Musin, A. (1998). Two churches or two traditions: common traits and peculiarities in northern and Russian Christianity before and after 1054 AD through the archaeological evidence. The view from the East. Rom und Byzanz im Norden. Mission und Glaubenswechsel im Ostseeraum während des 8.-14. Jahrhunderts. Band 2. M. Müller-Wille. Mainz, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und socialwissenschaftlichen Klasse Nr.3, II: 275-295.

Myhre, B. (1994). Haugbrott eller gravplyndring i tidlig kristningtid? Fra Hammer til Kors. 1000 år med kristendom. Brytningstid i Viken. J. B. Hansen, KG. Oslo, Schibsteds: 68-85.

Myres, J. (1977). A corpus of Anglo-Saxon pottery of the pagan period, 1 and 2. Cambridge.

Nehlsen, H. (1978). Der Grabfrevel in der germanischen Rechtsaufzeichnungen - zugleich ein Beitrag zur Diskussion um Todesstrafe und Friedlosigkeit bei den Germanen. Zum Grabfrevel in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit : Untersuchungen zu Grabraub und 'haugbrot' in Mittel- und Nordeuropa : Bericht über ein Kolloquium der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas vom 14. bis 16. Februar 1977. H. Jankuhn, H. Nehlsen and H. Roth. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 107-168.

Nenk, B. S., S. Margeson, et al. (1995). "Medieval Britain and Ireland, 1994." Medieval Archaeology XXXIX: 180-293.

Neuffer, E. M. (1972). Der Reihengräberfriedhof von Donzdorf. Stuttgart, Müller & Gräff.

Neuffer-Müller, C. (1966). Ein Reihengräberfriedhof in Sontheim an der Brenz Stuttgart.

Neuffer-Müller, C. (1972). Das fränkische Gräberfeld von Iversheim.

Neuffer-Müller, C. and H. Ament (1973). Das fränkische Gräberfeld von Rübenach, Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn des Landschaftsverbandes Rheinland.

Neugebauer, J.-W. (1991). Die Nekropole F von Gemeinlebarn, Niederösterreich. Mainz, Phillipp von Zabern.

Neugebauer-Maresch, C. and J.-W. Neugebauer (1997). "Franzhausen. Das frühbronzezeitliche Gräberfeld I." Fundberichte aus Österreich, Materialhefte Reihe A, Heft 5/2, Horn, Berger.

Nightingale, B. (1857-9). "A small collection of antiquities from Kent." Proceedings of the Society of Antiquarians of London 1st Series 4: 334-335.

Norr, S. (2005). "A New Look at King Hakon's Old Helmet, the arhjalmr." Scripta Islandica: 71–86.

O'Brien, E. (1999). Post-Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England: burial practices reviewed. Oxford, BAR.

O'Brien, L. (2004). "Early Anglo-Saxons in Dartford." The Archaeologist 52: 32-33.

Ohler, N. (1990). Sterben und Tod im Mittelalter. München, Artemis.

Owen-Crocker, G. (2004). Dress in Anglo-Saxon England. Woodbridge, Boydell.

Page, W., Ed. (1908). The Victoria History of the County of Kent. The Victoria History of the Counties of England. London.

Palmer, S. (1975). "Poverest - interim report." Archaeologia Cantiana 91: 206-207.

Palmer, S. (1977). "London Borough of Bromley." Archaeologia Cantiana 93: 223.

Palmer, S. (1978). "Poverest Orpington Roman/Saxon site." Archaeologia Cantiana 94: 283-284.

Palmer, S. (1984). Excavation of the Roman and Saxon site at Orpington, London Borough of Bromley, Libraries Department.

Parfitt, K. (1994). "Buckland Anglo-Saxon cemetery, Dover: an interim report." Archaeologia Cantiana 114: 454-456.

Parfitt, K. (1995). "The Buckland Saxon cemetery." Current Archaeology 144: 459-464.

Parfitt, K. (2002). "Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Nonington." Kent Archaeological Review 147: 154-159.

Parfitt, K. (2002). Report on evaluation trenching at Lyminge Anglo-Saxon cemetery, 2002, Dover Archaeological Group unpublished site report.

Parfitt, K. (2003). Report on excavations at Guilton Mill, Ash, 2003, Dover Archaeological Group unpublished site report.

Parfitt, K. (2003). Ringlemere Farm, Woodnesborough. Canterbury's Archaeology 2001-2, Canterbury Archaeological Trust: 34-35.

Parfitt, K. (2003). Ringlemere Farm, Woodnesborough. Canterbury's Archaeology 2002-3, Canterbury Archaeological Trust: 28-29.

Parfitt, K. (2004). "Ancient burials at St Margaret's." Kent Archaeological Society Newsletter(81): 1-2.

Parfitt, K. and B. Brugmann (1997). The Anglo-Saxon cemetery on Mill Hill, Deal, Kent. London, Society for Medieval Archaeology.

Parfitt, K. and B. Corke (2004). Ringlemere Farm, Woodnesborough. Canterbury's Archaeology 2003-4, Canterbury Archaeological Trust: 21-22.

Parfitt, K. and B. Corke (2005). 'Eden Roc', Bay Hill, St Margaret's at Cliffe. Canterbury's Archaeology 2004–2005., Canterbury Archaeological Trust: 31-32.

Parfitt, K. and B. Corke (2006). Ringlemere Farm, Woodnesborough. Canterbury's Archaeology 2004-5, Canterbury Archaeological Trust: 26-27.

Parker Pearson, M. (1993). "The powerful dead: archaeological relationships between the living and the dead." Cambridge Archaeological Journal 3(2): 203-229.

Parsons, F. (1911). "On some Saxon bones from Folkestone." Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 41: 101 - 111.

Parsons, F. (1913). "On some Bronze Age and Jutish bones from Broadstairs, with type contours of all the Bronze Age skulls in the Royal College of Surgeons Museum." Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 43: 550-592.

Pauli, L. (1975). "Keltischer Volksglaube." Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 28.

Payne, G. (1888). "An archaeological survey of Kent." Archaeologia 51(II): 447-468.

Payne, G. (1891-3). "Kentish and Anglo-Saxon remains... from the collection of... Henry Durden." Proceedings of the Society of Antiquarians of London 2nd series 14: 312-5.

Peirce, I. G., Ed. (2007). Swords of the Viking age. Woodbridge, Boydell.

Penn, K. (2000). Excavations on the Norwich southern bypass, 1989-91 Part II: The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Harford Farm, Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk, East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 92. Norwich.

Penn, K. and B. Brugmann (2007). Aspects of Anglo-Saxon inhumation burial: Morning Thorpe, Spong Hill, Bergh Apton and Westgarth Gardens, East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 119.

Périn, P. (1980). La datation des tombes mérovingiennes: historique, méthodes, applications. Genève, Droz.

Perkins, D. (1988). "The site of the church of St Giles, Sarre." Archaeologia Cantiana 105: 291-297.

Perkins, D. and S. Chadwick Hawkes (1984). "The Thanet Gas Pipeline Phases I and II (Monkton Parish), 1982." Archaeologia Cantiana 101: 83-114.

Perkins, D. R. J. (1983). "The Isle of Thanet Archaeological Unit." Archaeologia Cantiana 99: 272.

Perkins, D. R. J. (1985a). "The Monkton gas pipeline: phases III and IV, 1983-84." Archaeologia Cantiana 102: 43-69.

Perkins, D. R. J. (1985b). Wealth, robbery and status in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, North-East London Polytechnic. Bsc.

Perkins, D. R. J. (1987). " The Jutish cemetery at Half Mile Ride, Margate: A Re-appraisal." Archaeologia Cantiana 104: 219-236.

Perkins, D. R. J. (1991). " The Jutish cemetery at Sarre revisited: A rescue evaluation." Archaeologia Cantiana 109: 139-166.

Perkins, D. R. J. (1992). "The Jutish cemetery at Sarre revisited: Part II." Archaeologia Cantiana 110: 83-120.

Perkins, D. R. J. (1997). "Researches and discoveries: a report on work by the Trust for Thanet Archaeology." Archaeologia Cantiana 117: 227-237.

Perkins, D. R. J. (unpub.). Excavations in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Ozengell nr. Ramsgate, Kent, Phase I, 1977.

Pestell, T. and K. Ulmschneider, Eds. (2003). Markets in early medieval Europe. Macclesfield, Windgather.

Philp, B. (1964). "Sevenoaks." Archaeologia Cantiana 79: lix.

Philp, B. (1965). "Saxon cemetery at Polhill, near Sevenoaks." Kent Archaeological Review 1: 3.

Philp, B. (1967). "Further excavations at Polhill." Kent Archaeological Review 10: 2-4.

Philp, B. (1967). "The Saxon cemetery at Polhill." Kent Archaeological Review 9: 2-6.

Philp, B. (1973). Excavations in West Kent 1960-1970. Dover.

Philp, B. (1979). "The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Polhill." Kent Archaeological Review 58: 178.

Philp, B. (2002). The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Polhill near Sevenoaks, Kent 1964-1986, Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit.

Philp, B. (2007). "The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Alkham near Dover." Kent Archaeological Review 170: 213-214.

Philp, B. and S. C. Hawkes (1980). "Four more Anglo-Saxon graves discovered at Polhill." Kent Archaeological Review 58: 178-188.

Philp, B. and P. Keller (2002). The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Eastry, near Dover. West Wickham, Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit.

Philpott, R. (1993). Late Roman cemetery organisation in Britain. Romerzeitliche Graber als Quellen zu Religion, Bevolkerungsstruktur und Sozialgeschichte. M. Struck. Mainz, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte: 413-420.

Philpott, R. A. (1991). Burial practices in Roman Britain: a survey of grave treatment and furnishing AD 43 - 410. Oxford, BAR British Series 219.

Pieta, K. (2008). Das Fürstengrab von Poprad-Matejovce. 59. Internationales Sachsensymposion. Frankfurt am Main.

Pilet, C. (1980). La Nécropole de Frénouville. Oxford.

Pirling, R. (1974). Das Römisch-Fränkische Gräberfeld von Krefeld-Gellep. Berlin.

Planche, J. (1859). "An Anglo-Saxon grave at Guilton." Journal of the British Archaeological Association 15: 290.

Pleiner, R. r. (1993). The Celtic sword. Oxford, Clarendon.

Pleiner, R. r. (2006). Iron in archaeology. Early European blacksmiths. Prague.

Plum, R. (2004). Die merowingerzeitliche Besiedlung in Stadt und Kreis Aachen sowie im Kreis Düren. Mainz.

Priest, S. (1938). "Saxon cemetery, "Riseley", Horton Kirkby." Transactions of the Dartford District Antiquarian Society 8: 14-30.

Raddatz, K. (1978). Zum Grabraub in der Frühen Bronzezeit und in der Römischen Kaiserzeit. Zum Grabfrevel in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit: Untersuchungen zu Grabraub und 'haugbrot' in Mittel- und Nordeuropa: Bericht über ein Kolloquium der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas vom 14. bis 16. Februar 1977. H. Jankuhn, H. Nehlsen and H. Roth. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 48-52.

Rahtz, P., T. Dickinson, et al., Eds. (1980). Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries, 1979. BAR British Series. Oxford.

Randsborg, K. (1998). "Plundered Bronze Age graves. Archaeological and social implications." Acta Archaeologica 69: 113-138.

Redlich, C. (1948). "Erbrecht und Grabbeigaben bei den Germanen." Forsch. u. Fortschr. 24: 177-180.

Reim, H. (1972). Ein alamannische Friedhof in der Fridinger Flur "Spital". Fridingen: Lebenskreise einer Stadt an der oberen Donau. S. Fridingen. Fridingen.

Reiß, R. (1994). Der merowingerzeitliche Reihengräberfriedhof von Westheim (Kreis Weißenburg-Gunzenhausen). Nürnberg, Wissenschaftliche Beibände zum Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 10.

Reynolds, A. J. (1997). The definition and ideology of Anglo-Saxon execution sites and cemeteries. Death and burial in medieval Europe. Papers of the Medieval Europe Brugge 1997 Conference. G. d. Boe and F. Verhaeghe. Zellik [Belgium], Instituut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium: 134 p.

Reynolds, A. J. (2009). Anglo-Saxon deviant burial customs. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Reynolds, N. (1976). "The structure of Anglo-Saxon graves." Antiquity 50: 140-143.

Rhodes, M. (1990). Faussett rediscovered: Charles Roach Smith, Joseph Mayer, and the publication of Inventorium Sepulchrale. Anglo-Saxon cemeteries: a reappraisal. Proceedings of a conference held at Liverpool Museum 1986. E. Southworth. Stroud, Sutton.

Richardson, A. (1994). The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Dover Hill, Folkestone, University of Wales College of Cardiff. BA dissertation.

Richardson, A. (1995). The Lathe of Lympne. A study of a region in Kent, from the 5th to 8th centuries AD, University of Wales College of Cardiff. Unpublished M.Phil thesis.

Richardson, A. (2005). The Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of Kent. Vol 2. Oxford, BAR.

Richardson, A. (2005). The Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of Kent. Vol I. Oxford, BAR.

Riddler, I. and C. Haith (unpublished). The Mount Pleasant Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

Ridyard, S. J. (1988). The royal saints of Anglo-Saxon England: a study of West Saxon and East Anglian cults, Cambridge University Press.

Rittershofer, K.-F. (1987). "Grabraub in der Bronzezeit." Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission 68: 5-23.

Roach Smith, C. (1860). "On Anglo-Saxon remains discovered recently in various places in Kent." Archaeologia Cantiana III: 35-48.

Rodwell, W. and K. Rodwell (1982). "St Peter's, Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire: excavation and structural study, 1978-81." Antiquaries Journal 62: 283-315.

Rolfe, W. (1847-8). "Early Saxon keys, found in a grave at Osengal." Journal of the British Archaeological Association 3: 246.

Rollason, D. (1989). Saints and relics in Anglo-Saxon England. Oxford, Blackwell.

Rose, J. C. and D. L. Burke (2004). "Making money from buried treasure." Culture without Context(14).

Rostoker, W. and B. Bronson (1990). Pre-industrial iron. Its technology and ethnology. Philadelphia, Archaeomaterials monograph 1.

Roth, H. (1977). "Bemerkungen zur Totenberaubung während der Merowingerzeit." Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt: 287–290.

Roth, H. (1978). Archäologische Beobachtungen zum Grabfrevel im Meroweingerreich. Zum Grabfrevel in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit: Untersuchungen zu Grabraub und 'haugbrot' in Mittel- und Nordeuropa: Bericht über ein Kolloquium der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas vom 14. bis 16. Februar 1977. H. Jankuhn, H. Nehlsen and H. Roth. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 53-84.

Røthe, G. (1997). Fra Olav Geierstadalv til Olav den hellige. Gokstadhøvdingen og hans tid. T. Frost. Sandefjord, Sandefjordmuseene: 25-42.

Rowe, A. (1923). Isle of Thanet Gazette and Thanet Times. 20/01/1923: 1.

Rowe, A. (1923). Letter to H.Hurd (19/10/1923). OS Records.

Rowe, A. (1923). Postcard to H.Hurd (31/07/1923). Margate Public Libary.

Ruckdeschel, W. (1985). "Das frühbronzezeitliche Gräberfeld von Mintraching, Ldkr. Regensburg, Bayern." Vorgeschbl 50: 127-182.

Sági, K. r. (1964). "Das langobardische Gräberfeld von Vörs." Acta Archaeologica Hungarica 16: 359-408.

Salin, E. (1952). La civilisation Mérovingienne. Paris.

Samson, R. (1987). "Social structures from Reihengräber: mirror or mirage?" Scottish Archaeological Review 4: 116-126.

Savage, S. H. (1997). "Descent group competition and economic strategies in predynastic Egypt." Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 16: 226-268.

Sayer, D. (2009). The 7th century Kentish family: considering the evidence from the legal codes and cemetery organisation. Mortuary Practice and Social Identities in the Middle Ages. D. Sayer and H. Williams. Exeter, Exeter University Press.

Sayer, D. (2010). "Death and the family. Developing generational chronologies." Journal of Social Archaeology 10.1.

Sayer, D. and H. Williams, Eds. (2009). Mortuary Practice and Social Identities in the Middle Ages. Exeter, Exeter University Press.

Schleifring, J. (1991). "Antiker Grabraub. Ausgrabungsbefunde als Nachweis von Grabraub und Grabfrevel." Das Rheinische Landesmuseum Bonn. Berichte aus der Arbeit des Museums.

Schmidt, B. (1970). Die späte Völkerwanderungszeit in Mitteldeutschland, Katalog (Südteil). Berlin.

Schmidt, B. (1975). Die späte Völkerwanderungszeit in Mitteldeutschland, Katalog (Nord-Ostteil). Berlin.

Schmidt-Wiegand, R. (1978). Wargus. Eine Bezeichnung für den Unrechstäter in ihrem wortgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang. Zum Grabfrevel in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit : Untersuchungen zu Grabraub und 'haugbrot' in Mittel- und Nordeuropa : Bericht über ein Kolloquium der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas vom 14. bis 16. Februar 1977. H. Jankuhn, H. Nehlsen and H. Roth. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 188-196.

Schoppa, H. (1950). "Der fränkische Friedhof bei Eltville im Rheingau-Kreis." Nassauische Annalen 61: 1-105.

Schröder, A. (2007). The Anglo-Saxon cemetery of Lyminge, Kent, Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn. MA.

Scott-Robertson, W. (1878). "Archaeological notes on Thanet." Archaeologia Cantiana 12: 329-419.

Scragg, D., Ed. (1989). Superstition and popular medicine in Anglo-Saxon England. Manchester, Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies.

Scull, C. (2001). Local and regional identities and processes of state formation in fifth- to seventh-century England: some archaeological problems. Kingdoms and regionality. Transactions from the 49th Sachsensymposium 1998 in Uppsala. B. Arrhenius. Stockholm, Archaeological Research Laboratory, University of Stockholm: 121-125.

Scull, C., Ed. (2009). Early Medieval (Late 5th-Early 8th Centuries AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket, Ipswich, Suffolk. Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph, Volume 27, Society for Medieval Archaeology.

Scull, C. and A. Bayliss (1999). Dating burials of the seventh and eighth centuries: a case study from Ipswich, Suffolk. The pace of change: studies in early-medieval chronology. J. Hines, K. Høilund Nielsen and F. Siegmund. Oxford, Oxbow.

Scurrell, D. (1964). "Isle of Thanet." Archaeologia Cantiana 79: lx.

Scurrell, D. (1970). "Isle of Thanet." Archaeologia Cantiana 85.

Scurrell, D. (1971). "Thanet." Archaeologia Cantiana 86.

Semple, S. (1998). "A Fear of the Past: The Place of the Prehistoric Burial Mound in the Ideology of Middle and Later Anglo-Saxon England." World Archaeology 30: 109-126.

Semple, S. and H. Williams (2007). Early medieval mortuary practices: new perspectives. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.

Seracsin, A. (1936). "Das langobardische Reihengräberfeld von Schwechat bei Wien." Mannus: deutsche Zeitschrift für Vorgeschichte 28: 521-533.

Sharpe, R. (2002). Martyrs and local saints in late antique Britain. Local saints and local churches in the early medieval west. A. Thacker and R. Sharpe. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 75-154.

Shaw, R. (1994). "The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Eccles: a preliminary report." Archaeologia Cantiana CXIV: 165-188.

Shetelig, H. (1945). "The Viking graves in Great Britain and Ireland." Acta Archaeologica 16: 1-55.

Shook, L. (1960). "The burial mound in *Guthlac A*." Modern Philology 58: 1-10.

Siewers, A. (2003). "Landscapes of conversion: Guthlac's mound and Grendel's mere as expressions of Anglo-Saxon nation-building." Viator 34: 1-39.

Skinner, M. F., H. P. York, et al. (2001). Postburial disturbance of graves in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Advances in forensic taphonomy: method, theory, and archaeological perspective. W. D. Haglund and M. H. Sorg, CRC Press: 293-309.

Smith (1908). The Anglo-Saxon remains. The Victoria History of the County of Kent. W. Page. London. 1: 339-389.

Smith, C. (1860). "On Anglo-Saxon remains discovered recently in various places in Kent." Archaeologia Cantiana 3: 35-46.

Smith, C. R. (1844). "An account of some antiquities found in the neighbourhood of Sandwich, in the county of Kent." Archaeologia 30: 132-136.

Smith, C. R. (1845-6). "Discoveries of Anglo-Saxon antiquities... Ramsgate." Journal of the British Archaeological Association 1: 242-243.

Smith, C. R. (1849). "Discoveries of Saxon antiquities at Gilton, near Ash, in Kent." Journal of the British Archaeological Association 4: 385-6.

Smith, C. R. (1868). Collectanea Antiqua VI. London.

Society, B. a. S. P. s. A. (1973). Archaeological discoveries in Broadstairs and St Peter's up to 1972. Broadstairs, Broadstairs and St Peter's Archaeological Society.

Southworth, E., Ed. (1990). Anglo-Saxon cemeteries: a reappraisal. Proceedings of a conference held at Liverpool Museum 1986, Sutton.

Sparey-Green, C. (2003). Horton, Chartham. Canterbury's Archaeology 2001-2002, Canterbury Archaeological Trust.

Spindler, K., Ed. (1971-1980). Magdalenenberg I - VI: Der hallstattzeitliche Fürstengrabhügel bei Villingen im Schwarzwald. Villingen, Neckar-Verlag.

Sprenger, S. (1999). "Zur Bedeutung des Grabraubes für sozioarchäologische Gräberfeldanalysen: eine Untersuchung am frühbronzezeitlichen Gräberfeld Franzhausen I, Niederösterreich." Fundberichte aus Österreich Materialhefte. Heft 7; Reihe A, Horn, Berger.

Staecker, J. (2005). "The concepts of *imitatio* and *translatio*: perceptions of Viking-age past." Norwegian Archaeological Review 38(1): 3-28.

Starley, D. (2009). The Metallurgical Examination of Ferrous Grave Goods from Wasperton Anglo-Saxon Cemetery MN80-85, Royal Armouries Technological Report 2006/1.

Stebbing, W. and W. Whiting (1929). "Jutish Cemetery near Finglesham, Kent." Archaeologia Cantiana 41: 115-125.

Stein, F. (1961). "Das alamannische Gräberfeld von Göggingen, Ldkr. Augsburg." Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter 26: 75-107.

Stephens, W. (2006). Early medieval glass vessels found in Kent: a catalogue of the glass vessels of European migrants to Kent, from approximately AD 450-700, in museums, archaeological trusts and societies, and private collections. Oxford, BAR British Series 424.

Steuer, H. (1982). Frühgeschichtliche Sozialstrukturen in Mitteleuropa: eine Analyse der Auswertungsmethoden des archäologischen Quellenmaterials. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Steuer, H., H. Beck, et al. (1998). "Grabraub." Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 12: 516-527.

Stevenson, A. (2007). "The aesthetics of Predynastic Egyptian burial: funerary performances in the fourth millennium BC." Archaeological Review from Cambridge 22.1: 75-91.

Stevenson, J. (1840). Anglo-Saxon ritual of the church of Durham / Rituale Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis, nunc primum typis mandatum, Surtees Society.

Stoddart, S., M. Wysocki, et al. (1999). The articulation of disarticulation: preliminary thoughts on the Brochtorff circle at Xaghra (Gozo). The loved body's corruption: archaeological contributions to the study of human mortality. J. Downes and A. J. Pollard. Glasgow, Scottish Archaeological Forum, Cruithne Press: 94-105.

Stoll, H. (1939). Die Alamannengräber von Hailfingen in Wurttemberg. Berlin.

Stoodley, N. (1999). The Spindle and the Spear: a Critical Enquiry into the Construction and Meaning of Gender in the Early Anglo-Saxon burial rite. Oxford.

Stoodley, N. (2000). "From the cradle to the grave: age organization and the early Anglo-Saxon burial rite." World Archaeology 31(3): 456-472.

Stoodley, N. (2002). Multiple Burials, Multiple Meanings? Interpreting the Early Anglo-Saxon Multiple Interment. Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales. S. Lucy and A. Reynolds. London, Society for Medieval Archaeology. 17: 103-121.

Stoodley, N. (2007). New perspectives on cemetery relocation in the seventh century AD: the example of Portway, Andover. Anglo-Saxon studies in Archaeology and History 14. S. Semple and H. Williams. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology: 154-162.

Stork, I. (1997). Als Persönlichkeit ins Jenseits. Bestattungsitte und Grabraub als Kontrast. Die Alamannen, Begleitband zu Ausstellung "Die Alammannen" 14.6-14.9.1997, Stuttgart: 418-432.

Storms, G. (1948). Anglo-Saxon magic. The Hague, Nijhoff.

Stoyel, A. (1959). "The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Polhill." Archaeologia Cantiana 73: 225-226.

Stuchlík, S. (1987). Únětické pohřebiště v Mušově. Prague, Academia.

Svoboda, B. (1965). "Böhmen in der Völkerwanderungszeit." Monumenta Archaeologica 13: 140.

Tamla, T. (1998). Zum Grabraub in vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Gräbern in Estland. Studien zur Archäologie des Ostseeraumes: 291-297.

Tarlow, S. (1997). The dread of something after death: violation and desecration on the Isle of Man in the tenth century. Material harm: archaeological studies of war and violence. J. Carman. Glasgow, Cruithne Press: 133-142.

Taylor, A. (2008). Aspects of deviant burial in Roman Britain. Deviant Burial in the Archaeological Record. E. M. Murphy. Oxford, Oxbow: 91-115.

Tejral, J. (1977). Grundzüge der Völkerwanderungszeit in Mähren. Prague.

Tejral, J. (2008). Zur Frage der norddanubischen, aufwändigen Grabstätten aus der Schlussphase der langobardischen Herrschaft im Mitteldonauraum, ihre Zeitstellung und Bedeutung. 59. Internationales Sachsensymposion. Frankfurt am Main.

Tester, P. (1956). "An Anglo-Saxon occupation site at Dartford." Archaeologia Cantiana 70: 256-259.

Tester, P. (1968). "An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Orpington, first interim report." Archaeologia Cantiana 83: 125-150.

Tester, P. (1969). "Excavations at Fordcroft, Orpington: concluding report." Archaeologia Cantiana 84: 39-77.

Tester, P. (1977). "Further notes on the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Orpington." Archaeologia Cantiana 93: 201-202.

Thacker, A. (2002). *Loca sanctorum*: the significance of place in the study of the saints. Local saints and local churches in the early medieval west. A. Thacker and R. Sharpe. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 1-44.

Thacker, A. (2002). The making of a local saint. Local saints and local churches in the early medieval west. A. Thacker and R. Sharpe. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 45-74.

Thacker, A. and R. Sharpe (2002). Local saints and local churches in the early medieval west. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Thäte, E. (1996). "Alt Denkmäler under frühgeschichtliche Bestattungen: ein sächsisch-angelsächsischer Totenbrauch und seine Kontinuität." Archäologische Informationen 19(1/2): 105-116.

Theuws, F. (1999). Changing settlement patterns, burial grounds and the symbolic construction of ancestors and communities in the late Merovingian southern Netherlands. Settlement and Landscape. C. Fabech and J. Ringtved. Moesgaard, Jutland Archaeological Society: 337-350.

Theuws, F. and M. Alkemade (2000). A kind of mirror for men: sword depositions in late antique northern Gaul. Rituals of power from late antiquity to the early Middle Ages. F. Theuws and J. L. Nelson. Leiden, E. J. Brill: 401-476.

Thiedmann, A. and J. Schleifring (1992). "Bemerkungen zur Praxis frühmittelalterlichen Grabraubs." Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt 33.

Thomas, I. (1974). The Cult of Saints' Relics in Medieval England. London, University of London. Ph.D.

Thompson, V. (2003). The view from the edge: dying, power and vision in Late Saxon England. Boundaries in Early Medieval Britain. D. Griffiths, A. J. Reynolds and S. Semple. Oxford, Oxford University School of Archaeology. 12: 92-97.

Thompson, V. (2004). Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England.

Thrane, H. (1978). Beispiele für Grabraub aus der Bronzezeit Dänemarks. Zum Grabfrevel in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit: Untersuchungen zu Grabraub und 'haugbrot' in Mittel- und Nordeuropa: Bericht über ein Kolloquium der Kommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas vom 14. bis 16. Februar 1977. H. Jankuhn, H. Nehlsen and H. Roth. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 9-17.

Timby, J. R. (1996). The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Empingham II, Rutland. Oxford, Oxbow Books.

Trust, C. A. (1999). North Of Saltwood Tunnel, Kent. ARC SLT 98C Detailed Archaeological Works, Interim Report. Channel Tunnel Rail Link, Union Railways (South) Ltd.

Trust, C. A. (2000). North Of Saltwood Tunnel, Kent. ARC SLT 99 Southern Section, Detailed Archaeological Works, Interim Report. Channel Tunnel Rail Link, Union Railways (South) Ltd.

Tsaliki, A. (2008). Unusual burials and necrophobia: an insight into the burial archaeology of fear. Deviant Burial in the Archaeological Record. E. M. Murphy. Oxford, Oxbow: 1-16.

Turner, R. (1990). "A Romano-British Cemetery at Lanchester, Durham." Archaeologia Aeliana XVIII(5th series): 63-77.

Tylecote, R. F. (1986). The prehistory of metallurgy in the British Isles. London.

Tylecote, R. F. (1987). The early history of metallurgy in Europe. London.

Tyler, S. (1992). "Anglo-Saxon settlement in the Darent Valley and its environs." Archaeologia Cantiana 110: 71-81.

Verwers, W. (1987). North Brabant in Roman and early medieval times, IV: the Merovingian cemeteries. Amersfoort, Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek.

von Freeden, U. (2008). "Wer Stört Gräber? Grabstörungen ohne Graböffnungen." Acta Archaeologica Hungarica 59(2): 247-255.

Wahl, J. and F. Brunecker (2008). Der beraubte Merowinger: nicht für die Ewigkeit gebettet. Raubgräber - Schatzgräber. F. Brunecker, Biberach: 60-63.

Waldron, T. (1987). The relative survival of the human skeleton: implications for palaeopathology. Death, decay and reconstruction. Approaches to archaeology and forensic science. A. Boddington, A. Garland and R. Janaway. Manchester, Manchester University Press: 55-64.

Waldron, T. (2007). St Peter's, Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire: a parish church and its community. Oxford, Oxbow.

Walsh, R. (1980). "Recent investigations at the Anglo-Saxon cemetery, Darenth Park hospital, Dartford." Archaeologia Cantiana XCVI: 305-320.

Walton Rodgers, P. (2007). Cloth and clothing in early Anglo-Saxon England AD 450-700. York, Council for British Archaeology.

Warhurst, A. (1952). "Excavations on Holborough Hill." Archaeologia Cantiana 65: 192.

Warhurst, A. (1954-5). "The excavation of the Jutish cemetery at Lyminge, Kent." The Archaeological Newsletter 5(11): 228-230.

Warhurst, A. (1955). "The Jutish cemetery at Lyminge." Archaeologia Cantiana LXIX: 1-40.

Webster, L. E. (1972). "Medieval Britain in 1971: I, Pre-conquest." Medieval Archaeology 16: 147-70.

Webster, L. E. (1977). "Medieval Britain in 1971: I, Pre-conquest." Medieval Archaeology 21: 204-222.

Webster, L. E. (1982). "An Anglo-Saxon seventh-century pendant from the Old Westgate Farm site, Canterbury." Antiquaries Journal 62: 374-5.

Webster, L. E. and J. Cherry (1974). "Medieval Britain in 1973." Medieval Archaeology 18: 174-223.

Webster, L. E. and J. Cherry (1975). "Medieval Britain in 1974." Medieval Archaeology 19: 220-260.

Webster, L. E. and J. Cherry (1976). "Medieval Britain in 1975." Medieval Archaeology 20: 158-176.

Wehrberger, K. (1984). "Das hallstattzeitliche Gräberfeld von Werbach, Main-Tauber-Kreis." Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg 9: 81-221.

Welch, M. (1983). Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex. Oxford, British Archaeological Reports British Series 112.

Welch, M. (1991). "Contacts across the Channel between the fifth and seventh centuries: a review of the archaeological evidence." Studien zur Sachsenforschung 7(Ed. Häßler, H. Veröffentlichungen der urgeschichtlichen Sammlungen des Landesmuseums zu Hannover 39 (Hildesheim)): 261-269.

Welch, M. (2002). Cross-channel contacts between Anglo-Saxon England and Merovingian Francia. Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales. S. Lucy and A. Reynolds. London, Society for Medieval Archaeology. 17: 122-131.

Welch, M. (2007). Anglo-Saxon Kent. The archaeology of Kent to AD 800. J. H. Williams. Woodbridge, Kent County Council and Boydell Press.

Welch, M. (2008). "Report on excavations of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Updown, Eastry, Kent." Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 15: 1-146.

Werner, J. (1950). "Zur Entstehung der Reihengräberzivilisation. Ein Beitrag zur Methode der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie." Archaeologia Geographica 1: 23-32.

Werner, J. (1953). Der alamannische Gräberfeld von Bülach. Basel, Birkhäuser.

Werner, J. (1955). Das alamannische Reihengräberfeld von Mindelheim.

Werner, J. (1962). Die Langobarden in Pannonien, Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

White, R. (1988). Roman and Celtic objects from Anglo-Saxon graves: a catalogue and an interpretation of their use. BAR 191 Oxford.

White, R. (1990). Scrap or substitute: Roman material in Anglo-Saxon graves. Anglo-Saxon cemeteries: a reappraisal: proceedings of a conference held at Liverpool Museum 1986. E. Southworth. Stroud, Sutton.

Whitelock, D. (1985). English historical documents c. 500-1042. London, Methuen.

Williams, H., Ed. (2003). Archaeologies of remembrance: death and memory in past societies. New York, London, Kluwer Academic / Plenum Publishers.

Williams, H. (2003). "Material culture as memory: combs and cremation in early medieval Britain." Early Medieval Europe 12: 89-128.

Williams, H. (2003). Remembering and forgetting the medieval dead. Exploring death, memory and material culture in monastic archaeology. Archaeologies of remembrance: death and memory in past societies. H. Williams. New York.

Williams, H. (2004). Artefacts in early medieval graves - a new perspective. Proceedings of 'Debating Late Antiquity' conference. R. Collins and J. Gerrard. Oxford, BAR British Series 365: 89-102.

Williams, H. (2005). "Keeping the dead at arm's length: memory, weaponry and early medieval mortuary techniques." Journal of Social Archaeology 5(2): 253-275.

Williams, H. (2006). Death and memory in early medieval Britain. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Williams, H. (2007). Transforming body and soul: toilet implements in early Anglo-Saxon graves. Anglo-Saxon studies in Archaeology and History 14. S. Semple and H. Williams. Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.

Williams, J. H., Ed. (2007). The archaeology of Kent to AD 800. Kent History Project 8. Woodbridge, Kent County Council and Boydell Press.

Willson, J. (1984). "Further Saxon burials from Breach Down, Barham." Kent Archaeological Review 76: 125-130.

Willson, J. (1990). "Rescue excavations on the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Eastry, 1989." Kent Archaeological Review 100: 229-231.

Wilson, D. (1956). "An Anglo-Saxon grave near Dartford, Kent." Archaeologia Cantiana 70: 187-91.

Wilson, D. (1956). "The initial excavation of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Melbourn, Cambridgeshire." Proceedings of the Cambridgeshire Archaeological Society XLIX: 29-41.

Wilson, D. (1958). "Medieval Britain in 1957: I, Pre-conquest." Medieval Archaeology 2: 183-90.

Wilson, D. (1960). "Medieval Britain in 1959: I, Pre-conquest." Medieval Archaeology 4: 134-139.

Wilson, D. (1966). "Medieval Britain in 1965: I, Pre-conquest." Medieval Archaeology 10: 168-76.

Wilson, D. (1967). "Medieval Britain in 1966: I, Pre-conquest." Medieval Archaeology 11: 262-272.

Wilson, D. (1969). "Medieval Britain in 1968: I, Pre-conquest." Medieval Archaeology 13: 230-243.

Wilson, D. (1970). "Medieval Britain in 1969: I, Pre-conquest." Medieval Archaeology 14: 155-165.

Wilson, D. (1971). "Medieval Britain in 1970: I, Pre-conquest." Medieval Archaeology 15: 124-137.

Wilson, D. (1992). Anglo-Saxon Paganism. London and New York, Routledge.

Wood, I. (1992). Frankish hegemony in England. The age of Sutton Hoo. M. O. H. Carver. Woodbridge: 235-241.

Wright, R., I. Hanson, et al. (2005). The archaeology of mass graves. Advances in forensic archaeology. J. Hunter and M. Cox, Routledge.

Wright, T. History of Ludlow.

Wright, T. (1844). "An account of the opening of barrows in Bourne Park, near Canterbury." The Archaeological Journal 1: 253-6.

Wright, T. (1844). "On antiquarian excavations and researches in the Middle Ages." Archaeologia 30: 438-457.

Wright, T. (1845). The archaeological album: or, museum of national antiquities. London.

Wright, T. (1850). "An early Anglo-Saxon barrow on Barham Downs." Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries 1st Series 2: 174-176.

Wright, T. (1852). The Celt, the Roman and the Saxon. London.

Young, K. B. (1975). Merovingian funeral rites and the evolution of Christianity: a study in the historical interpretation of archaeological material, University of Pennsylvania. PhD.

Youngs, S. M. (1981). "Medieval Britain in 1980: I, Pre-conquest." Medieval Archaeology 25: 166-186.

Youngs, S. M. and J. Clark (1982). "Medieval Britain in 1981." Medieval Archaeology 26: 189-190.

Youngs, S. M., J. Clark, et al. (1985). "Medieval Britain in 1984." Medieval Archaeology 29: 158-230.

Appendix 1: Kent Sites

This appendix presents detailed information about the 32 burial grounds under study. The sites are divided into three rough groups (Fig. 9, Tables 6, 7, 8). Eight cemeteries have significant evidence of early disturbance. Ten have reports of robbing on a very small scale, or which lack supporting data. The remaining 14 sites are categorized as showing no evidence of early grave robbing. The main references are given for each site; for further references see Richardson 2005b.

For each site any possible evidence of deliberate early disturbance is set out and evaluated. Other forms of disturbance are also discussed, including plough damage, animal burrowing, unrecorded antiquarian excavation, and recent robbing. How excavators distinguish between the various types of disturbance and other taphonomic processes is a question addressed in the specific preservation context of each site.

Appendix 1.1 Kent Sites: extensive early disturbance

This section discusses in detail the eight Kent cemeteries at which high levels of disturbance in antiquity have been reported (Table 6, Fig. 9).

Broadstairs I, Bradstow School (Dumpton Park, Valetta House)

(Hurd & Smith 1910, Hurd 1913, Parsons 1913, Scurrell 1964, 1970, Webster 1972, 1974, 1975, O'Brien, 1999, Diack 2004, Richardson 2005, Trust for Thanet Archaeology 2006, Hart 2006, excavation archive held by British Museum.)

Table 9, Fig. 12

Bradstow School has been the subject of several phases of excavation. The first recorded work at the site was carried out in 1910 and 1911 by Howard Hurd, after soil removal for a new driveway exposed graves. Hurd opened a total of around 39 graves of prehistoric and early medieval date. Information about his work is limited, and mostly confined to the artefacts. A copy of his main 1913 report survives in the British Museum archive. No grave robbing is noted in any of the records, but it is doubtful whether this could be expected. On the other hand, Hurd does record some graves with "displaced skulls" (Hurd & Smith 1910: 276).

The main phase of excavation was carried out in 1970-4 by Leslie Webster for the British Museum. Around 92 new graves were excavated, with two of Hurd's graves reopened, although there is some confusion about the numbers (Webster lecture 1978, Diack 2004). Again the graves included both prehistoric and Anglo-Saxon burials, with the early medieval cemetery focused on

a series of Bronze Age barrows and cutting through Iron Age occupation debris. The results of these excavations have not been published, but for the purposes of this thesis access was kindly permitted to the archive in the British Museum.

The archive includes the site documentation and such post-excavation work as has been carried out: most usefully a draft grave catalogue dated to 1977 and the text of a lecture which gives a sense of how the excavator saw the site as a whole in 1978. The site documentation here is much fuller and franker than exists for most of the disturbed cemeteries. The journal and cutting book allow reconstruction of the process of excavation of each grave in a way that is never carried over into a conventional site report. The records relate the excavators' evolving interpretations as each layer is dug: there is no facade of certainty, no retrospective conclusion imposed on the evidence. This candid narrative is particularly valuable when the diggers encounter the completely unexpected evidence of early disturbance (Table 9).

The chagrined reaction of the Bradstow School excavators to each disturbed grave is typical across the sites in this study. Ancient robbing is seen as loss, as the removal of hoped-for data. The excavation of Gr 15, for example, is described in the site journal as "The big event - & disappointment of the day". Nevertheless, the detail in which the disturbed graves are recorded at Bradstow School along with the interjected comments about possible interpretations show that the disturbed burials became an object of interest and probably some speculation on the site. Implicit throughout the records is the impression that robbing was contemporary with the cemetery, that the robbers knew what was in the graves and targeted the rich ones. On Gr 67, for example: "This grave stands isolated in this area of the cemetery, with no other rich shield-graves nearby. The fact that it has been robbed also suggests that it was perhaps more grandly furnished still than 71 or 66 or 74" (Cutting book 184) and "its great depth suggests it may have been richly furnished" (Cutting Book 183).

For the purposes of this analysis, the records have been pieced together to identify 19 burials in 18 graves as probably robbed in antiquity. Table 9 also includes a number of graves in which robbing was a possibility, but is thought unlikely. All the notes in the various records relating to each grave are compiled in the table to give as full a picture as possible. Curiously, it is not the graves (Gr 4 and 12) which have previously been reported as robbed at this site which have the strongest evidence. The affected graves are discussed individually below, to demonstrate the nature of the disturbed remains and the problems of interpretation.

In most graves skeletons were at least disarticulated at time of disturbance and in some cases (e.g. Gr 97), actually fragmentary. Iron was friable in e.g. Gr 67, in which the two halves of the shield grip ended up at opposite sides of the grave. Gr 72 is the only case in which the body may still have held together during disturbance. Even here the evidence is not compelling, although it cannot be fully assessed without grave plans. The ASKED database gives Gr 72 a likely burial date sometime between about AD 640 and 700, presumably on the basis of the bronze buckle, but it was not possible to view and redate artefacts for this study. If the date is accurate and the decapitation is post-burial, this reopening almost certainly happened within the mid to late 7th century. The dating is discussed further in Chapter 4.9.

In 2003 two further Anglo-Saxon graves were discovered by Canterbury Archaeological Trust during evaluation work at the site. One was excavated and found to contain no grave goods. The only bones mentioned are the eroded shanks of the left and right femurs. It appeared to be oriented west-east, like most of those found in 1970s, and so was dated by inference to the seventh century (Diack 2004, Hart 2006).

The Trust for Thanet Archaeology carried out another evaluation of the site in January 2006 and Archaeology South-East excavated there in May and June of that year (Hart 2006). A large Bronze Age round barrow (ditch with internal diameter of 23m) was found, with a possible robbed grave in the centre: "A rectangular pit had also been dug by the builders in the exact centre of the barrow. The feature was empty, but the mixed nature of its fill suggested that it may have been a grave robbed out in antiquity (Hart 2006: 14).

A few metres away was found a much smaller, undisturbed Bronze Age barrow containing several interments, along with 3 undated 4-post structures and a possible boundary ditch for the AS cemetery. Finally there was a single east-west orientated grave at the edge of the excavation, believed to be part of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery. This "contained little other than a few disarticulated fragments of human bone and it is probable that this feature was robbed out in antiquity. Its clearly Christian character, however, (i.e. its orientation) suggests that it formed part of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery described above" (Hart 2006: 15). These recently found examples of disturbance have not been included in the tables, since they lack grave numbers and full details. However, they confirm that evidence of early disturbance was apparent to two quite different teams of excavators, 30 years apart.

Grave 4

This grave has previously been reported as robbed (Broadstairs and St Peter's Archaeological Society 1973: 7). However, full consideration of the evidence suggests this is unlikely.

Right from the start Gr 4 was a difficult excavation project, with poorly defined edges and an additional cut from a later ("duckpond") feature (site journal 35-36). Then as work progressed, suspicions of disturbance were raised by the loose fill and the unusual outline which "shelves v. slowly, and looks rather as though it could have been dug into at some time" (cutting book 27). This disturbed impression seemed confirmed by "the presence in upper fill of two large frags of ?scapula (poss. human) well down above pelvic area" (cutting book 27). Perhaps the grave was robbed, or alternatively traces of small rodent bone in the upper fill suggested disturbance might be due to their burrowing, or to foxes (site journal 42).

However, despite the excavators' lowered expectations, the skull and long bones of the legs were soon revealed in situ in their anatomical positions, about 9" further down. The rest of the body soon followed, and a sketch of the fully uncovered burial (Gr 4 "swift continuation plan") shows an apparently complete skeleton. An iron knife, buckle and box fittings also lay as expected with the body (draft grave catalogue, 1977). The stray scapula had presumably come from "something – or someone – else" (cutting book 27). The ledges around the rim of the grave "thought at first robber cuttings – they're very shallow shelves which could be later cuttings" were reinterpreted as shelves for planks (site journal 38-39).

Yet the burial still had an unusual appearance. The site journal describes the skeleton as "very contorted" (site journal 44), while the cutting book more specifically attributes the oddness to the arms, with "the R one being at a very odd angle & poss broken before death". The later draft grave catalogue suggests there may have been "post-mortem disturbance producing curious position of right forearm pointing sharply upwards" (draft grave catalogue, 1977).

In the absence of final bone or site reports, it has not been possible to resolve the interpretation of the grave. However, three main possibilities suggest themselves. First, the scapulae fragments may have been incorporated into the fill from other disturbed graves, or from the Iron Age remains that litter several areas of the site (cutting book 57, 87). Nearby Gr 20 had redeposited Iron Age material including animal bone in the fill (cutting book 87), and the Gr 4 scapulae are not definitely identified as human.

Second, the scapulae may have been redeposited by scavengers, as the rodent bones suggested. This might have occurred at any point since the burial. However, as the remains were heavily

decayed and soil processes had removed evidence of burrows, it can perhaps be placed earlier rather than later. It is chiefly shallow or surface burials which are affected by scavengers. We have no means of knowing how far below the contemporary ground surface these Anglo-Saxon graves were placed, but it is not inconceivable that some were shallow enough to be opened by scavengers. In this case, the unusual position of the corpse may be the result of dragging by a large animal such as fox or dog pulling at the hand. Paul Barber (1988: 133-146) describes many comparable cases where scavengers left hands actually protruding from graves, leading to macabre tales of live burial.

The third possibility is that the intact skeleton was a secondary burial, cut through and largely obliterating the first, which is represented only by the redeposited shoulder blades. Such graves, described variously as consecutive multiple burials or secondary re-use, are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.2. Secondary burials with evidence of violence to the deceased, as in the contorted position and damage to the arm of the Gr 4 corpse, recur at several sites.

Grave 8

There was a "?disturbed" area in the fill in the centre of this grave, where the coffin line disappeared and two iron fragments were found in this disturbed fill. No disturbance was reported to the underlying burial with its spearhead and knife, although the notes give the impression that preservation was in any case too poor for minor disorder to be detectable (cutting book 89).

Grave 11

As work begins on Gr 11 the site journal describes it as "an exceptionally wide grave with flaking shelving sides". The accompanying sketch shows what may be a secondary cut widening the N side. This appears to obliterate a postulated matching pair to the posthole on the S side (site journal 78). The notes comment "A rather shattered N outline threatened at first, but this confined only to this side on further cleaning. Traces of PH in S edge, E end but N side less certain" (cutting book 71).

Clearly similar difficulties were faced here as in Gr 4 (see above) in distinguishing between robbing cuts and structural features. "Finding cuts" or slight re-cuts of the upper parts of grave cuts are noted in a few graves at most of the disturbed sites, and seem to indicate robbers' attempts to locate the exactly where to dig into the grave fills (Perkins 1985a: 45, Chapter 5.1).

As the grave is opened, "The worst is confirmed by bone sticking up at all angles everywhere – tibia sticking upright in fill at E end, pelvis frag just to W of it, skull turned over on face" (cutting book 71). No finds, and "it seems clearly robbed" (site journal 81). The rotation of the skull may have been deliberate, as it was flanked by two large flints (sketch in cutting book 71). Intentional rearrangement of skeletal parts in disturbed graves is highly unusual, and perhaps evidence of attempts to set revenants to rest or to prevent revenge by the robbed dead (Chapter 6.3).

The loose nature of the fill is noted several times. After 'compact humic appearance at highest level", it quickly turns into "very loose, pockety, rubble fill" (cutting book 71), apparently noticeably different from the fill of the undisturbed graves excavated up to this point.

Grave 12

Gr 12 has previously been reported as robbed (Härke 1992: 65). However, the evidence is not as substantial as for some other graves at the site.

Like Gr 72, this burial was surrounded by a penannular ditch indicative of the original existence of a barrow. Gr 12 was dug, along with Gr 13 and several others, by excavators from Cecil Hogarth's site, pupils from his school's archaeological society, who also excavated the nearby St Peter's Tip cemetery. St Peter's is well known for the high proportion of graves with internal and external structural features (Hogarth 1973), and also remarkable for a high level of early grave robbery (see below). As work on Gr 12 began, the director commented that one of these excavators "thinks he can identify loose areas in fill wh. could be post-holes, an analogy with St Peter's Tip" (site journal 70).

But interpretation soon moved towards robbing, as the rubbly upper fill proved reminiscent of that in nearby Gr 11. Finds of a fragment of medieval tile and a tiny red glass bead in the upper fill also pointed that way (site journal 94).

The skeleton, once revealed, proved to be substantially in situ but "in curious attitude – crooked R leg ?an old wound or rigor mortis" (cutting book 95). The site journal notes that "The skeleton is v oddly laid – R leg akimbo, if such legs can be, & and the arms clasped oddly at R side. Bones in poor condition, but carpals, metacarpals and phalanges have survived oddly well" (site journal 96). The draft grave catalogue has "skull displaced to W and right humerus absent" (draft grave catalogue, 1977). The catalogue lists the finds as the glass bead from the fill, bronze buckle, iron nail, and iron knife.

The unusual position of the legs finds parallels at St Peter's (below) where several undisturbed bodies seem to have been buried with the knees bent and raised. There is therefore no reason to see this as evidence of early reopening and repositioning of the corpse.

On the other hand, the rubbly fill with its loose areas may be evidence of robber entry, and on the plan there does seem to be some disturbance to the area of the head, neck and right arm, including the apparent removal of the humerus. If this is robbing, it happened after skeletonization.

The artefacts in the upper fill are likely to be examples of objects collecting in hollows above graves, especially disturbed graves (Chapter 5.3).

Grave 13

Cecil Hogarth's pupils also excavated Gr 13, initially describing it as "large with a very loose fill, possibly robbed" (site journal 70). Some sort of secondary cut into the grave was identified, perhaps another shallow grave set at an angle (site journal 73), though robbing remained a possibility (site journal 74). The cutting book notes that both this grave and Gr 1 from the first season are distinctly pear-shaped, and the accompanying sketch appears to show extensions to the grave cut producing this unusual form (cutting book 73).

But once the grave was fully opened, no further mention of robbing was made in the records. Skeletal preservation was very poor, but "splendid bone silhouettes" were photographed and finds included wood, leather, 2 bronze buckles, an iron spearhead, and an iron knife. The presence of grave-goods and absence of apparent disorder in the grave contents seem to have negated initial suspicions of disturbance.

Grave 15

Expectations were high as work began on this grave: "excavation began with some hopes since its alignment and proximity to gr. 10 suggested it could be a grave from the earliest phase of the site e.g. C5 or early C6" (cutting book 81). However, unusual features were immediately noted, with apparent expansion to one or both sides of the grave. Internal structures, recutting for a secondary burial, and plough damage were all considered.

In the end though, "The big event - & disappointment of the day was the excavation of 15 which proved it totally disturbed and empty of all but a few ?long bone frags at S end (head end, judging by its plan)" (site journal 89). This "tiny pile of frag. long bones towards S end" (cutting book 81)

is probably an example of the heaping of remains at the ends of graves also found at St Peter's and elsewhere (Chapter 5.1).

Grave 30

This grave appears to have been the subject of a failed robbing attempt. It is described as a splendid example of the beam slot type, with a ledge at the west end (cutting book 115). There was an apparent robber cut in the centre, but this petered out and the burial below was undisturbed: "perhaps the robbers missed their target". The spearhead in the fill at the west end of the grave was almost certainly in its original position (Chapter 6.1).

Grave 32

Gr 32 was clearly disturbed almost from the start of excavation, with bones and artefacts strewn randomly in every layer of fill. The only finds were "5 beads, by the skull amidships incl. 3 decorated glass beads, 1 bone and 1 amber" (cutting book 117). There is no indication of whether these were found close together, as though an intact string had been moved. Perhaps one spadeful moved both head and beads to the middle of the grave.

Grave 37

This grave was also identified as robbed from beginning, with the fill a mess of bones and artefacts. It was disturbed right to the head and foot ends, but with some central bones apparently in situ. The excavators seem to suggest that separate holes had been dug at each end. A silver stain implies a removed artefact, but decay in situ cannot be ruled out (Chapter 4.9).

Grave 50

This grave was cut into the fill of a prehistoric ditch, giving "a good hard edge", although the diggers reported that "The E end is a bit vague" and the sketch shows a possible secondary cut there (cutting book 151), though it might be a ledge (site journal 139). From the description it sounds as though most of the contents were severely disturbed, possibly in this case mainly strewn across the grave floor rather than in the fill, with the implication that the robbers were working within an open coffin space (Chapter 5.1).

Grave 55

This is almost certainly an example of a secondary burial cut down through and severely disturbing the primary (Chapter 6.2)

Grave 64

For most of the excavation it looked as though this would be a disordered upper burial above an intact lower body (like e.g. Gr 55). However, the conclusion of the notes seems to be that a hole had been dug into the central part of the grave and the bones from around the chest to the knees redeposited in the fill. Various fill anomalies suggested robber cuts, but none of these seems to have straightforwardly led to the disturbed area.

Grave 65

This was a reopened weapon grave with disturbance concentrated on the upper body. The excavators suggested a sword as the target, since none was found (see Chapter 6.1). It is unclear whether the artefacts were fragmentary because they had decayed or because they had been damaged during the disturbance, in which case they must have been in poor condition by the time of reopening.

Grave 66

This grave was clearly disturbed with bones and artefacts in disarray. However it was not judged by the excavators to have been robbed, mainly because so many grave goods remained: "At any rate the presence of the shield suggest that this grave has not been disturbed by human agency, tho animals have clearly been active" (Cutting Book p181-182). No actual signs of animal activity are recorded, other than the displacement of objects, so it seems likely that this is an interpretation of the disorder rather than an observation. As shown in Chapter 6.1, many disturbed graves contain large numbers of artefacts, and shields in particular frequently remain. This grave has not been counted among the disturbed burials for this study, but there are good reasons for thinking it one of them.

Grave 67

This was seen as the largest in a nucleated group of weapon graves (Webster & Cherry 1975: 223) and the excavators clearly felt it had been targeted due to its wealth: "The fact that it has been robbed also suggests that it was perhaps more grandly furnished still than 71 or 66 or 74" (Cutting Book p184). However, that the two halves of the shield grip were found at opposite sides of the grave suggests that both wood and iron were in poor condition by the time the grave was reopened. It is also indicative of the haphazard manner with which most graves seem to have

been ransacked. Gr 67 seems to have been thoroughly disturbed; no bones or artefacts are mentioned as still in situ.

Grave 72

The only disturbance mentioned here is to the head, which had been removed and replaced upsidedown "on an otherwise perfectly articulated extended supine corpse". It is not clear whether the "[?]cranial bone high in fill – part of tibia and a tooth" came from this burial. If they did, the possibility of articulation at the time of disturbance can be discounted. In that case the decapitation must be the result of reopening after fleshy decomposition was complete. Otherwise, it may well simply be a peri- or post-mortem decapitation. There is no mention of cut marks, but these are rarely preserved/reported (Chapter 5.1). The excavators seem fairly sure that the redeposition of the head is due to reopening, but they do not record any evidence to support the idea, for example in the form of a robber cut.

Grave 83

Grave 83 is described as robbed and "very churned up", but the mention of finds on the legs suggests that perhaps these at least were in situ.

Grave 94

Here again there is uncertainty about identifying grave structures, especially with possibly disturbed fill and recut grave sides. The skull was on the chest, but this may well be due to bone tumble, especially if originally pillowed (Appendix 2). The small animal, whatever it was, does not seem to have done any lasting damage – if indeed it entered the grave alive. The excavators thought its position perhaps due to deliberate placing, which might either be at the original interment or during the possible reopening.

Grave 95

This grave was thoroughly disturbed. "Animal runs" are mentioned on the north edge of the upper fill. The excavators do not seem to have thought them related to the disturbance, but more information would have been desirable.

Grave 97

There is little information about this grave, but it was heavily disturbed, with only skull fragments and thighbones on the grave floor.

Grave 98

The site documentation gives no indication that two skeletons were found here. However, the entry for this grave in ASKED shows that two individuals were subsequently identified as represented by the bones, and it is just possible that the cause of the apparent disturbance was a replaced primary burial. Alternatively, and probably more likely, this is a double grave in which both burials have been disturbed.

Broadstairs III, St. Peter's Tip

(Wilson 1971: 126, Broadstairs and St Peter's Archaeological Society 1973, Richardson 2005, excavation archive held by British Museum.)

Table 10, Fig. 12-101

A rescue excavation over three seasons from 1969 to 1971 recorded 388 graves in advance of the construction of a municipal refuse tip. The excavation was directed by AC Hogarth, head of Classics at Chatham House Grammar School, Ramsgate, and mainly carried out by pupils from the school's archaeological society. The school group was supported by adult volunteers including members of the Broadstairs and St Peter's Archaeological Society. The excavation was also assisted by Sonia Hawkes and her friend Mary James of Updown, Eastry. Schoolboy humour on grave sheets notwithstanding, the records are among the most detailed in this sample.

The excavated graves do not represent the whole of the site. Six burials had previously been discovered about 40m to the east of the main group, and 11 were subsequently found about 20m to the west. These latter were thought late 7th or early 8th century (Richardson 2005b: 14).

Since 1984 the material has been in the British Museum, where the archive has recently been reorganised. The site remains unpublished and almost entirely unstudied, although much preparation was carried out by Catherine Haith. Access to the original paperwork was kindly permitted for the preparation of this thesis, as ancient grave robbery was such a marked feature of the St Peter's cemetery. Reports of early robbing emerged with the excavation, with *Medieval Archaeology*'s 1971 update announcing that: "Evidence of large-scale contemporary grave-robbing continues, and not one of many graves that were once richly-furnished has survived unlooted". This evidence is now presented and examined for the first time.

The main sources used here are the grave sheets and plans completed by the excavators; a draft grave catalogue compiled by Catherine Haith; and the initial stage of a human bone report entitled "Demographic and sexing anomalies". The grave catalogue was in an early stage of preparation and contains both errors and omissions, but these were checked against the original paperwork. Haith's notes also identify errors in the published plan (Hogarth 1973), but none affect the graves discussed here. All the data used here are preliminary, including the numbers of graves and burials but especially the sexing and ageing of skeletons and the details of grave assemblages. Sex and age are derived from a combination of the grave sheets, Haith's catalogue, the anomalies report and the ASKED database, which in most cases are in accord.

Haith's notes show that she considered the robbing a key issue at St Peter's, but had not yet reached any conclusions about its extent or implications. She was aware of the parallels at Ozengell, and at three sites outside Kent, but not of the prevalence of robbing elsewhere in Thanet. As she put it:

> "Central to any discussion of the St Peter's burials is the marked incidence of what is slickly referred to in the published literature as post-depositional disturbance, which would appear to cover a multitude of sins, amongst them at St Peter's the systematic looting of rich graves. If skeletons at Raunds exhibit so-called bone tumbling then those at St Peter's on occasions achieve double somersaults, but it is important to try and assess which dislocation could have been caused by natural phenomena, such as the collapse of coffins or similar structures, animal burrowing, and what constitutes deliberate interference by human agency... It is clear that a wealth of information from the site worthy of examination, as over 10% of burials exhibit some form of disturbance."
>
> (C. Haith notes in St Peter's archive, ?1986)

Haith goes on to identify some of the most convincingly robbed graves, reconstructing their original grave assemblages: Gr 3, 57, 62, 140, 182, 200, 235, 333. Her examples are selected to highlight the variety in the robbing evidence: displaced bones can be on the grave floor (Gr 57), in the fill (Gr 62), or piled up (Gr 140 and 182). Disturbed graves contain broken, dispersed fragments of rich and varied assemblages (Gr 182 and 200), or no artefacts at all (Gr 235). The dates are mainly 7th century, but can be earlier (Gr 333). Graves may be robbed so early that corpses were apparently still articulated (Gr 3), or bones and artefacts objects may be friable and fragmenting (Gr 57).

For this thesis some 54 burials at St Peter's have been identified as probably or possibly robbed in antiquity (Table 10). They are discussed individually below, along with a number of others in which robbing is judged unlikely, but requires consideration. The individual grave discussions below try to set out each case as fully as necessary, but reference should also be made to the excavators' notes (Table 10) and the grave plans (Fig. 15-101). Some of the 54 were described as disturbed by the excavators, but some were not. It is unclear what, other than boldness of interpretation, caused some graves to be labelled as robbed, while other fairly clear examples (e.g. Gr 226) were not. Some graves described as disturbed during excavation can be otherwise explained (e.g. Gr 288). The notes on the grave forms rarely explain the excavators' reasoning in full.

In this analysis robbing is for the most part diagnosed by disordered skeletons, but also displaced grave goods and in some cases fill anomalies or re-cutting of the tops of grave cuts. One or two disturbed graves also have over-deep cutting into the grave floor, but in most robbing seems to have occurred within intact coffins. It is evident from various comments that the excavators could at least sometimes detect more information about changes in fill, robber cuts, and the internal stratigraphy of graves than they recorded. There are no section drawings, so that depicting disturbed objects at different heights is problematic on the plans.

In addition there are a number of borderline cases: Gr 101 is almost certainly just poor preservation; in Gr 155 one leg may be disturbed; a remark on the form for Gr 170 suggests the legs are displaced; Gr 216 might be dug out or more likely just very badly decayed, but unusual fill is noted; Gr 221 may be the disturbed grave of a child, if that was really the shadow of a long bone at the foot; Gr 273 is very decayed but the only long bone shadow is in an unexpected, though not totally implausible, position; for Gr 284 only the grave plan survives showing the grave cut through at head and foot, the centre part seems also disturbed, but there is no further information; the head of Gr 356 is missing, either never buried or removed, in which case this may be a reopening of the revenant type (Chapter 6.3); Gr 122 is unusual in being entirely empty except for a tooth in approximately the right area and orange fabric rim sherd 6" into the fill at the foot, but this is almost certainly decay plus a ploughed-in fragment; Gr 217 had been bulldozed. Finally Gr 29 had an area of loose fill over the thorax, a commonly disturbed area, but the underlying skeleton is probably undisturbed. This is the kind of footprint that would be left by careful early robbing of an articulated corpse inside an intact coffin – but could never be proved.

Minor disturbance or the appearance of disturbance is judged here to be due to unusual body positions in a number of graves: the corpse in Gr 86 was sitting up; Gr 117 seems to have had an unusual arm position plus skull tumble; the suspicious appearance of Gr 225 is probably just poor preservation of upper body with skull tumble; Gr 243 had an unusual body position due to a too short grave; Gr 258 and 328 had legs flexed upwards at knees at burial and collapsing sideways or into a bow-legged position; Gr 327 has a degree of bone tumble because pelvis was lying oddly against the wall, causing finger bones to spread during decay; skulls were propped in Gr 329 and 368; and a propped or sitting upper body collapsed in Gr 377.

Undisturbed Gr 277 has an interesting if elliptical comment on effect of coffin collapse on decay: there was a marked difference in preservation between the solid lower legs and the powdery rest

of the skeleton which the excavators put down to "the fact that they fell with the chalk when the coffin collapsed instead of waiting to be crushed". It seems likely that more of internal stratigraphy of the graves was observable than was thought worth recording.

Undisturbed Gr 382 has a destructive secondary burial (Chapter 6.2), with most of the primary skeleton scattered throughout the grave, except the skull, which is tucked in the crook of the secondary elbow.

The tops of the grave cuts of disturbed burials are reported as damaged in several cases, as though the robbers had slightly recut them before finding the exact outlines of the chalk-cut graves. However, the upper parts of graves can also be irregularly cut without any robbing, e.g. Gr 278.

There are several examples of objects collecting in hollows above disturbed burials (Chapter 5.3). More than one disturbed grave has a potsherd or two of orange fabric stored with its assemblage but not recorded on the sheet or plan. As far as it is possible to tell from photographs taken in a basement, these are likely to be post-medieval (Paul Blinkhorn, pers. comm.). It seems likely that they came from the upper fill and so were kept, but not drawn on the essentially two-dimensional grave plans, and not considered part of even the disturbed grave assemblages. Later intrusions into the upper fill could also happen on occasion to undisturbed burials: Gr 95 had a piece of claypipe 2" into the fill, but the underlying burial was to all appearances untouched.

Towards the end of the excavation, "animal activity" was recorded on several grave forms, though robbed graves continued to be diagnosed. There is no explanation of what sort of animals are meant, nor what were the signs of their activity. It is not clear whether animals are suddenly mentioned because there was clear evidence of their work, or because this was an interpretation of disturbance which had gained popularity. Perhaps the excavation had reached part of the grave field (northern end) where conditions were suitable for burrowers.

Specifically: the disturbance in Gr 297 was put down to animal activity, though without explanation. The grave form is missing. Bones fragmented during disturbance, with even the femurs in dispersed pieces, which is unlike all or almost all the robbed graves. There was bronze staining on the mandible. Bones seem to be in the fill rather than on the grave floor. From the position of the bones I am inclined to think this grave was robbed in a similar way to the neighbouring ones, with the skeleton pushed to one side, even if there was evidence of subsequent animal activity of some kind, but there is insufficient information to be certain. Gr 379 was also thought animal disturbance, again without any explanation.

Traces of fieldmice were found in the skull of Gr 241, and thought recent, but had not caused any evident disturbance to the poorly preserved grave contents. The form of Gr 385 notes "soft patches of brown earth taken down by animals" in the fill, but the underlying burial appears undisturbed, beyond what was caused by a propped skull and coffin collapse. Gr 381 is interpreted as showing "Marked animal disturbance", but all the disorder looks explainable by the near-sitting position of the corpse, which was "on a slope of packed chalk with head up". No animal traces are actually drawn or described, and it seems likely that this comment is an interpretation of the disorder, rather than an observation.

In addition, several graves were attacked by modern robbers during the excavation (e.g. Gr 30, 31, 43). This seems to have happened overnight between working days and its effects were obvious. Gr 31 and 43 were thought also disturbed in antiquity, but the later vandalism makes this harder to assess.

A high proportion of graves contained evidence for internal or external structures, such as post-holes indicative of pitched roofs or other superstructures. These had previously been noted at other East Kent sites, but were classified and published for the first time in an article on St Peter's (Hogarth 1973, Chapter 4.5). Some 20 of the 54 disturbed graves had a grave structure of some kind. As Table 6 shows, small proportions of graves with each type of grave structure were robbed. The exception is ring ditches, which graves may possibly have been avoided by robbers. Likewise it looks as though having a post marker may perhaps have increased the chances of a grave being robbed, since the frequency in unrobbed graves is markedly lower than in robbed ones. However, with the low numbers involved, the partial excavation of the cemetery, and the evolving recognition of both structures and robbing throughout the excavations, these should not be regarded as more than preliminary indications.

This said, one pattern that may be significant is the relatively high numbers of robbed graves with kerb-slots. This kind of grave seems to attract higher rates of robbing at other sites as well (Chapter 4.5). At St Peter's seven graves were surrounded by sub-rectangular kerb-slots of Hogarth's type IIa/IId containing remains of upright sandstone slabs (Hogarth 1973). Going by the plan and the grave catalogue, these were Gr 64, 168, 226, 231, 237, 242, 251. All but Gr 168, 242 and 231 are probably robbed. Gr 168 and 231 are too poorly preserved for any disturbance to be recognisable. Gr 242 is the burial of a child, with the skeleton entirely decomposed. It is therefore possible that all the graves with kerb-slots at St Peter's were reopened, and 4 out of 7 were probably so.

There were 6 graves at St Peter's in which some degree of skeletal articulation at disturbance was thought possible (3, 78, 165, 210, 268, 270). However, the evidence is persuasive in only two: Gr 165 and Gr 270. The latter is not dated other than to the broad 7th century. However Gr 165 contained large numbers of artefacts, sufficient to pin its likely date down to between AD 650 and 670 (ASKED, Chapter 4.9). Rates of decay are highly variable, but this robbing must have occurred within a limited number of years of AD 670, at the very latest.

In his 1973 article Hogarth commented on how widely the St Peter's graves varied in "design, standard of excavation and degree of weathering" (Hogarth 1973: 109). Similar comments on the variety of grave cuts are also made elsewhere (Section 6.2). The impression is not of grave-digging as a specialized role, but of graves dug by a variety of individuals, presumably kin. Probably the "puddled chalk" mentioned in several disturbed and undisturbed graves at St Peter's is an example of the kind of weathering to which Hogarth refers. This is an indication that graves might be dug in advance of burials, though considerable damage to such a cut might happen only overnight. At nearby Bradstow School the excavators noted, "a night of heavy rain, leaving some of the unprotected graves e.g. 11 & 16 lined with puddled chalk when we came on site at 8:30" (Site Journal p89, 21/08/71).

Grave 3

This is one of the graves in which articulation at the time of disturbance is claimed on the grave sheet: "position of R leg suggests whole limb cohesive enough to have separated at time of disturbance and subsequently remained articulated". However, the evidence is unconvincing. In the first place, the limb does not look articulated on the grave drawing. Rather, it looks like the kind of heaping or sweeping of contents towards the foot of the grave which the excavators went on to find in many more burials. At this stage they were of course unaware of that pattern. Secondly, the rest of the skeleton was clearly defleshed, to the extent that bones dispersed and teeth fell out. On the other hand, bones do not appear to have fragmented; they were reasonably fresh. The robbers appear to have operated within a coffin space, since the remains were all moved around on the floor. Wood preservation was sufficiently good for the excavators to discern parts of the coffin floor on which the bones directly lay. If wood could survive on the 1300 year timescale, it is reasonable to suppose that its initial decomposition was also rather slow, so that an intact coffin might still be encountered at this site well after fleshy decomposition was complete (see also Chapter 4.9).

Grave 14

The bones of the legs appear disturbed on the plan, which might just suggest bone tumble from a propped position, but as the grave catalogue notes, the left femur seems to be missing.

Grave 31

The foot of this grave was dug out by modern robbers during the excavation. There was also disorder in the rest of the grave indicative of ancient disturbance. I was initially sceptical about the diagnosis of two phases of robbing, but on examination of the plan it is clear why the excavators received that impression.

The cut into the foot end was obvious, and presumably not backfilled. There was no discernable cut into the rest of the grave, yet the objects were totally disarranged. The ancient robbers appear to have been selective about what they removed from the grave, since they left several bones and grave-goods including beads and iron objects scattered across the floor of the grave. The impression is that the ancient robbers 'picked through' the burial, while their modern equivalents dug out its contents wholesale.

Even the ancient robbing must have occurred well into the process of decomposition, as the skeleton and bead necklace broke apart during the disturbance. However, that the objects are strewn on the grave floor rather than in the fill strongly suggests that they worked within an intact coffin space. On the other hand, the crushed skull raises the possibility that the coffin had collapsed, but that the roof pieces were sufficiently intact for the robbers to be able to lift them off and expose the whole burial layer. Both sets of robbers had the sense to leave the outer fill of chalk which had been packed round the coffin and dig only into the central soil that encased the burial itself.

Grave 43

This is another grave which the excavators believed to have been robbed both in antiquity and recently (June 1969). However the plan shows only an empty grave, perhaps with the dotted line at the bottom corner indicating the extent of the modern robber cut, so it is not possible to reconstruct the excavators' reasoning. The few finds, coffin nails and a knife tang, were "loose in disturbed soil". Presumably the excavators had grounds for diagnosing ancient disturbance in addition to the modern looting, but neither the grave sheet nor the plan present any evidence to that effect.

Grave 45

There was no sign of modern vandalism here. As in almost all of the anciently robbed graves, no robber cut was discernable at all, yet the bones of the left leg were clearly disturbed, lying away from the rest of the body with the proximal end of the left femur pointing towards the foot of the grave. The absence of much of the rest of the skeleton was felt to be due to decay rather than removal, as areas of bone shadow indicated. Again the robbers were operating in a space free from soil, as they were able to move objects around on the grave floor. The pushing of the bones of one leg to the foot of the grave is similar to Gr 3, though the damage to the rest of that grave was much greater. As Gr 45 is the burial of a young man with weapons represented by a spearhead, the disturbance might be interpreted as caused by the removal of a sword lying by the left leg, as on a right-handed man.

Grave 54

The grave sheet records that this grave "looked robbed almost from outset". For the first 2 feet the excavators encountered "mixed fill", earthy with chalk lumps, containing grave-goods including a sword broken in two, a broken spear socket, a knife, spear ferrule, and pieces of a scabbard. At this point they "thought there would be only a disturbed burial". However as they dug deeper the fill separated into the more usual packed chalk outside the coffin line and looser fill within it, and they encountered an apparently intact burial below the disturbed zone.

The excavators' interpretation was that "This grave contained 2 burials: A) the lower intact but in poor condition, with spear 1 by left shoulder; B) upper represented by disturbed grave goods but spear 2 still in position at left side [?above] coffin line. Either the people who buried A disturbed B leaving spear 2 in position OR burial B was taken by the robbers who did not penetrate below. This probably the most likely interpretation."

The draft grave catalogue observes that "The assumption that this is a double burial seems based upon the position of the iron spearhead, but it could equally well be a single disturbed burial with both spearheads still in situ, one by the skeleton, and the other lying on top of the coffin."

It seems probable that this is an example of a secondary burial cut right through the primary (Section 6.2), and as such it has not been counted among the disturbed burials, but it is fair to say a question mark remains over this one.

The draft grave catalogue lists a Samian ware pottery rim sherd in the upper fill of this grave.

Grave 57

Haith calls this "clearly a robbed rich male burial". Hogarth notes on the grave sheet that the finds suggest to him "a shield with decorated (and hence coveted) boss, and poss a sword". Haith lists "two iron shield studs, two tinned copper alloy shield studs, a sheet copper alloy rim clip, an iron shield grip, but not shield boss, a copper alloy miniature buckle, an iron buckle and plate, a sheet copper alloy scabbard mount and fragments of an iron sword blade and wood, and a portion of the split socket from a spearhead".

This was evidently a well-furnished weapon grave, and the excavators clearly felt that the gravegoods had attracted the robbers. However, it is equally evident that by the time of robbing the artefacts were severely decayed and fragmenting. A shield boss seems to be missing, but the rest of the shield was broken apart, accidently or deliberately, and left behind. Pieces of objects are strewn across the grave floor. There is some confusion in the records about whether parts of a sword were actually found in the grave, but if so it was certainly in pieces. It is difficult to see that the worth of the grave assemblage in terms of use value or splendid display was a fraction of what it had been at the funeral. Other forms of worth, for example through association with a notable individual, might well be still intact, but it cannot have been the straightforward "richness" of the original grave as reconstructed by archaeologists which attracted the reopening.

Of the skeleton only the femurs were left anything like in situ, with the tibias disarranged, but it is unclear how much the absence of the rest is absent due to decay, or because removed. The bones and artefacts are spread across the grave floor, indicating a clear working space for the robbers.

Grave 62

The bones in this grave were disarticulated and liable to fragment when disturbed. They are described as "up off the floor, at varying heights", so that the coffin was probably soil-filled at the time of robbing, and the remains dug through in a way that apparently caused considerable damage.

The only artefacts left were beads, which lay in a fairly localised area of the grave so that the excavators suggested this might have been "one string of a multi-string necklace which broke and spilled beads back into the grave".

Grave 64

The disturbance to the skeleton and grave goods is evident on the grave plan. The skull and remaining arm bones appear in situ, while the bones of the legs have been moved down towards

the foot end, as seen in Gr 3 and 45. Remains of various other bones including some from a hand are collected with the leg bones. Twelve beads are spread around the lower torso area. Two pieces of an iron knife were found, one in the presumable pelvic area and one with the leg bone collection. It appears therefore that the knife was fragmenting by the time of disturbance, but that the coffin was intact and gave a clear working space.

Grave 69

There are no gravegoods and all the surviving skeletal parts had been moved into the foot of the grave. The word used by the excavators was "thrown". It is not clear how much of the skeleton was removed and how much decayed in this heap, as the condition of the remaining bones was very bad.

Grave 71

Bone preservation here is poor. As the plan shows, the skull fragments are displaced to the left side, but such a minor disturbance could easily be the result of the tumbling of a pillowed head, crushing and movement during coffin collapse, or burrowing by small mammals. However, the displacement of the tibia is more marked and also suggests disturbance over the whole area of the grave, so that this is counted as "possibly robbed". If it was reopened, which seems likely, it happened while the coffin was still intact and the robbers were able to lift out any artefacts without digging through the whole contents.

Grave 78

Again the signs of disturbance here are slight and difficult to distinguish from skeletal decay. The excavators have by now picked up on the reasoning that graves like this in which disturbance is limited to particular areas and all the remains still lie on the grave floor were reopened while the coffin was still intact.

Grave 79

In this case the excavators seem to have judged the missing skeletal parts (upper body except arms, skull) to have been removed rather than decayed. The artefact fragments left behind were in fill just above the skeleton, suggesting that this burial may have been dug through, rather than in a coffin space. No coffin line was found.

Grave 83

This is the grave of a child which the excavator thought just possibly disturbed in the upper part, though without explaining why. It has not been counted among the robbed graves for this analysis.

Grave 96

The only remaining skeletal parts were *in situ* fragments of a collapsed skull. The excavator thought the rest had been robbed out in antiquity. If so, this happened without damaging the coffin floor, large parts of which could still be seen. However, decomposition *in situ* does not seem impossible, and the gravegoods are not definitely disordered beyond what might occur naturally during coffin collapse or the rolling of a pillowed head.

The remains are described as "in 1/2" of grey silt... on floor below normal grey silt". This may be evidence of delayed backfilling, or perhaps more likely is the kind of varied weathering of grave cuts noted by Hogarth (Chapter 6.2). It is a pity that the stratigraphy was not explored in more detail here. Gr 90 is an undisturbed burial with a similar silt layer; in both cases it probably formed preburial rather than after robbing.

Grave 97

The excavators suspected this was robbed above the waist and at the left side. Bones from these areas appear to be missing, although the preservation of the others was very poor – the skull is described as "sponge". If robbed, this happened inside an intact coffin.

The group of artefact fragments at the foot of the grave was interpreted as iron mounts from a wooden object, which the excavators suggested had been a "sword scabbard, broken by grave robbers and dropped inside coffin".

"Grey/black silt on floor 2" deep" is noted here, similar to that in neighbouring Gr 96.

Grave 126

Convincingly disturbed, with most of the remains heaped at the foot end. There are teeth midway down the grave, which perhaps fell out of the mandible as the bones were moved. The records are not clear, but it seems the bones were all found on the grave floor, with some objects in the chalk rubble above. On the other hand, the spear ferrule is listed as under one of the legs. The sherd and tile fragment high in the fill are probably examples of objects collecting in the hollows

above disturbed graves (Chapter 5.3). The skeleton is of a child, but at over 6 foot long the grave is not child-sized (Chapter 4.4).

Grave 130

Only the long bone shafts survive, but most are significantly out of position and at different heights in the fill. The collapsed skull seems to be in situ and the crushed pieces have not been scattered.

Grave 131

It seems likely that bones and artefacts have been removed from the upper body here, although severe localised decomposition cannot be ruled out. The skull appears too close to the lower body, but this may well be a mistake in the drawing.

The fair copy of the drawing makes robbing look much more probable, because the extra detail put on the remaining bones makes them appear in better condition than the original drawing or grave sheet imply.

Grave 140

Only the legs and one lower arm are in situ, with the "remaining bones swept into a pile at the head of the grave". This seems to be the same method as the heaping at the foot, but reversed. In this grave the heaping is markedly neat, with the long bones apparently deliberately laid out across the width of the cut. It is possible that they were all pushed rather than lifted into position, but there is surely human intention behind the pattern here.

Grave 147

This was almost entirely emptied, with only fragments of bones and a few mainly broken artefacts remaining. Some of these seemed to represent a chatelaine complex. The grave had an unusual boat-shaped floor, which might be the result of over-digging by the robbers. (On the other hand, Gr 87, 88, and 89 are all boat shaped without apparently being robbed.) The L side of Gr 147 was bowed out, giving the impression of a recut. No coffin trace was seen and it seems likely that either there never was a coffin, or it had disintegrated and the robbers dug out what was left along with the other remains.

The grave catalogue notes that a pottery sherd, (orange fabric, body fragment with line border from below rim, L 2.8cm) is associated with the assemblage from this grave but is not shown on

the grave form or plan. It is almost certainly another example of artefacts collecting above robbed graves (Chapter 5.3).

Grave 165

The grave form has not been completed, but the disturbance is evident on the plan and is included in the draft catalogue. Unless the drawing went very wrong, a section of the skeleton (R femur, pelvis, lower spine) must have been articulated at the time of robbing and moved together. Large numbers of artefact fragments were found, most part of a chatelaine complex and a necklace. Both the necklace and the chatelaine were whole at the time of disturbance and moved intact, which supports the interpretation of this as a grave which was robbed soon after the burial.

Grave 182

Bones and objects are widely scattered across the grave floor but with some heaping of the leg bones and pelvis at the foot. The many fragments of artefacts indicate a weapon burial, but the scattered studs and other pieces show that objects were in poor condition by the time the grave was robbed.

Grave 185

This grave was dug through after the wood of the coffin had deteriorated enough to be cut through. Bones and pieces of wood were found in the fill. Unusually it seems robbing was aimed at the foot end, or rather at most of the grave from the foot end up. Skull fragments were *in situ* with a shield above.

Grave 186

Close by Gr 185, this was also thought "obviously disturbed in antiquity". The stratigraphy is difficult to reconstruct, but it seems that a layer of broken sandstone slabs lay over part of the coffin, with some of the displaced remains underneath and others within the coffin line but away from the stones. It does not look as though the sandstone slabs had been lifted off the main part of the coffin; rather entry has been made at one or both ends and objects pulled out. However, recording this sort of detail about how robbing was carried out was not a priority for the excavation.

Grave 198

The grave form is tantalising: "apart from an animal burrow the grave appears to have been robbed in antiquity the cuts being made by the head and along the right hand side". Sadly, none of this is shown on the drawing. Where was the animal burrow? Does that explain the displacement of the metatarsal? Were there noticeable cuts at the head and on the right hand side? Were these in fact seen in other "robbed" graves but taken for granted and not mentioned? What did they look like? How could they be distinguished from the four sockets cut into the grave edges? If this grave was robbed, disturbance is confined to the upper body/neck.

Grave 200

Convincingly and radically robbed. The coffin ("firm wood remains cut through the grain") is left only in the head end. There is a noticeable change of fill between this area and the thoroughly disturbed rest. However, only a spearhead and the crushed skull seem to be *in situ* within the coffin, as though other objects were pulled out (see Årby boat-grave). From the way the grave side curves at the foot, it looks as though the robbers dug deeply into the grave long about half its length and then found they could reach in for the rest. The dispersed fragments are of a weapon grave with many artefacts. However, the spearhead and shield boss are definitely left and the grave catalogue lists "sword remains including blade and scabbard fragments scattered in grave", so that if recoverable weapons were the targets, the robbers were in for a disappointment.

Grave 203

The excavators considered that "Because of loose soil and lack of any associated finds it is obvious that the grave has been robbed". However, the grave is child-sized so that the absence of a skeleton is readily explained by decay. The grave contains a spearhead, a spearhead socket, and an iron knife, all of which appear to be *in situ*. If the spearhead and socket have become disassociated, this may well suggest that the spear was lying on top of the coffin and moved during collapse. Other graves (e.g. Gr 53) note loose fill without any other signs of disturbance. Without more detail on the excavators' reasoning, the robbing here is doubtful.

Grave 210

Only a few long bones were left here, heaped at the foot of the grave. The comment that "The grave... had obviously been robbed in antiquity. Especially lose [sic] around the feet" is a further hint that differences in fill type or consistency may have been found in many disturbed graves, but taken for granted and not noted. The loose fill continued down into the grave, suggesting

that the main entry was from this end. It is unclear from the plan how much broken sandstone was found over the coffin, how complete a layer it formed, and whether it had been lifted and thrown back. These would be key questions for further understanding of the robbing process, but here as elsewhere graves are treated as essentially two-dimensional contexts.

The excavators thought that the tibia and femur might have been articulated, but on the plan this looks unlikely.

Grave 215

The excavators thought that "The loose soil and wide empty area at the feet suggests robbery of probably a pot", but this seems doubtful. Perhaps an incursion had been made at the foot (as in nearby Gr 203 and 210), but the empty space there could just as well indicate the decay *in situ* of an organic object, or just an extra-long grave.

Grave 226

Not noted as robbed on the grave form, but the plan shows a probably disturbed burial. The few remaining fragmentary bones and artefacts are concentrated at the foot. The tibia fragments are clearly out of place.

The kerb-slot around Gr 226 is connected to those around Gr 237 and 251, which are also disturbed.

Grave 227

Disturbance is near-complete but concentrated in the centre of the grave. It seems, although it is not explicitly stated, that a large robber cut in the form of an area of loose topsoil surrounded by compact chalk was discernable right down into the grave.

A whole earthenware vessel is *in situ* at the foot, while the crushed skull lies under a shieldboss at the head-end. The mandible is detached and in the centre of the grave with other parts strewn across the grave floor. Disturbance is confined to within the coffin space.

Grave 229

Disturbance throughout the coffined area. Only four displaced long bones are drawn but "There were various bits of unplotable shadow bones and frags all over the grave".

Grave 232

Widely strewn bones and artefacts all within the coffin line, but at different heights as though thrown back in with the fill. The topsoil area on Plan A seems to indicate the robber cut, although other graves have similar descriptions without robbing (e.g. Gr 336).

Grave 233

Unusually detailed comments from the excavators here (Table 10). Bones were at different heights in the fill and it seems likely that some were removed completely, since those remaining are mostly in good condition. Beneath this disturbed layer (Plan A, Fig. 60-61), the excavators found the skull and legs *in situ*: disturbance had been targeted at the trunk. They suggested that "it seems that the robbers were after a sword ? suspended on a belt from right shoulder to left hip. Hence the disturbance of pelvis, rib cage and left arm. Perhaps the body was well decayed before robbery because other bones not disturbed".

The robbers were thought to have caused considerable damage to the upper parts of the grave wall before working out exactly where to dig, but it is not clear what of these features (e.g. possible finding cut by the skeleton's right hand) might actually be part of the structural features.

Grave 235

Considerable disturbance, concentrated in centre/trunk area, some heaping towards the foot end with the long bones and pelvis piled or pushed together along with an iron knife. Remains all on grave floor and within the coffin line.

Grave 236

Almost total disarray with only the crushed skull in situ. Skeleton and artefacts strewn across the grave floor but some heaping of the leg bones at the foot of the grave. It is not evident on the plan, but the form notes that the objects were at different levels. The spearhead in particular was just below the topsoil, as though it had perhaps been lying on the coffin lid. Few traces of the coffin could be found; perhaps it had disintegrated before the robbing. This is another one where the excavators say "disturbed only shortly after burial" but without explaining their reasoning.

Grave 237

Grave contents thoroughly disturbed and probably largely removed. Again the skull alone remains in situ, whether intentionally or because of its peripheral position. Gravegoods are the fragmentary and scattered remains of an originally generous assemblage. They seem to have been

roughly treated during the robbing. The puddled chalk outside the coffin may be the kind of weathering of grave cuts mentioned by Hogarth (Chapter 6.2).

The kerb-slot around Gr 237 is connected to those around Gr 226 and 251, which are also disturbed.

Grave 240

Again total disturbance of contents and probably much dug out. The tibia are perhaps near their original positions. The different heights in the fill of the skeletal parts are noted on the grave plan. Loose fill is remarked. Here the skull seems to have been crushed – presumably by the collapsing coffin – and *then* disturbed.

Grave 251

The excavators thought that the loose fill in this grave indicated robbing, and from the plan it does indeed look as though the middle may have been dug through, removing from this area grave contents, coffin line, and the flints that surrounded it.

The kerb-slot around Gr 251 is connected to those around Gr 226 and 237, which are also disturbed.

Grave 254

Disturbance is concentrated in the chest area, with the pelvis and bones of the thorax probably removed. The skull may be in situ and there is less disturbance to the bones of the legs, although they too are out of position. The coffin was noted as "intense black ash on grave floor, with side traces" but it is not evident how intact this was at the time of disturbance.

Grave 255

The excavators described this grave as "obviously disturbed", but it is not clear why. The unusual position of the head could be due to a disintegrating pillow. They probably detected a limited cut into the left thorax, where fragments of various objects were found off the grave floor in the fill. Still this might be explainable by gravegoods including the knife lying on the coffin lid. Few bones are left in this area but this may be down to decay, since the spinal column and pelvis survived only as shadows.

Grave 261

Severely disturbed, bones apparently pushed or shovelled towards the foot of the grave. Finds at slightly varied depths. The skull seems to have been whole when moved. I considered whether this body might have slid down inside its coffin during burial and then later been disturbed, but the presence of a long bone above (i.e. towards the head end of) the skull suggests not; the bones have been moved after skeletonization.

The method used here may be similar to that in Gr 268 below. Gr 261 and 268 are neighbours, raising the likelihood that the similarity of methods indicates that they were robbed at the same time or by the same people. Nearby Gr 270 may also be the same. Gr 333, in which this kind of pushing also appears, is further away but in the same part of the cemetery.

The head of the grave was some 8" deeper than the rest, suggesting that this was perhaps the first part that the robbers dug down into, before locating the burial level.

Grave 267

The centre of the grave is primarily affected, but almost the whole is disturbed. Bones and artefacts seem to have been dug out of the centre of the grave. The skull, a spearhead and parts of the arms are in situ; the leg bones have been heaped at the foot. Remaining parts of a shield are strewn in the head/neck area, but the boss has apparently been removed.

Grave 268

The excavators thought that "during the robbery the body seems to have been fairly intact and was lifted and throne [sic] to the bottom of the grave to give a semi crouch appearance with the top half of the grave empty". However, from the disorder it seems more likely that a disarticulated skeleton was simply pushed, perhaps using something large like a shovel, to the side and foot end of the grave. The bones remain roughly in anatomical position, but not sufficiently so as to indicate articulation.

It would be quite possible to push the burial like this if reaching in from the right hand side of the grave, which is where the excavators found traces of a cut. The coffin is damaged or entirely dug away on that side but whole on the left where the skeleton lies and evidently still maintained an intact airspace for the remains to be pushed around in. That this was done with some violence is shown by the skull "cleaved in two by robbers spade".

So we are envisaging a cut along the right hand side (from the corpse's viewpoint) of the grave, breaking the side and part of the lid of the coffin and allowing access to the contents, most of

which were pushed away into the recess held up by the rest of the coffin. Here the recut along the right side is therefore not a finding cut but due to a need to create extra working space, perhaps to get a shovel under the coffin lid. This is similar to the method used in Gr 200, although a different part of the grave has been cut into and the unwanted contents are pushed away rather than pulled out.

Grave 270

A thoroughly disturbed weapon burial with fragments of artefacts and bones concentrated on the left side of the grave and at the foot, where the lower limbs are piled. Significant amounts of skeleton are missing, presumably dug out. One foot and two parts of the vertebral column are the only connecting bones, and it is possible that these held together when moved. This looks likely in the case of the spine in particular, since there are short lines of vertebrae in two separate places in the grave, but the articulation can only have been very partial. Parts of the spinal column are among the last articulations to fail during skeletonization (Duday 2006, Chapter 4.9). The articulated foot may have been encased in a leather shoe. There were unidentified animal bones in the upper fill. It is tempting to interpret them as a possible ritual offering, as postulated in Finglesham Gr 205 (below), but perhaps more likely that they have collected in a hollow above the grave or are evidence of small animal burrowing near the surface.

The excavators only noted one individual, but the "Demographic and sexing anomalies report" in the archive found two separate boxes, each containing an adult male skeleton, labelled Gr 270. In this case there seems to be a mistake rather than a double grave, but there may be a secondary burial in here. If so, both are disturbed.

Grave 272

It seems likely that the grave contents here were considerably disordered, probably with some bones heaped at the foot end, but the skeletal preservation is very poor. The grave plan shows enlargement of the top of the grave cut and damage to the coffin line around the centre of the grave.

Grave 288

Both the excavators and the draft grave catalogue have this as a single disturbed male burial. However, the grave plan shows what appears to be an intact male weapon burial which has replaced a previous burial, the remains of which are heaped near the secondary feet. The

"Demographic and sexing anomalies report" confirms this: the grave contains two individuals. There is no visible reason to think the secondary burial disturbed.

Grave 294

Heavily disturbed with the few remaining bones and fragmentary artefacts haphazardly in the centre of the grave. They seem to have been at different depths. The remaining bones were in good condition, suggesting that the absent ones had been dug out and not thrown back in. The head of the grave was cut off, whether by the ancient robber cut or some more recent activity.

Grave 295

This grave was undisturbed but destroyed by modern vandals. It is not far away from Gr 294, so the cut into the end of 294 may have been made at the same time. However, the area of Gr 294 unopened in recent times showed huge disarray, whereas the intact parts of Gr 295 were apparently in order.

Grave 303

Almost complete disorder, with very few undecayed bones or artefacts remaining in the grave. Some of the bones and certainly the shield seem to have fragmented during disturbance, suggesting that some time had passed before robbing. However, all the remains lie on the floor of the coffin, which had evidently not yet collapsed.

Grave 304

The cut here is into the right hand side of the head end, with the skull and other bones missing and considerable disorder to the upper body. Since the head was to the east, it is possible the robbers were expecting the left hand side of the foot end. In any case they missed or left behind an *in situ* sword on the far side of the grave. Indeed in a weapon grave with the sword, spearhead, and shield left intact, it is difficult to guess what they might have removed, other than the skull.

Grave 308

There is marked disorder to the pelvis, legs, and right arm of the skeleton. By "Possibly robbed at head end" the excavators seem to have been referring to the likely entry point, some anomaly in the fill, since there was no disorder to the skull or its immediate area. The form of this grave is similar to that of adjacent Gr 307, which the excavators suggested might be evidence of a family connection. If so this did not extend to reopening, as Gr 307 is intact.

Grave 315

The grave plan shows unmistakeable disturbance, with the left femur on the chest and left arm in disarray. However the grave sheet does not mention disturbance or robbing, indeed it looks as though a comment about the disturbed femur has been rubbed out. Perhaps something was moved or dropped during the excavation? There are animal bones beyond the left foot, apparently on the grave floor. No species is mentioned and the draft grave catalogue lists them as missing, but if the drawing scale is correct they appear too large to be burrowing rabbits or other smaller mammals. Still, perhaps the excavators could see the damage here was due to animals and failed to note it. On the other hand, it looks as though the femur and other bones were moved within an intact coffin, not pulled into a burrow.

Grave 333

Thoroughly disturbed, with bones and fragments of artefacts displaced throughout the grave. Most of the skeleton seems to have been pushed to the left and foot of the grave in the same way as in Gr 268. The gravegoods, including a sheet copper alloy beaded rim bowl, were severely decayed by the time of disturbance and broke into small pieces which are widely scattered. The gravegoods here indicate a female burial, and the (non-expert) excavators thought the skeleton that of an elderly woman. However, the "Demographic and sexing anomalies report" in the archive records that the remains of two individuals, both skeletally young men, were found labelled as coming from this grave. A is the poorly preserved main skeleton and "B is only some skull fragments with a mandibular dentition". The report notes that the bones are in identical condition so probably came from the same grave, and that there is no adjacent burial to Gr 333, so mixing before the post-excavation stage is not very likely.

Exactly what occurred is therefore unclear. Perhaps there had been a secondary burial of the "replacement" kind (Chapter 6.2) some while before the disturbance. The female gravegoods might belong to the preceding burial, which would also explain the poor condition of the bowl. The main skeleton seen in the drawing is in sufficiently close to anatomical position that it seems highly likely to have been occupying the grave prior to disturbance: this is not a male skeleton that has been transferred from another grave and thrown into the woman's grave during robbing. Whoever the occupant(s) were, this grave has been well-rifled, and does not appear to have been treated differently by the robbers than other graves.

Grave 354

This is one of the only examples in the whole sample of the robbing of a non-supine burial. In almost all the graves where original burial position can be determined, it was the conventional extended supine. Here the body seems not to have been simply prone, but to have lain slightly or completely on one side and collapsed forward. It was also thought robbed, presumably since the right upper body is missing. There is a suggestion that the unusual body position might be the result of robbing, but it seems highly unlikely that both the turning over of a (necessarily fleshed) corpse and the removal of so many bones could have occurred during the same episode, at least without substantial butchery, for which there is no evidence here or in any other robbed burials. The unusual burial position must either be original and deliberate, or occurred as the coffin was lowered, or is the result of very early reopening. If the bones of the upper right body have been removed, not just decayed, then this happened much later. The scattered beads and out of place right radius support the idea of robbing. There is one, or according to the plan possibly more, chalk cut block in the fill.

Grave 375

This is a mysterious example. What remains of the decayed skeleton is drawn as in situ, but the excavators thought that the ends of some of the long bones might have been cut off, in connection with three holes cut down into the grave floor. This they thought perhaps over-deepening by grave robbers. The only artefact was one probably residual potsherd. A comment on the grave sheet that the tibias were "upright" might lend weight to the robbing theory, if that means that they were vertical rather than horizontal as drawn.

Grave 380

Either the lower half is robbed out, or there has been severe (but not impossible) differential decomposition with the skeleton entirely decayed from the chest down. The excavators here also thought bones cut through, as in Gr 375, but in this case just the distal ends of the tibias. Perhaps loss of epiphyses is to blame in both cases? The names of the excavators are recorded on the grave sheets and it is not the same team who worked on these two graves, but their close numbers make it likely that they were both dug simultaneously or nearly so, with interpretations shared. If this is robbed, there is a chance the robbers got the wrong end, as the head is unconventionally to the east.

Lyminge II

(Warhurst 1954-5, Warhurst 1955, Arnold 1980, Richardson 1995, Parfitt 2002, Richardson 2005, Schröder 2007, letters from Alan Warhurst to Heinrich Härke, excavation archive held by Maidstone Museum.)

Table 11, Fig.102-105

In winter 1953 workmen putting together a mushroom shed discovered human bones and iron artefacts in a field near the village of Lyminge. The archaeological assistant at Maidstone Museum, Alan Warhurst, was called in and excavated 8 inhumation graves, which he dated to the 6th century AD. Realising that he was dealing with a substantial site, Warhurst returned the following summer and excavated a further 36 graves. This initial total of 44 burials was promptly published in *Archaeologia Cantiana* with a site plan, though no grave plans (Warhurst 1955). This publication is light on detail, but some of the site records can be seen in Maidstone Museum archive.

At this stage, 3 out of 44 graves were reported as "disturbed above the knees at an unknown date" (Gr 8, 28, and 40) (Warhurst 1955: 5). A further grave (Gr 7) bore the note "only one bone, part of a leg bone, was found in this grave" and has subsequently been described as probably disturbed (Warhurst 1955: 10, Richardson 2005: 260). The disturbance to Gr 8, 28, and 40 is distinguished from the modern mushroom shed damage to Gr 4 and 5. A calcium phosphate test was carried out on apparently skeleton-less Gr 16 to show that bones had once been present but had decayed. A notebook in the archive at Maidstone Museum includes a rough sketch of Gr 40. This illustrates the degree of disturbance to the skeleton, but gives no further clues about the fill or other evidence (Fig. 105).

In 1955 Warhurst excavated a further 20 graves, which have not been published, and records of which have been not been widely circulated. However, Heinrich Härke has kindly shared with me his correspondence with Warhurst, which includes notes for a planned article on this 1955 season of excavation. The Lyminge cemetery has also recently been the subject of an MA dissertation which should lead to full publication of Warhurst's findings (Schröder 2007) and which provides supplementary analysis.

The unpublished records of the 1955 season add considerably to the evidence of disturbance at the site. Eight out of the 20 graves excavated that year were found to be disturbed or probably disturbed. At this point, if not previously, Warhurst decided he was dealing with robbing in antiquity. He calls the disturbed graves "violated and almost certainly robbed of their grave furniture", describing the phenomenon as "extremely interesting and important". Warhurst's

detailed assessment of the likely date for the robbing and his belief that the robbers knew the contents of the graves are discussed below.

In 2002 a further evaluation of the site was carried out by the Dover Archeological Group (DAG) under director Keith Parfitt. DAG excavated two cremation burials and two inhumations and planned a further 39 definite or probable graves, showing that the cemetery is much larger than previously established. No signs of disturbance were found in the 4 excavated graves, which are 60m from Warhurst's area.

For our purposes, one of the most useful aspects of the Lyminge cemetery is that a grave-by-grave dating sequence has been set out (Schröder 2007). Lyminge is actually the only cemetery in the 'heavily disturbed' group for which fully justified artefactual and stratigraphical dating is available. All the material recovered so far dates from about AD 400 to 600, which puts these amongst the earliest Germanic burials in Kent. No 7th century material has yet been recovered from the cemetery, although as discussed above, much of the site remains unexcavated.

It was possible to establish broad dates for 4 out of the 12 disturbed or possibly disturbed graves (Table 11). Gr 7 contained grave-goods dating it to the mid 5th-6th century, although since Warhurst's wording is ambiguous and these grave-goods are described as in situ, the disturbance in this grave is doubtful. Gr 63 was thought definitely robbed, and contained only a clear glass cone beaker of the early 5th century (Chapter 4.9). Disturbed graves 50 and 59 were both empty, but can be broadly dated by 'horizontal stratigraphy'. Both are surrounded by rectangular enclosures, on which subsequent graves are aligned. In this way Schröder shows that they must have been in place by about AD 480 to 565 at the latest. So although information is limited, there is no evidence to place any of the datable robbed graves in the later phases of the site, and several reasons to think them among the earlier burials in the cemetery.

How soon after burial were the graves reopened? Warhurst judged that the robbing had taken place "fairly soon (within a few years) after the burial", and his reasoning is worth quoting in full:

> The robbers could detect the graves easily for the robber pits were extremely accurate.
>
> The robbing of the grave was sometimes fairly localized showing that the robbers knew what they were looking for and where to look for it.
>
> In the violated part of the cemetery many poor graves were left untouched. Two graves of exceptional dignity [Gr 50 and 59: those with gullies] which might have been expected to have been richly furnished, were robbed.
>
> Against this must be remembered:

> The body had disintegrated by the time of the robbery and the dismembered bones were found in confusion in the backfill of the robber pits.
>
> Green bronze staining from objects once present had developed on some of the bones.
>
> Warhurst, unpublished report on 1955 excavations

In addition, Warhurst observes that except for the Anglo-Saxon cemetery, he found no evidence of any activity on the site from the Mesolithic until the mushroom sheds and some earlier chicken houses were built within living memory (Warhurst 1955: 6).

Incidentally, these notes from Warhurst are also the only record that shows that robber cuts were in fact discernable into the disturbed graves, which is useful information for any future excavators at the site. No drawings of the cuts survive.

The point that the robbers had been able easily to find the graves, even targeting specific areas, is significant given the difficult conditions at the site. Both Warhurst and the Dover Archaeological Group excavators commented on the difficulty of identifying grave cuts in the subsoil (Warhurst 1955, Parfitt 2002: 2). In addition, the graves at Lyminge are deeper than at many Kent Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (Richardson 2005: 49). Nor are the disturbed graves amongst the shallower of the excavated sample, which vary from 14" to 4' 3" (Warhurst 1955). All this strengthens the impression that the graves were reopened while still readily identifiable on the surface.

Warhurst's second point, that the robbers targeted artefact-rich parts of the graves, is borne out by the records, as far as they go. Skeletons are described either as disturbed in the pelvic/thoracic/upper areas, or as entirely disordered. In only one case is the "skeleton missing below waist" (Gr 63). The archive sketch of Gr 40 shows that the disorder is mainly within the pelvic/thoracic area, with the skull and one arm apparently in situ (Fig. 105). On the site plan published in *Archaeologia Cantiana* only the lower part of Gr 8 is illustrated, suggesting that the grave cut itself may have been damaged by the robbing. However, as has been definitively shown on the continent, that noticeable disorder is confined to one part of a grave does not necessarily mean that this is the only area opened or viewed by the robbers (Chapters 2, 5.1).

No double or multiple burials were found at Lyminge. In one case, Gr 35 and 36, one burial cut into but did not disturb the contents of another. The burials were arranged in rough rows and mainly orientated east-west (Warhurst 1955: 5). At least one grave had originally been marked by mound of chalk lumps with a ditch. Two graves were surrounded by rectangular gully enclosures, which appear similar to the kerb-slots seen at St Peter's. Both of these burials are robbed, which is in line with the high levels of disturbance in such graves elsewhere (Chapter 4.5).

The ageing and sexing of the skeletons at this site, in particular Gr 48 and 63, is rather uncertain, as the various sources (Schröder 2007, Warhurst's notes, Richardson 2005b, and ASKED) give slightly different information. Almost all of the (admittedly small number) of disturbed graves so far identified at Lyminge are male; this is one of the only Kentish disturbed sites with a pronouncedly biased sex profile (Chapter 4.8). Few grave goods remain in the disturbed burials (Chapter 6.1). In particular, no weapons remain in any of them. Seen alongside the apparent preference for male burials, this may imply targeted removal of weapons at this site. However, any link is not straightforward: many weapon burials remain intact at Lyminge, as elsewhere, including a distinct cluster on the north side of the excavated area (Fig. 102).

Margate I, Half-Mile Ride (St. John's)

(Dixon 1948, 1950, Rowe 1923a, 1923b, 1923c, Perkins 1987, Birch & Perkins 1987: 45, Richardson 2005: 50-51, 264-266.)

The main investigation of this site was carried out by Dr A Rowe in 1922, after human skeletons were discovered during roadworks. Rowe excavated 20 graves, leaving limited, ephemeral records and a small collection of finds now in Margate Public Library. The following year he excavated a further 4 graves, but record of them is even more limited (Richardson 2005: 51). With less than half the recorded graves containing any artefacts, and those simple and of poor quality, Rowe viewed Half Mile Ride as the burial ground of an early and impoverished community. Information about his graves was inaccessible to researchers, failing even description in Audrey Meaney's gazetteer (Meaney 1964: 128).

That was until 1987, when local archaeologist DRJ Perkins published a reappraisal of the Half Mile Ride material, following its cataloguing in a museum reorganisation. He showed that the artefacts in fact date to the 7th century, giving a likely use period for the site from the late 7th to 8th centuries. Its poverty is probably therefore accounted for by the 'final phase' characteristic of reduced investment in grave goods.

Perkins also highlights evidence that many of the excavated graves had been previously opened, perhaps also contributing to the paucity of finds. Perkins attributes this reopening to the kind of extensive early disturbance with which he was familiar from nearby sites such as Sarre and Ozengell. Various early discoveries had been made in the Half-Mile Ride area and probably represent part of the same cemetery, but there is no known previous activity at Rowe's immediate site (Richardson 2005: 51). In any case disturbance did not appear recent, as Rowe initially remarks "even the empty graves conveyed no impression that they had been previously disturbed, the nature of the digging made that point clear". The implication seems to be that no robber cuts or other fill anomalies were discernable. Yet the disordered remains eventually forced him to conclude that his was not the first reopening: "unless the graves have been deliberately disturbed it is difficult to see how even an 18 inch grave could be opened by a ploughshare, which only cuts to a depth of 6 ins". Although his grave descriptions are not expansive, Rowe makes a telling comment about Grave 3: "it alone showed an attempt at proper sequence, skull, jaw, cervical vertebrae, and upper arms were in position, the rest out of position and mostly absent" (Perkins 1987: 230). This sounds very like the disturbed graves described at the other East Kent sites.

Perkins, who had recently produced a dissertation on grave-robbery at Ozengell, argued for very extensive disturbance, with all 20 of Rowe's 1922 graves robbed (Perkins 1987: 230). While this conclusion could be drawn from Rowe's remarks, it appears the excavator himself did not have a clear assessment of the evidence he was unearthing, nor how to distinguish between robbing and mere poor preservation. It was only as work progressed that he recognized the disturbance for what it was. With no grave plans and only a partially inaccurate cemetery plan (Perkins 1987: 221), the exact numbers and nature of the disturbance cannot be reconstructed. Graves 2, 3, and 7 are the strongest candidates.

Monkton I, Primrose Hill

(Bubb 1883, Payne 1888, Macpherson-Grant 1972-3, Hawkes & Hogarth 1973, Perkins 1983, Perkins & Hawkes 1984, Perkins 1985a, Bennett & Willians 1997, Richardson 2005.)

Table 12, Fig. 106

Thirty-five Anglo-Saxon graves have been recorded in this area, spread along a 360m stretch of gas pipeline. In 1971 teams led by N Macpherson-Grant and AC Hogarth recorded 22 graves, of which 2 were reported as disturbed in antiquity (Hawkes, Hogarth & Denston 1974). Around this time AC Hogarth was also excavating the extensively disturbed cemetery at St Peter's, Broadstairs. In 1982 DRJ Perkins led a watching brief on a second, parallel pipeline and excavated a further 12 graves, of which one was said to be disturbed (Perkins & Hawkes 1984).

As the plan shows, the three disturbed graves are in close proximity to each other, though intermingled with undisturbed burials. All three are interments of adult males with 6th century grave goods, and the body in Gr 22 was apparently still articulated at the time of disturbance. However, the conditions of excavation and the limited published details leave some question marks over the diagnosis of robbing, which are discussed below.

Artefacts indicative of 6th century weapon burials were found in all 3 of the graves believed disturbed in antiquity, putting them among the earliest burials at the site. In the case of Grave 22, Hawkes inferred that "the corpse had been disturbed not long after burial, perhaps to remove a particularly valuable item of grave furniture such as a famous sword" (Hawkes, Hogarth and Denston 1974: 71), and the same motive may apply to all three reopenings.

Other graves from the same period remained undisturbed at the site, including Grave 7, a probable male with a broken iron knife and a bronze buckle (Hawkes, Hogarth and Denston 1974: 59-63), Grave 27, badly plough-damaged but including the recognizable remains of a shield, and Grave 26, which although also plough-damaged included a sword, shield, bronze buckle, whetstone, and gold bracteate, the latter an unusual or unique find in a man's grave (Perkins and Hawkes 1984: 102-107). So at least one roughly contemporary richly furnished weapon burial was left intact.

One reason that Hawkes attributes the reopening of Grave 22 to the theft of a sword is presumably that the disturbance affects only the right leg of the corpse, beside which the sword of a left-handed man would be lying. No plans exist for the 1971 graves, but according to the description, most of the skeleton lay in situ, supine and extended, while the right side of the pelvis and right leg had been removed and placed, still articulated, at the foot of the grave

(Hawkes, Hogarth and Denston 1974: 71). The skeletal remains from this grave are described by the human bone expert as "the most complete of the series" (Hawkes, Hogarth and Denston 1974: 89), yet no cut marks are mentioned which could show that the injury was sustained at or immediately after death. It appears to have occurred at a stage of partial decomposition, once most soft tissue had decayed, but while sufficient ligaments remained to hold the bones of the leg together. This puts the robbing, at least of Grave 22, well within the use-period of the cemetery (Chapter 4.9).

While it is reasonable to infer that disturbance to any one area of a skeleton is evidence of robbers accessing grave goods which are typically found in that area, it is difficult to reconstruct the gory scenario which can satisfactorily explain the complete detachment of this man's leg during the theft of his sword. Perhaps the most plausible is that for some reason the entanglement of clothing and whatever strap held the sword led the robbers to drag the right leg away from the body by the shoe. Perhaps they opened the grave only partially and then dragged at the exposed remains, pulling the leg and its clothing along with the sword in its sheath. The theft of shoes or clothing seems unlikely, since by the time the corpse had decayed sufficiently for the leg to detach, they would surely be permanently soiled.

By contrast the body and artefacts in Grave 21 were already well-decayed by the time of disturbance. Only the skull and toe-bones were *in situ* while the leg bones were found on the south side near the top of the grave-fill. A gilt bronze buckle and plate lay 15 cm. apart at the foot-end, a shattered iron shield-boss in the top of the fill at the head-end, and a tiny bronze wire and mount fragment under the skull. Heavy rust staining on the buckle loop may show that before disturbance it was in contact with an iron object such as a knife (Hawkes, Hogarth and Denston 1974: 69), which would indicate the passage of considerable time between burial and robbing. An indentation in the floor of the grave suggested the original presence of a coffin, which had presumably also decayed, since the finds were scattered in the fill.

No structural features were recorded in 1971, despite AC Hogarth's evident interest in them from St Peter's. In 1982 three graves were found to contain various slots and ledges, but these did not include any of the disturbed burials. Grave 22, however, was recorded as "somewhat irregular, perhaps because it had been robbed in antiquity" (Hawkes, Hogarth and Denston 1974: 71), suggesting either a finding cut of the type Perkins later described at sites including Ozengell, Hoo Farm, and Thorne Farm, or perhaps reflecting a necessity to widen the grave cut a little in order to prise the lid off a coffin.

Both sets of excavators noted a good deal of plough damage to the shallower burials, as well as truncation of graves through their discovery by bulldozer. Perkins and Hawkes (1984: 91) go into useful detail in distinguishing between these two sources of damage, explaining that the pipeline bulldozers worked east and west, while deep-ploughing of shallow graves such as Gr 26 resulted in objects being pushed southwards and buried. From the descriptions it does not seem that the disturbance to graves 21, 22 or 25 could be explained by ploughing or bulldozer action, and this was clearly the excavators' impression.

However, there was also evidence of deliberate interference with graves in the more recent past. In the first place there is a report of the discovery of a skeleton on the brow of the hill in 1879 or 1880 (Bubb 1883: 41, Payne 1888: 452, Smith 1908: 385-6, Meaney 1964: 132), but that is 183m from the 1971 pipeline (Richardson 2005: 57) and need not imply any interference with those graves.

More compromising is the 1984 discovery of a scrap of polythene in Gr 24, close neighbour of supposedly robbed Gr 25 (Perkins and Hawkes 1984: 89, 107). The excavators evidently felt that this proximity was co-incidental and that the graves had been rifled centuries apart, but the limited published details do not explain their reasoning. They do note that Gr 24 was believed to have been a grave only from its configuration, containing no skeletal material and only minute fragments of iron along with the polythene piece. It is possible, therefore, that it was only a modern pit, though the dimensions and orientation suggest otherwise. Gr 25 is a more certain burial, described as containing a number of fragmentary iron and bronze objects throughout the fill, with human remains represented by a tooth. Decay therefore was well advanced when the grave was rifled. Evidence of what looks like modern grave-robbery in a neighbouring grave must bring into question the attribution of robbing in Grave 25 to antiquity, at least on the published information.

However, Graves 21 and 22, although nearby, seem to have been reopened in quite different fashions, and in 22 the apparent articulation speaks against modern opening. On the other hand, minor question marks lie over these two graves as well, since they were in fact not discovered during the watching brief, but were excavated by the workmen who found them during backfilling (Perkins and Hawkes 1984: 49-50). That said, the detail of the recorded information suggests that either that they did a very good job, or that an archaeologist was present. The only major omission is that the positions of the grave goods in Grave 22 were not noted.

Monkton I, like the two Minster-in-Thanet burial sites discovered during the same pipeline construction, may well turn out to be a heavily disturbed Thanet cemetery along the lines of its larger cousins at Broadstairs, Ozengell, and Sarre. The evidence points that way, though there are uncertainties about the diagnosis of early robbing in the small sample of graves so far excavated

Northbourne I, Finglesham

(Richardson 2005, Hawkes & Grainger 2006, Sayer 2007, 2009, Sonia Chadwick Hawkes' archive held by School of Archeology, University of Oxford.)

Table 13, Fig. 107-111

Smallscale chalk quarrying in the early 20th century disturbed human bones at this site, leading to a request from the landowner for investigation. WPD Stebbing excavated and recorded 28 graves (A1-H4) in 1928-9. He subsequently excavated a further 10 or so (including AA1-AA4), but without leaving proper documentation, so that the numbers and whereabouts of these graves are uncertain.

Stebbing identified one grave (A3) as having "early received attention from grave robbers". He suggested a grave mound may have singled it out for their attention. It is unclear why he believed it robbed, other than that it contained fewer grave goods than its generous dimensions had led the excavators to expect. The sparse description of the grave goods does not mention any disorder. He records a flat-bottomed black pot, a knife at the right side in a line with the femur, and one amber and one glass bead. The skeleton was not recorded. The grave contained many large flints, which looked as though they were a lining.

Sonia Hawkes (then Chadwick) published a reconsideration of Stebbing's finds in 1958. She appeared initially sceptical about the possibility of early robbing at the site, noting Stebbing's suggestion of robbing in antiquity for A3, but commenting that "in default of detailed record, this must be considered doubtful" (Chadwick 1958: 8). However, once she commenced her own excavations at the site, she identified or suspected early disturbance in some 21 graves, nearly 10% of her total.

Hawkes excavated at Finglesham from 1959-67, recording some 216 graves (although there are difficulties in reconciling the stated numbers of graves for this site (Dickinson 2006)). It is thought that the majority of the site has been recorded, although there is reason to believe that a group of later 6th century graves may have been missed (Hawkes & Grainger 2006: 22). The 2006 publication takes the form mainly of a grave catalogue, with limited analysis. Still, this is one of the most completely excavated and published Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in the county.

There is no discussion of the nature and implications of the robbing evidence in the report. Limited details are given in the grave descriptions, but do not adequately set out the evidence or reasoning behind the diagnosis of robbing. In several cases drawings of disturbed graves are missing, or the disturbed elements are omitted. The plan of Gr 44, for example, shows an empty

grave, although the description tells that leg bones were found. In Gr 126 the few remaining bones are described as "Either disturbed and thrown back into fill or possible undisturbed but severely eroded", but are omitted from the plan. Again Gr 93 is depicted as empty, although the grave catalogue describes skeletal remains "thrown back in" to the grave. The focus has been on the objects in their "right" places in graves, to the detriment of robbing or other taphonomic processes.

The site plan offers a few further clues, but there seems to be a mistake in the way the key refers to the robbed graves (Hawkes & Grainger 2006: 28, Fig. 107). The plan key divides graves into "grave robbed in antiquity" (grave outline with "R") and "grave probably robbed" (grave outline with "R" plus a line and dot indicating orientation). However on the grave plan itself there is another type, with a small question mark after the 'R' (e.g. grave 139) which appears in fact to indicate the graves where robbing was uncertain. It seems likely that 3 categories were intended: robbed graves so disturbed that the orientation was not discernable (e.g. grave 22), robbed graves with orientation information (e.g. grave 162), and graves where robbing was only suspected (e.g. grave 139). This uncertainty reduces the usefulness of the plan. It also incorrectly labels grave A4 as robbed, instead of grave 4.A3 (a.k.a. A3(4)).

One difficulty at Finglesham was in distinguishing between grave-robbing and the earlier archaeological work carried out by Stebbing. Several graves thought probably opened by Stebbing were discovered well to the south of the quarry area where his recorded work took place. The report suggests that some test trenches aimed at establishing the southern limit had been dug in the second and poorly recorded phase of Stebbing's work, which seems highly plausible (Hawkes & Grainger 2006: 28). However, from the limited descriptions given in the report it is frequently unclear why the disturbance in some graves is assigned as robbing, while in others it is put down to Stebbing. Gr 36, 37, and 38 are a case in point (Table 13). Without explanation Gr 36 is labelled as one of Stebbing's, Gr 37 is said to be robbed/Stebbing, and Gr 38 is called robbed in antiquity. Gr 37 and 38 are close together. More information would be needed fully to justify these diagnoses.

For this thesis 20 burials in 17 graves have been identified as probably or possibly disturbed during the early medieval period (Table 13). On the basis of the available evidence, the most convincing examples are Gr 22, 44, 78, 93, 110, 139, 162, 197, and 205. It is regrettable that plans or photographs, especially section drawings, are not available to show the disturbance in detail. For example, the question of why parts of skeletons are missing from some graves but are

apparently "thrown back in" to others has potential to give useful insights into the robbers' working methods, but illustrations are needed to show the nature of this evidence.

Erosion of the grave sides at the surface was noticed in at least two graves, but there were no other signs of attempts by the robbers to locate graves. It appears to have been a question of pinpointing the exact edge of each chalk-cut grave, which could then be emptied of its fill with relative ease.

As at the other sites, the state of decay of the remains in each grave at the time of robbing varied considerably (Chapter 4.9). In Gr 205 at least one of the skeletons – there is no information as to which – seems still to have been held together by ligaments when disturbed. This is the only explicit claim of articulation at Finglesham, although if the right arm of Gr 34 really was moved away from the body, the alignment of the humerus and ulna imply that this happened while the two were still connected or wrapped in a sleeve.

In Gr 197 it was thought that robbing must have happened "after the body had decomposed but before the coffin had collapsed" which from the grave plan appears highly plausible and fits with Aspöck's observation that in such cases the remains all lie on the grave floor (Chapters 4.6, 5.1). It is therefore notable that the iron knife and chatelaine in the grave were already sufficiently decayed to fragment during the reopening, so that pieces are spread around. In this case at least, iron gravegoods fragmented even before the coffin collapsed.

The robbing in Gr 197 grave seems to have been brutal enough to break not just the iron objects but also some bones. It also involved removing much of the grave contents, which in this case were not thrown back in the fill. This is in contrast to the apparently almost surgical reopening of e.g. Gr 139. This difference is not down to different states or types of graves: both seem to have been female burials within intact coffins. It is simply a different approach to removing gravegoods. Different again are the graves such as Gr 22, 78, and 211 from which part of the burial has been entirely dug out, and the rest left untouched. It is my contention that these markedly varied robbing methods represent the work of different individuals, or at least robbing on different occasions.

The fill of Gr 197 is described as "hard packed chalk around coffin and chalky earth inside". That this difference was maintained despite the robbing implies that the coffin lid was not substantially removed. Gr 197 is therefore highly likely to be an example of the "hook robbing" technique identified on the continent. This would fit with the fragmented remains, which in this scenario

have been smashed around with an iron or wooden instrument, and most of the contents lifted out through a hole in the coffin lid. Robbing methods are discussed at length in Chapter 5.1.

Gr 205 is one of the few examples in Kent where extraneous bones seem to have been added to a reopened burial – intentionally or accidentally – implying simultaneous reopening of more than one grave (Chapter 5.2). Gr 205 contained bones from at least two and possibly three adult humans, as well as sheep/goat. The report comments:

> Though it is possible that there had been a male as well as a female skeleton in this grave, at the time of excavation SCH wondered whether the male bones might have been re-interred in this grave after they had been robbed from either or both of the contemporary Graves 22 and 110. Such would imply an occasion of large-scale, even ceremonial, grave-robbing, presumably by members of the Finglesham community itself. The remains of the sheep or goat certainly suggest either some sort of animal sacrifice or the remains of a meal, or both. Neither would be inappropriate to an occasion of such solemnity as the formal violation of ancestral graves to recover family wealth and objects of virtue, if such is indeed as the grave-robbings imply.

(Hawkes & Grainger 2006: 153)

Notes on the 1959-60 season attached to a letter from Grainger to Hawkes dated 4th Sept 1988 give further clues to their thinking:

> Grave 22: A partially robbed grave, and body removed. But had been MALE, witness shield still propped against grave wall. NB This one a possible candidate for one of those sets of male bones in this year's grave 205? (all 'done' in one night?), but cf. also grave 110.

Gr 110 is much closer to Gr 205, so if the simultaneous reopening scenario is correct, and if proximity was a factor in selecting graves to reopen, then it is the stronger candidate. However, Gr 205 is by no means close neighbours with any of the reopened graves. If fill from another robbed grave became mixed into Gr 205, it had been carried some distance. This might imply deliberate transferral of bones, which would fit with the possible evidence of animal sacrifice. Then again it might be evidence of fill being carried from more than one open grave to a single point – perhaps by a lamp or a fire – to be searched, and then shovelled back into the nearest grave. This seems, however, an oddly laborious way of going about a task which the evidence of disarray in the graves suggests was not otherwise carried out with noticeable care.

Another reason for thinking Gr 110 may be the source of the apparent extra fill in Gr 205 is the ?intrusive pottery noted at the end of its grave contents list, but not included in the pottery

report (Hawkes & Grainger 2006: 395). This is probably an example of the debris collecting in hollows above graves (Chapter 5.3), and suggests that Gr 110 may not have been fully backfilled. This apparently simultaneous reopening is compared with the examples from the other sites in Chapter 5.2.

The animal bones in the Gr 205 fill are also seen elsewhere (Chapter 5.2). Unfortunately neither here nor at the other sites is there any information about the species, the parts of the animal, nor any butchery marks. Without this the conclusion that the bones represent either a ritual deposit or the remains of a meal can only be speculation.

A range of internal and external grave structures was found at Finglesham. These finds were made before Hogarth's work defining structure types at St Peter's Tip, so some at least of their identification must be retrospective. However, letters in Hawkes' archive show that she and Hogarth were in frequent contact, and that she approved of Hogarth's excavating technique.

Several graves with postholes and other apparently externally-visible structures had been disturbed at Finglesham, but without any link between any particular structure type and robbing. However, none of the 23 graves with ledges or beam slots had been disturbed, a marked exception (Table 6). Something in the appearance or the symbolism of such graves may have exempted them from reopening. On the other hand, graves with ledges are robbed at the other sites, so perhaps the omission at Finglesham is by chance. Quite possibly the robbing was drastic enough to remove evidence of such structures from at least some disturbed graves.

Finglesham had been ploughed flat long before the excavations, but is likely originally to have had a similar appearance to the barrow fields described by Faussett and other antiquarians, with many individual mounds of different sizes. There are at least 11 graves surrounded by ditches indicating the former presence of mounds, and a strong suggestion that some of the more isolated burials were originally covered. Guy Grainger carried out a "nearest neighbour" analysis to establish which graves are most likely to have had mounds (Hawkes & Grainger 2006: 30, Sayer 2009). Several of the robbed graves probably had barrows (e.g. Gr 22, 93, 162), but many did not (e.g. Gr 38, 91, 100). Likewise some barrow-graves are robbed, but many more are intact. It is not simply the case that graves were robbed because their barrows made them conspicuous; conversely, there are good reasons to think that graves were robbed at a time when the graves without barrows were also readily discernable on the surface.

Ramsgate IV, Ozengell (Osengal, Ozingell, Lord of the Manor)

(Smith 1845-6, 1846-7, Keats 1846-7, Isaacs 1847-8, Rolfe 1847-8, Scott-Robertson 1878, Wilson 1967, Millard, Jarman & Hawkes 1969, Webster & Cherry 1975, Youngs 1981, Youngs & Clark 1982, Perkins 1985a, Birch & Perkins 1987, Jay 1990, Richardson 2005.)

Table 14, Fig. 112

This large cemetery has seen multiple chance discoveries and campaigns of excavation from at least the mid-1800s onwards (Roach Smith 1854: 1-18, Perkins unpub, Richardson 2005: 63-64). The main phase of work saw some 230 graves excavated by the Thanet Archaeological Unit in the late 20th century (Richardson 2005: 63-64). However, records of the early discoveries are limited, and the recent excavations remain unpublished. Details of Gr 1-87 from the 1977 season exist in the form of a draft excavation report, and Richardson publishes details of Gr 229 and 230 from 1989 plus a site plan showing the TAU work.

High levels of ancient disturbance have been reported at Sarre, although reports of the exact numbers vary. The draft report mentions a figure of 47 out of Gr 1-87 (Perkins draft: 3), while elsewhere 58% and 'over 50%' of all 228 TAU graves are claimed as early robbing (Birch 1987:43, Perkins 1985b). However, in the grave catalogue a total of 41 burials in 39 graves are actually listed as disturbed/possibly disturbed in antiquity (39/87=45%). This is the highest overall rate of disturbance from any one site in Kent (Table 6).

One factor in raising the recognition of disturbance here may well be bone preservation: unusually high numbers of children, including very young children, are listed in the grave catalogue, suggesting that skeletal remains survived well here. The identification of so many sub-adult burials also speaks well of the excavation procedures. In addition, a higher than average proportion of child burials at Ozengell are listed as disturbed – although the numbers are still low – suggesting that the near-absence of robbed sub-adults from most other sites may at least partially be due to the difficulties of diagnosing disturbance with minimal skeletal remains (Chapter 4.7).

The Ozengell excavators were reasonably cautious about diagnosing ancient disturbance, counting graves only as robbed where there was gross skeletal disorder, in some cases combined with evidence of digging into the grave. In a few examples at Ozengell, as elsewhere, this disorder takes the form of heaping or piling of bones at one end of the grave (below, see also Chapters 5.1, 6.2). No gnawing marks or other signs of animal activity are reported. Graves such as Gr 33,

from which part of the skeleton may be missing but is more likely decomposed, are not counted among the disturbed burials.

Several graves had suffered damage from a modern trench; these are marked on Fig. 112. In Gr 61 it is not clear whether solely modern or also ancient disturbance is implied; this has been included as a "possibly disturbed" (Table 14). The excavators also noted plough damage since the shift in land use from pasture to arable during the 19th century, especially to the Anglo-Saxon graves superimposed on prehistoric round barrows. It was the landowner's concerns about plough attrition which prompted the 1977 excavation.

The 20th century excavators were content that they were not simply re-excavating antiquarian work, on various grounds. First, such reports as exist place the antiquarian activity well to the south of the more recently excavated area. Further, and as seen at other sites (Chapter 6.1), high numbers of gravegoods remained in the disturbed graves. In the excavators' assessment: "It is most improbable that any of this can be the work of the curiosity seekers mentioned by Roach-Smith, as many items of interest were found in them. Also, the position of skeletal material suggested partial articulation at the time of disturbance. Thus the plundering of the graves was probably carried out while the cemetery was still in use or shortly thereafter."

Elsewhere Perkins states that that "At Ozengell evidence of the period of disturbance took three forms. The first of these was negative in that, while subsoil over the entire site yielded pottery in the range Early Iron Age – Modern, grave fills contained no sherds later than the Dark Age period. Positively, the limited and particular nature of the some disturbances suggests that they were carried out by persons having knowledge of the placing of objects within the grave. There was also the evidence of articulation." (Perkins 1991: 164).

As shown in Table 14, there are a total of seven cases at Ozengell in which bodies are described as still partially articulated at the time of disturbance. In the absence of grave drawings this evidence cannot be fully assessed. It is clear from the draft report that grave plans exist, but they are neither published nor in circulation. The Trust for Thanet Archaeology, which holds the archive, has not responded to requests for access. From the descriptions the claims of articulation seem plausible, except perhaps in the case of Gr 19a, where limited rifling of the central area seems a more likely explanation for the *in situ* limbs (Table 14). The spatial distribution of these and the other disturbed burials is discussed in Chapter 5.4.

Although the Ozengell draft is limited, various further observations about the disturbance at this site have been published as an appendix to the first Sarre report (Perkins 1991). This includes

Perkins' classification system for grave robbery, which he worked out on the basis of his Ozengell excavations, although it is not used in the Ozengell draft report (see Sarre below). He also put forward possible interpretations for the Kentish robbery (Chapter 3). Perkin's appendix includes discussion of how long after burial robbing had taken place, and in particular how long the process of disarticulation might be expected to take in local chalky conditions. His conclusion is that skeletonization would be expected within about 25 years for coffined cadavers in chalk graves. This is discussed at greater length in Chapter 4.9, but used here as a working hypothesis.

The disturbed graves date from all phases of the site's use, from Gr 60 (450 – 525), to mid-6th century Gr 11 and 27, to Gr 75 around AD 600, to mid-7th century Gr 72. Three were buried before AD 575, while at least 7 are thought to date to after AD 625. As at the other sites, it is by no means the case that all the robbed graves are of one period, nor that all the graves of a particular period are affected.

There are, however, indications that although the Ozengell robbing affects burials of all periods, most or even all of it could have occurred in the mid- or later 7th century. The oldest disturbed grave, Gr 60, is also the only example where there are signs that the robbers could not immediately identify the grave cut on the surface. They had "located it by stripping topsoil from the chalk in a southward direction", suggesting that they could perhaps see that a grave was present but not its exact outline, and wanted to make sure they were digging down directly into it. This fits with Gr 60 being an old grave at the time of disturbance.

The graves with evidence of articulation at the time of disturbance, by contrast, all have much later dates, as far as the evidence goes (Table 14). Gr 12 and 65 had no artefact finds for dating, but the dates of the others would all be compatible with burial between AD 625 and 675. The most finely dated, Gr 18, dates from between 625 and 675 AD (ASKED, Table 14). Presuming Perkins' estimate of up to 25 years for skeletonization is broadly correct, this is consistent with disturbance by about 675 or 700 at the latest. As argued above, it seems unlikely that all seven of the articulated graves were buried simultaneously and reopened as one episode; rather the evidence at Ozengell points to reopening as a repeated practice concentrated in – and possibly confined to – the mid- to late 7th century. If these represent some of the last burials at the site it is therefore possible that they were robbed at the time of abandonment. Current dating suggests that burial at Ozengell is thought to have continued into the 8th century, but this conclusion may well be revised by the imminent AMS radiocarbon dating program (Chapters 3, 4.9).

Although grave drawings are not available for Ozengell, the descriptions of the disturbed graves give substantially more information than at most sites. In at least two graves, Gr 12 and 53, the skeletal remains are described as heaped or piled. In Gr 53 the pile was at the foot of the grave, in Gr 12 it was into two heaps. From the description of Gr 18 it seems that the edge of the robber cut into the original fill could be identified, and by inference that the excavators thought that in the other graves the whole cut had been emptied.

It is unfortunate that the descriptions give no indication of whether in some cases robbing could be seen to have happened within the walls of an intact coffin (Chapters 4.6, 5.1). Similarly, it would be useful to know here, and at other sites, whether the bone heaps appeared to lie on the grave floor, as though bones had been lifted or pushed together, or whether the bones were just mixed in with fill which had been spaded in that direction. In several St Peter's graves the former seems definitely to have been the case.

The graves were cut into hard chalk, so that they had well-defined edges within which the robbers dug, and there could be no question of the robbers accidently expanding a grave. So apart from damage to the lip in some cases, no evidence was found of robbery affecting the dimensions of the grave.

Ozengell showed a similar range of external and internal grave structures as other East Kent sites (Hogarth 1973, Chapter 4.5), including the less common large sandstone slabs above some graves. In Gr 49 it appears that such slabs had stood in the rectangular kerb-slot around the grave, which was also the conclusion at St Peter's. At Ozengell they are also found in quantity in graves without kerb-slots, perhaps as a sort of paving above the grave, or as a lining to part of the grave cut as in undisturbed Gr 1. A remark in Perkins' dissertation implies that he may even have regarded them as coffin-like structures (Perkins 1985b: 7).

Sandstone slabs are found strewn about in the fills of disturbed Gr 7, 9, 22, 24, 25, 50, 51, 52, 53, 65, 81, 229, and 230. Sometimes they are found only high in the fill; sometimes the wording suggests they had found their way down to the burial layers. This is further evidence that animal burrowing is not responsible for this kind of disturbance; the slabs have not simply shifted or collapsed inwards, they have been removed and thrown back in. Their haphazard positioning makes it clear that no effort had been made to restore the aboveground appearance of the robbed graves. In two burials, Gr 18 and 60, there was evidence that the grave cuts had not even been fully back-filled (Chapter 5.3).

Other graves of interest: Gr 52 has medieval pottery at depth 7cm, which seems to indicate later material collecting in a hollow above a robbed grave, as identified by Aspöck (Chapter 5.3). The presence of such later material on the site but not incorporated into the disturbed fills is a further indication of the early date of the robbing.

Gr 58 may be an unusual example of a child's grave with an adult added. Gr 19 appears to be an example of a primary interment effectively replaced by a secondary (with the primary bones displaced into the fill) and then both robbed.

Gr 16 may just possibly be the single example of a second inhumation into a previously robbed grave. The excavators observed that "The excavation yielded five curb slot graves, of these four were obviously robbed. The bone fragments and objects in the fill make it possible therefore, that the skeleton in grave 16 is a second inhumation." However, this was considered too speculative for Gr 16 to be included among the disturbed graves listed here. For the first, Gr 16 may (like Gr 19) simply be a secondary burial of the kind that effectively replaces the primary (Chapter 6.2), although it is fair to say that the near-total removal of the primary skeleton is not usual. Second, the inter-site analysis shows that robbing is not closely correlated with grave structures, so that it is quite normal for only some graves with each type of structure to be disturbed. That said, graves with kerb-slots are more consistently disturbed across the sites than those with other types of structure (Chapter 4.5).

In c.1985 David Perkins wrote his undergraduate dissertation on "Wealth, robbery and status in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries" at North-East London Polytechnic, based mainly on the data from Ozengell. The dissertation used statistical techniques to investigate possible correlations between grave structures, dimension, sex, wealth, and robbery. Unfortunately Perkins no longer has a copy and it was not included among the sample retained by the library when it was subsumed into the University of East London. By chance, however, a copy of the summary section survives in Sonia Hawkes' archive in Oxford, in a letter sent to her by Perkins.

The dissertation uses data from 110 Ozengell graves, plus evidence from 5 other unnamed Kentish cemeteries. It finds associations between wealth – defined mainly as numbers of gravegoods, with some ranking on the basis of raw material – grave width, grave structures, and robbery. Like this thesis, then, it finds that larger graves are more frequently robbed (Chapter 4.4), and that grave structures tend to attract grave robbery (Chapter 4.5). It further suggests that larger graves are robbed because they tend to contain greater wealth deposits, a correlation not attempted here but partially supported by Richardson's findings (Chapter 4.4). Further, Perkins

argues that certain types of grave structure – ring ditches, barrows, and sandstone slabs – are more frequently disturbed, but that other structure classes are only rarely disturbed. These findings are in part borne out here, but with considerable variation between sites, and with numerous caveats about the identification and the original forms of the structures, which must severely compromise any purely quantitative analysis (Chapter 4.5).

Sarre I

(Anonymous 1847, Anonymous 1859, Smith 1860, Brent 1863, 1866, 1868, Hawkes 1984, Perkins 1988, 1991, 1992, Richardson 2005, Brookes 2007: 198.)

Table 15, 113-114

John Brent, under the aegis of the Kent Archaeological Society, excavated just over 270 graves at this site from 1863 to 1865. He published his observations and grave catalogue in successive issues of *Archaeologia Cantiana*, and the Rev. Drake drew a site plan which survives in Sonia Hawkes' archive (online in the Oxford-based *Novum Inventorium Sepulchrale*).

There had also been some previous antiquarian activity at the site, both documented and undocumented. A composite disc brooch known as the Amherst Brooch and the Coptic or Byzantine bronze bowl dug up in 1841 are thought to have come from a grave here, despite the finders' claims to the contrary. In c.1858 the British Museum had artefacts said to come from Sarre or Crundale Down, suggesting further undocumented activity had taken place at the site, and at least 2 graves were recorded at Sarre Mill by Charles Roach Smith in 1861.

Brent (1868: 318) notes oral traditions of finds in chalk pits around the site. David Perkins' excavations in the 1980s and 1990s showed 18th century interference with at least one grave. This led Perkins to suggest that the Sarre community knew rather more about the graves and their contents than they admitted (Perkins 1992: 99-100), so that early modern treasure-hunting is a significant potential source of disturbance (see also Appendix 1.4).

Brent reported 30 out of his 272 graves as disturbed, giving variable amounts of information about each (Table 15). Brent realized almost immediately, in his second grave, that he was dealing with previous opening. Bones are described as "much deranged" or "displaced" and in some cases most of the skeleton is missing or mixed with gravegoods in the fill. One case, Gr 198, should perhaps be discounted as the description sounds like animal burrowing. However the disturbance in the others is much too extensive for this explanation, involving the disappearance of much of the grave contents. Gr 198 is also the only grave in which Brent observed any kind of cut into the fill; in the others the robber intrusion was no longer visible.

Brent discovered graves initially by running parallel trenches across the field, then by use of an iron probe, which he found to be all that was required, although he was sometimes led astray by a fault in the chalk. The whereabouts of graves was not evident from the surface, but the surface does not appear to have been levelled by ploughing: several times the excavators were deceived by "some circular holes, or shallow pits, dug in various parts of the field. The object of these

holes was not at first apparent, but in some instances at least we found them to be connected with Roman sepulture, and exhumed from them broken pieces of Roman pottery, burnt wood, and charred bones of sheep, swine, and other animals, as well as a considerable quantity of oyster shells" (Brent 1863: 309). It is therefore indicative that Brent does not mention seeing any signs of previous digging into any of the early medieval graves either on the surface or in the fill. No telltale hollows were left over the disturbed graves, nor was their fill looser or a different colour from the rest.

Beyond the disturbance, Brent's observations are acute, if sometimes light on detail. He distinguishes clearly between graves which are disturbed, those which have no artefact finds and those without human bones (e.g. XXXI "No relics"; XXXVII "No interment discoverable"; CXXXVII "No relics. The femur and tibia measured together thirty-seven inches."). He notes double graves of both the alongside and stacked types, the latter including CXXXIV with "the skeletons nearly touching". He notes the poorer preservation of children's bones, with the general observation that "the state of the human bones exhibited much variety" (Brent 1868: 320). His impression was that, on the whole, bone preservation improved with age at death, while bone quality was worse in deeper graves. He also commented that the part of the skull in contact with the grave floor was almost always decayed.

In 1982 David Perkins excavated two Anglo-Saxon graves (Gr 273 and 274) on the supposed site of the medieval Church of St. Giles. One of these was disturbed in antiquity, though probably only by the insertion of a secondary or replacement burial (Chapter 6.2).

In 1990 the Trust for Thanet Archaeology planned a further 36 graves and excavated 18, one of which had previously been opened by Brent. Between 9 and 12 are reported as disturbed in antiquity. There is some ambiguity about Gr #13/282 which Perkins (1991: 142) appears to count as both disturbed in antiquity and in modern times. In addition, Gr #33 and #35 are marked as disturbed on the plan, but no information about them is given. It is possible they were not among the excavated sample, but showed signs of disturbance in the exposed upper context. These have not been counted among the robbed graves for this analysis.

At 50% this is a much higher proportion of robbed graves than reported by Brent. Thanet Archaeology may well have happened to open one of the areas of the grave field with a concentration of disturbance (a phenomenon noted by Brent, Table 15). The grave plans show convincing and typical early robbing. However, the possibilities remain that the later excavators

were significantly bolder in their interpretations, or that some of the disturbance had occurred since Brent's work.

Perkins leaves open the question of exactly how much of the robbing is early medieval and how much, as in Gr 282, dates to more recent centuries. However, he clearly considered most of it as the same phenomenon as he had previously seen at Ozengell. He comments that here, as at Ozengell, it is the widest graves which are robbed, often those with external structures (Perkins 1992: 99).

There are several further reasons for seeing most of the Sarre disturbance as part of the same phenomenon of ancient robbery as seen at the other East Kent sites. For the first, recently disturbed Gr 282 is right at the edge of the excavated area, not among the other robbed graves. The 18th century fill inclusions are obvious, and not seen in any other graves. Likewise when Perkins rediscovered one of Brent's graves, the difference in fill was immediately evident (Gr #1).

In addition, the quantity and types of gravegoods which remain in the other disturbed burials are characteristic of the highly selective ancient robbery seen elsewhere (Chapter 6.1), not of early modern excavation. Fragmented bones were left in the fill, but no Anglo-Saxon artefacts. By contrast the burials with early disturbance contain large numbers of artefacts which would be highly attractive to antiquarians: part of a sword hilt, a pendant fashioned from a tremissis, a silver-mounted pendant of pink glass, beads of amber, glass, and amethyst, a bronze key, gold braid, and many more.

In the cemetery as a whole large numbers of grave-goods were found, including high proportions of imported objects, as well as swords (Perkins 1992: 106-7, Richardson 2005: 71). Brent's 272 graves yielded 28 swords, almost one to every ten graves (Perkins 1992: 107; Brent 1868: 318 seems a slight undercount). Kent has by far the highest proportion of graves with swords of any region (Richardson 2005: 138), but Sarre stands out even in this county. No swords were found in any of the disturbed graves, except the top of a sword hilt left in Gr 104 (not counted among the 28 full examples). Targeting of swords by the robbers seems likely and is discussed along with other patterns of grave-good removal in Chapter 6.1.

One grave, Gr 281, showed apparently deliberate lifting and replacing of a latch-lifter/chatelaine complex by the side of the grave. Given the several component parts, this could only have happened before the iron object was fragmented, a strong indication of the early date of disturbance. The apparently deliberate rejection of this object by the reopeners also fits with evidence from the other sites of their lack of enthusiasm for artefacts of the chatelaine-type.

There are many more examples, however, of objects considerably decayed and fragmenting during disturbance. Perkins notes that "The fills of the disturbed graves yielded many iron fragments, for the most part small and amorphous, so that nothing could be made of them." (Perkins 1992: 96). There are plenty of whole objects, including iron knives and keys, in the disturbed graves, but the overall impression is not that the graves were robbed while the contents were fresh. This is reinforced by the lack of articulated skeletal remains in the robbed graves (or at least the 18 excavated by TAT), unlike at several of the other heavily disturbed sites (Chapter 4.9).

Disturbed Gr 279 contained bones from a minimum of 4 individuals (Perkins 1992: 103), a highly unusual occurrence in Kentish early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (Richardson 2005a: 92). All the skeletons and many of the bones were very incomplete and with the bones in various states of preservation. The bones represented an adult ?female, a juvenile, a child, and an unsexed adult. The remaining grave goods suggest an original male burial. This may be one of the very few examples from Kent of the phenomenon noted on the continent of several graves being reopened simultaneously and their contents deliberately or accidentally mixed (Chapter 5.2). In this case it is possible that there was deliberate selection of particular body parts to redeposit, since all four individuals are represented by at least one femur but little more. Some of the bones also showed red markings, for which no explanation is attempted in the report.

It is in an appendix to the first Sarre report (Perkins 1991) that Perkins published his classification scheme for grave disturbance (Appendix 1.1: Ozengell, Table 14), which is actually based on his finds from Ozengell. It covers how much of the grave fill was removed and in which direction; human v. animal disturbance; whether skeletal material is present, scattered, or methodically moved; whether gravegoods are present, scattered, or deliberately damaged; evidence of attempts to locate the grave cut; and whether the grave was backfilled with the original fill, backfilled with a different fill, or not backfilled at all. This is by far the most systematic approach to analysing early medieval grave robbery so far published, including on the continent. However, unless a very large number of graves are to be discussed, and perhaps subjected to statistical analysis, it is somewhat cumbersome to use. This thesis has preferred a thick description approach, particularly given the very varied data quality from the various sites.

This said, Perkins' classification system for disturbed burials, although not entirely user-friendly, yields more information about the evidence for disturbance at Sarre than is recorded at most sites. In most of the graves the classes given show that the whole of the fill has been removed and then

backfilled, but in Gr 281 it was possible to see that digging had been from the head end. In only one grave, Gr 283, did the original grave floor definitely survive the digging. This suggests that Gr 283 may still have had an intact coffin providing airspace around the burial at the time of disturbance (Chapters 4.6, 5.1), which interpretation is supported by the apparently *in situ* position of one tibia.

Although Perkins described the remaining bones in most graves as "scattered", the plans or descriptions show that in 3 Sarre examples there was apparently deliberate heaping or piling of bones of the type seen at several other sites (Chapters 5.1, 6.2). In one of these the heap was at the head end, rather than the more usual foot. Such heaping was evidently a feature that struck Perkins, since he includes in his classification both "(c) Bones have been moved and placed or stacked methodically" and "(d) Bones have been moved and placed or stacked in a humorous or capricious fashion". It is greatly to be regretted that the delayed publication of Ozengell, from which these observations almost certainly arise, means there is no way of knowing in which, or how many, graves these features were seen. The "yoricking about" or "re-arrangment of disinterred bones [which] demonstrates a childlike or Rabelaisian humour on the part of the robbers" (Perkins 1991: 164) is particularly intriguing and has not been reported at any of the other sites investigated here. However, stacking of bones has been noted at several other cemeteries and is discussed in Chapters 5.1, 6.2.

Back at Sarre, the 20th century excavations found a range of internal and external grave structures corresponding to those classified by AC Hogarth at St Peter's Tip (Hogarth 1973, Chapter 4.5). Brent's excavation technique would not have enabled him to observe external grave structures, and Perkins notes that although he makes occasional mention of internal structures, this "is so tersely reported as to betray a lack of interest" (Perkins 1992: 98). Perkins considers that plough attrition may have removed external or grave lip structures such as post-holes or beam slots from more of the 20th century graves. Five of the shallowest graves were in the process of destruction by the plough. None of these were more than 25 cm deeper than the chalk surface, demonstrating considerable topsoil erosion at the site over the 130 years since Brent's excavation (Perkins 1992: 97). Similarly, he suggests that the large disturbed graves Gr 285 and 286 might originally have exhibited curb-slots or the like (Perkins 1992: 98), with the implication that the disturbance was devastating enough to have removed all signs of such internal structures.

Sarre has one of the earliest start dates among the Kent cemeteries. Brent suspected that part of the cemetery disturbed Roman interments (1866: 177). He thought Gr CXXXI a Roman burial,

and in CCXXVIII may even have discovered a Roman occupation deposit. In 1991 a Thanet Unit watching brief on a Southern Water sewage pipe in the locality found no new graves, but did discover a sunken featured building with an iron Anglo-Saxon buckle in the fill, and a ditch to the south of the cemetery with a 9th century dress fastener in the fill. Along with the Roman remains, there are therefore hints of settlement in the immediate vicinity of the cemetery into the later Anglo-Saxon period (see also Brookes 2007: 78). Opportunities for exploitation of this cemetery by local populations have not been lacking over the centuries.

Appendix 1.2 Kent Sites: limited or doubtful early disturbance

This section discusses in detail the sites with reports of limited early disturbance, affecting only one or two graves (Table 7, Fig. 9). In some cases the diagnosis appears justified, but in others the evidence is doubtful or has not yet been published. This picture may change as more information becomes available, particularly about the recent excavations at Bourne Park, Bridge.

Canterbury VI, Old Westgate Farm

(Bennett 1982, Frere & Bennett 1987, Webster 1982.)

Table 7

A voluntary watching brief was carried out by Canterbury Archaeological Trust in 1982 on the redevelopment of this former farm. The site was dominated by a Roman period cremation cemetery, from which at least 50 burials were recovered. In addition there were signs that the burial ground had been reused in the 7th century. Several Anglo-Saxon finds were made, including a sherd of early Saxon grass-tempered pottery and two glass palm cups.

Feature 70 was tentatively interpreted as an Anglo-Saxon grave robbed in antiquity. It was thought to have been covered originally by a small mound. A gold pendant, probably manufactured around AD 620 but buried some decades later, was lying on the shallow grave floor in two pieces. The grave was cut by an adult male inhumation burial including a sceatta dating to c. AD 690-725. Perhaps this is a case, like that at Polhill discussed below, of plundering of a burial happened across during later grave-digging. That the pendant was left behind, despite its impressive nature, would be consistent with the pattern of grave good removal from the more extensively excavated robbed cemeteries (Chapter 6.1).

Darenth I, Darenth Park

(Brock 1884, Wilson 1956, Walsh 1980, Batchelor 1982, 1990, excavation archive held by Maidstone Museum.)

Table 7, Fig. 115

Thirteen graves have been excavated out of a probably much larger cemetery in the grounds of Darenth Park Hospital. One double burial (Gr 6) is reported as 'disturbed in antiquity', but the evidence is not overwhelming and tree root damage is another possibility. The other point of interest is Gr 5, which is disturbed by an aggressive secondary burial (Chapter 6.2).

Various accidental finds of human bones and artefacts in the hospital grounds are documented from the late 19th century onwards. Excavations took place in 1972-3 (grave 3), 1978 (graves 4 and 5), 1981 (re-excavation of graves 4 and 5, graves 6-12 found), and 1998 (grave 13). Finds so far suggest that the burial ground was in use c.450-600 (Batchelor 1990, Richardson 2005: 23). A large number of postholes and stakeholes were also excavated, the majority of which were judged to pre-date the cemetery, although some may be associated with graves (Batchelor 1990: 57). The discovery of an intact early 5th century glass bowl with chi-rho symbol has given debates about the survival of Roman Christianity in Kent and the relationship of burial ritual to religion particular focus at this cemetery.

The published report describes Gr 6 as "disturbed in antiquity", stating that "the two burials have been totally disturbed and thoroughly mixed with the filling. The stepping of the sides may possibly indicate a recut and double burial similar to that found in grave 5" (Batchelor 1990: 43-44). The bones were of two adults, one male and one female. No grave-goods were found.

No explanation is given as to why the disturbance was assigned to 'antiquity'. However, the excavators were evidently certain that they were not reopening one of the graves known to have been disturbed in the 19th or earlier 20th centuries, presumably because they found no trace of a modern cut into the grave fill. Indeed, as discussed below, the grave was covered with a substantial layer of tree roots, ruling out any possibility of recent damage.

The site archive in Maidstone Museum preserves all the letters, plans, proofs, photos, context sheets, and drawings from the 1981 Central Excavation Unit work. This material adds considerable detail to the information in the published report. It shows that a number of different sources of disturbance to Gr 6 were observed as excavation progressed. Although these do not eliminate the possibility of disturbance in antiquity, they do bring the diagnosis into doubt.

First, it appears from the context sheets that the top layers of the burial context were affected by a modern garden bedding trench. Second, a modern GPO trench sliced off the south west section of the grave. Third, the grave-fill is immediately noted as suffering 'much tree root disturbance'. A multitude of tree roots crisscrossing the grave is evident in photo 9, a vertical shot of the grave-cut before excavation. Suddenly, however, when the excavators reached the burial (context 134), they noted 'Two skeletons, unarticulated, much disturbed in antiquity... robbed in antiquity, thoroughly smashing up both burials'. There is no explanation as to why tree root damage was ruled out as a cause of the disturbance. Although the excavators may well have had ample grounds for their interpretation, these are not set out.

At 0.46m, Gr 6 was among the deeper of the graves found in the modern excavations at the site. Its disturbance therefore cannot be attributed to shallowness increasing vulnerability to either robbers or to the plough. Nor is this the only burial so far excavated at the site which lacks grave-goods. No artefacts were recovered from Gr 3, of which no further details are recorded, and Gr 12, an adult female, was unfurnished. Lack of grave-goods alone cannot be taken as evidence for robbing.

There is no dating evidence for the disturbed grave, either absolute or relative to the rest of the cemetery, so no conclusions can be drawn about the selection of the grave for robbery on the basis of date. It is at the north corner of the excavated area, beyond which the cemetery is believed to continue. Its near neighbour, grave 5, is another double burial but was found intact. Future exploration beyond the northern limit of the 1981 excavation would be necessary to establish whether any further graves are disturbed.

Gr 5 at Darenth Park is an example of a double burial where the addition of the second body damaged the earlier interment, and where a degree of aggression or contempt seems indicated. In this case, a male youth had been added to the grave of an adult male (Walsh 1980: 315). The upper burial was considered hurried, as the head and shoulders were found 'hunched up at the north end of the grave'. A skull fracture indicated that this second individual may have met a violent death. The later burial cut into the vertebrae and rib-cage of the earlier interment. As at Eccles and elsewhere, the primary skeleton lacked a skull. This may have been removed at the time of the secondary interment, although decapitation as cause of death or post-mortem removal of the head are also possibilities. Each skeleton had a small iron knife blade at the hip.

Deal I, Mill Hill

(Parfitt & Brugmann 1997, Richardson 2005, Sayer 2007, 2009.)

Table 7, Fig. 116-117

This cemetery did not show the widespread robbing reported at other east Kent sites. There were just a couple of cases of possible early disturbance in the 76 graves excavated by the Dover Archaeological Group in the late 1980s. However, other evidence from grave markers and intercutting at the site is informative. Mill Hill is a primarily 6th century cemetery, which may explain the low levels of reopening (Chapter 4.9), although Duncan Sayer (2009: 156) has recently argued that its use period extends into the 7th century.

For a Saxon field cemetery, Mill Hill had some unusually tangled stratigraphy. Focused on a Bronze Age mound, as is common in Kent and elsewhere, part of the cemetery also overlay a late Iron Age inhumation burial ground. Since these sparsely furnished prehistoric graves lay on very similar axes to the early medieval ones, later burials could in some cases be distinguished only by the presence of Roman period material in the fill. The re-use of the Iron Age site also meant that many Anglo-Saxon graves contained redeposited human bone, as at Bradstow School (see below), where it created ambiguity in identifying multiple burials. Some of the latest burials at Mill Hill cut into those of an earlier phase (Parfitt 1997: 17), implying that whatever grave markers had been used were no longer visible by this time. This has important implications for the length of time graves could be identified on the ground and thus for the timeframe of grave robbery (Chapter 4.5).

Two graves in the cemetery showed signs of robbing in antiquity. The first, Gr 72, seems to have had its objects removed when Gr 10 was later cut through it (Parfitt 1997: 29). Gr 10 (Phase IV) cuts through both Gr 72 and Gr 71 (Phase II) at right-angles, so that it appears to be a new grave rather than a recut for a secondary burial. The cutting is presumably accidental. A second, older, buckle found in Gr 10 was interpreted as coming from Gr 72. This opportunistic removal of valuables from an older burial is also seen at Polhill (Chapter 6.2).

The second deliberately disturbed burial is Gr 85, described as "Disturbed; remains of skull and spearhead in place. Scattered long-bones of more than one individual." (Parfitt 1997: 148). The remaining grave-goods comprised a shield boss, spear fittings including a spearhead with tip broken off, an incomplete knife, and a copper alloy object which might be waste from a casting. No mention is made of any detectable robber cut into the grave. Two individuals were identified from the bone assemblage: an adult of unknown sex, aged 30-35, and a young adult male aged 20-30, who would fit with the weapon collection (Parfitt 1997: 215-6).

The remains are interpreted as "a thoroughly disturbed single width grave containing the remains of two individuals. Sometime after the spearman representing the primary burial had been interred, the grave had apparently been re-opened, leading to extensive disturbance of the body. The disarticulated bones of a second individual were thrown into the grave as it was being back-filled" (Parfitt 1997: 26).

The site director, Keith Parfitt, who is not convinced by many claims of grave-robbery, considers this the best example he has excavated. His impression was that someone had definitely been digging in Gr 85, but that the contents were from different people (Parfitt pers. comm.). This

may be a disturbed double burial, or it may be a case of the contents of more than one grave being collected together, as suggested at in one grave at Sarre and another at Finglesham (Chapter 5.2).

Dunton Green I, Polhill

(Ward 1931, Blumstein 1956, Stoyel 1959, Philp 1964, 1965, 1967, 1973, 1979, Arnold 1980, Philp & Hawkes 1980, Tyler 1992, Philp 2002, Richardson 2005.)

Table 7, Fig. 118

There was an oral tradition of early discoveries of skeletons and weapons at this site, possibly dating to the 1839 road building. Records of 107 excavated graves have been published (Philp 1973). There were a number of multiple burials, some of which were thought to involve secondary insertions.

Double grave 83 had been "almost completely disturbed" with the bones of an adult and a child mixed together in the backfill. Two artefacts were also found in the fill: an unidentified iron object and a bronze scabbard-chape, thought to suggest the former presence of a seax. These were also found in 3 undisturbed graves at the site, including well-furnished Gr 84 and 85 which were neighbours with Gr 83. As at other sites, the selection of this grave to reopen therefore appears highly specific. The removal of the seax fits with the evidence for sword removal seen at the heavily disturbed sites in East Kent (Chapter 6.1).

The only other evidence for grave robbery came from Gr 52. This is actually two graves, one partly superimposed across the other. Graves at Polhill clearly had markers: 6 have barrows, several have postholes, and there is very little intercutting. This superimposition may therefore have been deliberate, or may be one of the occasional but persistent examples of accidental intercutting seen at most of the sites (Chapters 4.5, 6.2). The report notes, "It seems that the grave-digger of the north grave made a slight detour into the centre of the original grave, perhaps to recover valuable grave-goods. Four of the long-bones disturbed in this operation were placed on the south side of the second grave". An iron buckle remained at the waist of the earlier skeleton, while an iron knife in the backfill of the second grave was considered probably disturbed from the original burial. The same kind of removal of grave goods from an earlier grave is also seen at Mill Hill, Deal, where Gr 72 had its objects taken when Gr 10 was later cut through it (Parfitt 1997: 29, Chapter 6.2). Both of these are sites with minimal deliberate reopening.

Gr 63 contained two adult burials, the secondary causing considerable damage to the primary. The lower skeleton was "largely removed when upper body placed in same grave, but skull replaced between legs of upper skeleton". This placing of the head is associated with deviant burials (Chapter 6.3), but perhaps here has a more benign interpretation: it may have been acceptable to dig out and discard most of the primary skeleton, but with the skull replaced as the most significant bone, representing the whole individual.

Eastry III, Updown

(Webster 1977, Hawkes 1976, Hawkes 1979, Philp & Keller 2002, Richardson 2005, Welch 2008.)

Table 7

A total of 78 graves were excavated here in rescue campaigns in 1976 and 1989 (Philp & Keller 2002, Welch 2008). Despite the poor bone preservation, evidence for grave robbery was noted in one burial in each of the excavations. In 1976 this was Gr 76:18, an adult-sized weapon grave of a sub-adult or young adult, possibly encircled by a ring-ditch (Welch 2008: 10, 18, 83, 101). This is reported as "appeared to have been robbed in antiquity".

No skeletal remains were found in Gr 76:18 beyond a single molar tooth. There was a four-sided coffin stain, within which was found a spear socket or ferrule near the south side, an iron tang from a knife or tool near the north side, and a buckle at the centre. A copper alloy fragment was in the fill just outside the south side wall of the coffin.

The number of the 1989 disturbed grave is unknown. The report of the 1989 exavations states only that of the 41 newly discovered graves, one "had been robbed by treasure hunters" (Philp 2002: 24). There is no further information about the evidence for disturbance, likely date, nor which grave was affected. Martin Welch suggested that it may have been Gr 89:31 (Welch 2008: 10), another possibility is empty Gr 89:33, for which no grave plan has been published.

Gr 76:18 is tentatively dated to the third quarter of the 7th century, but no dating was possible for either 89:31 or 89:33 (if one of those is the 1989 robbed burial) beyond a general 7th century bracket. They are not in the same area of the cemetery. Neither Gr 89:31 nor 89:33 have grave structures. All have coffins. Gr 76:18 contained fragmentary remains of grave-goods, but neither of the possible 1989 candidates had associated finds beyond the coffin remains.

Horton Kirkby II, Riseley

(Cumberland 1937, Priest 1938, Tyler 1992, Richardson 2005.)

Table 7

Several graves at this site were disturbed during their discovery by workmen. At least 4 others, however, are described as disturbed without any further information as to date or cause (XIX, XXII, LXV, CXV). These may be examples of ancient disturbance. Gr CII is described as "Skeleton very much decomposed; right leg – femur, tibia, fibula and patella – found lying on breast" (Priest 1938). This may be the result of post- or peri-mortem injury, or of reopening immediately after burial. Unfortunately no further information is recorded. In addition Gr LXXV is an example of a burial where a propped skull has tumbled from its original position (Priest 1938: 22).

Minster-in-Thanet III, Hoo Farm

(Scurrell 1971, Macpherson-Grant 1972-3, Perkins & Hawkes 1984, Perkins 1985a, Richardson 2005.)

Table 7, Fig. 119

In 1983 three inhumations were recorded by the Thanet Archaeological Unit under the supervision of DRJ Perkins during a watching brief on gas pipeline construction. None contained grave-goods, but structural features in Grave A similar to those at other Thanet cemeteries suggest an early medieval date. All 3 graves were thought previously disturbed, in addition to substantial damage to Graves B and C from the pipeline trench. The graves were excavated under rescue conditions and the publication is brief.

These three graves are not grouped closely together, but were found strung out along the pipeline cut, with Grave A at TR 29956565, Grave B at TR 30116565, and Grave C at TR 30206566. It is by no means certain that they represent one burial ground. Nor are they immediately associated with the 1971 discovery of 5 graves, which may well be Romano-British rather than Anglo-Saxon, about 110m away at TR 30326567 (Scurrell 1971: 246, Macpherson-Grant 1972-3: 299, Richardson 2005: 55). The absence of grave goods could suggest a 'final phase' date for the burials in the 7th or 8th centuries. However, the lack of W-E alignment and the likelihood that artefacts were removed from all three graves by robbers leave the question of dating open.

Grave A (NNE) (Perkins 1985a: 45)

Damage to the western edge of the grave cut by what Perkins calls a "characteristic 'finding' cut" can clearly be seen on the plan (Fig. 119). It implies that the presence of a grave was still observable aboveground at the time of disturbance, but that its exact cut was not visible. The robbers started digging a little way outside the grave, and had to work inwards to find the side.

The remaining contents consisted only of a small fragment of long bone, and what appeared to be two gall-stones, confirming the impression that some time had passed between burial and robbing. The grave had been almost completely emptied.

Perkins also takes the presence of mounds of hard chalk silt on the floor of the grave as indicative of disturbance. These may be evidence that the reopened grave was left without backfill, so it is regrettable that it was not possible to publish in greater detail.

Grave B (Roughly NE-SW) (Perkins 1985a: 45)

From the waist up this grave was destroyed by the pipe trench. The middle is intact, while the plan and sections show disturbance to the foot end. This lowest part seems to have been totally emptied.

In the intact part the plan shows stone packing indicative of a coffin, though this is not mentioned in the report text. Any coffin must have decayed considerably by the time of disturbance, since all traces are cleanly removed by the robber cut.

In the intact middle section of the grave lay the powdery pelvis and femurs of a probable child, making this a rare case of disturbance of a child burial. However, although it was not possible to discover the full dimensions of the grave, it does not appear from the scale plan to be particularly diminutive, and probably was not identifiable as the grave of a child on the surface. It is unlikely that this is a case of a child's burial deliberately selected for robbing.

Grave C (WSW) (Perkins 1985a: 47)

The head end of this grave had been truncated by the pipe trench. Only the fragmentary long bones of the legs remained, in more or less anatomical positions but semi-crouched at the foot of the grave. Perkins states that "This grave had been disturbed in antiquity… at the north end at a time when the bones of the legs were still articulated".

Presuming that his interpretation is correct, the entire body may have been lifted or pushed to the foot of the grave. For this to happen the whole area of the burial would need to be clear of fill,

which would be much easier to achieve in a coffined burial or lined grave. And indeed traces of stone packing suggest the original presence of a wooden coffin.

However, at least two possible alternative interpretations suggest themselves, and on the published evidence it is difficult to assess their value. The first is that the body simply slipped to the foot end of its container in transit or as it was lowered into the grave. Second, it is possible that this is simply a body squashed into a too-small grave. Although part of the cut was destroyed, it appears from the curve of the W corner that the grave may have been shorter than expected from the adult size of the longbones. The stone packing more or less rules out the possibility that this could be a crouched Bronze Age burial. However the packing is also peculiar, as the line appears to run under the knees, rather than enclosing the whole burial.

The feature on the long side of Grave C was interpreted as a possible posthole. Presumably it was clear to the excavators that they were excavating something different from the Grave A "finding cut", which is similarly situated, but they do not elaborate on how they made that call.

Minster-in-Thanet IV, Thorne Farm

(Perkins 1985a, Birch & Perkins 1987, Richardson 2005.)

Table 7, Fig. 120

A group of three graves was excavated here by the Thanet Archaeological Unit (directed by DRJ Perkins) during a watching brief on gas pipeline trenching in 1984. Richardson suggests the latest datable find, a buckle, is of probably of mid to late 7th century date (Richardson 2005: 56).

Gr 2 is reported as "Disturbed, presumably in antiquity" (Perkins 1985a: 53). Only long bone fragments (tibia and fibula) were found, parallel and high in the fill. Neither bone tumble or animal burrowing could explain this kind of disturbance, so it seems clear that the grave had previously been opened.

From the plan it appears that all the remaining grave contents were collected at the east (probably foot) of the grave, and that there is a possible 'finding cut' at the west end, suggesting that the robbers may have started digging from the head down. However no mention is made of this evidence in the grave catalogue. Grave contents collected at the foot are typical of East Kent robbed graves (Chapter 5.1, 6.2).

There is nothing to indicate the period of this reopening, except that the 'finding cut' suggests the presence of a grave must still have been visible on the surface, but not its exact outline. No later

material was found in the fill, although all the graves in this area contained much redeposited Iron Age material.

The remains in the other two early medieval graves were complete, except where sectioned by the pipeline trench. A small gold pendant brooch, probably an adapted Frankish solidus, was found by metal detector in the topsoil spoil heap during work on Graves 1 and 2. It is unclear whether it came from one of these graves, but just possibly it was part of the rifled contents of Grave 2.

A cluster of nine Roman period cremations and inhumations was also found at Thorne Farm, less than 100m to the east. Perkins considered that two fragmentary urns, found together in a small pit, had been disturbed by human hand rather than by the plough. This may be evidence of antiquarian or casual digging in the area, though no other of the Roman period graves were affected.

Ramsgate VIII, Chalk Hill

(Hearne et al 1995: 240, 244, 262, 266-7, 301-3, 328, 338, Richardson 2005.)

Table 7

Wessex Archaeology and the Trust for Thanet Archaeology excavated a single inhumation grave, believed Anglo-Saxon (Grave 1/106), during their 1992-1994 fieldwork programme in the area. Few bones were recovered (skull and lower limb), but may represent two individuals, an adult and a juvenile/sub-adult. No grave goods were recovered. The grave was described as disturbed in antiquity, with the skeletal remains found scattered through the fill. However it is possible that this disturbance was caused by the insertion of the secondary burial of one individual (Chapter 6.2).

Bridge I, Bourne Park

(Richardson 2005)

Table 7

The director of this site reports that the excavations starting in 2005 found signs of disturbance soon after burial and that publication is expected imminently (Paul Wilkinson pers. comm.).

Appendix 1.3 Kent Sites: no early disturbance

This section examines the 13 burial sites without evidence of early disturbance (Table 8, Fig. 9). Most of these have no signs at all pointing to ancient robbery. A few have indications which could point that way, but are judged unconvincing. Still, there is an important 'absence of evidence is not evidence of absence' caveat here. All of these are sites where the scale and standard of excavation make it likely that any evidence of robbery would have been observed, recorded, and reported. Any particular concerns are mentioned in the site-specific discussions. However, it is not possible to rule out the possibility that poor preservation destroyed evidence, or that signs were overlooked, or that future excavation will unearth evidence of disturbance not found in the areas so far explored.

Aylesford II, Eccles

(Shaw 1994, Richardson 2005, Reynolds 2009.)

Eccles is a late 7th to 9th/10th century cemetery, unusual in that the graves are crowded in and around a ruined Roman villa, with high levels of intercutting. It may represent an intermediate stage in the transition to the crowded graveyards of the Middle Ages (see Cherryson 2007). Considerable plough damage is noted to some shallower graves, but the interim and preliminary reports contain no mention of grave-robbery nor any evidence pointing that way.

There are a number of examples of secondary interments inserted into existing graves, including an example of a secondary or intercutting burial with sinister undertones (Chapter 6.2). K19 had either been disturbed when K01, which lies across K19's chest, was buried, and the head dug up and redeposited elsewhere, or had been decapitated before burial. In addition to its headlessness, burial K19 is also at an atypical orientation for this cemetery, as are some of the surrounding graves. The feet or legs of K19 were bound together in some way, preserving the bones unusually well. It is in an area with several victims of fatal cranial sword injuries, all of which lack defence injuries (Shaw 1994: 182).

Bekesbourne II, Aerodrome (Cowslip Wood)

(Anonymous 1951, Jenkins 1955, 1957, Härke 1992 Richardson 2005.)

Many of the 40-plus graves excavated here had suffered disturbance from tree roots and uprooted trees (most were discovered in the garden of a house called 'Woodlands'). Burrowing animals were also implicated in at least one case. In addition, one grave, Gr 12, was identified by its 1955 excavators as interfered with by human hand. This is presumably the grave listed as

robbed by Härke (1992: 248). In the site report it is described as 'Entirely disturbed', with the contents strewn indiscriminately in the lowest fill. No details of any skeletal remains were recorded, unlike in the other graves, and probably suggesting that none were found. Recorded artefacts were a fragment of green glass bowl rim, a fragments of copper alloy bowl rim, a knife, a flint flake, metal ?box fittings, and two nails.

The likelihood of this being an example of early robbing is greatly reduced by the subsequent identification during the 1959 excavations of recent rifling in two graves near Gr 12. One was thought to be a re-excavation of the original grave whose discovery during woodland clearance had prompted the 1955 excavations. The other contained a modern bottle stopper, though there was no record or local recollection of its opening. Richardson identifies these as the two graves marked in pencil on the site plan close to Gr 12, one labelled Gr 36 (Richardson 2005: 9). In this case it seems likely that all three were opened in the same or similar circumstances in or immediately prior to 1955.

Bekesbourne showed an unusual amount of intercutting, with several burials damaged by subsequent grave-digging. As at Eccles, it is sometimes unclear where the line should be drawn between accidental intercutting and deliberate secondary burial. For example, Gr 40 was directly overlain and had its skull removed by Gr 39, which also almost destroyed Gr 41. The Gr 40 skull had been placed at the end of Gr 41. Perhaps this group should be regarded as consecutive multiple burials. In such cases the interference with the skull of the earlier burial is a recurrent feature, as already seen at Eccles (above).

All the intercutting was despite evidence that marker posts were at least sometimes used here (Gr 13). In one case (Gr 10), it appeared that a gravedigger shortened a cut to limit damage to a pre-existing grave (Chapter 6.2).

Canterbury V, Stour Street

(Bennett 1980, Johns 1982, Brugmann 2004, Richardson 2005.)

This a multiple burial of 2 adults, 2 children and 2 small dogs in a large pit cut through the last phases of a Roman courtyard. One of the children had been killed by a blow to the head, and the bodies had been placed carelessly into the pit. When the Canterbury Archaeological Trust excavated in 1982, they found many bones out of position. However, this disturbed impression was attributed to the bodies having been contained within a wooden structure and shifting position as the organic material on which they lay decomposed. This interpretation is supported

by the finds of Roman jewellery accompanying the bodies, which more or less rule out re-opening for robbing, if not other purposes.

Chartham II, Horton

(Kelly 1987, Sparey-Green 2003, Anonymous 2004, Richardson 2005.)

During a watching brief on a water main trench in 2001 Canterbury Archaeological Trust identified 6 and excavated 3 graves from a previously unknown early Anglo-Saxon cemetery here. Grave goods were plentiful, including weapons and jewellery. One grave was enclosed in a penannular ditch. Traces of medieval and later settlement overlay and partially cut into the burial ground.

No substantial evidence of robbery was found. However, the limited excavation did turn up a possible sign of deliberate interference with an underlying grave by the later site occupants. Two burials had their cuts truncated by the terraced floor and postholes of a later hut, which itself was probably abandoned in the 11th or 12th century. These graves were not fully excavated, but the upper fill of one contained a copper alloy bracelet and an iron ring. The excavators interpreted these objects as in their original positions, having from the beginning been placed in the fill separately from any body. However, since such finds in the fill are uncommon, an alternative explanation may be that the grave had been rifled and these artefacts rejected as unusable. Further excavation may bring more evidence.

Dover II, Buckland

(Evison 1987, Parfitt 1994, Parfitt 1995, Richardson 2005.)

Various sources of disturbance have been identified at this site, but none is attributed to the early medieval period. The 1987 report gives an unusually clear account of the evidence relating to the disturbance and its interpretation. Minimal details of the later excavation are available, but no disturbance is noted.

The most recent disturbance was caused by a modern machine trench which cut through Gr 13, 14, 21, 23, 18, 92, 94a and b, and 95. If the machine operators even noticed the ancient remains in their trench, they do not appear to have accepted the invitation to plunder, as the uncut parts of the graves remained intact. However, the fill of nearby Gr 88 was loose, and contained only a body stain and a fragment of a humerus, and the excavators attributed its robbing to the trenching phase (Evison 1987: 16).

Graves 152 and 153 were known to have been rifled by children in 1953. Graves 3, 4, 5, and 7 had all been disturbed in whole or part, and since they are adjacent to the late nineteenth century railway cut, this was attributed to the navvies. The loose fill of Gr 7 included a fragment of clay pipe, supporting this interpretation (Evison 1987: 15-16).

Two features were interpreted as medieval reburials of disturbed Anglo-Saxon material (Evison 1987: 15, 127, 252). The first was a shallow rough hole about 60cm in diameter cut into the chalk in an area of the cemetery much damaged by the machine work. This contained partial remains of at least 6 individuals, including male and female adults and a neonate or full-term foetus. A knife fragment, 5 iron clench bolts, which could be Anglo-Saxon, and a probably medieval jug handle were found. Later a second feature containing disarticulated bone was found in the same area of the cemetery. This was closer in appearance to the early medieval graves, an oblong on the same rough west-east alignment as the surrounding burials, but was only about half as long as the typical adult graves. It contained fragments of the left forearm and ribs of a probably male at the east end. A connection between this feature and the first reburial deposit was suggested in the bone report because of the similarly enhanced state of bone preservation in both interments. If this is a case of reopening and transfer of remains during the medieval period, it appears significantly to have improved bone survival, including of the fragile perinatal infant skeleton.

Signs of disturbance by animals, both soon after burial and at later dates, were seen in various graves (Evison 1987: 16). Frequently the cause was obvious, as in the rabbit hole disturbing the skull and shoulder in Gr 75. It should be noted that these displacements of skeletal parts are on a markedly slighter scale than the churning and digging out of bones seen in most of the graves reported as robbed at other sites. Displacement described as animal disturbance typically affects only the smallest skeletal parts, such as the teeth in Gr 165, and may well have been caused by small rodents.

The disturbance to the skeleton of the weapon-bearing male in Gr 135 is slightly more substantial. Most of the right hand is out of place by the knee; it appears to have been moved while still partially articulated. The bones of the lower left arm are slightly out of place, and the left patella is under the femur. The report suggests this might be the work of rats soon after burial, but no signs of gnawing were found. Alternative suggestions include an unusual arm position, perhaps with hands raised on an organic bundle such as a folded cloak, or displacement during coffin collapse, as there were signs of a coffin in this grave.

Minster-in-Thanet VII, Mount Pleasant

(Riddler & Haith unpublished, Richardson 2005.)

The Canterbury Archaeological Trust and the Trust for Thanet Archaeology excavated eighteen graves ahead of road-building. Only 8 contained grave goods, but these were sufficient for Richardson to suggest a date range from the late 7th to 8th centuries (Richardson 2005: 56). This is probably a final phase cemetery of the "churchyard-type" defined by Helen Geake (2002: 150). The draft report states that no evidence was found for contemporaneous disturbance of burials. One excavator on this site was Dave Perkins, who has reported high levels of robbery at sites elsewhere in Thanet.

Nonington I

(Perkins 1997, Parfitt 2002, Richardson 2005.)

In 1875 fourteen skeletons were disinterred at the site, but the few grave goods left open the question of date and the finds were overlooked by the archaeological community at the time (Perkins 1997). In 2001 the Dover Archaeological Trust opened 5 graves and was able to confirm a 'Final Phase' date for the cemetery (Parfitt 2002). No disturbance was reported.

Orpington I

(Tyler 1992, Tester 1968, 1969, 1977, Palmer 1975, 1977, 1978, 1984, Richardson 2005.)

Excavations during the 1960s and 70s recorded 84 inhumation and cremation graves from an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery of circa AD 450-550. The site had been extensively disturbed during the last two centuries, but no ancient disturbance was found. The cemetery included at least 2 secondary burials in the form of cremations set into the fills of inhumation graves (Gr 1 and 46).

Ramsgate IX, Cliffs End (Pegwell Bay)

(http://www.wessexarch.co.uk/projects/kent/ramsgate/cliffs_end/index.html, accessed 01/10/2007, Richardson 2005.)

An excavation by Wessex Archaeology in 2004 found 12 Anglo-Saxon graves plus Bronze Age remains. Burials were furnished with grave goods including weapons and glass and amber beads. Richardson suggests that some or all of the graves probably dated to the 6th century (Richardson 2005: 65). The site is not yet published, but there is no mention of disturbance in the available information.

St Margaret's-at-Cliffe

(Parfitt 2004, Parfitt & Corke 2005, Richardson 2005.)

Of all the various discoveries in this area, the only graves with sufficient information for the purposes of this research are the eight recorded by Canterbury Archaeological Trust (CAT) in 2004. These form part of a 'Final Phase' cemetery, with few grave goods and evidence of barrows. The briefly published details in the CAT annual report note that 'None had been disturbed in the recent past', with the implication that the excavators were certain they were not simply re-excavating antiquarian or accidental discoveries. There is no mention of ancient disturbance.

St Margaret's at Cliffe II, Townsend Farm Road

(http://www.pre-construct.com/sites/Summary04/KTFM04.htm accessed 20080218, Pre-Construct Archaeology unpublished interim site report, Richardson 2005.)

Twelve graves were identified and 11 excavated August 2004 during a watching brief by Pre-Construct Archaeology, who have kindly provided the unpublished site report. No disturbance was detected. Richardson suggests a late 6th or early 7th century date (Richardson 2005: 69).

Snodland II, Holborough

(Evison 1956, Warhurst 1952, Richardson 2005.)

Various finds from the area came to archaeological notice during the 1940s. From 1950 several graves were revealed by chalk extraction, and from 1952 a rescue excavation was directed by Vera Evison. The 39 recorded graves form part of a 'Final Phase' cemetery dated by Evison to the second half of 7th and first half of 8th centuries. No pre-20th century disturbance was reported, though the skeleton in grave 13 is noted as "fairly complete except for left ribs apparently destroyed by roots" (Evison 1956: 122).

Woodnesborough III, Ringlemere Farm

(Parfitt 2003, Parfitt & Corke 2004, 2006, Richardson 2005, Marzinzik 2007.)

At least 50 early Anglo-Saxon burials have been discovered on the site of a Bronze Age barrow. These are mostly inhumations but also some cremations, which is unusual in early Anglo-Saxon east Kent. Dates from 5th century to c. AD 550. Interim reports note a great deal of animal burrowing in the barrow, but no robbing. Photographs show clear and extensive rabbit burrows.

However, site director Keith Parfitt adds the caveat that bone preservation at Ringlemere was very poor, so that where any bones were recovered at all, it was generally just skull and long

bones. In these circumstances he thinks it questionable whether the excavators would have been able to detect the sort of disturbance by humans reported at other sites, and suggests an 'absence of evidence is no evidence of absence' clause (Parfitt pers. comm.). Rabbit disturbance was extensive, with Anglo-Saxon grave goods spread up to 3 metres from the associated graves.

Saltwood Tunnel

(http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/search/fr.cfm?RCN=CTRL03-25&M=1 accessed 20080219, http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/search/fr.cfm?M=1&RCN=CTRL03-24 accessed 20080219, Canterbury Archaeological Trust 1999, 2000, Anonymous 2003, Richardson 2005.)

Excavated in advance of the Channel Tunnel Rail Link construction, this cemetery/pair of cemeteries is not yet fully published, but interim reports available via the Archaeological Data Service contain no mention of early disturbance. The site is therefore included as undisturbed, with the twin caveats first that further information may emerge, and second that bone preservation was very poor.

Appendix 1.4 Kent Sites: antiquarian excavations

The only antiquarian excavation which recorded extensive ancient robbing is John Brent's work at Sarre in the 1860s, which is included among the heavily disturbed sites in Appendix 1.1 and the Analysis sections (Chapters 4, 5, 6). Brent's recognition of disturbance at Sarre is supported by the 20th century excavations at the site. Evidence of minor ancient disturbance is recorded at a handful of other antiquarian sites and discussed below, along with other relevant observations from the antiquarian records.

The best-known and most prolific Kentish antiquarian is the Rev. Bryan Faussett, who excavated in the mid-18th century Faussett (Faussett 1865, Hawkes 1990, Rhodes 1990, Richardson 2005a: 3-5). The detail and accuracy of his records, published in 1856 by Charles Roach Smith, compare favourably with many of the 20th century excavations carried out in the county. The work of the many other early excavators in the county is documented – to variable extents – in the journals of the period, and is a well-explored area of the history of British archaeology. For the purposes of this thesis, some of the most interesting parts of Faussett's notes are when he gives glimpses of the many others, beyond these antiquarian-minded men, who were also digging up graves in this period.

Early excavations by landowners are noted at several of Faussett's sites. Disappointment in the nature or quantity of the resulting finds often features, as of Thomas Barrett at Kingston, who considered himself to have 'discovered but little', despite turning up iron weapons and glass urns (Faussett 1856: 37). Similarly at Sibertswold Down the landowner Awnsham Churchill wrote to Faussett warning that his wife's grandfather had many years before opened a grave hillock and found nothing but a gilt or inlaid spur (Faussett 1856: 102).

Typical Anglo-Saxon remains evidently did not live up to the hoped-for treasures. However, both the glass urns and the spur had been kept by the finders or their descendants, in the latter case "locked up". Similarly, the editor and compiler of the published Inventorium Sepulchrale, Charles Roach Smith, notes in an aside that dishes of Roman red ware such as that found by Faussett in Kingston Down Gr 178 were not uncommonly to be found in houses in Kent in his day.

In one case Faussett records a high degree of familiarity with the form and contents of graves by the population at large. At Gilton in Ash a large and deep sand pit was well-known locally for the antiquities which could be picked out of it after frost or rain. The servants of the farmer, inhabitants of Ash, and more particularly the servants of the miller from the nearby windmills, are all noted as having made discoveries there. One of the miller's servants was able to recognise

the presence of a grave from discolouration in the sand, and also to identify part of a spear sticking out, although to Faussett it initially appeared nothing more than a stick or root (Faussett 1856: 1-2). Evidently some sites were regularly mined by local people with considerable expertise.

At Gilton Faussett purchased various finds including a sword blade, spearheads, shield umbos, and beads, which largesse presumably fuelled such mining for some time to come. What would otherwise have become of the antiquities? Plenty of other collectors were also operating in the area (e.g. Boys 1792), so perhaps finds were kept in mills and cottages until an opportunity for sale presented itself. Alternatively, there is a suggestion that the silversmith's furnace was a more usual fate (Faussett 1856: 33-34, footnote), though finds of non-ferrous metal that could be melted down cannot have been the norm.

A comment by Faussett's son Henry suggests that the enthusiasm of antiquaries may itself have given an exaggerated impression of the treasure to be found. Henry describes himself discovering the beautiful Kingston brooch and presenting it to his gout-ridden father:

> "On finding it, he carried it with great glee to his father, who was in his carriage hard by... his father drove off with it; and the next day a report was spread around that the carriage had been so full of gold that the wheels would hardly turn…"
>
> (Faussett 1856: 206).

Tales of ancient treasure are well-attested in English folklore (Grinsell 1967), and may have driven much barrow-opening, if frequently with disappointing results.

As well as the written accounts of previous digging, Faussett also recorded signs of earlier explorations in the archaeological evidence at several sites. At Crundale, for example, he identified "trenches, or pits, which had heretofore been opened by Lord Winchelsea or by Mr Forster" (Faussett 1856: 188). Gr 8 had previously been disturbed, but this was presumably by the previous excavators, as Faussett comments on "soil as appeared by its looseness to have been moved before" (Faussett 1856: 185).

At Adisham Down, Bekesbourne, Faussett found several heavily disturbed graves, for example Gr 17 and 18, which both "appeared, by many scattered bones all the way down, to have been opened before" (Faussett 1856: 149). These may well, however, be attributable to the soil-extraction and excavations ordered by the father of the landowner of Faussett's time (Faussett 1856: 145). Much of the confusion in the largest tumuli is almost certainly due to the reuse of prehistoric barrows by the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants, but some also results from previous rifling (e.g. Gr 43, Faussett 1856: 156).

At Kingston Down there was various evidence for previous grave-opening, but none is demonstrably early medieval. Faussett quickly came to recognise the appearance of a reopened tumulus. The "very large mound" of Grave 242 had telltale sinkings on the top, and proof of its reopening as soon found:

> "For we met with nearly a whole tobacco-pipe, of that sort which were used when first tobacco was used in England, viz. with a large and short strig, and a very small and narrow bowl. This lay nearly at the bottom of the highest part of the tumulus. We may, therefore, from this circumstance conclude that this mound was opened not long after the reign of king James the First, or perhaps in it."
>
> (Faussett 1856: 83-4)

In the apparently undisturbed parts of this mound were found "here and there, an oyster shell and a boar's tusk, as also the shin-bone of an ox" (Faussett 1856: 84). This is one of many reports from Faussett's work of animal remains and artefacts being found in tumuli. Grave 167 at Kingston Down, for example, had a small figure of a man carved out of chalk buried deep in the tumulus. It seems likely that with the ploughing out of almost all such mounds in recent centuries we have lost considerable information about the rites of barrow building and perhaps also evidence of continuing ritual activity at burial sites.

This said, as no other ancient remains were found in Gr 242, it is possible that this particular example was not a grave at all, but perhaps "intended as a sort of rampart or place of guard" as Faussett suggests. Whatever its original purpose, it appears to have lured two sets of excavators into devoting a great deal of time digging it out.

The next grave, Gr 243, is recorded as previously disturbed: "'The tumulus was very small and low, and seemed to have been opened before; the grave was very shallow, and pointed with its feet to the east. The bones, which were small, were very much decayed. There was no appearance of a coffin." (Faussett 1856: 84). Although no cemetery plan was made, Faussett's description and the grave numbers make it clear that this burial was in close proximity to the previous disturbed mound, although very different in appearance. Presumably their reopening was one event.

The excavation of Gr 257 was probably a separate incident. Faussett was told it had been dug into by a Mr Barrett along with some other tumuli (Faussett 1856: 37, 86), and indeed there was a "great hollow" in the top. Only some disordered human bones were left to find. Gr 261, presumably close by, also had the appearance of having been opened before. Faussett was right,

"for we found nothing but a confused heap of predisturbed bones, when we came to the bottom of the grave, which, exclusive of the tumulus, was full six feet deep" (Faussett 1856: 86). It seems that whoever ransacked the grave, quite possibly Mr Barrett, may have overestimated the depth needed in order to secure any finds.

Most of the graves opened by Faussett were in his day still covered by distinct tumuli. However, he rightly suspected that "there might be many other graves in every burying place where I have yet dug, which might either have never had any tumulus thrown up over them; or, whose tumuli might have been entirely taken away by those who in aftertimes raised others in their neighbourhood" (Faussett 1856: 87). Late in his career he invented "an instrument for the purpose of discovering such latent graves without opening the ground". This proved highly successful, detecting large numbers of otherwise invisible graves at Beakesbourne, Sibertswold, and Kingston Down. It is described as "Total length, four feet; from the top to the spur, two feet two inches; from the spur to the point, including the spur, one foot ten inches, spur three inches and a quarter long." (Faussett 1856: 88). Faussett's drawing and description may well be a useful clue to the form and function of the various probing instruments reported at Bronze Age and Merovingian sites on the continent (Chapter 2). A similar device was also used by John Brent at Sarre in the 1860s, but is described only as an "iron probe" (Brent 1863: 309).

Faussett notes many graves in which a second burial has displaced the first (e.g. Kingston Down Gr 15, 16, 130, 176, 205). Some of these are the type in which the primary skeleton is in a neat heap alongside the added body, including richly furnished Kingston Gr 205, in which a dead woman had been added to a child's grave. In others the secondary burial seems to have been dug through the primary, as in Kingston Down Gr 176 and 273, unless these are cases of disturbed upper burials. His reports are thus in line with recent discussions of the variability of the secondary burial practice (e.g. Stoodley 2002: 114-5, Cherryson 2007: 132, Chapter 6.2).

One of these secondary burials, Kingston Down Gr 273, which is of the more destructive kind where the second interment throws the first aside, was covered by a flint layer about a foot deep. Similar flint layers or even entire fills of flint are reported several times at Faussett's sites, including in Kingston Down Gr 16, which was "so entirely filled up, even to the surface of the natural earth, with flints, that the labourers were much troubled to get down to the skeleton..." (See also Crundale Gr 19 and Chartham Down, Faussett 1856: 163). Faussett comments on the distance which flints must have been carried for the purpose, since they do not occur naturally at the sites in question. Such rites may be considered "deviant", or perhaps more specifically the

result of a need to keep potentially troublesome dead in their graves (see e.g. Murphy 2008, Reynolds 2009: 81-5, 93-3, Chapter 6.3).

Lastly, Faussett records some of the most detailed and specific information about animal disturbance in Kent cemeteries published to date. In Gr 282 at Kingston Down, for example, "within about six inches of the skeleton, about the middle of the grave", he discovered the skull of a probable polecat, which seemed also to have dragged in bones of its prey.

Other antiquarians recorded relevant information in more limited quantities, but give an impression of the extent and intensity of deliberate excavation during the period. From Barham Downs we have the oldest written record of mound-digging, with a mention by Sir Thomas Browne (1605-86) of a barrow being opened "in the days of Henry VIII" and a large urn found under it (Browne 1884, III, 244-5). The next records do not appear until the 18th century, but as discussed above, many contain notes of oral accounts of previous digging that suggest such activity continued during the intervening time.

At Witherden Farm, Wingham, Conyngham's 1843 excavations were predated by informal digging of uncertain date (Conyngham 1844b, Richardson 2005b), and Akerman's later work seems to have refound this or Conyngham's "rifling" (Akerman 1855 a&b, Richardson 2005b). At Wye Downs the 1842 excavator Morris found that most of the barrows he opened had been previously disturbed, and this does not seem to be connected with the report by some workmen of finds of skeletons during the digging of an embankment (Morris 1842). However, it may well represent other activity of the period. Lord Conyngham's 1844 excavations at Breach Downs, Barham uncovered at least one probably disturbed grave (Gr 81) (Croker 1844, Conyngham 1844), but this reopening cannot confidently be said to be ancient, and no other evidence has been reported at the site.

Like Faussett's work in the previous century, Godfrey-Faussett's excavations at Bifrons uncovered a small number of burials which might in current parlance be described as "deviant", in this case based on their unusual body positions (e.g. Gr 82, 89, 91, Godfrey-Faussett 1880). In addition, Grave 16 may represent a reopened and manipulated grave, along the lines of those described in Chapter 6.3. Alternatively, this is a victim of severe peri- or post-mortem violence. The head and foot reversals could well be signs of an attempt to prevent a revenant walking (see also Chapter 6.3, Reynolds 2009: 91-93):

> "The skeleton in this grave was much displaced and mutilated: it lay on its side, with the knee pointed forward and the foot backward, but with only one foot and fore-leg bone: the

top of the skull was also severed from the head, and was lying in exactly reversed position. Near the left hand was a single bead. At the right shoulder a flat brooch of the ring shape, engraved with small circular ornaments, and a the left shoulder another brooch of a modification of the hammer shape: both are of bronze."

(Grave 16, Godfrey-Faussett 1876)

The Bifrons cemetery as a whole has an earlier date than Bradstow School, the other Kent cemetery in which signs of revenant-combating are suggested. This grave in particular is dated to 475 - 550 AD (ASKED, queried 20091112), while the Bradstow School examples are 7th century (Chapter 4.9).

Appendix 2

Checklist: Recognizing Ancient Robbing

2.1 Identifying disturbance

Skeletal remains in disorder

(Finglesham 2, 22, 93, 139, 162, 205, Hoo Farm C)

In Kent, as in Merovingia, this is the main diagnostic marker for reopening. The degree of disturbance varies considerably. Bones may be scattered on the grave floor, heaped together, or strewn in the robber fill (Chapter 5.1).

Missing part of an otherwise well-preserved skeleton

(Finglesham 44, 78, 139)

Almost ubiquitous. Few disturbed skeletons are complete, but the proportion that is missing varies considerably (Chapter 5.1).

Secondary cut into grave fill

(Finglesham Gr 22)

Not commonly recorded in Kent, although there are hints, especially at St Peter's Tip (Appendix 1.1), that robber cuts are more frequently visible than noted (Chapters 2, 5.1). The most detailed reports give information about the angle of the cut and the direction from which it was made, as well as the nature and contents of the fill.

Enlargement of grave cut

(Finglesham 2, 78, Lyminge II 8, Monkton 22)

Not common in Kent; reopening seems mainly to have been confined to within grave cuts, which must have still be clearly visible on the surface. There are a few examples where grave cuts seem to have been deliberately extended in one direction in order to lever off a coffin lid (e.g. St Peter's Gr 268, Appendix 1.1, Chapter 5.1).

Grave-goods in disorder

(Finglesham 197, Monkton 21)

Rejected or missed artefacts are frequently scattered on the grave floor or in the robber fill (Chapter 6.1).

Grave contents (goods/bones) in fill

(Finglesham 37, 110, Monkton 21, 25)

Grave contents are frequently found thrown back into the grave with the robber fill (Chapter 5.1).

Coffin damaged

(Finglesham 22, 197)

Where wood preservation is sufficiently good, the robbers' entry to the coffin can sometimes be seen (Chapter 5.1).

Additions to the grave contents

(Sarre Gr 279, Finglesham Gr 205, Ozengell Gr 34)

Graves may contain artefacts or human or animal bones not believed to have formed part of the original assemblage (Chapter 5.3).

Later artefacts in grave fill

(Finglesham 60, St Peter's Gr 54, 126, 270, Ozengell Gr 52, Bradstow Gr 12)

The upper fill of disturbed graves sometimes contains stray material which collected in hollows left by reopening (Chapter 5.2, 5.3). They indicate the date before which robbing must have taken place. Later artefacts in the burial contexts would give an indication of the date of robbing.

Absence of artefacts with evidence for original presence

(Finglesham 22, Monkton 21, St Peter's Gr 97, Minerva 1377)

Examples include the remains of a scabbard but no sword, or bronze staining on bone (Chapter 6.1).

Lack of expected grave-goods

Occasionally cited but doubtful evidence, given the variability in Anglo-Saxon burial assemblages (Chapter 6.1).

Finding cuts

(Ozengell Gr 60)

Dave Perkins (1985: 45, Appendix 1.1) describes "finding cuts" at the top edges of a small number of graves. He takes these as indicative of the robbers using a small trial cut to identify the precise edge of a grave cut (Chapter 5.1).

2.2 Confounding factors

Poor preservation

(Finglesham 126, St Peter's 2, 89?, 95)

Disturbance is more readily observable in graves with good preservation, since disordered bones or grave-goods are the most frequently cited as the grounds for suspecting disturbance. This is significant because it probably creates a systematic bias in observed robbing cases. Disturbance is likely to be diagnosed more frequently in better-furnished graves simply because they have more objects to show disorder.

Sub-adults

(St Peter's 203)

Age at death is one of the main factors determining skeletal preservation (Bello and Andrews 2006: 10). As has been observed by archaeologists for generations (e.g. Brent 1868: 320), bone preservation increases markedly with age, with infants and children frequently entirely decomposed or evidenced only by teeth. Since skeletal disorder is a key indication of robbing, it is therefore more difficult to observe disturbance in the graves of sub-adults. Chapters 4.4 and 4.7 discuss in detail whether the low numbers of children's graves reported as robbed are due to this taphonomic bias or are a real phenomenon.

Differential preservation within the grave

(St Peter's 2?, 49?, 50?, 63?, 76?)

Robbery is sometimes diagnosed on the basis that part of a skeleton is absent. Where stated, the presumption is usually that the desirable grave-goods lay in this area, and that the bones of this portion of the body were dug out along with the valuables (Chapter 5.1). This may frequently be the case, but caution is necessary fully to take into account the differential decomposition that skeletons naturally undergo, and the effect of any clothing worn by the corpse.

Even in undisturbed graves it is usual for some parts of the skeleton to be poorly preserved or absent, and certain parts of the body are disproportionately affected. Typically the thoracic vertebrae are frequently less well preserved than the rest of the vertebral column, and the parts of the body which are buried deepest will fare worst (Bello & Andrews 2006, Duday 2006, Garland & Janaway 1989, Waldron 1987). In a typical Anglo-Saxon supine inhumation this will be the back and pelvis, which lie on the grave floor.

Additionally, areas of the body may be much better preserved if covered by clothing, as shown by exhumed WWII casualties (Mant 1987). With the Kent sample, Burial K19 Eccles had unusually well preserved feet, suggestive of some covering or binding not usually used in Anglo-Saxon graves (Appendix 1.3).

Empty graves

At Brunn am Gebirge, Edeltraud Aspöck (2002: 49) suggested that the small number of empty graves may have been robbed while the corpses were whole, with the bodies themselves removed. No such examples were found in Kent. Empty graves were generally small and assumed to have been those of juveniles. In apparently empty but adult-sized Gr 16 at Lyminge, a calcium phosphate test showed that the body had decayed in situ (Appendix 1.1). One potential source of confusion here is that disturbed graves are sometimes drawn as empty when in fact displaced skeletal parts were found (e.g. Finglesham Gr 44, Appendix 1.1).

Secondary burial/reuse

(St Peter's 200)

Secondary burials, especially where considerable disturbance is caused to the primary interment, can be difficult to distinguish from robbery (Chapter 6.2).

Coffin slide

(Polhill Gr 105)

Unusual body positions can sometimes be explained by slippage within a coffin during burial. In these cases the bones will be lying in anatomical position. For example, in Polhill Gr 105 the "Arrangement suggests body had slipped to east end of a wooden coffin during burial" (Philp 1973, Appendix 1.2).

Bone tumble

(Finglesham Gr 34)

Bone tumble is the process by which skeletal parts become displaced during the natural decay of the body and any container. The best-known description is by Boddington (1987) at Raunds in Northamptonshire. There tumble mainly affected the bones of the thoracic and lumbar regions and was thought due to a combination of natural movement within a coffin space plus the effects of shrouds and collapsing coffin lids. Some bodies may also have been partially decayed by the time of burial, as suggested by Brothwell (1987) for the York Jewbury cemetery.

Similar points were made by Nicholas Reynolds (1996) at the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Empingham, Rutland, where he argued that the displacement of bones showed that bodies must have decomposed within voids created by wooden grave covers, even though no wood traces survived (Chapters 4.6, 5.1).

More recently, the natural processes of bodily decay and skeletal collapse have been set out in much greater detail by Henri Duday (2006). He explores the displacement of bones within the cadaver, the process of infilling of the burial void, plus the effects of containers and of secondary depositions.

Within the Kent sample, there are a small number of borderline cases in which displacement of bones might be due to bone tumble. In Finglesham Gr 34, for example, it seems likely that the excavators would have explained the apparent displacement of the arm bones in this way had it not been for the other evidence of reopening at the site (Appendix 1.1).

However, in almost all cases, the degree of disturbance to skeletal remains in the robbed Kentish graves is an order of magnitude greater. As the grave plans show, the displacement goes far beyond what could be explained by natural movement during decay. Bones are so far from anatomical position that some outside agency is absolutely necessary to explain the disturbance.

Pillowed heads

(Lyminge Gr 31, Bradstow Gr 94, St Peter's Gr 71, 96, 117, 225, 255, 329, 377)

Bone tumble which appears to be a result of skulls rolling from disintegrating pillows is frequently seen in the Kent examples. In some cases more than just the head seems to have been propped, with the whole upper body leaning or sitting up in St Peter's Gr 86 and Gr 377 (Appendix 1.1). The movement of the collapsing body can create an appearance of disturbance. Physical evidence for the kinds of organic pillows which can be inferred from the tumble in Kent graves has recently been published at Mucking (Hirst & Clark 2009: 478).

Unusual burial positions

(St Peter's 41, 59, Bradstow School 4, 12)

Minor disturbance or the appearance of disturbance was judged to be due to unusual body positions in a number of graves at St Peter's Tip. Beyond the seated examples, Gr 117 seems to have had an unusual arm position plus skull tumble, Gr 243 had an unusual body position due to a short grave, Gr 258, 35, and 378 had legs flexed upwards at knees at burial and collapsing sideways or into a bow-legged position, and Gr 327 suffered a degree of bone tumble because the pelvis was lying oddly against the wall, causing finger bones to spread during decay.

Mutilated bodies, especially decapitations, can also be difficult to distinguish from post-burial rearrangement of skeletal parts (Chapter 6.3).

Delayed burial

(Westfield Farm Gr 2)

Brothwell (1987) suggested that burial after decomposition had set in would explain the disordered appearance of many burials at Jewbury, York. In most of the graves discussed in this thesis the degree of disorder is far beyond this level, plus there is ample other evidence for reopening. However, it was thought a possible explanation for some of the damage to Gr 2 at Westfield Farm, Ely (Chapter 7).

Objects in fill

(Polhill Gr 53, Buckland Gr 83, 87 and 91, Sarre CCXXXVII and CCXXXVIII)

Certain grave-goods, particularly knives and spearheads, have occasionally been noted in the backfill of graves in this sample without any indications of disturbance. At Dover Buckland Evison (1987: 19) concluded that "This phenomenon has occurred elsewhere... and, because of this frequency, must be assumed to be an intentional deposition" (Chapter 5.3).

Burrowing animals

(St Peter's 198, Kingston Down Gr 282, Ringlemere, Dover Buckland)

Kent Anglo-Saxon cemeteries generally are not sited on the banks favoured by badgers and foxes, which can dig to considerable depths and cause substantial damage to burials (von Freeden 2008). However, rabbit damage is commonly noted, especially where cemeteries are focused on ancient burial mounds. At Ringlemere in particular rabbit damage was extensive (Appendix 1.3). The burrows could be traced through the excavated area and are visible in site photographs. However, it should be emphasized that the degree of disturbance caused to burials there and at Dover Buckland is far less than that seen in the graves claimed as robbed. At Dover Buckland the disturbance is typically a case only of teeth being moved around.

Extensive rabbit damage is not a feature of any of the heavily robbed sites. The archaeological footprint of rabbits tunnelling into graves and dragging bones into their runs is quite different from the directed, large-scale digging down into the robbed graves. In addition, Chapter 5.4 shows that robbed graves are dispersed across the sites, not clustered together as would be expected if a rabbit warren were responsible.

Scavenging animals might damage burials, especially while corpses were still fleshed. Barber (1989: 125) discusses various examples. However, in such cases one would expect to see articulated or partially articulated body parts dragged upwards out of graves, which is not the appearance of the robbed examples. Rats and other rodents can cause considerable damage to human remains, both fleshed and unfleshed. However, this is typically confined to shallow burials or surface disposal (Haglund 1997b). Indeed a significant motivation for burial at the depths seen in the Anglo-Saxon period is presumably avoidance of scavengers. Lastly and crucially, no tooth damage has been noted on any of the over 200 Kentish burials recorded as reopened by human hand.

Flooding

Flooding has occasionally been suggested as causing disturbance that might be mistaken for robbing (Plum 2004: 23, note 205). It is unlikely on the hillside settings of most of the cemeteries under discussion here, and fails to explain the bones and grave-goods seen within robber cuts.

Root damage

(Bekesbourne II, Darenth Park Gr 6)

Tree damage can cause extensive disturbance to burials and may be difficult to distinguish from reopening. It is a likely cause of the apparent robbing in Darenth Park Gr 6, for example (Appendix 1.2).

Plough damage

(Westfield Farm Gr 2)

Many sites in Kent, as elsewhere in the country, are badly plough-damaged (Geake 2003). At most sites there seems to have been little difficulty in distinguishing between plough damage and reopening (even for antiquarian excavators, e.g. at Half Mile Ride, Appendix 1.1), but it is a complication when both occur in the same grave, as is likely at Westfield Farm, Ely (Chapter 7).

Heavy machinery damage

(Monkton, Dover Buckland)

Several sites suffered heavy machinery damage, but again this was considered readily distinguishable from early reopening (Appendix 1).

Antiquarian/undocumented excavation

(Bekesbourne II, Dover Buckland, Finglesham)

Several sites showed evidence of unrecorded archaeological work, although this could in most cases be distinguished from the ancient reopening. The state of the bones at the time of disturbance is significant, since in almost all ancient cases they were whole and moved intact, whereas when excavated in more recent times skeletal matter is frequently highly fragmentary (Chapter 4.9).

Modern robbing/vandalism

(St Peter's Gr 31)

At least one site, St Peter's Tip, was looted during the excavation. One or two of the looted graves may also have been disturbed in antiquity, but the vandalism complicated interpretation (Appendix 1.1).

2.3 Recording disturbance

Extent of the disturbance

What proportion of the grave contents remain in situ? Are the disturbed contents on the grave floor or in the fill? (Chapter 5.1).

Skeletal disturbance

What proportion and parts of skeleton are present/absent and in situ/disturbed? Are disturbed parts on the grave floor or in the fill? (Chapter 5.1).

Grave-good disturbance

Which grave-goods remain undisturbed, plus the positions of disturbed objects. Are disturbed artefacts on the grave floor or in the fill? Does it appear that the reopeners saw or handled the remaining objects? (Chapter 6.1).

Missing grave-goods

Is there evidence for missing grave-goods? For example traces of a sword scabbard, fragments of removed objects, copper alloy or rust stains (Chapter 6.1).

Robber cut

The visibility of the robber cut depends on several factors, particularly the soil type (Chapters 2, 5.1). From the Kentish material it seems likely that evidence is under-reported (Appendix 1.1: St Peter's, Sarre, Ozengell).

Robber method

The approach taken by the robbers needs comment (Chapter 5.1). Did they open the entire grave or part – which part? Were the remains heaped or scattered? Was the same method used in all or several graves or does the approach seem individual?

Additions

Additions to the grave contents, for example human or animal bones not believed to have been part of the original assemblage (Chapter 5.2).

Finding cuts

Evidence of methods used to locate the grave – or their absence (Chapter 5.1).

Date

The dates of the affected burials, absolute or relative to the rest of the cemetery. Indications of the interval between burial and reopening (below, Chapter 4.9).

Grave structures

Including grave structures and markers visible on surface, and internal grave structures and coffins (Chapter 4.5).

Position

The location of the disturbed graves within the cemetery. Are there any evidence of clusters? Does disturbance correlate within any internal organisation, such as rows or family groups? (Chapter 5.4).

Internal weathering

Is there any evidence that graves remained open after robbing (Chapter 5.3)?

2.4 Dating disturbance

Condition of corpse or skeleton at time of disturbance

(Monkton 22, St Peter's Tip Gr 165, 270)

The state of the human remains when disturbed is frequently the most precise indicator of the interval between burial and reopening. Complete or partial articulation, whole or fragmenting bones (Chapter 4.9).

Condition of coffin/wooden cover at time of disturbance

(Monkton Gr 22, St Peter's Gr 3, 31, 45, 57, 64, 78)

Aspöck (2002: 39, Chapters 2, 4.6, 5.1) showed that it is possible to distinguish between disturbance that took place within the air-filled space of a coffin and that which happened in an earth-filled grave. She reasoned that where the disordered bones are strewn in a flat layer over the grave floor, disturbance must have taken place within an intact coffin. This applies in a significant proportion of Kent cases, but has previously been overlooked as a source of dating evidence (Chapter 4.9).

Condition of grave-goods at time of disturbance

(St Peter's Gr 165, Sarre Gr 104, 281, Finglesham 139)

The condition of grave-goods at the time of robbing has significant implications for both the date and the interpretation of reopening (Chapters 4.9, 6.1). Were they lifted whole or did they leave fragments, rust-marks, or copper alloy stains behind?

Grave disturbed by subsequent burial

(Polhill Gr 52, Mill Hill Gr 72)

A small number of graves had been robbed when overlain or intercut by a later burial. This shows that robbing happened during the use period of the cemetery, and sometimes permits much finer dating (Chapter 4.9).

Absence of later material

(Bradstow Gr 12, St Peter's Gr 95)

More useful than it initially sounds, this is the negative evidence that no later material is found in the backfill, although plentiful in the upper layers of the site (e.g. at Ozengell, Perkins 1991). Later or redeposited material is sometimes found in the upper fill layers of disturbed graves, probably the result of a hollow left by the reopening (Chapter 5.3).

Evidence that diggers knew age/sex of individuals in grave

The analysis in this thesis shows that in Kent there is no evidence that those reopening graves had firsthand knowledge of the deceased. However, it is possible that in a significant proportion of cases they were able to infer some information about the age and sex of the interred from the aboveground appearance of graves (Chapter 4.7, 4.8).

Evidence that diggers knew contents/arrangement of grave-goods

Although frequently cited as evidence for early robbing, this argument is of doubtful validity. It has been shown by Merovingian authors and in Chapter 5.1 that the appearance in some graves of reopening targeted at specific areas is generally misleading.

Evidence that diggers could identify graves on the surface

A tiny minority of Kentish graves showed evidence for "finding cuts" suggesting that their outline was no longer clear on the surface at the time of reopening (Perkins 1985: 45, Chapter 4.9).