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## **A Biocultural Analysis of Mortuary Practices in the Later Anglo-Saxon to Anglo-Norman Black Gate Cemetery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England**

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3 **Title:** A Biocultural Analysis of Mortuary Practices in the Later Anglo-Saxon to Anglo-  
4 Norman Black Gate Cemetery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England  
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## Abstract

The lack of grave goods in cemeteries from later Anglo-Saxon England (8th to 11th century AD) has in the past been interpreted as reflecting standardisation of burial rites dictated by Christian doctrine. This study employed a biocultural approach to investigate whether variations in mortuary practices such as burial location, grave form and body disposition within the 8<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup>-century Black Gate cemetery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne represented alternative mediums of social display.

Skeletal markers commonly associated with early life stress (cribra orbitalia and linear enamel hypoplasia), non-specific stress (tibial periosteal lesions and maxillary sinusitis), oral health (calculus, caries, abscesses and ante-mortem tooth loss) and biomechanical stress (appendicular and spinal degenerative joint disease and trauma) were examined macroscopically on the skeletal remains of 643 individuals. The aim of the analysis was to investigate whether patterns in age, sex and biological stress in the different burial locations, burial types and body positions evidenced social status or socio-cultural relationships between the different mortuary practices.

Demographic and biocultural analysis revealed the inclusion of males, females, non-adults and the elderly in all of the mortuary practices and no evidence for marked inequalities in biological stress between those afforded the different burial practices. The dominant influence for non-significant trends in the stress data was variation in age-structure between different areas of burial. However, non-significant but consistently higher frequencies of stress indicators were observed in graves containing stone inclusions (pillow stones, head-cists and earmuffs) compared to those constructed from stone (cists and rubble cists) and plain burials, all burial practices with a similar mortality profile.

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5 The distribution of age and stress indicators between the mortuary practices placed in the  
6 wider socio-cultural context provided a deeper insight into the complex contribution of social  
7 relationships, life-course, pragmatism, regional and temporal trends, and cultural and religious  
8 beliefs upon treatment of the deceased.  
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17 **Key words:** Early medieval, stress indicators, mortuary archaeology, social-status.  
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## 21 **Introduction**

22  
23 Studies addressing relationships between social display in mortuary practices and the age, sex  
24 and life histories of the deceased in early medieval Britain (410-1066) have predominantly  
25 focused on early Anglo-Saxon grave goods (c. 410-700) (Härke, 1992; Geake, 1997, 1999;  
26 Lucy, 1997, 1998; Stoodley, 1999, 2000). The lack of grave goods and subsequent assumed  
27 homogeneity of burial practice in later Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman burials has inhibited  
28 research into mortuary behaviour during this period (c. 800-1100) (Hadley, 2004). However,  
29 several scholars have proposed that social differentiation continued to be exhibited from the  
30 8th century throughout the medieval period via diversity in location of the burial within the  
31 cemetery, construction of the grave and disposition of the body (Boddington, 1990; Daniell,  
32 1997; Reynolds, 1999; Sullivan, 2004; Williams, 2006).  
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49 Archaeological and ethnographic studies of mortuary behaviour have equated variability in  
50 financial and labour investment into construction of a grave with social hierarchies and  
51 competition within the living community (Parker-Pearson, 1982; Brown, 1995; Kamp, 1998;  
52 Peck, 2013). Research specific to later Anglo-Saxon cemeteries has provided convincing  
53 evidence that the provision of stone-built cists or rubble-lined graves correlates with high  
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3 social status (Buckberry, 2007; Hadley, 2007; Craig and Buckberry, 2010). Preferential areas  
4  
5 for burial have been identified at a number of later Anglo-Saxon sites, such as Jarrow  
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7 (Northumberland) (Lowther, 2005) and Barton-upon-Humber (North Lincolnshire) (Rodwell,  
8  
9 2007), where increased densities of burials next to church buildings reflect desire for burial in  
10  
11 *locis sanctis* (holy ground) or *ad sanctos* (next to the saints) (Hadley, 2000; Zadora-Rio,  
12  
13 2003). Elaborate interments next to churches and minsters further evidence the prestige of  
14  
15 burial next to ecclesiastical buildings (Boddington, 1996; Cramp and Lowther, 2005). Body  
16  
17 positions varying from supine-extended have been interpreted as reflecting ‘deviant’  
18  
19 behaviour and criminality in a number of contexts including deviant and execution cemeteries  
20  
21 (Daniell, 2002; Reynolds, 2009; Hadley, 2010). However, the reasons behind mortuary  
22  
23 practice can be multifaceted, with numerous factors potentially influencing the manner of  
24  
25 interment of the deceased. The use of stone-built cists is often associated with chronological  
26  
27 developments within cemeteries. The location of burial within later Anglo-Saxon cemeteries  
28  
29 has also been argued to convey cultural significance, with segregation by age indicated by  
30  
31 ‘eaves-drip’ interment of infants alongside church buildings to enable post-mortem baptism  
32  
33 by sanctified water running off the roof, such as at Raunds Furnells (Northamptonshire)  
34  
35 (Craig-Atkins, 2014), and segregation of religious males in the monastic cemetery at  
36  
37 Wearmouth (Northumberland) (McNeil and Cramp, 2005). Body position within the grave  
38  
39 has also been linked to family customs (Heighway, 2007) and religious identity (Thompson,  
40  
41 2002; Holbrook and Thomas, 2005) as well as chronological trends (Adams, 1996;  
42  
43 Boddington, 1996).

44  
45 Relationships between biological stress and mortuary practices have been investigated for  
46  
47 various archaeological periods (e.g., Robb *et al.*, 2001; Peck, 2013). Several studies have  
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49 identified that within hierarchically ranked societies selective distribution of resources  
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3 determined by social position and status generates variations in physiological stress, which in  
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5 turn impact upon the physical development and susceptibility to infectious and deficiency  
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7 diseases of individuals within that society (Goodman *et al.*, 1988; Goodman and Martin,  
8  
9 2002; Bennike *et al.*, 2005; Peck, 2013; Temple and Goodman, 2014). However, research is  
10  
11 increasingly demonstrating multifaceted influences that stimulate the expression of biological  
12  
13 and physiological stress upon the skeleton, including differential fertility (Kinaston *et al.*,  
14  
15 2016), epigenetic inertia (Klaus, 2014), social practices such as weaning (Ash *et al.*, 2016),  
16  
17 social and economic change (King *et al.*, 2005) and varying day-to-day physical activities  
18  
19 experienced by different social, occupational or gender groups (Robb *et al.*, 2001).  
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## 24 **Aims**

25  
26 This study investigated the relationship between age, sex and biological stress and mortuary  
27  
28 behaviour in the later Anglo-Saxon to Anglo-Norman Black Gate cemetery to evaluate the  
29  
30 viability of the hypothesis that variations in location and construction of the grave and  
31  
32 disposition of the body were used to convey social status. The first objective was to identify  
33  
34 evidence for segregation according to age and sex between the different burial practices  
35  
36 within the cemetery. Secondly, differences in biological stress were examined between  
37  
38 individuals interred in theoretically preferential burial locations, burial types and in atypical  
39  
40 body positions, compared to those accorded 'standard' burial practices, to identify any  
41  
42 differences suggestive of differential resource access or living conditions related to social  
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44 segregation throughout life.  
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## 51 **Materials and method**

### 52 **The Black Gate cemetery**

53  
54 The Black Gate cemetery underlies the keep of the Norman castle in Newcastle-upon-Tyne,  
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56 north-east England. *The History of the Church of Durham* (1104 - 1107 to 1115), *History of*  
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3 *the Kings of England* (1129) and the *Life of St Oswin King of Northumbria* (644-651) identify  
4 a settlement called Monkchester associated with Newcastle and the castle in 1072 that had  
5 been 'laid to waste' by 1074 (Rollason, 2000). There is, however, no archaeological evidence  
6 from the area surrounding the castle for such a settlement (Nolan, 2010).  
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14 Stratigraphic relationships between graves and built structures, coins within burials (810-985),  
15 and radio-carbon dating of skeletal remains (670-1160) indicate interments commenced by  
16 the late 7th century and ceased by 1168 (Nolan, 2010). The full extent of the cemetery is  
17 unknown but burials have been excavated throughout its projected limits (Fig. 1).  
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26 Four burial zones have been excavated: the Compound, Area C, the Railway Arches and Area  
27 D (Fig. 1). The physical relationships of these burials with the clay rampart of the 1080 castle  
28 and medieval deposits suggest the Compound and Area D to be the earliest interments  
29 followed by those beneath the Railway Arches then in Area C. Stone foundations of a church  
30 separate Area C and the Railway Arches (Nolan, 2010).  
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### 38 [Figure 1]

39  
40 The majority of the 660 excavated interments were west-east aligned earth-cut graves  
41 containing supine-extended burials without grave goods (Nolan, 2010). More elaborate  
42 burials were classified, in accordance with Buckberry (2007), as *Elaborate Grave Types*  
43 (stone-built or rubble lined cists) and *Elaborate Grave Variations*. The latter consisted of  
44 earth-cut graves containing pillow stones (one or more stones placed below the skull, upon  
45 which it rests), earmuffs (large stones placed adjacent to the head, occasionally on both sides)  
46 and head-cists (partial or total enclosure of the skull within a stone slab structure). Wooden  
47 chest burials (Fig. 2), identified by iron locks in the grave, were classified as *Elaborate Grave*  
48 *Types* due to their association with higher-status cemeteries, such as at York Minster and  
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3 Ripon Cathedral (North Yorkshire) (Kjølbye-Biddle, 1995; Buckberry, 2007; Craig-Atkins,  
4  
5 2012). When features of both elaborate grave *type* and *variation* were present, such as stone-  
6  
7 built cist burial 482 which also contained a head-cist (Fig. 2), the burial was documented as  
8  
9 an *Elaborate Grave Type* acknowledging the greatest labour and material investment.

## 12 [Figure 2]

### 14 **Osteological Analysis**

15  
16 Macroscopic osteological analysis was undertaken upon 202 (31.4%) non-adults (aged 17  
17  
18 years or younger) and 441 (68.6%) adults, curated at the University of Sheffield. Good levels  
19  
20 of preservation were observed throughout the cemetery with 70.5% (453/643) of individuals  
21  
22 more than a quarter complete and 79.5% (511/643) exhibiting only slight cortical erosion  
23  
24 (Grades 1 to 3) (McKinley, 2004).

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29  
30 Biological sex of adults was estimated from morphological characteristics of the skull and  
31  
32 pelvis (Buikstra and Ubelaker, 1994). Non-adult and adult ages were estimated from skeletal  
33  
34 and dental development, growth and degeneration (Miles, 1962; Moorrees *et al.*, 1963;  
35  
36 Anderson *et al.*, 1976; Scheuer *et al.*, 1980; Lovejoy *et al.*, 1985; Brooks and Suchey, 1990;  
37  
38 Hoppa, 1992; Schwartz, 1995). The age categories employed were foetal/neonate (0-1  
39  
40 month), infant (1-12 months), young child (1-5 years), older child (6-11 years), adolescent  
41  
42 (12-17 years), young adult (18-24 years), prime adult (c.25-34 years), mature adult (c.35-44  
43  
44 years) and older adult (c.45+ years). The use of such age categories has its limitations  
45  
46 (Buckberry, 2015), but is consistent with published literature (Falys and Lewis, 2011).  
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52  
53 Early-life physiological and dietary stress was evaluated from the frequency of cribra orbitalia  
54  
55 and linear dental enamel hypoplasias (LEH). Cribra orbitalia is commonly ascribed to  
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57 nutritional deficiency, typically of iron or vitamin B12, resulting from mal- or under-nutrition  
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3 or insufficient uptake of such nutrients from a sufficient diet due to the body's natural defence  
4  
5 against chronic diarrhoeal disease and parasitic infections commonly associated with  
6  
7 childhood diseases (Walker *et al.*, 2009). LEHs are commonly used as a non-specific  
8  
9 physiological response to extrinsic environmental stressors such as disease or nutritional  
10  
11 deficiency (Ash *et al.*, 2016). Defects form on the area of the crown developing at the time the  
12  
13 disruption occurs, therefore, reflecting non-specific early-life stress episodes (Ogden *et al.*,  
14  
15 2007). Cribra orbitalia and LEH were recorded following Steckel *et al.* (2006).  
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21 Non-specific skeletal responses to exogenous and endogenous stressors can inform about  
22  
23 living environments and infectious and inflammatory conditions experienced during and at  
24  
25 the end of life. Non-specific stress was quantified by the manifestation of periosteal reactions  
26  
27 on the tibial shafts, from here referred to as tibial periosteal new bone (TPNB) (Lewis, 2002;  
28  
29 Weston, 2008) and within the maxillary sinus (Boocock *et al.*, 1995). Upper respiratory tract  
30  
31 infections are a primary cause of maxillary sinus infections but they can also result from  
32  
33 allergies, pollutants and irritants within domestic and external environments, poor hygiene  
34  
35 and congenital predisposition (Lewis *et al.*, 1995; Roberts, 2007). Only maxillary sinuses  
36  
37 exposed by post-mortem damage were included within this analysis. Sinuses expressing  
38  
39 evidence for dental infections encroaching into the cavity were excluded.  
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46 Dental diseases provide evidence for diet, general health, oral hygiene, food preparation  
47  
48 techniques and cultural behaviours (Fields *et al.* 2009; Meller *et al.* 2009). To investigate  
49  
50 variation in diet or oral hygiene practices the presence of dental calculus, carious lesions,  
51  
52 periapical lesions and ante-mortem tooth loss (AMTL) were recorded both as present and  
53  
54 absent and as a proportion of the total number of observable teeth and tooth sockets.  
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3 The initiation and severity of degenerative joint disease can be influenced by numerous  
4 factors, aside from advancing age, including biomechanical stress and physical activity  
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6 (Weiss and Jurmain 2007; Rojas-Sepulveda *et al.* 2008). Appendicular joints and the superior  
7  
8 and inferior discal surfaces of each vertebral body were analysed for marginal osteophyte  
9  
10 formation, porosity and eburnation following Steckel *et al.* (2006).  
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17 Accidental injuries predominantly occur in long bones, consequently, elevated levels of  
18  
19 physical activity may manifest as fractures to the lower limb, distal radius, clavicles and ribs  
20  
21 (Larsen, 1997). All skeletal elements were examined for evidence of peri-mortem and healed  
22  
23 fractures to detect prevalence or patterns indicative of accidental, violence or occupation  
24  
25 related activity.  
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31 To reduce the complexity of data generated, and accommodate the lack of published true  
32  
33 prevalence rates available for early medieval burial assemblages (Roberts and Cox, 2003), the  
34  
35 statistical analysis included herein is presented as crude prevalence rates i.e., the number of  
36  
37 individuals for which the lesion could be observed. To enable future comparison of this study  
38  
39 Tables 3-5 include true prevalence rate data for all lesions save for linear enamel hypoplasia,  
40  
41 calculus, spinal degenerative joint disease and trauma, which were recorded in the original  
42  
43 study by presence or absence and severity.  
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### 49 **Statistical analysis**

50  
51 Comparisons between presence and absence of pathological lesions for total population,  
52  
53 males, females, non-adults and adults between each of the burial locations, burial types and  
54  
55 body positions employed the non-parametric Pearson's chi-squared test of independence ( $\chi^2$ ).  
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58 When counts for specific variables were less than 5 a Fisher's Exact test was employed.  
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5 All statistical analyses were executed using SPSS version 18.0. The threshold for rejection of  
6 the null hypothesis was 0.05. If the Chi-squared test result reached statistical significance  
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8 when using a two-by-two contingency table a Yates correction for continuity was calculated  
9  
10 to ensure the result was significant.  
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16  
17 A significance value of 0.05 returns a significant result in 5% of tests regardless of the data  
18 (Robb *et al.*, 2001). This error is compounded when, as in this instance, large numbers of  
19 statistical tests are run on a single dataset. To address possible false negatives, significant  
20 results not corresponding with a real trend were omitted. The data produced for Area D was  
21 not included in the statistical analysis due to the small number of individuals recovered.  
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## 30 **Results**

### 31 ***Distribution of Burial Types***

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33 Elaborate burials were very few in number, totalling only 36 (Table 1), and they were only  
34 present in Area C and the Railway Arches (Fig.1). The absence of elaborate burial types in the  
35 Compound resulted in a statistically significant difference relative to both Area C ( $\chi^2 =$   
36 18.347,  $P = <0.001$ ) and the Railway Arches ( $\chi^2 = 13.625$ ,  $P = <0.001$ ). Segregation of  
37 elaborate grave types in Area C and elaborate grave variations (plus the chest burials) beneath  
38 the Railway Arches returned a significant difference in burial provisioning between the two  
39 burial zones (grave types ( $\chi^2 = 10.856$ ,  $P = 0.001$ ); grave variations ( $\chi^2 = 3.834$ ,  $P = 0.050$ )).  
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53 Amongst the 613 burials for which burial position could be determined, the significant  
54 majority of interments in Area C (82.2%) ( $\chi^2 = 121.041$ ,  $P = <0.001$ ) and the Railway Arches  
55 (82.0%) ( $\chi^2 = 222.618$ ,  $P = <0.001$ ) were supine (Table 1). However, in the Compound a  
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3 slightly greater representation of right-sided (44.5%) over supine burials (43.4%) resulted in a  
4 significantly greater presence of non-supine burials ( $\chi^2 = 6.116$ ,  $P = 0.013$ ). A further  
5  
6 variation was a small number of individuals interred on their left side (3.8%), prone (2.6%) or  
7  
8 flexed (1.0%), with no discernible pattern regarding their location within the cemetery.  
9

10  
11  
12 [Table 1]  
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15  
16  
17 ***Palaeodemography***  
18

19 The mortality data for the entire assemblage (Table S1) show an attritional profile  
20 characterised by the greatest number of deaths amongst the very young and elderly, and  
21 comparable numbers of adult males (40.4%, 178/441) and females (39.2%, 173/441).  
22  
23

24 The Compound (males: 43.6%, females: 56.4%) and Railway Arches (males: 48.3%, females:  
25 51.7%) contained equivalent percentages of males and females. In contrast, Area C exhibited  
26 a significantly greater proportion of male (70.6%) to female (29.4%) interments ( $\chi^2 = 17.294$ ,  
27  $P = <0.001$ ) (Table 2).  
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29

30  
31  
32 [Table 2]  
33  
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35 Even though children less than one year at time of death were present throughout the  
36 cemetery, there was a higher concentration of foetal, neonate and infant burials adjacent to the  
37 walls of the church, resulting in a significantly greater number of non-adult (59.4%) to adult  
38 (40.6%) burials in Area C ( $\chi^2 = 9.000$ ,  $P = 0.003$ ). This contrasts with the higher proportions  
39 of adults to non-adults observed in the Compound (adults: 65.0%, non-adults: 35.0%;  $\chi^2 =$   
40 50.156,  $P = <0.001$ ) and Railway Arches (adults: 74.8%, non-adults: 25.2%;  $\chi^2 = 1.816$ ,  $P =$   
41 <0.001) (Table 2).  
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43

44 Consideration of burial type provision for individuals of different age and sex revealed no  
45 evidence for segregation. Nearly all elaborate burials (i.e. those constructed from or  
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3 containing stone and chest burials) were represented in both adult and non-adult interments  
4 (Table 2). Chest burials were the exception, both instances of which were recovered from  
5  
6 older adult interments. All elaborate grave types and variations were present in older adult  
7  
8 graves.  
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11  
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13  
14 There was no significant difference in each of the body disposition categories (supine, prone,  
15  
16 left side, right side and flexed) between non-adults and adults or males and females (Table 2).  
17  
18 Females were more greatly represented than males in burials on the left (males: 27.3%,  
19  
20 females 72.7%) and right side (males: 43.7%, females 56.3%) and in a flexed position (males:  
21  
22 33.3%, females 66.7%). In contrast, males were more typically interred supine (males: 54.0%,  
23  
24 females 46.0%) or prone (males: 63.6%, females 36.4%).  
25  
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### 30 ***Stress Indicators***

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32  
33 Tables and Figures 3-5 contain data pertaining to stress indicators and their prevalence  
34  
35 relative to mortuary practices within the Black Gate cemetery.  
36

37  
38 **[Table 3]**  
39 **[Figure 3]**  
40

41  
42 Overall, there were no significant differences in prevalence of any of the stress indicators  
43  
44 between the Compound, Railway Arches and Area C for the total, adult or the non-adult  
45  
46 population or males and females. However, maxillary sinusitis and all the dental and  
47  
48 degenerative joint diseases occurred less frequently in Area C relative to the other burial  
49  
50 areas. Of the early-life stress indicators cribra orbitalia exhibited consistent levels for the total  
51  
52 population in each burial location, varying by only 8% between burial locations, whereas  
53  
54 levels of total LEH were noticeably lower in the Compound, due to the low female prevalence  
55  
56 (35.5%). Trauma was most prevalent in Area C.  
57  
58  
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**[Table 4]**  
**[Figure 4]**

When observing the relationships between stress indicators and burial type there were no significant differences observed for the number of individuals exhibiting indicators of early-life stress (cribra orbitalia and LEH), non-specific infection and inflammation (maxillary sinusitis and TPNB) or dental disease (dental calculus, caries, periapical lesions and AMTL) either overall or between non-adults and adults or the sexes. The only significant observations were recorded for spinal degenerative joint disease (SDJD) and trauma. The greater frequency of SDJD observed in plain burials in comparison to elaborate burial types was statistically significant ( $\chi^2= 5.011$ ;  $P = 0.025$ ). This statistical significance derives from significantly greater frequencies of SDJD observed in plain burials in comparison to elaborate grave types (stone, rubble and chest burials) ( $\chi^2= 10.140$ ;  $P = 0.001$ ). In contrast, a significantly greater presence of trauma ( $\chi^2= 7.213$ ,  $P = 0.007$ ) was observed in elaborate compared to plain burials ( $\chi^2= 5.011$ ,  $P = 0.025$ ). All of the traumatic injuries were healed fractures to long bones, ribs and clavicles.

Individuals interred with elaborate variations (such as head-cists) exhibited seven of the stress indicators (cribra orbitalia, LEH, maxillary sinusitis, calculus, caries, appendicular and spinal degenerative joint disease) more frequently than those in elaborate grave types constructed from stone or containing chests and plain burials. Only TPNB was most prevalent in elaborate grave types (Table 4). Plain burials exhibited the highest frequencies of dental abscesses and ante-mortem tooth loss.

**[Table 5]**  
**[Figure 5]**

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3 No consistent trends in stress indicator frequency were observed between the different body  
4 positions (Table 5). The only statistically significant result was the high percentage of total  
5 AMTL observed in prone and flexed burials compared to supine, left-sided and right-sided  
6 interments ( $\chi^2 = 13.142$ ,  $P = 0.011$ ).  
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14 Chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) statistical analysis identified a significant positive trend between advancing  
15 age at death from foetal to older adult and increase in prevalence of cribra orbitalia ( $P =$   
16  $<0.001$ ), calculus ( $P = <0.001$ ), abscesses ( $P = <0.001$ ), AMTL ( $P = <0.001$ ), appendicular ( $P$   
17  $= <0.001$ ) and spinal ( $P = <0.001$ ) DJD and trauma ( $P = 0.042$ ). The same trend was also  
18 observed for abscesses ( $P = <0.001$ ), AMTL ( $P = <0.001$ ), ADJD ( $P = <0.001$ ) and SDJD ( $P$   
19  $= <0.001$ ) from young adults through to older adults. There were no statistically significant  
20 differences between males and females for any of the stress indicators, save for AMTL  
21 whereby females showed a significantly higher prevalence compared to males for the total  
22 population (males: 25.0%, females: 37.5%;  $\chi^2 = 4.443$ ,  $P = 0.035$ ) and mature adults ( $\chi^2 =$   
23  $6.256$ ;  $P = 0.012$ ).  
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## 40 Discussion

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42 The biocultural analysis revealed few statistically significant differences in biological stress  
43 or age and sex distribution between stone-built cists, interment of the deceased in preferential  
44 locations adjacent to religious structures, or positioning of the body supine, flexed or on their  
45 side as opposed to prone, which has been linked to social exclusion, criminality and deviancy.  
46  
47 However, non-significant trends in stress indicators relative to mortuary practice suggest  
48 consideration of influences beyond a linear and hierarchical status framework is necessary.  
49  
50 For example, the unique presence of stone-built cist burials and high frequency of male and  
51 non-adult interments in Area C coupled with lower frequencies of stress indicators relative to  
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3 the other burial areas. Also, the high frequencies of stress indicators recorded for elaborate  
4 grave variations in comparison to elaborate grave types and plain earth-cut graves.  
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9 The limited number of stone-built graves, rubble-cists and chest burials and graves containing  
10 stone inclusions, such as pillow stones (n = 36) potentially represent preferential mortuary  
11 practices reflecting higher social and socio-economic status of the deceased. In processualist  
12 mortuary archaeology theory (Binford, 1971; Parker-Pearson, 1982; Brown, 1995) greater  
13 cost of materials and labour investment into elaborate burials is often interpreted as reflecting  
14 higher socio-economic status. The status presented may, however, not be directly of the  
15 deceased, but more reflective of the status of those burying the dead, which in turn informs  
16 about socio-cultural relationships of the living (Hodder, 1980; Parker-Pearson, 1982; Robb *et*  
17 *al.*, 2001).  
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30 Robb (2002) identifies a cultural equivalence to the osteological paradox whereby the  
31 deceased of any specific age or sex group may not have possessed equivalent social status as a  
32 living person of that demographic. Further theories explaining variability in mortuary  
33 behaviour, particularly regarding the use of stone in early medieval burial practices, include  
34 development of community relationships, competitive display, personhood, and mnemonics  
35 of memory (Kamp, 1998; Williams, 2006; Maldonado, 2016).  
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### 47 **Burial Type and Location**

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49 The increasing complexity of the Black Gate burials appears to follow the chronological  
50 development of the cemetery, reinforced by later radiocarbon dates for stone-built cists  
51 BG368 (808-973), BG375 (960-1160) and BG580 (960-1160) (Nolan, 2010). Stone-built cists  
52 of similar date have been recovered from Wharram Percy (950-1050) (Heighway, 2007),  
53 Raunds Furnells (978-1040) (Boddington, 1996), and York Minster (8-12th century) (Phillips,  
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3 1995) further suggesting them to be a later development in Northumbria. The confinement of  
4 chest burials within the Railway Arches, proposed to pre-date Area C, concurs with Craig-  
5  
6 Atkins (2014) who argues interments within wooden chests are characteristic to the north of  
7  
8 England between the 7th and 9th century. However, irrespective of the chronological  
9  
10 development of 'elaborate' burials, their distinctiveness and rarity within the Black Gate  
11  
12 cemetery signifies them as atypical from the 'norm' within each burial zone.  
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19 Segregation of stone-built cists, and predominance of non-adults and male adults in Area C to  
20  
21 the south-east of the church corresponds with similarly segregated burials at Wearmouth,  
22  
23 interpreted as a monastic burial ground (McNeil and Cramp, 2005), and the slightly later  
24  
25 cemetery of St Andrew's, Fishergate (York), where religious elites were interred in a  
26  
27 monastic cemetery to the east and secular elites within and adjacent to religious buildings  
28  
29 (Sullivan, 2004). Therefore, it is conceivable that some of the Area C adult male burials may  
30  
31 have been religious brethren. However, it is possible that stone-built cists and a similarly high  
32  
33 concentration of males and non-adults bordered the northern wall of the church, but have been  
34  
35 destroyed (Nolan, 2010). A comparable distribution of burials was observed at Raunds  
36  
37 Furnells where a greater proportion of non-adults (54.1%) to adults (45.9%) and males  
38  
39 (61.9%) to females (38.1%) was observed in the 'central zone' surrounding the church,  
40  
41 which, as at Black Gate, was the only area containing stone-built cists (Boddington, 1996).  
42  
43  
44 The 'central zone' at Raunds contained several burials with decorated grave covers and stone  
45  
46 crosses, including the grave of the founder of the church and cemetery, thus, burials in Area C  
47  
48 may include elite lay persons, and not necessarily be a burial ground for monastic brethren  
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60 alone.

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3 The significantly greater presence of non-adults in Area C results from a high concentration  
4 of foetal, neonate and infant burials adjacent to the walls of the church attributed to the  
5 religious practice of eaves-drip burial at other later Anglo-Saxon churches such as at Raunds  
6 Furnells, Whithorn (Galloway) and Wharram Percy (North Yorkshire) (Craig-Atkins, 2014).  
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### 14 ***Burial Type: Elaborate Grave Types and Variations***

16 Equal representation of males and females in stone-built and rubble cists and interred with  
17 stone inclusions appears to corroborate the hypothesis that later Anglo-Saxon societies began  
18 to transfer from male dominated social hierarchies to social systems centred on familial and  
19 kin relationships (Hadley, 2004; Sayer, 2013). Indeed, small localised clusters of elaborate  
20 and intercutting burials, such as stone-built cists to the north-west and chests to the north-east  
21 at York Minster (Buckberry, 2007) and the aforementioned burials at Raunds Furnells have  
22 been interpreted as family groups (Boddington, 1996; Hadley, 2004). Female interments in  
23 preferential locations and elaborate burials potentially reflect wealth acquired through  
24 marriage. Widows of high social status males inherited the wealth and eminence of their  
25 husbands, for instance the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entry for 672 states ‘Cenwealh died, and  
26 his queen Seaxburh reigned one year after him’ (Savage, 1982).  
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44 Crawford (1999) refers to drawings of children in the *Harley Psalter*, an illustrated copy of  
45 the Psalms dating to the mid-11th century, where they were depicted smaller than adults and  
46 wearing ‘short tunics’ instead of cloaks as evidence that children (individuals aged less than  
47 10 years) in the Anglo-Saxon period were regarded as distinct from adults (Crawford, 1999).  
48 This interpretation is compounded by the different activities children engaged in and their  
49 separate legal rights, focussed primarily on their protection (Kuefler, 1991; Crawford, 1999,  
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3 2000). Therefore, interment of children in elaborate burials is unlikely a direct reflection of  
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5 their personal status in life.  
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10 It is possible that the burials do, in some instances, symbolise individual social identity. For  
11  
12 example, documentary evidence indicates females held social status independent of male  
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14 relatives. Unmarried women had the right to partake in business, own land and write wills and  
15  
16 contracts, such as the will of Wynflaed (c.950) (Sayer, 2013) and Bede documents in  
17  
18 *Ecclesiastical History* that Abbess Hilda ruled over both men and women at the double  
19  
20 monasteries of Whitby and Hartlepool (Dietrich, 1979).  
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26 The presence of elaborate graves characterised by stone components and wooden chests  
27  
28 throughout all age categories, but higher prevalence amongst older adults, supports  
29  
30 Buckberry's (2007) interpretation that later Anglo-Saxon elaborate burial was preferentially  
31  
32 accorded, but not confined, to older members of the population. The inclusion of non-adults  
33  
34 and older adults – particularly females – in elaborate graves suggests there was no exclusion  
35  
36 of the young and old 'non-active' members of the community (Bello and Andrews, 2006).  
37  
38 Older adults may have contributed greatly to society throughout their lives and continued to  
39  
40 do so up until death therefore it is essential to consider their roles throughout their entire life-  
41  
42 course, not at the static moment of death (Robb, 2002; Gowland, 2006).  
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### 49 ***Body Position***

50  
51 The high frequency of right-sided burials within the Compound possibly reflects  
52  
53 chronological trends. Lowther (2005) assigns the majority rite of right-sided burial amongst  
54  
55 the pre-Norman interments at Wearmouth and equal numbers of supine and right-sided burials  
56  
57 at Jarrow to a regional chronological trend (Cramp and Lowther, 2005; Lowther, 2005).  
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5 Inter-cutting of graves was common in cemeteries from the 9th century, and has been  
6 attributed to increased familiarity with, and subsequent decreased fear of, the dead due to  
7 increased urbanisation and the resultant apposition of churchyards and burial grounds to  
8 domestic settlements (Cherryson, 2007). Boddington (1996) observed that 'Final Phase'  
9 burials at Raunds Furnells rarely inter-cut, whereas 21% of later burials cut an earlier grave,  
10 which he ascribed to necessity in response to increasing demand. Furthermore, at Addingham,  
11 North Yorkshire, there were no inter-cutting burials dating to the 9th century but graves were  
12 often reused in the 10th-century (Adams, 1996).  
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26 Restricted space within the grave may account for right sided and flexed adult burials. Such  
27 positioning could have been necessary to enclose the body within the confines of graves cut  
28 narrow to limit inter-cutting or within narrow coffins or chests. The latter was suggested for a  
29 flexed chest burial at York Minster (Buckberry, 2004) and is observed in the two flexed  
30 wooden chest burials at Black Gate (Fig.2). Even though the scapulae and clavicles are  
31 missing from adult chest burial BG644 medial constriction of the upper arms is evident, there  
32 is no medial displacement of the patellae and the entirety of the skeleton, including the  
33 slightly flexed legs crossed at the ankles and flexion of the metacarpals respects a definite  
34 boundary anteriorly, posteriorly and distally. This 'boxed in' appearance is also observed in  
35 adult chest burial BG619 and is consistent with burial in a 'narrow coffin' (Duday and  
36 Guillon, 2006; Harris and Tayles, 2012).  
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54 The occurrence of 16 prone burials throughout the Black Gate cemetery implies they were not  
55 burials of criminals, which were typically segregated within cemeteries or buried in  
56 designated burial grounds (Reynolds, 2009; Hadley, 2010). The presence of prone burials,  
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3 some of which were provisioned with stone markers and stones placed around the head in the  
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5 same manner as the rest of the interments, within cemeteries of later Anglo-Saxon religious  
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7 communities at Wearmouth (McNeil and Cramp, 2005) and Jarrow (Lowther, 2005) further  
8  
9 undermines the argument that such interment represents damnation or disrespect.  
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15 Thompson (2002) theorised prone burials symbolise the prostrate position of monks praying  
16  
17 before the altar upon the death of a brother. However, no supporting evidence is provided and  
18  
19 this does not explain prone burials in lay contexts. Within the Black Gate cemetery prone  
20  
21 burials were not confined to Area C, which would be the most likely location of burials of  
22  
23 brethren associated with a pre-existing monastery, and they included females (36.4%),  
24  
25 undermining a monastic association. Prone burials are yet to be clearly understood and  
26  
27 deserve further consideration beyond the capabilities of this paper.  
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### 33 ***Biological Stress Indicator Analysis***

34  
35 Stress indicators are manifestations upon the skeleton and dentition of impaired cellular  
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37 response to systemic biological stress resulting from extrinsic physical and social  
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39 environment impacts upon the body, such as mal- and under-nutrition, overcrowded or  
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41 unhygienic living conditions, bacterial infections and emotional distress (Goodman *et al.*  
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43 1988, Ribot and Roberts 1996; Goodman and Martin 2002; Klaus, 2014; Piperata *et al.*,  
44  
45 2014). The extent to which these environmental stressors affect an individual is determined by  
46  
47 a combination of factors, including biologically controlled resistance related to age, sex and  
48  
49 socio-economic and cultural influences (Goodman *et al.* 1988). Social inequality is often  
50  
51 ascribed as the main reason for disparities in physiological disruption representing stress  
52  
53 within populations (Temple and Goodman, 2014). Consequently, it was hypothesised that  
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55 individuals buried in preferential locations, atypical grave types (e.g. stone-built cists and  
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3 wooden chests), or body positions differing from the majority supine-extended burials in plain  
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5 earth cut graves would display distinct frequencies of stress indicators.  
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10 In agreement with DeWitte and Stojanowski (2015) the current biocultural study considered  
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12 historical and archaeological data alongside a range of stress indicators to reflect various  
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14 aspects of the life experience and to enable the impact of the osteological paradox on the  
15  
16 Black Gate assemblage to be assessed.  
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20  
21 Superficially, lower frequencies of dental disease and non-specific infection rates and DJD  
22  
23 observed in Area C, suggested to be a location for preferential burial due to the proximity of  
24  
25 burials next to a church and the unique presence of stone-built cists, is in agreement with this  
26  
27 being a group shielded from environmental, nutritional and physiological stresses affecting  
28  
29 those within the rest of the cemetery. In accordance with the 'osteological paradox' (Wood *et*  
30  
31 *al.*, 1992) it is possible that individuals interred in Area C were less resistant to stress than  
32  
33 those interred elsewhere and consequently died before dental and skeletal manifestations  
34  
35 occurred. Due to the nature of the burials it is unlikely this is the case. Wood *et al.* (1992)  
36  
37 themselves identified that the osteological paradox addresses intricacies of biological data and  
38  
39 is not a uniformly applicable concept and that further complexities associated with concepts  
40  
41 of physiological and social age exist and need to be considered.  
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49 Longevity of life and the associated accumulation of lesions greatly impacts the prevalence of  
50  
51 many stress indicators within populations (Temple and Goodman, 2014; Wilson, 2014). The  
52  
53 low frequency of dental disease within Area C relative to the rest of the cemetery could be  
54  
55 interpreted as deriving from a less carbohydrate dependent diet or better oral hygiene  
56  
57 practices (DeWitte and Bekvalac, 2010). However, the high number of non-adults would have  
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3 had insufficient time for lesions to develop, resulting in a lower frequency. Indeed, Jackes  
4  
5 (2011) cites research confirming carious lesions accumulate at a standard rate with age.  
6  
7 Similarly, the age accumulative nature of degenerative joint disease explains their low  
8  
9 prevalence in Area C within which only 14.7% of the population are older adults compared  
10  
11 with 26.4% and 27.5% in the Railway Arches and Compound respectively. Moreover,  
12  
13 significantly greater frequencies of AMTL in prone and flexed burials are a consequence of  
14  
15 small sample sizes and the high percentage of older adults (prone = 37%; flexed = 50%).  
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22 The lower frequency of maxillary sinusitis observed in Area C most likely reflects the large  
23  
24 number of neonates and infants lacking fully formed sinuses (Lewis, 2002) who would also  
25  
26 have been excluded from 'industrial' activities involving hearths and the subsequent smoke  
27  
28 inhalation.  
29

30  
31 It is important to incorporate the life course (the duration of life from conception to death)  
32  
33 into interpretations of skeletal stress indicators, considering social and cultural ages, which  
34  
35 may be obscured by biological categorisation, such as 'non-adult' and 'adult' (Gowland,  
36  
37 2006; Gowland and Redfern, 2010). The similar frequencies of cribra orbitalia throughout all  
38  
39 areas of burial and LEH in Area C and the Railway Arches suggest uniform childhood  
40  
41 experiences in those locations.  
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47 The Black Gate prime adult females are more frequently affected by AMTL (12.5% greater)  
48  
49 and caries (21.3% greater) than males, the latter of which returns a statistically significant  
50  
51 result. Higher rates of dental caries in females are commonly attributed to behavioural factors  
52  
53 such as sexual division of labour and differential consumption of food, such as females  
54  
55 snacking on foodstuffs during preparation (Larsen, 1995). However, it is more probable that  
56  
57 the high prevalence of prime adult females exhibiting caries compared to males is a  
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3 physiological characteristic. Clinical studies have shown that women are more susceptible to  
4  
5 periodontal disease during pregnancy due to hormonal changes and this may have had a  
6  
7 subsequent impact upon the later loss of teeth (Lukacs and Largaespade, 2006).  
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12 When age is taken into consideration the stress indicator study revealed a homogenous  
13  
14 contributing population lacking statistically significant variability in either physiological or  
15  
16 nutritional stress, dental disease, or trauma. The lack of significant differences in biological  
17  
18 stress in elaborate grave types and variations relative to plain burials is consistent with the  
19  
20 observations of Craig and Buckberry (2010) in their study of stress in comparable burial  
21  
22 practices at Raunds Furnells.  
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28 The scarcity of statistically significant correlation between burial provision and stress may be  
29  
30 a consequence of the small sample sizes available for the atypical mortuary practices.  
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33 Alternative explanations for the lack of statistically valid variability include firstly, the diet  
34  
35 and general wellbeing of all social groups was to a minimum required standard preventing  
36  
37 manifestation of stress upon the skeleton. Secondly, stress indicators were not sensitive  
38  
39 enough to detect variability between different social groups. Thirdly, burial type and body  
40  
41 disposition are not related to status of the deceased. These are all considered by Robb *et al.*  
42  
43 (2001) as explanations for a lack of correlation between biological and social status in the  
44  
45 medieval Pontecagnano cemetery (Italy).  
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52 Historical sources document variation in access to plant and animal foods between social  
53  
54 groups due to variable access to land in early medieval England (Woolgar *et al.*, 2006).

55  
56 However, the diet of the poor may have been supplemented by naturally occurring fruits and  
57  
58 fish (Müldner and Richards, 2007; Mays and Beavan, 2012), wild game (Groves, 2011) and  
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3 donations of leftovers and alms from monasteries and noble estates. For example, in  
4  
5 approximately 1005 Aelfric instructs the monks of Eynsham to provide three paupers who  
6  
7 were regularly fed in the monastery with the same foods as consumed by the monks (Jones,  
8  
9 2006). Furthermore, cereal based foods such as bread produced from mixtures of rye, wheat  
10  
11 or barley and broths were available to everybody, just in varying qualities (Dyer, 2000).  
12  
13 Consequently, the basic diet may have been sufficient for all social groups to meet their  
14  
15 nutritional requirements.  
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22 The comparable distribution of older age categories between plain and elaborate grave  
23  
24 variations and grave types suggests variation in stress indicators between burial types  
25  
26 represent actual differences in health not the accumulative effects of advancing age. The  
27  
28 greater frequencies of cribra orbitalia, LEH, maxillary sinusitis, calculus, caries, ADJD and  
29  
30 SDJD amongst those interred with elaborate grave variations may indicate distinct social  
31  
32 groups intermediate to plain burials and elaborate grave types, consuming slightly different  
33  
34 diets and subjected to different physical and environmental stresses to those interred in plain  
35  
36 burials, or experienced the same stresses but were able to survive periods of insult for longer,  
37  
38 and therefore manifest stress upon the skeleton.  
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46 An alternative explanation for the lower frequencies of stress indicators in plain and elaborate  
47  
48 grave types, and possibly for the lack of statistically significant variation in stress between the  
49  
50 three burial categories is that the plain burials may also have contained wooden coffins, which  
51  
52 may equate to chest burials and rubble cists in later Anglo-Saxon burials. A similar argument  
53  
54 is presented by Sullivan (2004) who states coffins were intermediary to plain and stone  
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56 coffins within St Andrew's, Fishergate.  
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3 The significantly greater prevalence of trauma, predominantly ante-mortem fractures to the  
4 long bones and clavicles, in elaborate burials may indicate those accorded burials in stone-  
5 built or rubble cists, wooden chests or with stone inclusions, were engaged in elevated levels  
6 of physical activity and experienced a greater risk of trauma from falls and accidents (Judd  
7 and Roberts, 1999; Steckel *et al.*, 2002) than the occupants of plain burials. There are no  
8 published analyses of trauma for later Anglo-Saxon or early Norman burial practices to  
9 compare these results, rendering interpretation conjectural. However, the distribution of  
10 fractures in elaborate burials may reflect specific occupational or recreational activities during  
11 day-to-day living involving a greater risk of trips or injury. Indeed, hunting was the preserve  
12 of higher-status individuals (Groves, 2006) and would result in skeletal trauma. Roberts and  
13 Cox (2003) and Judd and Roberts (1999) explored the relationship between skeletal trauma  
14 and occupational stresses associated with farming in the late Anglo-Saxon period and  
15 concluded farming posed a greater number of traumatic risks to those involved than the craft  
16 activities undertaken in the urban settlements. This may indicate that 'elite' status within the  
17 Black Gate population may have been acquired by those active in physically demanding  
18 trades, such as metal working and farming, which produced goods of high commercial and  
19 economic value. The high prevalence of sinusitis (particularly amongst males interred in  
20 elaborate grave variations) may reflect involvement in different employment tasks than the  
21 rest of the population. This supports the hypothesis that elaborate grave types and elaborate  
22 grave variations may represent distinct socio-economic groups and that status in later Anglo-  
23 Saxon Northumbria could have been acquired as well as inherited.

## 53 **Conclusion**

54 The variability of mortuary practices within the Black Gate cemetery challenged the  
55 assumption of homogeneity of later Anglo-Saxon burial. Evidence was present for selective  
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3 burial of a limited number of individuals in stone-built and rubble cists and wooden chests; a  
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5 high concentration of these elaborate burials, males and infants adjacent to a church; and  
6  
7 deliberate variations in body position. Variation in body position and elaborate burial types  
8  
9 appear to be chronological and regional trends linked to pragmatism and changing attitudes to  
10  
11 the corporeal body. However, the small number of elaborate burials and individuals interred  
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13 prone or flexed suggests deliberate selection of the individuals bestowed such practices.  
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19 The few statistically significant differences in stress between burial locations and body  
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21 positions demonstrate clear associations with age. However, non-significant trends in  
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23 biological stress between burial types, which exhibited a similar age composition, coupled  
24  
25 with the location of burials suggest graves containing pillow stones, earmuffs and head-cists  
26  
27 possibly represent intermediate 'status' burials between elaborate grave types and plain  
28  
29 burials potentially linked to occupation or kin groups. It must be noted, however, that the  
30  
31 interpretations of demographic and physiological stress data are based on small sample sizes  
32  
33 and are suggestions based on historical evidence and interpretations from comparative sites.  
34  
35 This study emphasises the impact of age-composition on comparative samples and the  
36  
37 influences beyond hierarchical social status, such as the life course, socio-cultural  
38  
39 relationships, chronological and regional trends on mortuary practices and their biocultural  
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41 interpretation.  
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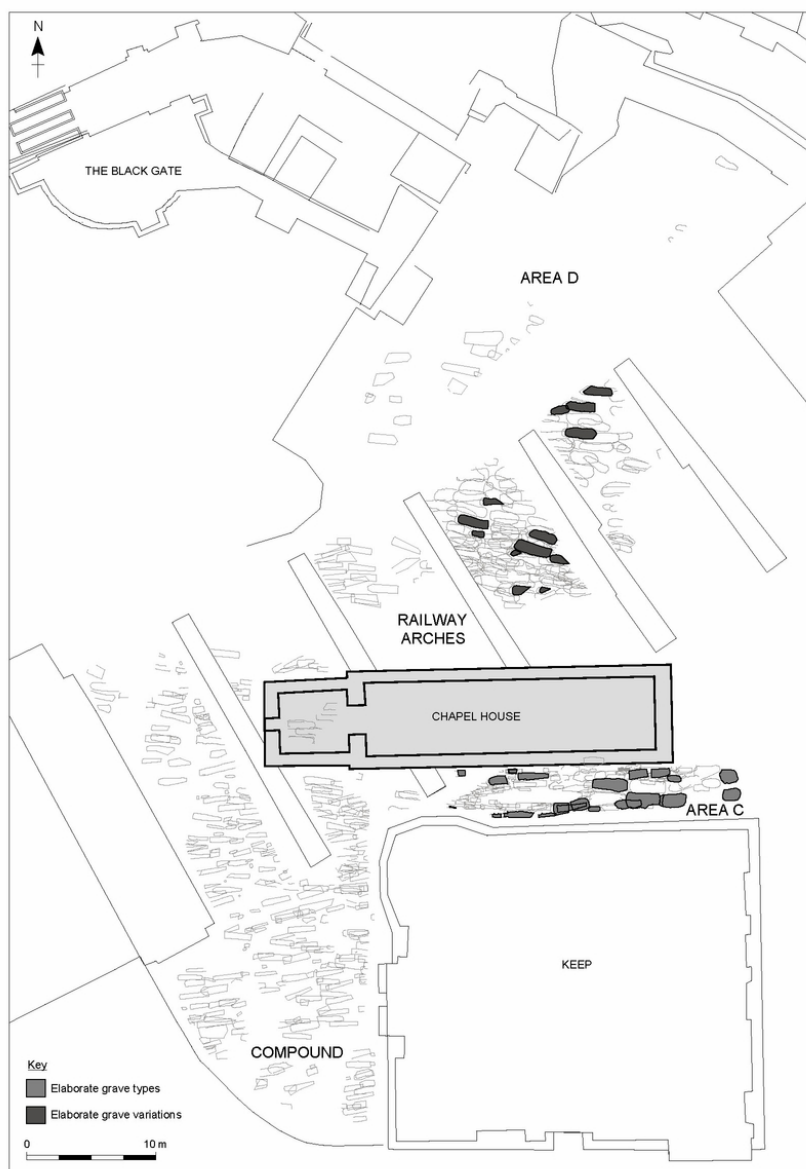


Figure 1. Distribution of elaborate burial types. Adapted from Nolan (2010). Image by C. Swales.

70x98mm (300 x 300 DPI)

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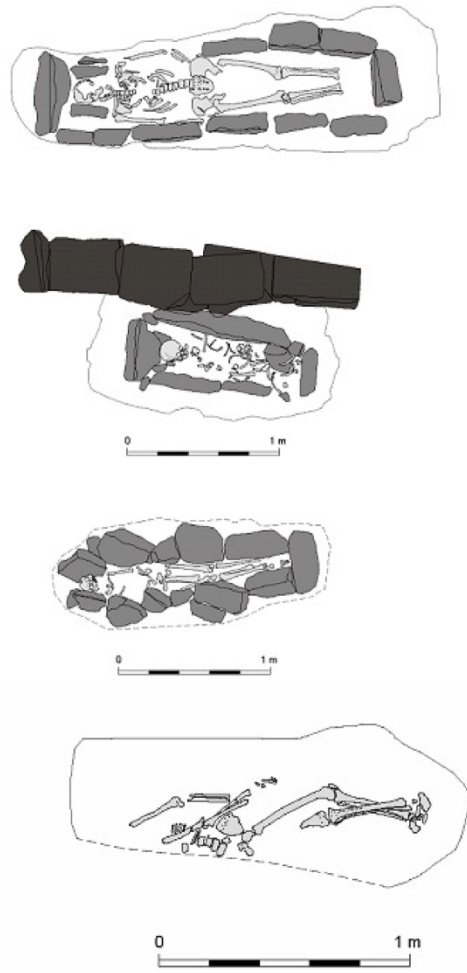


Figure 2. Stone cists (adult BG482 and young child BG478), rubble cist (adult BG523) and chest burial (adult BG644). Adapted from photographs provided by John Nolan, Northern Counties Archaeological Services. Image by C. Swales.

169x170mm (300 x 300 DPI)

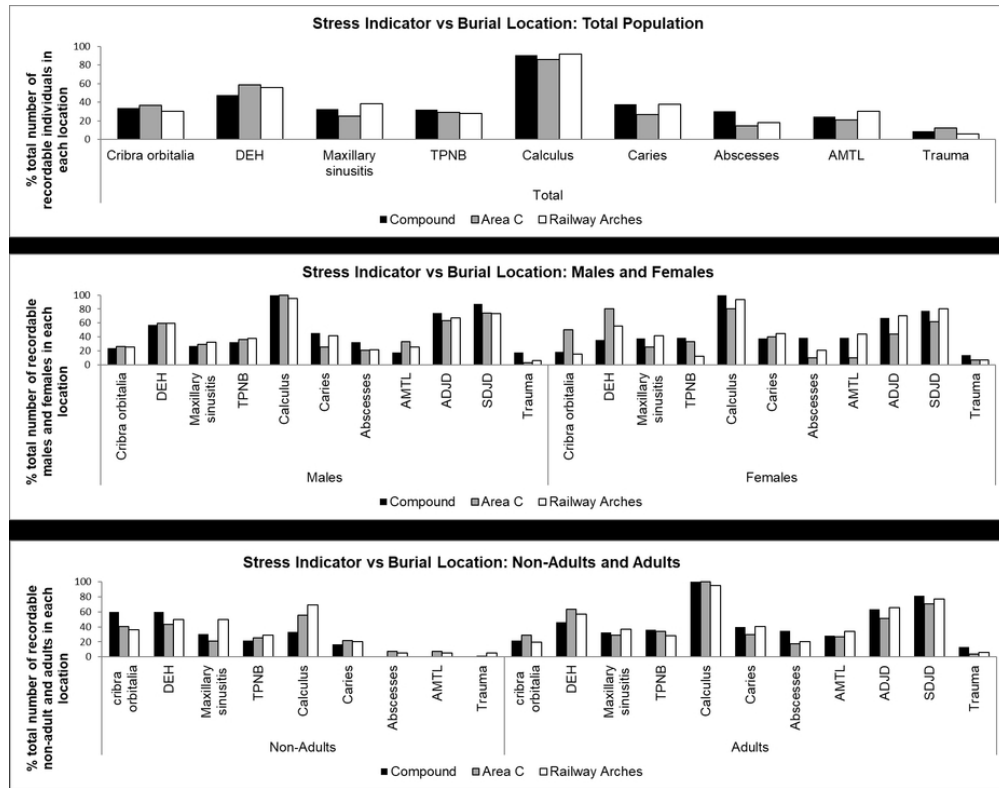


Figure 3. The prevalence of each stress indicator for each burial location for the total population, males and females, non-adults and adults.

78x61mm (300 x 300 DPI)

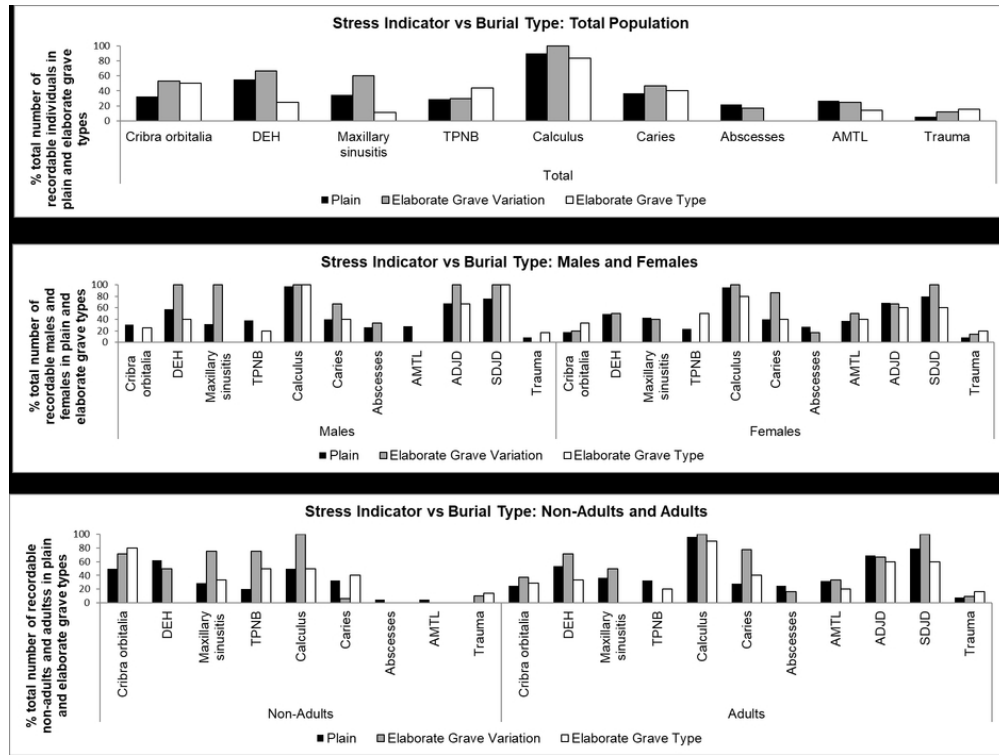


Figure 4. The prevalence of each stress indicator for each burial type for the total population, males and females, non-adults and adults.

79x59mm (300 x 300 DPI)

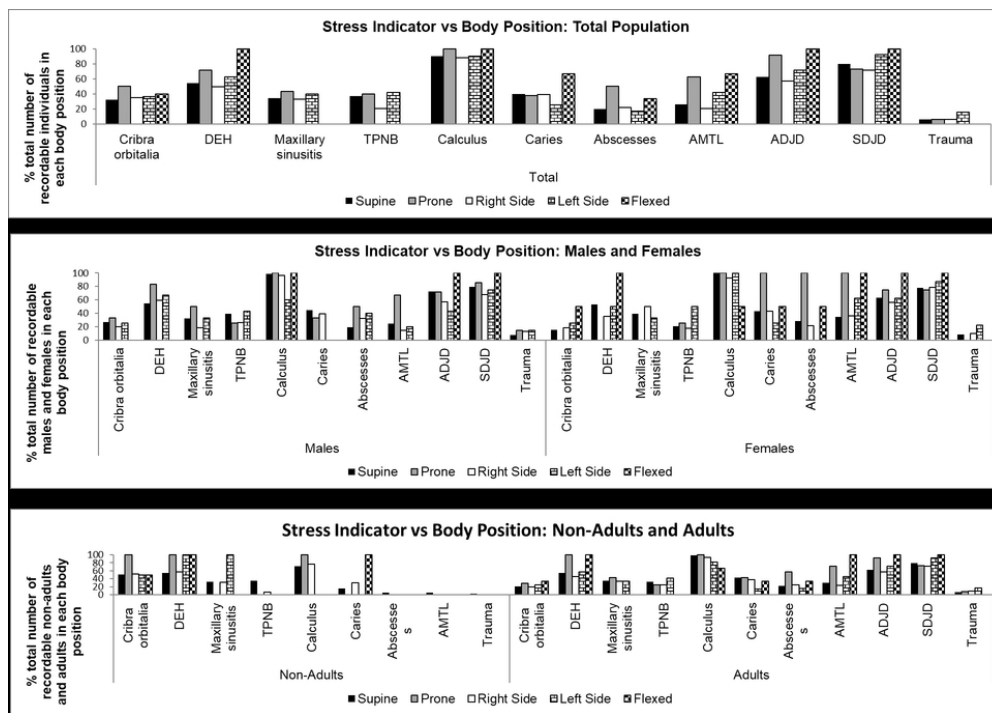


Figure 5. The prevalence of each stress indicator for each body position for the total population, males and females, non-adults and adults.

81x57mm (300 x 300 DPI)

	Compound		Area C		Railway Arch		Area D		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Plain Graves</b>										
Earth-cut	125	71.4	120	79.5	234	87.0	17	94.4	496	80.9
Coffin	50	28.6	15	9.9	15	5.6	1	5.6	81	13.2
<b>Elaborate Burials</b>										
<b>Elaborate Grave Variations</b>										
Pillow Stone	0	0.0	2	1.3	2	0.7	0	0.0	4	0.7
Earmuffs	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	3.3	0	0.0	9	1.5
Head Cist	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	1.5	0	0.0	4	0.7
<b>Elaborate Grave Construction</b>										
Chest	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.7	0	0.0	2	0.3
Rubble Cist	0	0.0	1	0.7	3	1.1	0	0.0	4	0.7
Stone Cist	0	0.0	13	8.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	13	2.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>613</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Body Position</b>										
Supine	75	43.3	120	82.2	223	82.0	17	94.4	435	71.4
Prone	10	5.8	3	2.0	3	1.1	0	0.0	16	2.6
Left Side	10	5.8	4	2.7	8	2.9	0	0.0	22	3.6
Right side	77	44.5	18	12.3	36	13.2	0	0.0	131	21.5
Flexed	1	0.6	1	0.7	2	0.7	1	5.6	5	0.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>146</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>272</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>609</b>	<b>100.0</b>

% of total burials = 612

Table 1. Distribution of burial practices throughout the Black Gate cemetery.

	Compound		Area C		Railway Arches		Area D		Supine		Prone		Left		Right		Flexed		Plain Burial		Elaborate Grave Variation		Elaborate Grave Type	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Foetal/Neonate	7	4.4	14	10.9	4	1.6	0	0.0	20	5.4	0	0	0	0.0	3	2.5	1	16.7	24	4.8	0	0.0	1	5.6
Infant	13	8.1	27	21.1	8	3.3	0	0.0	31	8.4	1	6.25	1	4.8	12	9.9	1	16.7	45	9	3	16.7	1	5.6
Young Child	20	12.5	22	17.2	24	9.9	1	6.2	42	11.4	2	12.5	3	14.3	17	14.0	0	0.0	62	12.4	2	11.1	3	16.7
Older Child	10	6.2	9	7.0	9	3.7	3	18.7	18	4.9	1	6.25	1	4.8	9	7.4	1	16.7	27	5.4	1	5.6	2	11.1
Adolescent	6	3.7	4	3.1	16	6.6	2	12.5	23	6.3	0	0	0	0.0	5	4.1	0	0.0	26	5.2	2	11.1	0	0.0
Young Adult	11	6.9	8	6.2	16	6.6	0	0.0	22	6.0	0	0	1	4.8	11	9.1	0	0.0	33	6.6	0	0.0	1	5.6
Prime Adult	23	14.4	16	12.5	45	18.6	0	0.0	60	16.3	2	12.5	3	14.3	18	14.9	0	0.0	79	15.8	3	16.7	3	16.7
Mature Adult	26	16.2	9	7.0	56	23.1	6	37.5	73	19.8	4	25	5	23.8	12	9.9	0	0.0	85	17	1	5.6	3	16.7
Older Adult	44	27.5	19	14.8	64	26.4	4	25.0	79	21.5	6	37.5	7	33.3	34	28.1	3	50.0	119	23.8	6	33.3	4	22.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>242</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>368</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100</b>
Males	44	43.6	36	70.6	83	48.3	6	66.7	122	54.0	7	63.6	3	27.3	31	43.7	1	33.3	157	52.3	3	30	6	54.5
Females	57	56.4	15	29.4	89	51.7	3	33.3	104	46.0	4	36.4	8	72.7	40	56.3	2	66.7	143	47.7	7	70	5	45.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>172</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>226</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100</b>
Non-adults	56	35.0	76	59.4	61	25.2	6	37.5	134	36.4	4	25	5	23.8	46	38.0	3	50.0	184	36.8	8	44.4	7	38.9
Adults	104	65.0	52	40.6	181	74.8	10	62.5	234	63.6	12	75	16	76.2	75	62.0	3	50.0	316	63.2	10	55.6	11	61.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>242</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>368</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 2. Demographic composition of burial practices within the Black Gate cemetery.

Burial Location												
Cribra Orbitalia												
	Compound				Area C				Railway Arches			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>34/101</b>	<b>33.7</b>	<b>58/176</b>	<b>32.9</b>	<b>28/76</b>	<b>36.8</b>	<b>48/125</b>	<b>38.4</b>	<b>41/135</b>	<b>30.4</b>	<b>72/232</b>	<b>31.0</b>
Males	7/29	24.1	11/51	21.6	5/19	26.3	11/33	33.3	12/47	25.5	22/83	26.5
Females	7/38	18.4	12/69	17.4	2/4	50.0	5/8	62.5	8/53	15.1	15/94	16.0
Adults	15/69	21.7	25/124	20.2	7/24	29.2	16/41	39.0	20/102	19.6	38/179	21.2
Non-adults	19/32	59.4	33/52	63.5	21/52	40.4	32/84	38.1	21/33	36.4	34/53	64.1
Linear Enamel Hypoplasias (LEH)												
	Compound				Area C				Railway Arches			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>33/69</b>	<b>47.8</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>20/34</b>	<b>58.8</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>62/111</b>	<b>55.8</b>	n/a	n/a
Males	16/28	57.1	n/a	n/a	13/22	59.1	n/a	n/a	25/42	59.5	n/a	n/a
Females	11/31	35.5	n/a	n/a	4/5	80.0	n/a	n/a	26/47	55.3	n/a	n/a
Adults	27/59	45.8	n/a	n/a	17/27	63.0	n/a	n/a	53/93	57.0	n/a	n/a
Non-adults	6/10	60.0	n/a	n/a	3/7	42.9	n/a	n/a	9/18	50.0	n/a	n/a
Tibial Periosteal Reactions												
	Compound				Area C				Railway Arches			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>32/100</b>	<b>32.0</b>	<b>55/197</b>	<b>27.9</b>	<b>26/89</b>	<b>29.2</b>	<b>37/166</b>	<b>22.3</b>	<b>47/167</b>	<b>28.1</b>	<b>85/338</b>	<b>25.1</b>
Males	8/25	32.0	14/48	29.2	8/22	36.4	11/38	28.9	19/51	37.3	36/100	36.0
Females	13/34	38.2	22/68	32.3	3/9	33.3	3/16	18.7	7/58	12.1	14/118	11.9
Adults	26/72	36.1	46/142	32.4	14/41	34.1	19/75	25.3	37/132	28.0	69/267	25.8
Non-adults	6/28	21.4	9/55	16.4	12/48	25.0	18/91	19.8	10/35	28.6	16/71	22.5
Maxillary Sinusitis												
	Compound				Area C				Railway Arches			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>27/83</b>	<b>32.5</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>10/40</b>	<b>25.0</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>34/88</b>	<b>38.6</b>	n/a	n/a
Males	8/30	26.7	n/a	n/a	5/17	29.4	n/a	n/a	13/40	32.5	n/a	n/a
Females	12/32	37.5	n/a	n/a	1/4	25.0	n/a	n/a	14/34	41.2	n/a	n/a
Adults	21/64	32.8	n/a	n/a	6/21	28.6	n/a	n/a	27/74	36.5	n/a	n/a
Non-adults	6/19	30.0	n/a	n/a	4/19	21.1	n/a	n/a	7/14	50.0	n/a	n/a
Calculus												
	Compound				Area C				Railway Arches			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>78/86</b>	<b>90.7</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>37/43</b>	<b>86.0</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>134/146</b>	<b>91.8</b>	n/a	n/a
Males	33/33	100.0	n/a	n/a	24/24	100.0	n/a	n/a	57/60	95.0	n/a	n/a
Females	41/41	100.0	n/a	n/a	8/10	80.0	n/a	n/a	60/64	93.8	n/a	n/a
Adults	74/74	100.0	n/a	n/a	34/34	100.0	n/a	n/a	123/130	94.6	n/a	n/a
Non-adults	4/12	33.3	n/a	n/a	5/9	55.6	n/a	n/a	11/16	68.8	n/a	n/a
Caries												
	Compound				Area C				Railway Arches			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>33/87</b>	<b>37.9</b>	<b>97/1799</b>	<b>5.4</b>	<b>13/49</b>	<b>26.5</b>	<b>42/995</b>	<b>4.2</b>	<b>59/157</b>	<b>37.6</b>	<b>161/2824</b>	<b>5.7</b>
Males	15/33	45.5	40/695	5.8	6/24	25.0	9/459	2.0	26/62	41.9	59/1223	4.8
Females	15/40	37.5	43/751	5.7	4/10	40.0	5/150	3.3	29/65	44.6	84/1067	7.9
Adults	31/78	39.7	83/1492	5.6	10/34	29.4	14/609	2.3	55/136	40.4	143/2355	6.1
Non-adults	2/12	16.7	11/183	6.0	3/14	21.4	28/382	7.3	4/20	20.0	11/210	5.2
Abscesses* (*permanent tooth sockets only)												
	Compound				Area C				Railway Arches			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>27/90</b>	<b>30.0</b>	53/2046	<b>2.6</b>	<b>7/48</b>	<b>14.6</b>	<b>13/913</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>27/150</b>	<b>18.0</b>	<b>42/3192</b>	<b>1.3</b>
Males	11/34	32.4	21/918	2.3	5/24	20.8	9/555	1.6	13/60	21.7	19/1493	1.3
Females	16/42	38.1	32/1073	3.0	1/10	10.0	2/190	1.1	13/64	20.3	21/1351	1.5
Adults	27/78	34.6	53/2046	2.6	6/34	17.6	11/745	1.5	26/130	20.0	40/2909	1.4
Non-adults	0/12	0.0	0/158	0.0	1/14	7.1	2/168	1.2	1/20	5.0	2/283	0.7
Ante-Mortem Tooth Loss (AMTL)												
	Compound				Area C				Railway Arches			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	



	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>22/90</b>	<b>24.4</b>	<b>59/2204</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>10/48</b>	<b>20.8</b>	<b>37/913</b>	<b>4.0</b>	<b>45/150</b>	<b>30.0</b>	<b>150/3192</b>	<b>4.7</b>
Males	6/34	17.6	13/918	1.4	8/24	33.3	35/555	6.3	15/60	25.0	67/1493	4.5
Females	16/42	38.1	46/1073	4.3	1/10	10.0	1/190	0.5	28/64	43.8	80/1351	5.9
Adults	22/78	28.2	59/2046	2.9	9/24	26.5	36/745	4.8	44/130	33.8	148/2909	5.1
Non-adults	0/12	0.0	0/158	0.0	1/14	7.1	1/168	0.6	1/20	5.0	2/283	0.7
<b>Appendicular Degenerative Joint Disease (ADJD)</b>												
	<b>Compound</b>				<b>Area C</b>				<b>Railway Arches</b>			
	<b>CPR</b>		<b>TPR</b>		<b>CPR</b>		<b>TPR</b>		<b>CPR</b>		<b>TPR</b>	
	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>72/114</b>	<b>63.2</b>	<b>269/784</b>	<b>34.3</b>	<b>34/66</b>	<b>51.1</b>	<b>114/356</b>	<b>32.0</b>	<b>129/197</b>	<b>65.5</b>	<b>416/1256</b>	<b>33.1</b>
Males	32/43	74.4	106/318	33.3	21/33	63.6	76/210	36.2	52/77	67.5	177/558	31.7
Females	35/52	67.3	154/418	36.8	7/16	43.8	33/109	30.3	60/85	70.6	200/612	32.7
<b>Spinal Degenerative Joint Disease (SDJD)</b>												
	<b>Compound</b>				<b>Area C</b>				<b>Railway Arches</b>			
	<b>CPR</b>		<b>TPR</b>		<b>CPR</b>		<b>TPR</b>		<b>CPR</b>		<b>TPR</b>	
	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>75/92</b>	<b>81.5</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>36/51</b>	<b>70.6</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>121/158</b>	<b>76.6</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>
Males	33/38	86.9	n/a	n/a	20/27	74.1	n/a	n/a	49/67	73.1	n/a	n/a
Females	31/40	77.5	n/a	n/a	8/13	61.5	n/a	n/a	54/67	80.6	n/a	n/a
<b>Trauma</b>												
	<b>Compound</b>				<b>Area C</b>				<b>Railway Arches</b>			
	<b>CPR</b>		<b>TPR</b>		<b>CPR</b>		<b>TPR</b>		<b>CPR</b>		<b>TPR</b>	
	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>16/179</b>	<b>8.9</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>6/49</b>	<b>12.2</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>17/282</b>	<b>6.0</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>
Males	8/45	17.8	n/a	n/a	1/36	2.8	n/a	n/a	5/83	6.0	n/a	n/a
Females	8/59	13.6	n/a	n/a	1/15	6.7	n/a	n/a	6/92	6.5	n/a	n/a
Adults	16/123	13.0	n/a	n/a	3/73	4.1	n/a	n/a	13/221	5.9	n/a	n/a
Non-adults	0/56	0.0	n/a	n/a	1/75	1.3	n/a	n/a	3/61	4.9	n/a	n/a

Table 3: Crude and true prevalence rates of skeletal stress indicators for each burial location

Burial Type												
Cribra Orbitalia												
	Plain				Elaborate Grave Variation				Elaborate Grave Type			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>95/291</b>	<b>32.6</b>	<b>169/496</b>	<b>34.1</b>	<b>8/15</b>	<b>53.3</b>	<b>12/25</b>	<b>48.0</b>	<b>6/12</b>	<b>50.0</b>	<b>12/24</b>	<b>50.0</b>
Males	27/89	30.3	43/157	27.4	0/3	0.0	0/6	0.0	1/4	25.0	2/8	25.0
Females	15/86	17.4	25/150	16.7	1/5	20.0	4/8	50.0	1/3	33.3	2/6	33.3
Adults	45/181	24.9	72/316	22.8	3/8	37.5	4/14	28.6	2/7	28.6	4/14	28.6
Non-adults	55/110	50.0	88/180	48.9	5/7	71.4	8/11	72.7	4/5	80.0	8/10	80.0
Linear Enamel Hypoplasias (LEH)												
	Plain				Elaborate Grave Variation				Elaborate Grave Type			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>112/204</b>	<b>54.9</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>6/9</b>	<b>66.7</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>2/8</b>	<b>25.0</b>	n/a	n/a
Males	51/89	57.3	n/a	n/a	3/3	100.0	n/a	n/a	2/5	40.0	n/a	n/a
Females	38/77	49.4	n/a	n/a	2/4	50.0	n/a	n/a	0/1	0.0	n/a	n/a
Adults	91/170	53.5	n/a	n/a	5/7	71.4	n/a	n/a	2/6	33.3	n/a	n/a
Non-adults	21/34	61.8	n/a	n/a	1/2	50.0	n/a	n/a	0/2	0.0	n/a	n/a
Tibial Periosteal Reactions												
	Plain				Elaborate Grave Variation				Elaborate Grave Type			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>96/332</b>	<b>28.9</b>	<b>162/655</b>	<b>24.7</b>	<b>3/10</b>	<b>30.0</b>	<b>6/19</b>	<b>31.6</b>	<b>7/16</b>	<b>43.7</b>	<b>11/30</b>	<b>36.7</b>
Males	36/95	37.9	62/182	34.1	0/2	0.0	0/4	0.0	1/5	20.0	2/9	22.2
Females	21/91	23.1	36/180	20.0	0/4	0.0	0/8	0.0	2/4	50.0	3/7	42.9
Adults	75/230	32.6	131/454	28.8	0/6	0.0	0/12	0.0	1/5	20.0	5/18	27.8
Non-adults	21/102	20.6	31/201	15.4	3/4	75.0	6/7	85.7	2/4	50.0	6/12	50.0
Maxillary Sinusitis												
	Plain				Elaborate Grave Variation				Elaborate Grave Type			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>67/195</b>	<b>34.4</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>6/10</b>	<b>60.0</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>1/9</b>	<b>11.1</b>	n/a	n/a
Males	26/83	31.3	n/a	n/a	1/1	100.0	n/a	n/a	0/5	0.0	n/a	n/a
Females	26/61	42.6	n/a	n/a	2/5	40.0	n/a	n/a	0/1	0.0	n/a	n/a
Adults	53/146	36.3	n/a	n/a	3/6	50.0	n/a	n/a	0/6	0.0	n/a	n/a
Non-adults	14/49	28.6	n/a	n/a	3/4	75.0	n/a	n/a	1/3	33.3	n/a	n/a
Calculus												
	Plain				Elaborate Grave Variation				Elaborate Grave Type			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>228/254</b>	<b>89.8</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>12/12</b>	<b>100.0</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>10/12</b>	<b>83.3</b>	n/a	n/a
Males	109/112	97.3	n/a	n/a	3/3	100.0	n/a	n/a	5/5	100.0	n/a	n/a
Females	94/99	94.9	n/a	n/a	6/6	100.0	n/a	n/a	4/5	80.0	n/a	n/a
Adults	210/218	96.3	n/a	n/a	9/9	100.0	n/a	n/a	9/10	90.0	n/a	n/a
Non-adults	18/36	50.0	n/a	n/a	3/3	100.0	n/a	n/a	1/2	50.0	n/a	n/a
Caries												
	Plain				Elaborate Grave Variation				Elaborate Grave Type			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>115/316</b>	<b>36.4</b>	<b>274/5148</b>	<b>5.3</b>	<b>7/15</b>	<b>46.7</b>	<b>30/296</b>	<b>10.0</b>	<b>6/15</b>	<b>40.0</b>	<b>12/301</b>	<b>4.0</b>
Males	46/116	39.6	100/2265	4.4	2/3	66.7	9/58	15.5	2/5	40.0	5/134	3.7
Females	40/101	39.6	106/1721	6.2	6/7	85.7	21/132	15.9	2/5	40.0	3/82	3.7
Adults	87/229	38.0	207/4102	5.0	7/9	77.8	30/216	13.9	4/10	40.0	8/216	3.7
Non-adults	12/37	32.2	67/1046	6.4	0/8	0.0	0/80	0.0	2/5	40.0	4/85	4.7
Abscesses												
	Plain				Elaborate Grave Variation				Elaborate Grave Type			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>58/268</b>	<b>21.6</b>	<b>99/5893</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>2/12</b>	<b>16.7</b>	<b>5/279</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>0/14</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0/281</b>	<b>0.0</b>
Males	29/113	25.7	47/2850	1.6	1/3	33.3	3/87	3.4	0/5	0.0	0/153	0.0
Females	27/101	26.7	48/2314	2.1	1/6	16.7	2/158	1.3	0/5	0.0	0/98	0.0
Adults	56/222	25.2	95/5307	1.8	2/12	16.7	5/245	2.0	0/10	0.0	0/251	0.0
Non-adults	2/44	4.5	4/586	0.7	0/3	0.0	0/34	0.0	0/4	0.0	0/30	0.0
Ante-Mortem Tooth Loss (AMTL)												
	Plain				Elaborate Grave Variation				Elaborate Grave Type			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	

	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>72/266</b>	<b>27.1</b>	<b>228/5893</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>3/12</b>	<b>25.0</b>	<b>16/279</b>	<b>5.7</b>	<b>2/14</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>4/281</b>	<b>1.4</b>
Males	31/113	27.4	123/2850	4.3	0/3	0.0	0/87	0.0	0/5	0.0	0/153	0.0
Females	37/100	37.0	99/2314	4.3	3/6	50.0	16/158	10.1	2/5	40.0	4/98	4.1
Adults	70/222	31.5	225/5307	4.2	3/9	33.3	16/245	6.5	2/10	20.0	4/251	1.6
Non-adults	2/44	4.5	3/586	0.5	0/3	0.0	0/34	0.0	0/4	0.0	0/30	0.0
<b>Appendicular Degenerative Joint Disease (ADJD)</b>												
	<b>Plain</b>				<b>Elaborate Grave Variation</b>				<b>Elaborate Grave Type</b>			
	<b>CPR</b>		<b>TPR</b>		<b>CPR</b>		<b>TPR</b>		<b>CPR</b>		<b>TPR</b>	
	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>220/354</b>	<b>62.1</b>	<b>684/2074</b>	<b>33.0</b>	<b>7/9</b>	<b>77.8</b>	<b>36/75</b>	<b>48.0</b>	<b>7/12</b>	<b>58.3</b>	<b>31/86</b>	<b>36.0</b>
Males	100/147	68.0	355/1047	33.9	3/3	100.0	13/28	46.4	4/6	66.7	15/49	30.6
Females	93/135	68.9	329/1027	32.0	4/6	66.7	23/47	48.9	3/5	60.0	16/36	44.4
<b>Spinal Degenerative Joint Disease (SDJD)</b>												
	<b>Plain</b>				<b>Elaborate Grave Variation</b>				<b>Elaborate Grave Type</b>			
	<b>CPR</b>		<b>TPR</b>		<b>CPR</b>		<b>TPR</b>		<b>CPR</b>		<b>TPR</b>	
	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>225/287</b>	<b>78.4</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>7/8</b>	<b>87.5</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>7/16</b>	<b>43.7</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>
Males	95/125	76.0	n/a	n/a	2/2	100.0	n/a	n/a	5/5	100.0	n/a	n/a
Females	84/106	79.2	n/a	n/a	5/5	100.0	n/a	n/a	3/5	60.0	n/a	n/a
<b>Trauma</b>												
	<b>Plain</b>				<b>Elaborate Grave Variation</b>				<b>Elaborate Grave Type</b>			
	<b>CPR</b>		<b>TPR</b>		<b>CPR</b>		<b>TPR</b>		<b>CPR</b>		<b>TPR</b>	
	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>33/579</b>	<b>5.7</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>2/17</b>	<b>11.8</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>3/19</b>	<b>15.8</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>
Males	14/158	8.9	n/a	n/a	0/3	0.0	n/a	n/a	1/6	16.7	n/a	n/a
Females	13/148	8.8	n/a	n/a	1/7	14.3	n/a	n/a	1/5	20.0	n/a	n/a
Adults	30/395	7.6	n/a	n/a	1/11	9.1	n/a	n/a	2/12	16.7	n/a	n/a
Non-adults	2/182	1.1	n/a	n/a	1/10	10.0	n/a	n/a	1/7	14.3	n/a	n/a

Table 4: Crude and true prevalence rates of skeletal stress indicators for each burial type

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Body Position																				
Cribra orbitalia																				
	Supine				Prone				Left				Right				Flexed			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>69/207</b>	<b>33.3</b>	<b>117/363</b>	<b>32.2</b>	<b>5/10</b>	<b>50.0</b>	<b>9/17</b>	<b>52.9</b>	<b>5/13</b>	<b>38.5</b>	<b>7/20</b>	<b>35.0</b>	<b>29/83</b>	<b>34.9</b>	<b>46/137</b>	<b>33.6</b>	<b>1/5</b>	<b>20.0</b>	<b>2/9</b>	<b>22.2</b>
Males	18/68	32.5	35/124	28.2	2/6	33.3	3/10	30.0	1/4	25.0	2/5	40.0	4/20	20.0	5/33	15.1	0/1	0.0	0/2	0.0
Females	11/60	18.3	18/108	16.7	0/1	0.0	0/1	0.0	2/8	25.0	3/12	25.0	4/22	18.2	7/40	17.5	1/2	50.0	2/4	50.0
Adults	30/131	22.9	55/236	23.3	2/7	28.6	3/11	27.3	3/12	25.0	5/17	29.4	9/45	20.0	14/78	17.9	1/3	33.3	2/6	33.3
Non-adults	39/76	51.3	62/127	48.8	3/3	100.0	6/6	100.0	1/2	50.0	2/3	66.7	20/38	52.6	32/59	54.2	0/2	0.0	0/3	0.0
Linear Enamel Hypoplasias (LEH)																				
	Supine				Prone				Left				Right				Flexed			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>79/145</b>	<b>54.5</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>5/7</b>	<b>71.4</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>5/8</b>	<b>62.5</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>28/58</b>	<b>48.3</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>2/2</b>	<b>100.0</b>	n/a	n/a
Males	36/66	54.5	n/a	n/a	5/6	83.3	n/a	n/a	2/3	66.7	n/a	n/a	13/22	59.1	n/a	n/a	0/0	0.0	n/a	n/a
Females	29/55	52.7	n/a	n/a	0/1	0.0	n/a	n/a	2/4	50.0	n/a	n/a	7/20	35.0	n/a	n/a	1/1	100.0	n/a	n/a
Adults	67/123	54.5	n/a	n/a	2/2	100.0	n/a	n/a	4/7	57.1	n/a	n/a	20/44	45.4	n/a	n/a	1/1	100.0	n/a	n/a
Non-adults	12/22	54.5	n/a	n/a	1/1	100.0	n/a	n/a	1/1	100.0	n/a	n/a	8/14	57.1	n/a	n/a	1/1	100.0	n/a	n/a
Tibial Periosteal Reactions																				
	Supine				Prone				Left				Right				Flexed			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>83/250</b>	<b>33.2</b>	<b>140/485</b>	<b>28.9</b>	<b>2/10</b>	<b>20.0</b>	<b>2/19</b>	<b>10.5</b>	<b>6/14</b>	<b>42.9</b>	<b>10/27</b>	<b>37.0</b>	<b>14/78</b>	<b>17.9</b>	<b>26/165</b>	<b>15.8</b>	<b>0/4</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0/8</b>	<b>0.0</b>
Males	28/72	38.9	48/139	34.5	1/4	25.0	1/8	12.5	3/7	42.9	5/12	41.7	5/19	26.3	10/36	27.8	0/1	0.0	0/1	0.0
Females	14/67	20.9	24/128	18.7	1/4	25.0	1/7	14.3	2/4	50.0	4/10	40.0	4/23	17.4	8/54	14.8	0/1	0.0	0/2	0.0
Adults	57/177	32.2	99/345	28.7	2/8	25.0	2/15	13.3	5/12	41.7	10/24	41.7	12/49	24.5	24/106	22.6	0/2	0.0	0/3	0.0
Non-adults	26/73	35.6	41/140	29.3	0/2	0.0	0/4	0.0	0/2	0.0	0/3	0.0	2/31	6.4	2/59	3.4	0/2	0.0	0/5	0.0
Maxillary Sinusitis																				
	Supine				Prone				Left				Right				Flexed			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>46/133</b>	<b>34.6</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>3/7</b>	<b>42.9</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>4/10</b>	<b>40.0</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>21/64</b>	<b>32.8</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>0/2</b>	<b>0.0</b>	n/a	n/a
Males	19/59	32.2	n/a	n/a	3/6	50.0	n/a	n/a	1/3	33.3	n/a	n/a	4/22	18.2	n/a	n/a	0/0	0.0	n/a	n/a
Females	17/43	39.5	n/a	n/a	0/1	0.0	n/a	n/a	2/6	33.3	n/a	n/a	9/18	50.0	n/a	n/a	0/1	0.0	n/a	n/a
Adults	36/102	35.3	n/a	n/a	3/7	42.9	n/a	n/a	3/9	33.3	n/a	n/a	14/42	33.3	n/a	n/a	0/1	0.0	n/a	n/a
Non-adults	10/31	32.3	n/a	n/a	0/0	0.0	n/a	n/a	1/1	100.0	n/a	n/a	7/22	31.8	n/a	n/a	0/1	0.0	n/a	n/a
Calculus																				
	Supine				Prone				Left				Right				Flexed			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Total</b>	<b>173/192</b>	<b>90.1</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>8/8</b>	<b>100.0</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>11/12</b>	<b>91.7</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>61/69</b>	<b>88.4</b>	n/a	n/a	<b>2/2</b>	<b>100.0</b>	n/a	n/a
Males	82/85	96.5	n/a	n/a	6/6	100.0	n/a	n/a	3/3	60.0	n/a	n/a	27/28	96.4	n/a	n/a	1/1	100.0	n/a	n/a
Females	70/76	92.1	n/a	n/a	1/1	100.0	n/a	n/a	8/8	100.0	n/a	n/a	26/28	96.4	n/a	n/a	1/2	50.0	n/a	n/a
Adults	165/168	98.2	n/a	n/a	7/7	100.0	n/a	n/a	11/11	100.0	n/a	n/a	53/57	93.0	n/a	n/a	2/3	66.7	n/a	n/a

Non-adults	17/27	63.0	n/a	n/a	1/1	100.0	n/a	n/a	0/1	0.0	n/a	n/a	13/17	76.5	n/a	n/a	0/1	0.0	n/a	n/a
<b>Caries</b>																				
	Supine				Prone				Left				Right				Flexed			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>88/232</b>	<b>37.9</b>	<b>211/3820</b>	<b>5.5</b>	<b>3/8</b>	<b>37.5</b>	<b>11/153</b>	<b>7.2</b>	<b>3/15</b>	<b>20.0</b>	<b>4/189</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>30/80</b>	<b>37.5</b>	<b>90/1564</b>	<b>5.7</b>	<b>2/3</b>	<b>66.7</b>	<b>7/35</b>	<b>20.0</b>
Males	38/86	44.2	85/1715	5.0	2/6	33.3	3/116	2.6	0/5	0.0	0/53	0.0	11/28	39.3	28/594	4.7	0/1	0.0	0/12	0.0
Females	32/75	42.7	90/1283	7.0	1/1	100.0	8/9	88.9	2/8	25.0	2/98	2.0	12/28	42.9	33/536	6.2	1/1	100.0	1/11	9.1
Adults	71/167	42.5	176/3036	5.8	3/7	42.9	11/125	8.8	2/14	14.3	2/154	1.3	23/60	38.3	61/1203	5.1	1/2	50.0	1/23	4.3
Non-adults	16/65	24.6	35/784	4.5	0/1	0.0	0/28	0.0	1/3	33.3	2/35	5.7	10/31	32.3	29/361	8.0	1/1	100.0	5/12	41.7
<b>Abscesses</b>																				
	Supine				Prone				Left				Right				Flexed			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>39/195</b>	<b>20.0</b>	<b>62/4207</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>4/8</b>	<b>50.0</b>	<b>8/212</b>	<b>3.8</b>	<b>2/14</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>5/289</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>15/75</b>	<b>20.0</b>	<b>31/1718</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>1/4</b>	<b>25.0</b>	<b>1/72</b>	<b>1.4</b>
Males	16/83	21.7	21/2079	1.0	3/6	50.0	6/179	3.3	2/5	40.0	5/92	5.4	9/28	32.1	18/733	2.5	0/1	0.0	0/23	0.0
Females	21/75	28.0	37/1659	2.2	1/1	100.0	2/28	7.1	0/8	0.0	0/183	0.0	6/28	21.4	13/677	1.9	1/2	50.0	1/41	2.4
Adults	37/162	22.8	58/3812	1.5	4/7	57.1	8/207	3.8	2/13	15.4	5/275	1.8	15/60	25.0	31/1479	2.1	1/3	33.3	1/64	1.6
Non-adults	2/33	6.1	4/395	1.01	0/1	0.0	0/5	0.0	0/1	0.0	0/14	0.0	0/15	0.0	0/239	0.0	0/1	0.0	0/8	0.0
<b>Ante-Mortem Tooth Loss (AMTL)</b>																				
	Supine				Prone				Left				Right				Flexed			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>51/195</b>	<b>26.1</b>	<b>169/4207</b>	<b>4.0</b>	<b>5/8</b>	<b>62.5</b>	<b>11/212</b>	<b>5.2</b>	<b>6/14</b>	<b>42.9</b>	<b>32/289</b>	<b>11.1</b>	<b>14/69</b>	<b>20.3</b>	<b>27/1718</b>	<b>1.6</b>	<b>3/4</b>	<b>75.0</b>	<b>16/72</b>	<b>22.2</b>
Males	21/83	25.3	95/2079	4.6	4/6	66.7	9/179	5.0	1/5	20.0	6/92	6.5	4/28	14.3	6/733	0.8	1/1	100.0	7/23	30.4
Females	26/75	34.7	68/1659	4.1	1/1	100.0	2/28	7.1	5/8	62.5	26/183	14.2	10/28	35.7	21/677	3.1	2/2	100.0	9/41	21.9
Adults	49/162	30.2	166/3812	4.4	5/7	71.4	11/207	5.3	6/13	46.1	32/275	11.6	14/60	23.3	27/1479	1.8	3/3	100.0	16/64	25.0
Non-adults	2/33	6.1	3/395	0.8	0/1	0.0	0/5	0.0	0/1	0.0	0/14	0.0	0/15	0.0	0/239	0.0	0/1	0.0	0/8	0.0
<b>Appendicular Degenerative Joint Disease (ADJD)</b>																				
	Supine				Prone				Left				Right				Flexed			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>166/265</b>	<b>62.6</b>	<b>551/1667</b>	<b>33.1</b>	<b>11/12</b>	<b>91.7</b>	<b>30/72</b>	<b>41.7</b>	<b>13/17</b>	<b>76.5</b>	<b>59/121</b>	<b>48.8</b>	<b>47/84</b>	<b>56.0</b>	<b>163/553</b>	<b>29.5</b>	<b>3/3</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>14/26</b>	<b>53.8</b>
Males	76/111	68.5	258/805	32.0	5/7	71.4	9/33	27.3	5/7	71.4	32/61	52.5	20/32	62.5	77/224	34.4	1/1	100.0	8/8	100.0
Females	67/95	70.5	248/720	34.4	3/4	75.0	17/33	51.5	7/9	77.8	23/56	41.1	24/40	60.0	83/305	27.2	2/2	100.0	6/18	33.3
<b>Spinal Degenerative Joint Disease (SDJD)</b>																				
	Supine				Prone				Left				Right				Flexed			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>166/208</b>	<b>79.8</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>8/11</b>	<b>72.7</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>12/13</b>	<b>92.3</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>48/67</b>	<b>71.6</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>3/3</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>
Males	75/94	79.8	n/a	n/a	6/7	85.7	n/a	n/a	3/4	75.0	n/a	n/a	19/28	67.9	n/a	n/a	1/1	100.0	n/a	n/a
Females	60/77	77.9	n/a	n/a	3/4	75.0	n/a	n/a	7/8	87.5	n/a	n/a	22/28	78.6	n/a	n/a	2/2	100.0	n/a	n/a
<b>Trauma</b>																				
	Supine				Prone				Left				Right				Flexed			
	CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR		CPR		TPR	
	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>25/427</b>	<b>5.8</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>1/16</b>	<b>6.25</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>3/19</b>	<b>15.8</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>8/128</b>	<b>6.2</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>0/6</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>

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Males	9/122	7.4	n/a	n/a	1/7	14.3	n/a	n/a	1/7	14.3	n/a	n/a	4/32	12.5	n/a	n/a	0/1	0.0	n/a	n/a
Females	9/106	8.5	n/a	n/a	0/4	0.0	n/a	n/a	2/9	22.2	n/a	n/a	4/41	9.8	n/a	n/a	0/2	0.0	n/a	n/a
Adults	21/301	7.0	n/a	n/a	1/12	8.3	n/a	n/a	3/18	16.7	n/a	n/a	8/86	9.3	n/a	n/a	0/3	0.0	n/a	n/a
Non-adults	4/132	3.0	n/a	n/a	0/4	0.0	n/a	n/a	0/5	0.0	n/a	n/a	0/46	0.0	n/a	n/a	0/3	0.0	n/a	n/a

Table 5: Crude and true prevalence rates of skeletal stress indicators for each body position

For Peer Review