Burials and Political Boundaries in the Avebury Region, North Wiltshire

Sarah Semple

The chalk downland of North Wiltshire is famous for a concentration of surviving prehistoric remains. Anglo-Saxon activity, evident in the archaeological, historical and place-name record, has to some extent been overlooked. A recent reappraisal of the burial record in the Avebury region suggests that the burials of early medieval date form a distinctive and unusual group. This paper discusses the funerary evidence and suggests that certain distinctive traits may be explained through the historical background of the region as a contested political frontier throughout the sixth to eighth centuries.

Introduction

Although recent publications have discussed Anglo-Saxon presence and culture in Wiltshire with great effect (Eagles 1994; Eagles 2001), early medieval burials from the Avebury region have not as yet been subject to detailed scrutiny. On first appraisal the burial evidence seems both rare and undiagnostic, but close investigation of the confusing and often contradictory eighteenth- and nineteenth-century antiquarian accounts indicates that more Anglo-Saxon burials have been exposed than previously supposed. Furthermore, they form a very distinctive group, comprising mainly single isolated interments positioned in relation to prehistoric monuments. Table 1 lists all known Anglo-Saxon burials from a 20km² study-area around the modern village of Avebury (Fig. 1), and detailed descriptions are presented in Appendix Ai. Appendix Aii presents a range of possible Anglo-Saxon funerary sites. These have not been included in the analysis but are introduced into the discussion for comparative purposes.

The predominance in the burial record of intrusive interments in prehistoric barrows could be argued to reflect a bias produced by intense antiquarian activity in Wiltshire, which concentrated on the numerous up-

Table 1   Anglo-Saxon burials in the Avebury study area. (See Fig. 1 and Appendix Ai).

|	Site	No. Burials	Sex	Type	Date	Monument	Position
1	Roundway 3	1	male	primary barrow burial	C7		central
2	Roundway 6	1	?	secondary inhumation of round barrows	?	conjoined pair	central
3	Roundway 7	1	female	secondary inhumation	LC7/EC8	round barrow	central
4	Kings Play Down	1	male	secondary inhumation	C7?		central?
5	Yatesbury 1	1	male	primary barrow burial	C7		central?
6	Yatesbury 2	2	female	secondary inhumation	LC7	round barrow	central?
	(double grave)		male	secondary inhumation	LC7	round barrow	central
7	Thornhill	?	?	secondary inhumations	C6	round barrow	?
8	Silbury Hill	1	?	secondary inhumation	?	unique monument	central
9	Bassett Down	2	male	no monument/ marker	C6		
10	Overton 6	1	?	secondary cremation	?	round barrow	disturbed
11	Overton 7	1	?	secondary inhumation	?	round barrow	NNE
12	Overton 6b	4	male	secondary inhumation	C6	round barrow	SSW
			? juvenile	secondary inhumation	/		SW
			male	secondary inhumation	C6		central
			female	secondary inhumation	C5/C6		central
13	East Kennett	1	male	secondary inhumation	LC6–C7	round barrow	central
14	White Horse	1	male	secondary inhumation	?	round barrow	
15	Barbury Castle	?	?2	multiple inhumations	?	hillfort	in rampart
16	Ogbourne St. Andrew	1	male	secondary inhumation	C9	round barrow	central
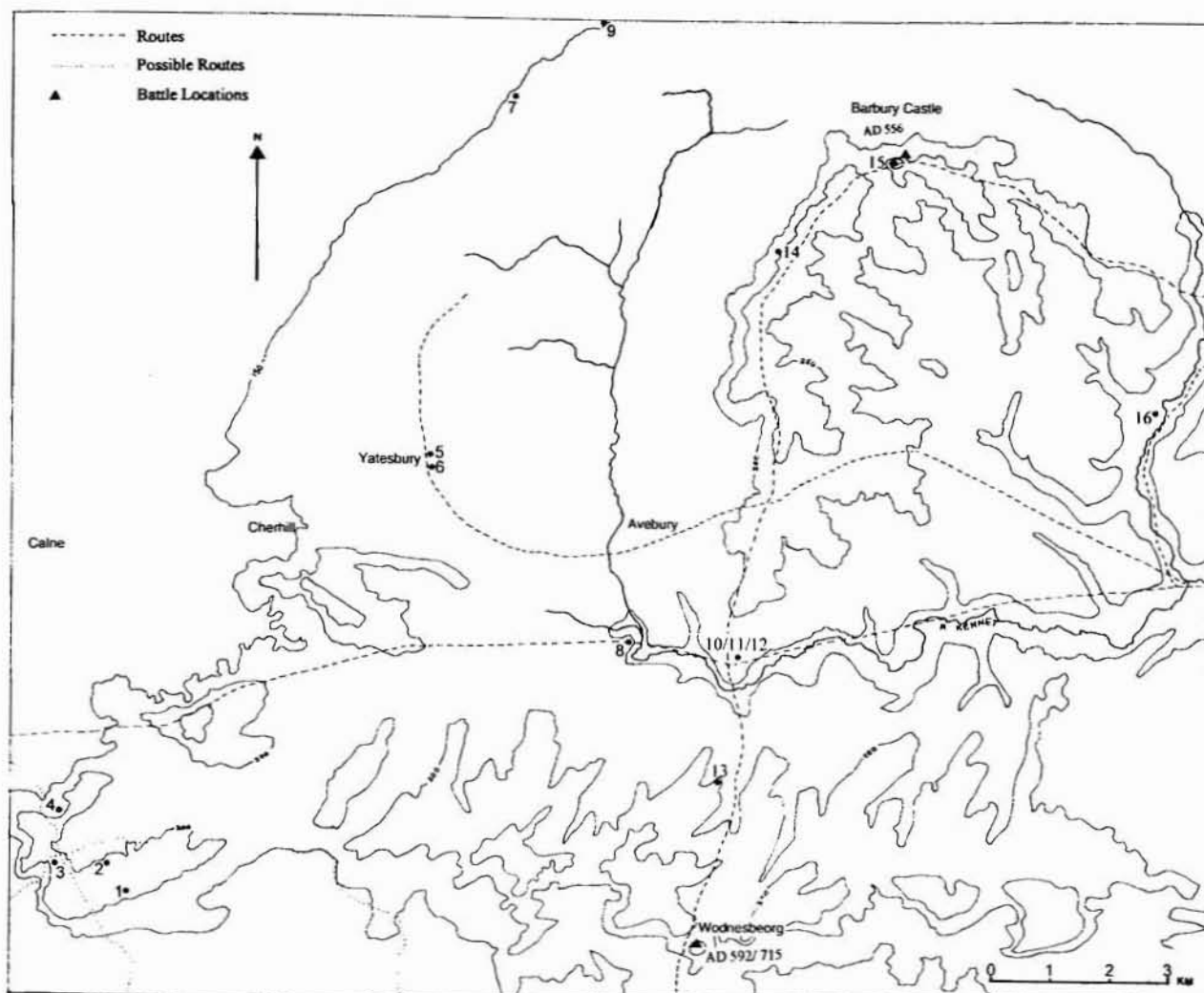
Fig. 1. The Avebury Study Area, burials and battle sites.

standing barrows and monument complexes of pre-historic date. In response, this study endeavours to integrate antiquarian reports with the Wiltshire Sites and Monuments Record and new information from recent field survey and excavation. Whilst this approach may not wholly compensate for such a bias, it is clear in the light of new discoveries that secondary burial remains a very distinctive aspect, occurring in this region rather more frequently than in other areas of England.

Analysis

A significant number of Anglo-Saxon burials in the study area are placed in relation to prehistoric monuments and the corpus is likewise dominated by single, isolated burials. Burials associated with prehistoric monuments, account for 80% of the known funerary record. Of these, nine are associated with prehistoric round barrows

(including a barrow with a central chamber or cist); one burial made use of a long mound (Roundway 6);[1] a possible cemetery was located in the ramparts of Barbury Castle hillfort; and finally a single possible Anglo-Saxon burial utilised the summit of Silbury Hill (see Appendix Ai for full descriptions).

The large number of surviving prehistoric monuments within the Avebury region could account for the ab-normally high percentage of early medieval intrusive burials. However, when the range of prehistoric monu-ments used for burial is examined in relation to the range and frequency of prehistoric monument types in the area; it is apparent that certain forms or types are selected more commonly for burial purposes than others.

Although the types of prehistoric monuments utilised as burial foci are diverse, the frequency of round barrows shows that the early medieval population felt a strong preference for this particular monument type (concurring with the national trends in early medieval monument

reuse identified by Williams 1997). In contrast no burials associated with stone circles, stone rows or standing stones have been identified, despite a density of these monument types in the Avebury region. At a national level, the use of stone circles or standing stones as early medieval funerary foci is extremely rare, occurring possibly at Little Rollright (Oxfordshire); Stonehenge (Wiltshire); Yeavering (Northumberland) and Wade's Stone, Barnaby (North Yorkshire).[2] The absence of reference to megaliths in the Avebury region is interesting, suggesting a lack of concern for these highly conspicuous relict remains, or perhaps a lack of recognition that these were ancient, man-made monuments.[3]

Although the use of long barrows for secondary burial is frequent in Wessex as a whole (Williams 1997, 7 fig. 3), within the study area only one of a potential twenty-eight to thirty-eight long mounds were utilised (Barker 1984, fig. 1), (Roundway 6, see Appendix Ai). This suggests, not only, that round barrows were preferred, but that the selection of long barrows for burial was perhaps based on criteria other than form (such as size or view-shed). Similarly, of the four hillforts and two Neolithic enclosures in the study area, only one has provided evidence for secondary burial and these inhumations are undated (Barbury Castle, see Appendix Ai). A separate find of Anglo-Saxon weapons at Barbury Castle implies the hillfort may have been a significant location in the early medieval period. The burials in the rampart could be of similar date, but this potential association remains uncertain.[4] If indeed, the extended inhumations from the ramparts are Anglo-Saxon, it remains the case that prehistoric enclosures in the area were rarely used as funerary locations and that factors other than the monument form perhaps influenced the selection of this particular site for funerary purposes.

The possible burial from Silbury Hill (Appendix Ai) is unusual, as is the secondary burial from East Kennett (placed in a stone-chambered barrow, Appendix Ai) and its potential parallel at Overton Hill (see Appendix Aii-Overton c). All three examples reflect the unique and esoteric nature of some forms of Anglo-Saxon secondary burial, and indeed the experimental variety apparent in the seventh-century funerary record as a whole (Geake 2002). In all three cases the investment of effort was high, whether conducting an interment on the summit of Silbury Hill or breaking open a stone chamber, and for this reason these burials may be considered as prestigious or high-status despite an absence of elaborate grave-goods.

Nationally, the use of prehistoric monuments is rare in the fifth and eighth centuries, but more common in the late sixth to seventh centuries (Blair 1994, 32 n. 104; Williams 1997), although it should be born in mind that this pattern is probably a reflection of the burial record as a whole in this period. In the Avebury area, although the date range follows a similar pattern, secondary burial can be seen as a predominant and constant aspect of

funerary practice from the sixth through to the eighth century, with one example of late ninth-/ tenth-century date. This long-lived popularity concurs with the high frequency of the practice in this area indicating a strong regional predilection for placing burials in and around prehistoric monuments.

The second striking aspect of the burial record is the frequency of isolated barrow burial, accounting for 56–69 % of known sites. Two double burials are known (Yatesbury 2 and Bassett Down); a group of four was identified at Overton Hill (Overton 6b) and two sites are cemeteries of unknown size (Thornhill and Barbury Castle) (see appendix Ai for all sites discussed). Where datable evidence is available it is possible to argue that the multiple burial sites are sixth-century, and that isolated burial is a feature of the late sixth to seventh centuries and later.

Female burials are rare in the study area. Overall, the ratio of unknown to male to female is 7:10:3. Of the three known female burials (see Overton 6b, Yatesbury 2 and Roundway 7), two are secondary barrow burials in the range c.670–700 (if not later), and chronologically these appear at a time when male isolated burial (primary or secondary) has diminished in frequency. The male burial from Ogbourne St. Andrew is a very unusual late ninth-/ tenth-century example of monument reuse (see Appendix Ai for full descriptions).

A pattern emerges of a region in which the funerary use of prehistoric barrows was a prominent tradition. Initially used for communal burial (Overton 6b and Thornhill), prehistoric monuments, in particular round barrows, became a favoured location for isolated seventh-century male burials (East Kennett and possibly Kings Play Down), and towards the late seventh century for rare, wealthy, isolated female burials (Roundway 7 and Yatesbury 2). Although elsewhere, single primary and secondary barrow burials attracted satellite inhumations or were placed within existing cemeteries (Williams 1998), it seems that in the late sixth to early eighth centuries in North Wiltshire barrow burials were isolated interments. Although this may be due to a lack of investigation in the immediate area around the barrows in the nineteenth century, recent excavations at Roundway 7 did not reveal associated satellite burials around the monument (Semple and Williams 2000; Semple and Williams forthcoming).

Selection

It has been suggested that factors other than monument form could be significant in the selection of prehistoric monuments for burial. The region is remarkable for its wealth of surviving monuments, and the downland is a palimpsest of surviving ancient remains. This alone argues that a combination of factors must lie behind the choice of a specific monument as a location for burial.
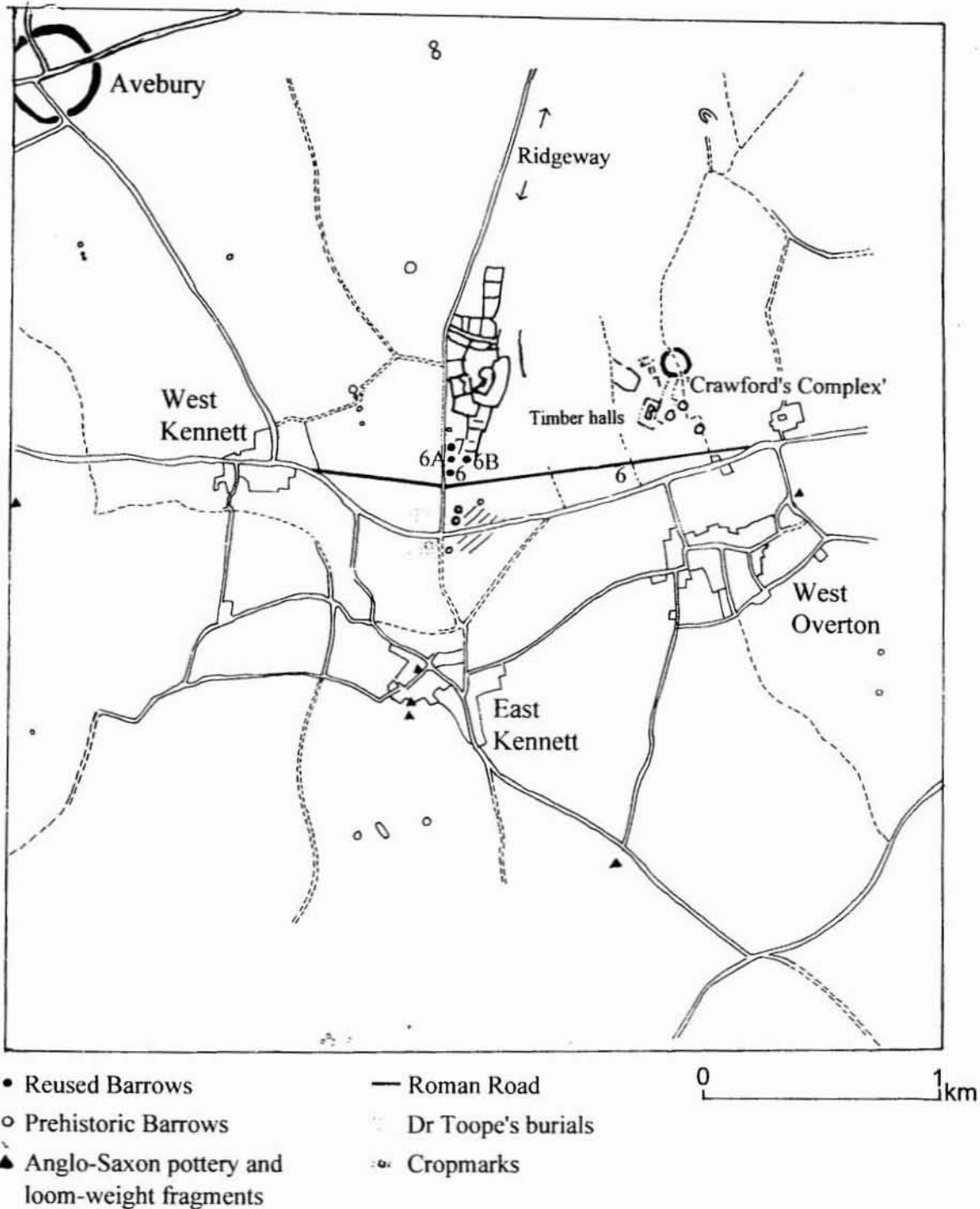
- • Reused Barrows
- ○ Prehistoric Barrows
- ▲ Anglo-Saxon pottery and
  loom-weight fragments

— Roman Road
∷ Dr Toope's burials
⊶ Cropmarks

0 _____ 1 km

Fig. 2 The grouping of burials at Overton Hill, including definite and possible burials and settlement evidence of Anglo-Saxon date.

Physical preferences

At Overton Hill, four barrows may have been used for burial in the early medieval period; three Roman and one Bronze Age (Overton 6, 6a, 6b and 7). These were chosen from an extensive group of round barrows that dominate the intersection point of the Ridgeway and the Bath to Mildenhall Roman road (Figs. 1 and 2). Excavation of Barrows 6 and 6a produced evidence of disturbed Roman or Romano-British cremations and possibly the disturbed remains of Anglo-Saxon inhumations, suggesting that the barrows had been robbed in antiquity. An intrusive child-burial, located to the north north-east of Barrow 7, may possibly date to the

Anglo-Saxon period. Barrow 6b produced four intrusive burials: an undated child burial, a burial with items of female dress and two sixth-century weapon burials. Barrow 6b, possibly the most intensively used, was significantly larger than 6, 6a or 7: with a diameter of 20 m, it was double the size of the Roman tumuli. This suggests that size may have been significant in the selection of this barrow for secondary burial. Similarly at Yatesbury, where three secondary interments are evidenced from two barrows (Yatesbury 1 and 2), both of the monuments selected were substantial barrows. If the antiquarian description is correct, the later double-burial was inserted into one of a pair of barrows with an equal height of c. 6m (20ft), making them the largest and most impressive in the locality. It would seem that large prehistoric barrows were particularly appealing.

Topographical preferences

Just as the evidence implies forms of physical preference, study of the landscape location of the burials and cemeteries in the region suggests changing locational preferences during the sixth to ninth centuries.

The group of burials on Overton Hill is, at present, the earliest Anglo-Saxon cemetery in the study area (placed in the early sixth century by Dickinson 1979, although Eagles 1986, dates the female to the late fifth). Their position on the downland in proximity to both the Roman road and the Ridgeway is certainly intentional (see below). They were not, however, isolated from centres of population (Fig. 2). The visibly prominent barrow group lies c. 800 m from the modern village of East Kennett, where spot finds of Anglo-Saxon loom-weights and pottery from the core of the modern settlement argue for Anglo-Saxon activity (Wilts. SMR no. SU16NW405). A kilometre to the west, excavations of the late neolithic palisade enclosure at West Kennett produced significant quantities of Anglo-Saxon pottery from the enclosure area, suggesting settlement activity close to the River Kennet (Whittle 1997, 83). Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the barrows lie in immediate proximity to a curvilinear complex and a series of post-built rectangular structures, identified from aerial photographs. These are suggested to represent sub-Roman/-Anglo-Saxon activity (Fowler 2000, 'Crawford's complex' 55–56, figs. 4.2 and 4.3 and pl. xiv). The Overton Hill burials, therefore, lie amid a concentration of settlement evidence, and whilst it is not possible to tie the burials to a specific contemporary settlement, the concentration of evidence suggests that they were placed within a populated and settled landscape.

By the late sixth to early seventh centuries, in contrast, cemetery and burial locations appear very different. Both Thornhill and Bassett Down, one the location of a secondary barrow burial and one a cemetery without a monumental focus (both of probable sixth-century date), occupy positions on the edge of the chalk escarpment

(Fig. 1). They may have been located to take advantage of extensive views of the clay vale and, in the instance of Thornhill, they exploited a prominent ancient monument, which would have been readily identifiable from the valley bottom. Whilst no evidence has yet been recovered for early Anglo-Saxon settlement on the clay lowland beneath Bassett Down or Thornhill, extensive survey and excavation to the south-west, in the parish of Compton Bassett, has demonstrated long-lived intensive settlement at the foot of the chalk escarpment, with finds of chaff-tempered pottery from Andrew's Patch and the churchyard of St. Swithun's, Compton Bassett (Reynolds *et al.* forthcoming). Moving north-east along the base of the escarpment towards Thornhill and Bassett Down, the landscape is marked by the shrunken medieval settlements at Highway and Clevancy and deserted settlements at Bupton and Woodhill. Although apparently significantly later, these demonstrate the intensity of settlement at the base of the chalk escarpment in the late Anglo-Saxon period and after. It is plausible that cemetery location on the crest of the chalk escarpment could have been chosen for a visible inter-relationship with lowland settlement.

It can be suggested that these cemeteries are more removed from areas of settlement than the burials at Overton Hill. Their positioning on the escarpment edge may have created distance through the use of a high location that was marginally less accessible (comparable to Sam Lucy's model for cemetery evidence in East Yorkshire where, she argues that cemeteries became more distant from settlement over time (Lucy 1998, 99). These funerary locations are not, however, isolated: they remained in visual contact with areas of lowland settlement.

The primary, male, seventh-century barrow burial on Roundway Down (Roundway 3) also exploits a position on the upper edge of the chalk escarpment (Figs. 1 and 4), providing wide views of Bishops Cannings and All Cannings, suggested by place-name and archaeological evidence to be an area of Anglo-Saxon settlement (*Caninge* 1086 **DB**. OE *Caningas*, 'the people of Cana' see EPNS XVI, 249–50). Anglo-Saxon finds from Bishops Cannings include a spindle-whorl, coins and metalwork (Wilts. SMR SU065W401–3, SU065W405–7). The barrows' marginally higher position, slightly removed from the very edge of the scarp top, renders its view very expansive whilst granting it a strong physical prominence. The importance of this male burial is suggested both by the presence of a gaming board and by its topographic position.

In contrast, also in the seventh century, we see the beginning of funerary activity at Yatesbury (Yatesbury 1), a topographically unremarkable location on the broad sweep of chalk downland east of Avebury (Fig. 3). Clearly not situated on the edge of the chalk escarpment, with a view-shed over the lowland; the positioning of this burial may be due to a significant new factor. Recent research

excavations at Yatesbury have provided evidence for the existence of a late Roman circular enclosure (enclosure 3), utilised periodically throughout the Anglo-Saxon period (Reynolds *et al.* forthcoming). The place-name is now interpreted as 'gated fortified enclosure' (*Etesberie* 1086 **DB, OE** *geat + burh*, 'fortified enclosure with a pass or gap' see EPNS XVI), archaeologically attested by excavated evidence for a route-way passing through the north and south entrances of enclosure 3. This route is a *herepath*, running from Marlborough to Wroughton, passing through the fortified burh at Avebury and a second fortified burh at Yatesbury (Reynolds 1995, Reynolds 2001). Whilst evidence for seventh-century Anglo-Saxon settlement at Yatesbury has not been forthcoming, the circular enclosure and route were perhaps significant enough in this period to attract these three burials. The placing of the male primary burial (Yatesbury 1) is driven potentially by the proximity of the *herepath*, if not also prompted by some form of immediate settlement or military activity within the re-fortified enclosure. The burial may have been placed at Yatesbury to exploit the physical/visual impact created by the enclosure and its surrounding prehistoric barrows, as the road cut through the complex. In the late seventh century a double burial of a man and woman was inserted into one of a pair of Bronze Age barrows (Yatesbury 2). These were located

parallel to the *herepath* less than a hundred metres from it (Fig. 3). The most southerly was used for the secondary burial, arguably the most physically prominent on the approach to Yatesbury from Avebury. Immediate visible impact was clearly a key factor in the selection of both of these burial locations, and proximity to a major communication-route had emerged as a primary criterion in funerary location.

By the late seventh to early eighth century, evidence for burial within the region is very limited. The Roundway Down female (Roundway 7) has been dated to c.700 on stylistic grounds and may be marginally later (Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 47–9 and Appendix Ai). The barrow selected for this interment was positioned away from the edge of the chalk escarpment (Fig. 4), without a lowland view-shed, and seems very isolated. The monument would, however, have appeared imposing to anyone moving across the shallow basin of downland running south-west from Avebury to Roundway Hill. The modern path immediately north of the barrow drops from the chalk upland through a dry valley below Oliver's Castle hillfort. At the base of the chalk escarpment is a large Roman villa complex (NMR ST96 SE2 Unique Identifier 212192). The possibility that a route to the villa once ran across the downland past Roundway 7 can be suggested (Fig. 4), and is supported by the existence of a track in the
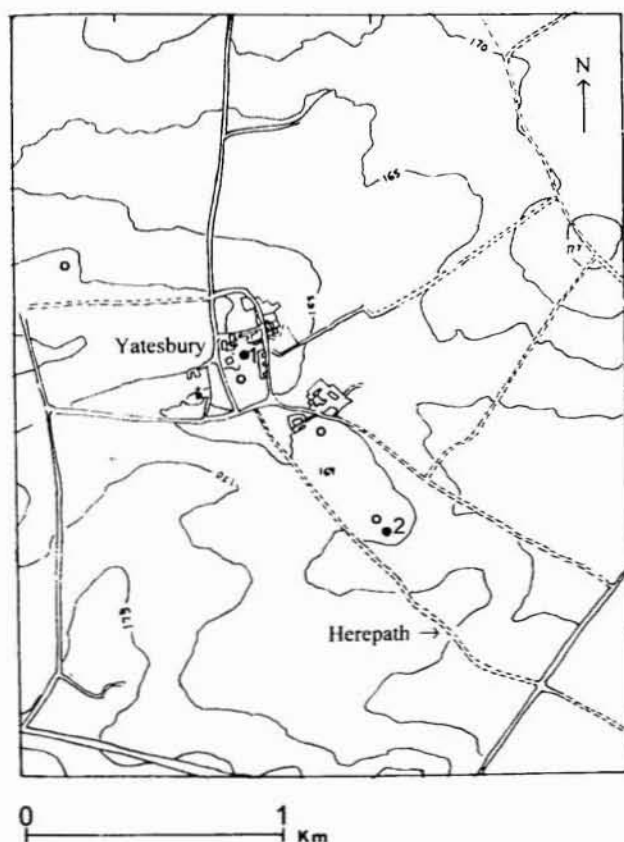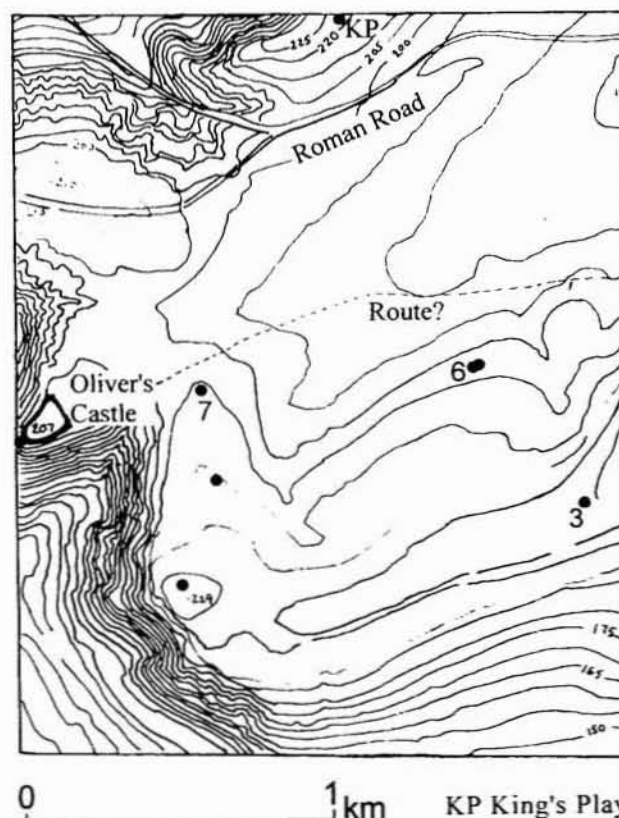

Fig. 3 Yatesbury 1 and 2

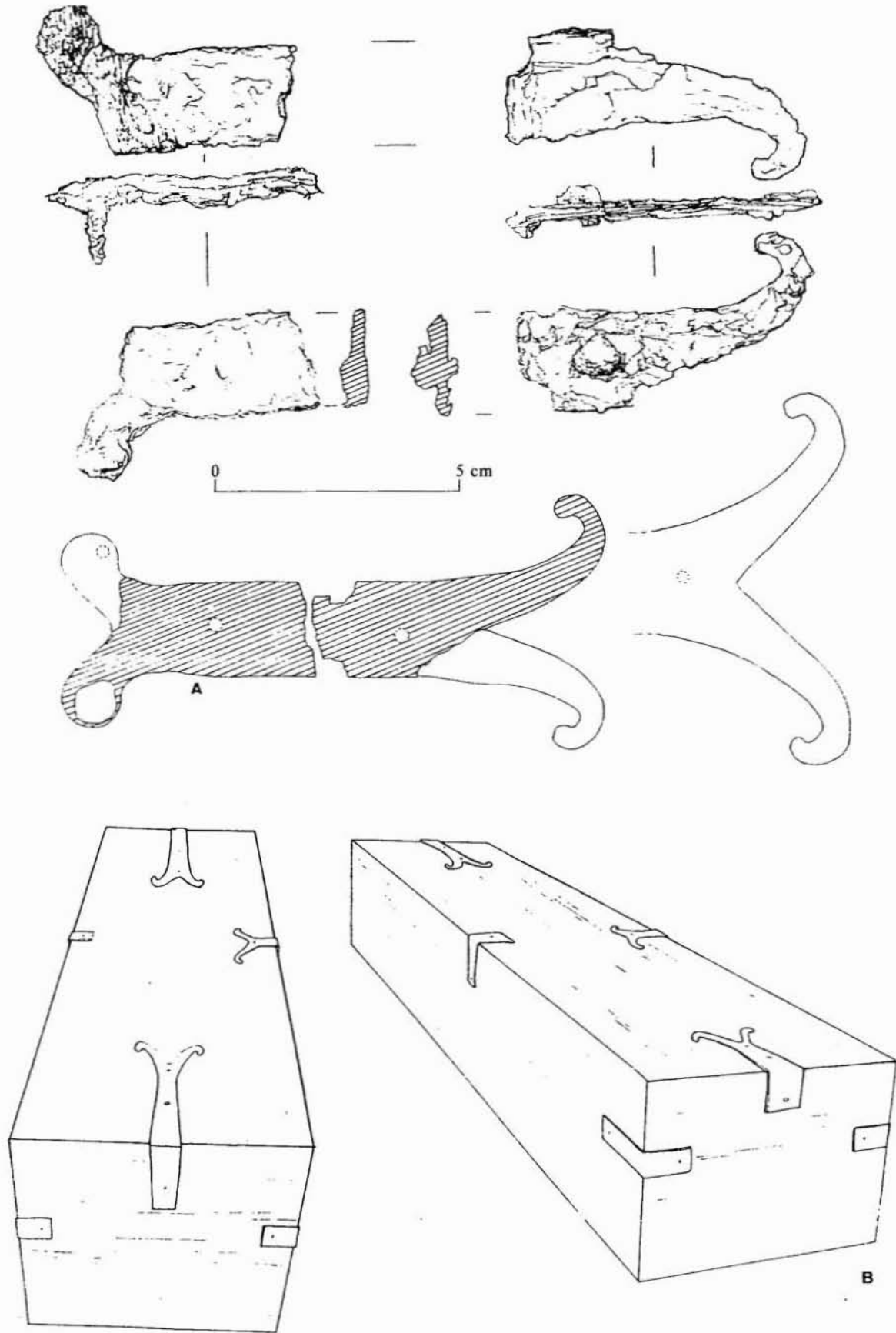Fig. 4 Roundway Down 3, 6 and 7 and Kings Play Hill

Sarah Semple

Fig. 5 (continued on facing page) The coffin fittings from Ogbourne St. Andrew and their parallels. Fittings from Ogbourne St Andrew including a reconstruction of the clamp (A); reconstruction of the possible arrangements of fittings on the coffin (B);
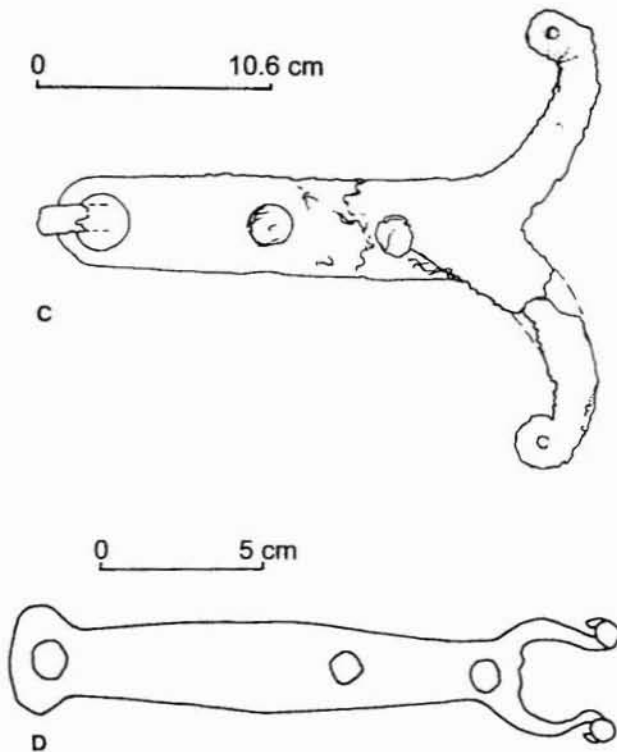
Fig. 5 (continued). The coffin fittings from Ogbourne St. Andrew and their parallels. C: Example from York Minster (M1654 from charnel pit XK 216), (Kjølbye-Biddle 1995, 515 and fig. 187); D: Type 2 angle-bracket terminals, St. Oswald' Priory, Gloucestershire (Webber 1999, 210–211. fig. 5.24).

prehistoric mound in the ninth to tenth century is an extraordinary event. Although 'positive' associations of burials with prehistoric barrows do occur in the eighth and ninth centuries (e.g. Kemp Howe, East Yorkshire and Bevis Grave, Hampshire), by the ninth to tenth centuries a burial associated with a prehistoric barrow is more likely to have had negative connotations (Reynolds 1998; Reynolds 1999). Deviant or criminal burials associated with prehistoric monuments usually show signs of trauma as well as other clear diagnostic features such as shallow or haphazard burial, prone body positions and evidence of tied hands (Reynolds 1998). No such features are apparent in the Ogbourne St. Andrew burial. The coffin-fittings suggest a high-status burial, there were no signs of trauma, the burial was supine and the grave was not shallow or cursory. This seems to be an extraordinarily late example of secondary barrow burial, and possibly represents the very last vestiges of the seventh-century practice of interring isolated, centrally-placed, prestigious burials in prehistoric barrows.
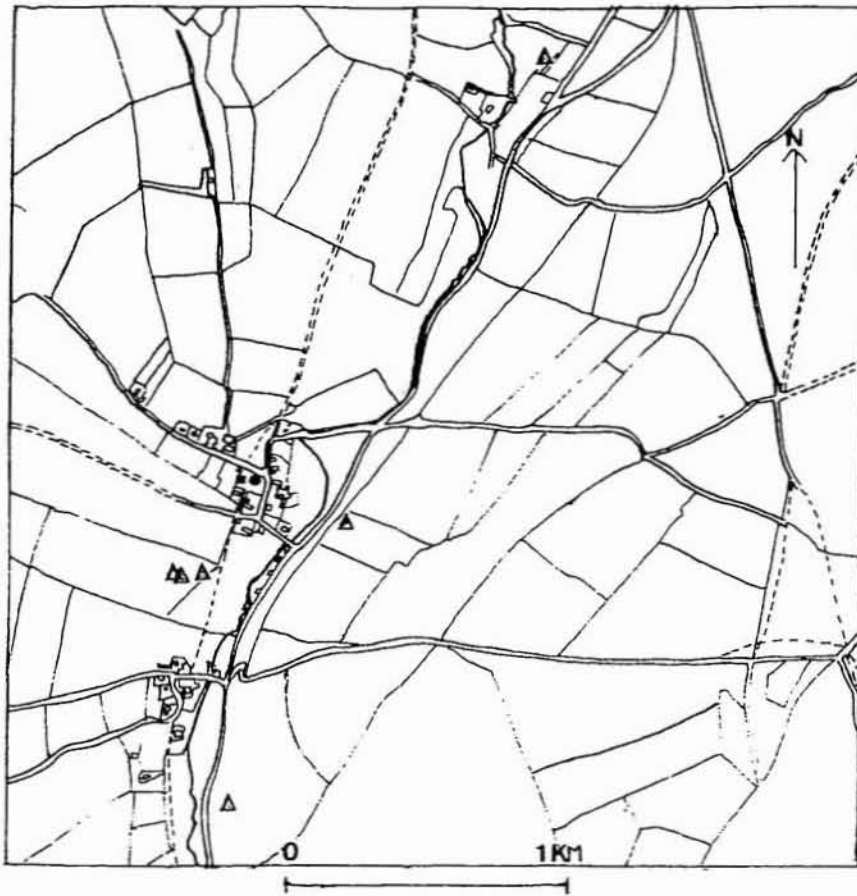
The barrow selected for this ninth-century interment occupied a prominent position on a low rise at the heart of a shallow coomb (Figs. 1 and 6). Finds made along the River Og indicate middle and late Anglo-Saxon activity along the valley bottom, but not in the vicinity of the burial, arguing for its isolation from contemporary settlement (Fig. 6). (Wilts. SMR SU 17SE401–3). Although now within the churchyard of St. Andrews', no evidence has been found to suggest a church existed here before the Norman period (Pevsner and Cherry 1991, 365). The burial once again was placed in a physically prominent barrow, next to a route-way, ensuring immediate visibility and presence to anyone moving along this Roman road.

Groupings

The predominance of single primary or secondary barrow burials in this part of North Wiltshire implies a series of single funerary events in the landscape, especially given the lack of evidence for associated satellite burials or cemeteries. However, some of these single burials could themselves be suggested to belong to significant groupings or clusters.

Although the secondary burials at Overton Hill initially appear isolated, study of antiquarian accounts suggests the discovery of a significant density of human remains from the area, which could suggest a large multi-focal, relatively long-lived funerary site (Fig. 2). In addition to the use of four barrows for a number of secondary burials, Stukeley records what seems to be an Anglo-Saxon secondary burial in a barrow within a stone chamber or cairn (Appendix Aii-Overton c). This was described as south of the main cluster of barrows, but its location remains unknown. To the south-west of the Overton Hill burials, records survive of an investigation by Dr. Toope

nineteenth century (see 1st ed. OS and Smith). The use of this particular barrow on Roundway Down could relate to the monument's proximity to a significant thoroughfare.

The latest non-churchyard burial from the North Wiltshire study area is potentially also the latest secondary barrow burial in Anglo-Saxon England (Cunnington 1885, 345–8). The Ogbourne St. Andrew coffin fittings can be seen to share stylistic features with coffin and chest fittings from Winchester Old and New Minsters, York Minster and St. Oswald's Priory, Gloucestershire and the method of coffin construction is closely related to examples from St. Oswald's Priory (Fig. 5). This presents a chronological range from the ninth to the eleventh centuries with stylistic comparisons suggesting the manufacture of the fittings somewhere between the ninth and tenth centuries. An earlier antecedent sharing strong stylistic affinities was found at Paderborn Cathedral (Stiegemann and Wemhoff 1999, 339, VI.18). This late eighth-century example shows the possibility that this style of fitting could have a Carolingian origin.

The placing of this prestigious male burial within a

Sarah Semple

△ Settlement evidence
● Barrow burial

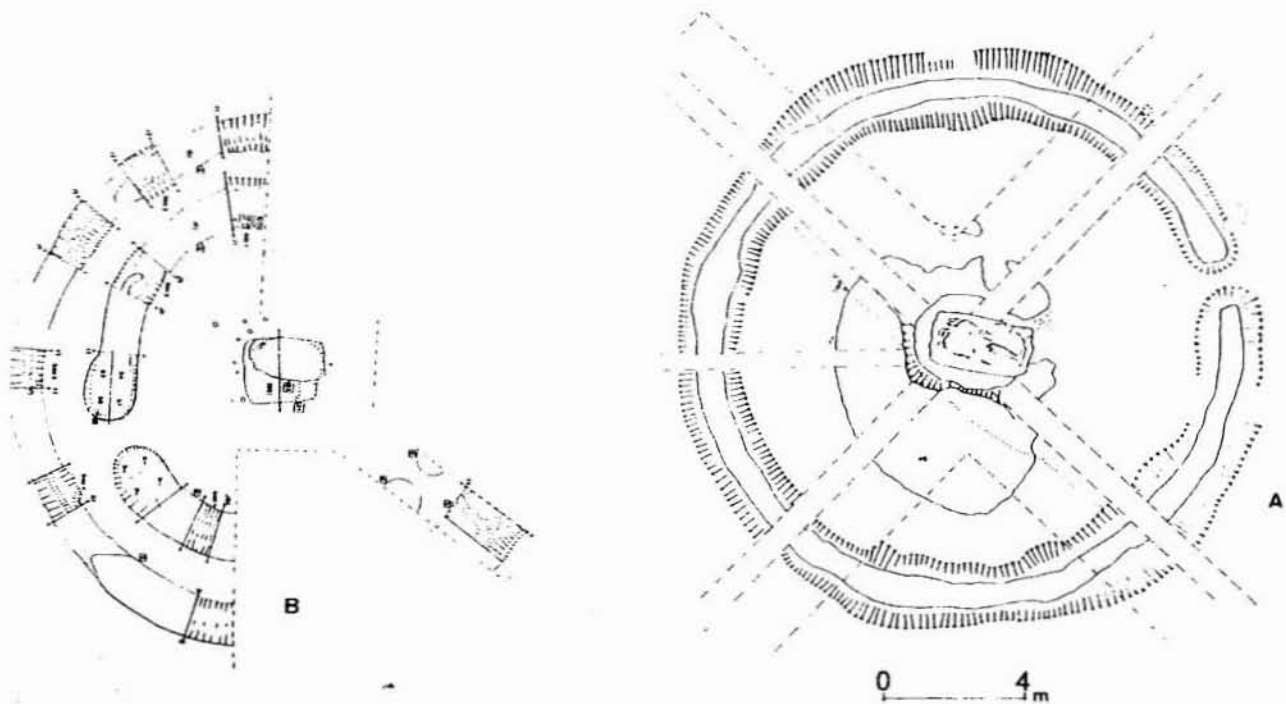*Fig. 6. Ogbourne St. Andrew: the barrow and adjacent settlement evidence.*

Fig. 7. A: Swallowcliffe Down (after Speake 1989); B: Roundway Down 7.

of Marlborough, who discovered a large number of human skeletons around the Sanctuary, a prehistoric stone circle (Appendix Aii-Overton d). The burials remain undated, but could represent further early medieval funerary activity. The Overton Hill burials are usually described as in proximity to the Ridgeway, a prehistoric route that was of great significance for communication line in the Anglo-Saxon period. However, the entire cluster of funerary remains actually lie around a major crossroads, the place where the Ridgeway crosses the Mildenhall to Sandy Lane/ Verlucio Roman road, again a route in use in the Anglo-Saxon period (Fig. 2). Thus, this extensive complex of Anglo-Saxon secondary barrow-burials, mainly of the sixth century but with a possible seventh-century one to the south (and very possibly a conversion period flat-grave cemetery around the Sanctuary to the south-west), was sited at a location which commanded views of two major communication routes.

Roundway 7 lies in an area of downland that has produced four burials; two of certain Anglo-Saxon date (Roundway 3 and Roundway 7), and two more as yet undated but ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon period (Roundway 6 and Kings Play Down) (Fig. 4). Two are secondary burials and two primary barrow burials. Two have significantly prestigious grave assemblages. The datable burials suggest funerary use of this portion of downland in the seventh to early eighth centuries. Roundway 7 has already been suggested to lie next to a route, and a second ancient thoroughfare of importance runs east–west across the down close to Kings Play Hill (the Wessex Ridgeway). The visual dominance of the burials in relation to the routes across this space may have been a necessary part of seventh-century funerary display with the Roundway Down burials used as highly visible symbols of authority within this discrete area of landscape.

The burials at Yatesbury also form a cluster, structured to create an impressive message (Fig. 3). Yatesbury 1 was an addition to an area already marked by large relict prehistoric monuments, whilst the double burial Yatesbury 2 exploited a pair of Bronze Age barrows, the largest in the environs. All three barrows visually dominated the *herepath*, a major military thoroughfare, and the circular enclosure 3, which was re-fortified at a later period.

Evidence for the process of secondary burial

Although the use of Bronze Age barrows for secondary burial in the Anglo-Saxon period is common, many were excavated in the nineteenth century, and insight into the method of secondary burial is rarely available. The re-excavation of Roundway 7 was undertaken in part to ascertain details of the manner in which this secondary burial was made (Semple and Williams 2001). The excavations showed that this was a complex Bronze Age barrow, 14 m in diameter and over 3 m high (Fig. 7).

The barrow had been opened in the seventh century, entailing removal of approximately two thirds of the mound and clearance down to the chalk, in the process disturbing several secondary Bronze Age cremations. Once located, the central prehistoric chamber appears to have been emptied and enlarged to form a new deep square chamber. The recent excavations recovered many tiny broken pieces of Bronze Age pottery and cremated bone from the chamber as well as a broken portion of a flint knife, suggesting that the opening of the barrow in the early medieval period was undertaken in a relatively ruthless manner. The broken and scattered state of the Bronze Age human bone in the *in situ* Anglo-Saxon grave-fill indicated that the skeleton, too, was treated with little care. This is paralleled at Swallowcliffe Down in South Wiltshire, where the remains of the primary Bronze Age burial were also fragmentary and broken, suggesting an equal lack of respect in the manner of exhumation (Fig. 6). This method of removal, in conjunction with the elaborate assemblages and the prominent landscape locations of each burial, suggests that these burials were intended in all senses to be powerful and dramatic events.

Discussion

The evidence from North Wiltshire reflects a landscape marked predominantly by single funerary events that mainly utilised ancient prehistoric remains, and took place during the sixth to eighth centuries. Some burials are clearly significant–perhaps elite–accompanied by items indicating prestige and perhaps aristocratic connections (Yatesbury 1/ 2 and Roundway 7). Other primary and secondary barrow burials, although materially poor, can be suggested to be analogous to the graves with more materially rich indicators, through their isolation, visual prominence and impressive topographical presence (Roundway I and Kings Play Down). During the sixth to eighth centuries it seems that monument size, visibility and route proximity all increased in importance, and a growing ostentation in the assemblage and the burial location as well as the method of interment can also be discerned.

The burial record is small compared to the regions further east of Avebury, and can only represent a minute proportion of the population that occupied this landscape during the fifth to eighth centuries. Four burials from Overton Down represent the sixth and possibly the late fifth century, and lie in an area with extensive settlement evidence, some of which may be contemporary with the burial group (Fowler 2000, 'Headland's' 59–60, fig. 42, Pl. XV). The Overton burials are the only burials from a 200km^2 area to date to this period.

The distribution of Anglo-Saxon-style burial sites in Wessex suggests a concentration of fifth to sixth century activity in South Wiltshire and to the east of the Avebury

region, around and to the north-east of *Cunetio*. In the Avebury region, however, comparatively minimal activity of this date is in evidence (Yorke 1995, fig. 4; Chadwick Hawkes 1989, fig. 27). Battles are recorded against the British in 556 and 592, the former at Barbury Castle (ASC(A) 556), the latter at Woden's Barrow (Adam's Grave) (ASC(A) 592). Although such early chronicle entries are untrustworthy (Yorke 1995, 32–4), broadly speaking they suggest that, in the sixth century, the Avebury region was an area of conflict between the *Gewissae* and British–a form of margin or corridor of British and Anglo-Saxon interface (Eagles 1994, 26–8 and most particularly Eagles 2001). The evidence for late fourth- to fifth-century Romano-British activity in this area is particularly rich (Reynolds 2002), but only a minute proportion of funerary evidence has emerged, although undated burials from the region are suggested as Romano-British (Yorke 1995, fig. 4; Bruce Eagles pers comm). It is against this background that, in the late fifth and sixth centuries, a small number of people chose to dispose of relatives or members of their community in a significantly new fashion; inhuming their bodies in a group of ancient barrows at Overton Hill, and including with the burials weapons, jewellery and objects largely of continental origin and inspiration.

During the sixth to seventh centuries the proposed development of Anglo-Saxon control indicated by historic sources implies that the area came under concentrated Anglo-Saxon influence from the south (and probably from the east too, see Eagles 2001). The region continued as a contested area in the seventh century and by the late seventh century was disputed between the expanding kingdoms of Wessex and Mercia (Yorke 1995, 61–2). The granting of land within this region by both Mercian and West Saxon kings demonstrates how rapidly the control of the region fluctuated throughout the late seventh to eighth centuries (Yorke 1995, 61). More evocative still is the late seventh-century grant of privileges to Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury from Pope Sergius I, which was ratified by both Ine of Wessex and Aethelred of Mercia, and used to secure their agreement that Malmesbury should not suffer in the wars between these two kingdoms (B 105 and 106 and Edwards 1986, 1–19). In 715 Woden's barrow (Adam's Grave, see Fig. 1) was the setting for a battle between Wessex and Mercia (ASC 715), and in 802 control of North Wiltshire was ceded to Wessex after a decisive battle at Kempsford (Yorke 1995, 61–4; ASC (A) 802) (Fig. 1).

Sixth-century cemeteries are evident at Overton Hill (Overton 6b), Thornhill and Bassett Down, but moving into the late sixth and seventh centuries the burial record is dominated by single, isolated, primary and secondary inhumations–the burial at Kings Play Down; Roundway 3 a primary barrow burial accompanied by a gaming board; Yatesbury 1, a male primary barrow burial; and a male burial from East Kennett possibly of sixth to seventh-century date, accompanied by a sword (see Appendix

Ai). The population is thus represented by a handful of male burials, the topographic positioning of which is no less impressive than the large funerary monuments used (Fig. 1). These burials date to a period when historical sources suggest that West Saxon dominance or control of North Wiltshire was emerging (see Eagles 2001). It was also a time when aristocratic or elite families began to illustrate their authority through a range of archaeologically tangible methods. In mortuary practice we begin to see innovative and prestigious burial assemblages such as that in Mound 1 at Sutton Hoo (Geake 1997, 126–7), the utilisation of substantial monumental markers, often ancient prehistoric remains (Welch 1992, 88–97; Blair 1994, 32–4 and Williams 1997), and overall, a growing complexity in all aspects of funerary ritual (Geake 1997, 129–30). Prestigious goods, (either imports or items of precious metalwork) in a funerary assemblage, have been generally accepted as indicators of a burial of significant social status (Arnold 1984, 280; 1988, 153–16). Although the interpretation of status from grave wealth is often viewed with suspicion, the use of barrows and rich artefact assemblages are processes used to set funerary remains apart from the rest of society (Loveluck 1995, 84). These burials were not; it seems, accompanied by rich assemblages, although gaming-boards do occur in rich graves such as Taplow, Buckinghamshire. However, Williams has clearly shown that the structural complexity of the funerary site and prime topographical positioning were key components of a special or 'high-status' burial in the sixth and seventh centuries (1999). It would seem plausible to suggest that this late sixth- to seventh-century group of burials from North Wiltshire may thus broadly evidence the tightening control of an elite group on a population who were denied similar forms of funerary ritual. The evidence best represents the increasing political control of a minority, rather than direct conquest and rule by an intrusive group, but it still supports the continuity of the region as a contested space where display was central to funerary practice and visibility of burial locations to local communities was of key importance.

In the late seventh century, the burial record is entirely comprised of isolated single barrow burials, with a double barrow burial at Yatesbury. These are ostentatious in their wealth, their immediate proximity to major thoroughfares, their use of prehistoric barrows and the increasing size of the ancient monuments selected for burial. Historical evidence suggests that the *Gewisse*, gradually forced out of the Upper Thames valley by Mercian expansion in the seventh century, endured a hard-fought campaign to keep this area of Wiltshire as a north-eastern frontier to their territory (Yorke 1995, 61–64). The complexity of the burial assemblages and the increasing size of the ancient monuments chosen, as well as their high visibility, might reflect this anxiety over territory, and indicate that the burials discussed are firmly a product of West Saxon funerary display. The positioning of both primary and secondary barrow burials was increasingly

influenced by the need for route proximity: immediate visibility to those travelling in the region. It is no coincidence that this is precisely the period in which we see the first law-codes express an increasing royal concern with controlling movement in the landscape.[5] These late seventh-century burials in North Wiltshire can be suggested as a physical manifestation of such emerging authoritarian concerns, visual signals to all travelling though the Wessex/Mercia frontier of the conflict for authority within the region. Reinforcing this, the ruthless disregard for the primary funerary deposit evidenced at Roundway 7 (paralleled at Swallowcliffe Down, further south) can be suggested as a further reflection of the overt signalling of authority in this charged political climate.

By the late seventh century, all aspects of funerary practice within the region seem motivated by a need to create the most ostentatious display possible. The late sixth- to seventh-century cemetery at Sutton Hoo, Suffolk is thought to encapsulate the defiant reaction of a pagan kingdom to the threat of Christianity (Carver 1998, 136). The late seventh-century burials in North Wiltshire are by no means as ostentatious; neither can they be described in explicitly pagan or Christian terms.[6] Nevertheless a parallel for the Sutton Hoo model can be suggested: elaborate primary and secondary barrow burials of the late seventh century were the product of defiance, but the *modus operandi* was the political rather than religious confrontation between kingdoms. Bonney once argued for a correlation between pagan cemeteries and administrative boundaries arguing that these boundaries were more ancient than previously surmised and that pagan burials/cemeteries were placed intentionally on these boundaries (1966, 1979). In Goodier's later national study the correlation between early cemeteries and later administrative divisions was relatively low (Goodier 1984, 12), and the concept as a whole is now disputed (Pollard and Reynolds 2002). However, it seems that burials may have been used as territorial markers in large corridors of landscape that were boundary zones or frontiers. In the seventh and eighth centuries the numbers of burials from the Avebury region are few, but they are grouped or clustered at specific points in the landscape: at junctions/crossroads or close to significant routes of communication.

The positioning of the Sutton Hoo cemetery exploits a site that overlooks a passing place or entrance to the East Anglian kingdom – the estuary of the River Deben (Williams 1999, 79–80). Several socially and religiously significant sixth- to seventh-century cemeteries from Sussex replicate this position on high ground overlooking tidal estuaries and entrances to navigable rivers (see for example Bishopstone and Slonk Hill, Sussex). In all cases, primary or prehistoric barrows marked the funerary location, thus ensuring visual prominence to any transport entering or leaving the estuary. The Wiltshire burial groups may thus be a 'land-locked' equivalent, burials positioned to exploit views of major communications, but also clustered at 'crisis-points' – exits/entrances into

territory.[7]

It is difficult to ascertain whether such burial groupings were generated purely through a growing need for secularised, political display at the territorial limits or whether 'liminality' or boundary zones were perceived as particularly apt for certain kinds of burials, perhaps ideologically powerful ones. In the early literature of Britain and Ireland sentinel burials are mentioned. These accounts refer to burials positioned on the territorial boundaries or frontiers of kingdoms, so that the dead man, who was considered alive and armed, would repel any real or supernatural threat to the kingdom.[8] O'Brien has suggested that similar beliefs to the emotive expression by Tírechán 'for the pagans, armed in their tombs, have their weapons ready', may have generated burials such as Taplow in Buckinghamshire and Lowbury in Oxfordshire (1999, 56) and similar ideas have been expressed by Williams with particular reference to wealthy seventh-century barrow burials (1999). Elsewhere the author has argued that Anglo-Saxon conceptions of death included belief in a living/dead existence in the place of burial, perhaps particularly with reference to a dead person dwelling in the grave or burial mound.[9]

It seems possible that the burial record in Wiltshire in the seventh and early eighth centuries was the product of an intensely contentious political climate: the burial monuments ostentatiously used as physical symbols of power to denote territorial borders. At the same time, however, such funerary acts could have been underpinned by popular/religious belief in a continued existence after death in the barrow or place of burial. These barrows, particularly those grouped at Yatesbury, may have physically warned the population of the secular jurisdiction and authority they were subject to and at the same time have been perceived as a protective barrier of burial mounds whose supernatural inhabitants were dangerous to anyone threatening the kingdom.

If these seventh- and late seventh-century barrow burials were a product of the competition for territory between Mercia and Wessex, it remains possible that they are either Mercian or West Saxon, although one could argue that in the seventh century, Wessex had more need to signal its claim on this region.

The final aspect of the North Wiltshire burial record to be considered is the central role of female burial in late seventh-century funerary practice. Although few in number, the female burials dominate the period c. 670–710, not only through their relatively elaborate grave assemblages, but also through the landscape context of the prehistoric monuments selected. These funerary sites suggest that the burial of a female was as much an opportunity for signalling political power as male burials had been in the late sixth to mid seventh centuries. It could be suggested that in the late seventh century, female burial emerged as an important aspect of signalling divine and ancestral rites over territories. This rite may have reflected the important religious and social roles of

women in Anglo-Saxon society at this time (Blair forthcoming). The emergence of female barrow burial as a dominant feature of late seventh-century funerary practice can also be considered as yet another display of the eclectic and varied range of funerary practices that so epitomise the seventh century (Geake 2002)

Summary

This paper has demonstrated that Anglo-Saxon burials in the Avebury region are more frequent than previously surmised, and that they form a cohesive group sharing several key aspects of funerary ritual. The record may reflect historical evidence suggesting that the landscape around Avebury was a contested space from the sixth to ninth centuries, first an interface between Saxon and British cultures, and from the second half of the seventh century, disputed between the kingdoms of Wessex and Mercia. The use of prehistoric monuments for burial is exceptionally common and single isolated burials prevalent. The choice of several very unusual forms of monument for secondary burial, paired round barrows, chambered barrows and possibly Silbury Hill, suggests

that selection may have been motivated by a need for elaborate or ostentatious display. Over time, larger barrows were built or used and proximity to routes and high visibility, were all increasingly important in cemetery/burial location. It is suggested that groupings or clusters of burials were sited at emotive points in the landscape, perhaps the principle route-ways where people were moving between kingdoms. Their role may have been two-fold, combining the physical display of power using ancient barrows that offered symbolic indications of divine sanction with the use of a type of funerary monument that encapsulated emotive supernatural beliefs and fears. The clustering of elite primary and secondary barrow burials around political or military nodal points in the landscape was a challenging and elaborate display of power, and may also have been constructed to provide a form of supernatural protection.

Acknowledgements

Appendix Ai: Gazetteer of cemeteries and burials in North Wiltshire

The varied numbering systems for the barrows on Roundway Down have caused confusion. This gazetteer uses W. Cunnington's original system, and the variations are shown in tabular form (based on Geake 1997, 187).

Cunnington No.	Goddard No.	Meaney No.	Grinsell No. and NGR
3	7	I	Bp's C 40a 40195 16433
6	5a and b		5a and b 40150 16483
7	1	II	1 4006016476

Roundway Down 3 40195 16435

Round barrow excavated in 1805 by Mr. William Cunnington, located *'close to and on the south side of the large chalk pit'*. Almost certainly the barrow marked on the 1st ed. OS and modern OS 1:25000 adjacent south, south-east of a large quarry pit. Described as 0.76m [2′ 1/2″] in elevation, at a depth of 1.22m [4′] a west–east skeleton was located accompanied by an iron or ivory ring and thirty plano-convex pieces of ivory or bone, *'in form and size like childrens' marbles cut in two'*. These items were intermingled with decayed wood. The barrow was re-opened in 1855 and the bone dísinterred and identified by Thurnam as a male of approximately 50 yrs.

Comments: The iron or ivory ring may be from the mouth

of a bag. Bags are a frequent item in conversion period and earlier graves, represented by rings of ivory, iron or bronze of varying size. The ivory pieces are clearly part of a game and their discovery *'intermingled'* with wood suggests the presence of a gaming board and pieces. Gaming pieces are rare, and in all known cases are made of bone, antler or tooth (and occasionally glass). Those found at Taplow, Buckinghamshire, were arranged in a square formation suggesting a board was present in the burial. They are found more frequently with male burials but occasionally with female graves in significantly smaller numbers. Although examples do occur in cremation burials of fifth-century date and later, when associated with inhumations they belong mainly in the seventh century. The assemblage suggests a seventh-century male burial of some status. Despite the recovery of a deer antler, the description seems to indicate a primary barrow burial.

References: Colt Hoare 1812–21, 98; Cunnington 1860, 159–62; Thurnham 1871, 472; Cunnington and Goddard 1896, 72; Goddard 1913/4, 315; Cunnington 1933/4, 159–60; Cunnington and Goddard 1934, 276; Meaney 1964, 273–4; Geake 1997, 187–8 and for discussion of playing pieces see 100–101, for bag rings see 80–81.

Roundway Down 6 40150 16485

Barrow excavated c.1855 by Mr. Coward and Mr. Cunnington close to Mr. Coward's farm buildings. Identified as a pair of

barrows marked on the 1st ed. OS and the modern OS 1:25000, positioned 100 m west of a group of modern buildings. Initially identified as an east–west long barrow, on excavation it was found to comprise two conjoining round barrows, surrounded by a single ditch 0.46 m [18"] in depth. The dimensions of the long earthwork are given as 40.8 m [134'] x 289 m [40.8m] × 28.95 m [95']. A maximum height of 2.13 m [7'] was recorded with the height dropping to 1.52m [5'] between the two barrows. A trench cut from end to end, produced fragments of pottery, sheep bones and ox bones. Near the highest point of the barrow c. 0.46m [18"] below the turf a somewhat disturbed, unaccompanied, extended secondary adult burial was discovered.

The trench was extended beyond the barrow to the east and at the eastern end a large oblong cyst was discovered containing a prehistoric cremation burial. The western end of the barrow was opened in 1858. Below the turf abundant fragments of flint, pottery, ox bones, sheep and dog bones were dispersed throughout the soil. An irregular spread of wood ash and burned bone was found at around 0.61m [2'] in depth, at 1.52m [5'] the natural soil was located and finally a chamber was revealed containing a remarkably preserved Bronze Age adult burial.

Comments: The double barrow is clearly a Bronze Age monument. The date of the intrusive burial is questionable, however an extended inhumation at the apex of the barrow, shallowly placed does suggest a secondary burial of Anglo-Saxon date.

References: Cunnington 1860, 162–3; Cunnington and Goddard 1934, 24–6.

Roundway Down 7   40059 16476

Round barrow excavated in 1840 under the supervision of E.F. Colston (later Lord Colston) and Mr. Stoughton Money (later Rev. Money Kyrle). Described as a small barrow on the apex of the downs, particularly mentioned by Colt Hoare and identified as a tumulus marked on the 1st ed. OS and the recent 1:25000 425m ENE of the hill-fort Oliver's Castle. Excavations undertaken by Semple and Williams in 2000 confirmed the location.

Described in 1885 as a small, rather low, bowl-shaped barrow with a ring ditch. A central opening was made and at a depth of 2.13m [7'] a skeleton was recovered enclosed in a wooden cyst bound round and clamped together with strong iron plates or hoops (the description implies a coffin or chest rather than a bed). A wooden bucket with decorative copper alloy bands and triangular mounts was positioned at the feet. A group of cabochon gold and garnet (and glass paste) jewels and gold *bullae* were found at the neck and on sieving the spoil a gold pin-suite was recovered, with a central glass roundel decorated with a cruciform motif. The discovery of a sketch at the Society of Antiquaries, of the pin-suite and bucket mounts, has additionally provided evidence that a barrel padlock and key were also found in the 1840 excavation. The key is decorated with a runic 's'.

Comments: The recent excavations established the monument was a double ditched round barrow of Bronze Age date. The large central chamber [2.2m x 1.8m x 1.55m], probably began life as a smaller Bronze Age grave chamber, and was subsequently much enlarged for the Anglo-Saxon burial. Despite extensive excavation and geophysical survey the Anglo-Saxon burial appears to be isolated. The items of jewellery suggest a late seventh- to early eighth-century date (c.700).

References: Hoare 1819, 98; anon. 1849, 12; Merewether 1851, 47–8; Deck 1851, 177; Jackson 1854, 198; Akerman 1855, 2; Smith 1885, 67; anon. 1912, 610; Baldwin Brown, 1915 III, 371; Cunnington 1933/4, 160; Cunnington and Goddard 1934, 116–7, no.s S6a – S7; Meaney 1964, 273–4; Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 48; Robinson 1977/8, 191–5; Speake 1989, 58, 107; Geake 1997, 187–8; Semple and Williams 2000; Eagles 2001, 222–3; Semple and Williams forthcoming.

Kings Play Down, Heddington   40105 16600

On King's Play Down, Heddington, north of Devizes in 1907, a grave was discovered in a barrow 7.3m [24'] in diameter and 0.30m [1'] high. The well-preserved male skeleton, feet to the east, was thought to be Anglo-Saxon. The grave contained the skeleton of a man, extended and supine. Thirty-six iron nails were found embedded in the chalk around the skeleton, suggesting the body had been interred in a wooden coffin. M. Cunnington's account describes a primary barrow burial. The presumed location is a barrow on King's Play Hill.

References: Cunnington 1910, 313–4; Baldwin Brown 1915, Vol. IV, 654; Cunnington 1933/4, 159; Cunnington and Goddard 1934, 250, no. S5.

Yatesbury 1   40680 17145

Stukeley records excavations at Yatesbury in the eighteenth century by Mr. Bray of Monkton '..they found a body, with a flat gold ring, which was sold for 30*d* and a piece of brass, about the bulk of a pint mug, with spear-heads of iron'. The precise location is unknown; however, the later documented excavations of Yatesbury 3 suggests this barrow had been subject to previous investigations. Described as 'situated in the village at the south-east corner,' Merewether's 1849 excavation produced, 'Many bones, of the ox probably and smaller animals, the hare in particular, one or two pieces of corroded iron and part of the wards of a key were found'. No burial evidence was found although the trench was carried to the centre of the barrow. The account suggests a high degree of disturbance and the presence of an iron key indicates the mound was used in the Roman, Anglo-Saxon or later periods. A strong possibility exists that this barrow was the location of Mr. Bray of Monkton's intrusion (Yatesbury 1). Its position next to the *herepath* is comparable with the choice of monument for the Yatesbury 2 secondary burials.

Comments: The spearheads suggest the inhumation was of Anglo-Saxon date and the gold ring suggests a burial of some significance. The absence of prehistoric material suggests a primary barrow burial. The spearheads were displayed above the blacksmith's doorway at Yatesbury for several years.

References: Stukeley 1743, 45; Smith 1879, 331, 334; Smith 1885, 86; Pollard and Reynolds 2002, 231.

Yatesbury 2   40705 17095

This barrow is one of a pair still visible south of Yatesbury. The monuments had a reputation in the folklore of the village in 1849 due to discoveries made sixteen years before when they were lowered for agricultural reasons. Before this the barrows were 6.1m [20'] in height and of extensive width. The man who undertook the work explained to Merewether that he had lowered the most southern of the pair by c. 2.7m [9']. A round metal workbox was found approximately 7.6cm [3"] long, 'it had a lid at one end and a chain fixed in the middle,

and it had been fastened to the end where it opened'. At 0.91m [1 yrd] depth 'there were three beads – terra cotta, one was produced – as big as his finger round; a knife fit to stick a pig, and two skeletons lying full length.' A primary, Bronze Age interment was located below these burials. The barrow immediate north west was identified as a Bronze Age barrow of similar height and form with a remarkable, complex, primary cremation burial.

Comments: A double burial, almost certainly dating to the seventh century given the presence of a work-box and seax. The barrows lie parallel to the *herepath*, which runs between Marlborough and Wroughton, via Avebury and Yatesbury.

References: Smith 1879, 331–3.

Thornhill, Broad Town   40901 17724

In 1834 (or 1836) while removing the top of a barrow on the edge of the hill above Thornhill Lane, skeletons were found. Finds recorded from the discovery are an iron arrowhead (undated), a bead of amber and one of glass and fragments of a glass vessel.

Comments: These are certainly Anglo-Saxon burials, and probably secondary, given a location at the top of the barrow. No indication of the number of burials can be found.

References: Anon. 1897, 86; Baldwin Brown 1915, IV, 656; Cunnington 1933/4, 163; Cunnington and Goddard 1934, 115, S1–1a–1b; VCH Wilts Vol. I, pt. 1, 58.

Silbury Hill   40901 17724

A very disturbed burial was reputedly located on the summit of Silbury Hill in 1723, comprising human bones including a skull, 'deers' horns', an iron knife with a bone handle, two 'brass bits of money' and an iron horse-bit. Stukeley describes the horse-bit as a separate find from the slopes of the hill and recent research suggests it is eleventh century and of Scandinavian workmanship.

Comments: the burial, the knife and coins could suggest an interment of Anglo-Saxon date. The presence of a late Anglo-Saxon fort on the summit could account for the coinage and the poor condition of the bone might suggest a prehistoric date for the burial. It must be taken into account that all the finds were made when a 'great hole' was sunk into the top of the hill in 1723.

References: Stukeley 1743, 158; VCH Wilts Vol.I, pt. I, 36; Evison 1969, 335–6, n. 9; VCH Wilts Vol.XII, 87; Pollard and Reynolds 2002, 227.

Bassett Down, Lydiard Tregoze   41155 17995

Located in 1822, in the grounds of Bassett Down House during landscaping. Soil was removed from the top and side of the hill and in the process an Anglo-Saxon cemetery was discovered at the summit to the south of the house, located immediately on the northern slope of the chalk marl escarpment, overlooking the parish of Lydiard Tregoze. The cemetery included two skeletons interred side by side, suggested as warriors. 'Each had a portion of a shield, a spear, a knife, fibulae, and a pair of clasps, beside strings of beads, some of which are of amber. A coin was also found but too imperfect to give the date, and a portion of spoon'. To the west of this location, excavations in 1839 recovered further skeletons. There is no record of the number of interments, the layout of the graves or the arrangement of the artefacts in the graves. The finds are listed below:

An iron shield boss. Circular, 5 1/2", [14 cm] in diameter, a central conical spike of 3 3/8", [8.6 cm] with four round-headed rivets.

A second shield boss, of identical size.

A small iron spear-head, 5 3/4", [14.6 cm] long.

A second long narrow spearhead of iron, 10 5/8", [27 cm] long, the blade measuring 6 1/2", [16.5 cm]. Parts of the wooden shaft surviving in the socket.⁻

An iron knife with a 4 1/2", [11. 4 cm] blade.

A second similar, smaller iron knife.

An ear-pick of bronze pierced at one end for suspension and bent out of shape.

A bone spindle whorl.

The bowl of a metal-plated spoon, part of the handle missing.

A pair of bronze pins. One with a pierced, flat head connected to a ring of bronze wire, the second broken at the head but appears to have had similar attachment (part of a pin suite?).

4 pieces of irregularly shaped amber, pierced.

26 amber beads of irregular bean shape.

Globular rock crystal bead.

Two long beads of dark blue glass.

Eleven beads of colourless glass.

Four very small round beads of opaque green glass.

A bow shaped brooch of bronze, with traces of gilding (broken).

A pair of circular saucer-shaped fibulae of copper, gilt. Ornamented with a star or pointed quatrefoil ornament in the centre surrounded by a circle of depressed dots.

A pair of similar fibulae of copper gilt. In the centre of both a raised boss, one set with a jewel of greenish-white glass. Both settings surrounded by concentric, broken-line ornament, deeply ridged.

A thin, flat piece of iron, 4 ½", [12.41 cm] long and 1/2", [1.27 cm] broad, with a circular rivet or stud at each end.

A plain circular ring of iron 2 1/2", [6.33 cm] in diameter.

Some corroded remains of buckles.

A couple of short pins of bronze.

An illegible Roman coin.

Comments: The assemblage accompanying the pair of skeletons, described by the eye-witness account and comprising part of the surviving collection is suggestive of a male and female grave rather than two males.

References: Goddard 1896, 104–8; Leeds 1913, 51; Goddard 1913/4, 282; Baldwin Brown 1915, III, 254, IV, 407, 563, 655–6 and pl.CLV nos.12 and 14; Cunnington 1933/4, 155; Cunnington and Goddard 1934, 243–148; VCH Wilts Vol.I, pt. I, 84.

Overton Hill 6   41193 16832

The most southerly of a group of barrows positioned immediately east of the Ridgeway at the junction with the Roman road. Barrow 6 lies closest to the Roman road, and was investigated by Colt Hoare and subsequently by Thurnam and later re-excavated by Smith and Simpson.

The overall dimensions of this barrow were similar to 6a. A central circular pit which did not contain a burial. Finds were scattered throughout the mound including five scraps of cremated bone, a few sherds of pottery and a small quantity of animal bone. Anglo-Saxon finds include organic-tempered pottery and other sherds.

Overton Hill 6a   *41193 16834*

Part of the same barrow group and positioned immediately north of barrow 6 and south of barrow 7. The mound was approximately 0.30m [1'] in height, encompassed by a ditch and thus with an external diameter of 4.57m [15']. A central, circular pit was located and found to be disturbed and empty. A bronze suspension attachment came from the mound makeup. Scattered Romano-British pottery and domestic animal bones were found. Anglo-Saxon finds include an iron belt buckle and part of a vessel of an organic-tempered ware with further sherds of the same fabric.

Overton Hill 7   *41193 16837*

The largest and most northern of the Overton Hill barrow group, reopened by Smith and Simpson in 1962. 0.61m [2'] in height encompassed by a ditch with an external diameter of 7.01m [23']. Again thought to be of Roman date, a circular pit in a very disturbed condition was located at the centre. Scattered throughout the pit fill, the mound makeup and the top of the ditch and the post cavities were numerous fragments of bronze, a few pieces of cremated bone, a small quantity of broken animal bone and sherds of Romano-British pottery.

The shallow grave of a child (c.5 yrs) was located to the NNE of the monument, the grave intersecting with the outer edge of the ditch. The corpse was extended and supine with its head to the south-west. Although undated, on the basis of the secondary Anglo-Saxon burials found with Barrow 6b, this child burial is suggested to be Anglo-Saxon. A knife, organic-tempered potsherds and an unburned skull fragment were found in the mound make up and upper ditch fill.

Overton 6b   *41196 16835*

Barrow 6b is located 34 m to east of the main Overton Hill Barrow group excavated by Smith and Simpson. This barrow had been raised over a primary Bronze Age beaker burial, but did not have a ring-ditch. It had been used for subsequent prehistoric cremations and inhumations. Four secondary inhumations of early medieval date were located (I–IV).

Grave I was positioned to the SSW of the centre, close to Grave II. An extended adult burial, supine, with the legs slightly flexed, head to the south. Accompanied by a shield, spearhead, knife and iron finger-ring. Dated to the sixth century.

Grave II positioned close to Grave I, in the SW quadrant of the mound. This contained a child burial, extended and supine with the head to the south. No accompanying objects.

Grave III was discovered immediately SW of the centre of the barrow. The grave contained an adult burial lying on its right side with flexed legs, head to the east. The body had been laid across an elaborate shield. This had an iron boss and an iron strap-grip, and three silver-plated bronze studs from the shield board and four bronze edge clips each decorated with *repoussé* dots. Three small disc-headed iron rivets also came from the area of the shield board. A detached belt evidenced by an iron buckle was placed on the shield board. The knife with a wooden handle had placed over the front of the skull. Dated to the sixth century.

Grave VI again close to the very centre of the barrow, north of Grave III. The grave contained an extended, supine, adult inhumation, with the head to the south. The burial was accompanied by a bronze penannular brooch and necklace threaded with ten amber beads, one of blue glass, a decorated bronze disc and a ring of bronze wire. At the waist were an iron buckle, a knife, a Roman bronze key and other keys of iron. This burial is suggested as fifth century although Dickinson ascribed it to the sixth.

Further disturbed skeletal remains were recorded immediately north east of the centre. These included skull fragments of an adult and child, teeth, maxilla and mandible parts, radii and long bone fragments. This group suggests the presence of further burials, heavily disturbed prior to 1962. A group of unassociated finds also came from barrow 6b, several fragments of organic-tempered black pottery, two iron spear-heads, a square-headed iron nail, a disc-headed iron stud, unidentifiable iron fragments, the perforated triangular lug of a bronze cauldron (of fifth-century date) and an iron ferrule.

Comments: The extensive range of material from all four barrows at Overton suggests either extensive burial – perhaps even satellite flat graves as well as secondary cremations and inhumation (some of the finds could even suggest domestic occupation close by). The concentration of pottery and items such as a latch-lifter and iron ferrule etc. could have a domestic or funerary context. It is clear that some of the material from Overton 7 had been exposed to heat, perhaps suggesting a pyre was close by or even on the mound. However, this material may be of Roman or Anglo-Saxon date.

References: Smith and Simpson 1964, 68–85; Eagles 1986, 103–20.

East Kennett   *unlocated but possibly 41140 16600*

The location of this find is unknown. 'Mr. *Aubury* speaks of a barrow opened in Kennet parish *anno* 1643, two stones 11'. [3.35 m]. long laid side by side, and a corps between, with a sword and a knife. Another like stone laid over all.' Given the account does not specify East or West Kennett, the barrow concerned could be located in either parish. The description indicates a chambered tomb of some dimensions. Three locations are possible. East Kennett long barrow is located central to East Kennett parish (SU 1163 6685). This extensive monument has reputedly never been excavated, although clear indications of intrusion can be seen at the eastern end (pers comm Rosemary Edmunds). There is no evidence however that the barrow is chambered. West Kennett long barrow contains an extensive stone chamber. However, references to Thurnam's first excavations indicate that the chamber had been blocked since the monument was sealed in prehistory. The final and most plausible possibility is a group of round barrows on Thornhill (SU 1140 6600/ 1150 6600), now very heavily plough damaged. Once a prominent group of monuments on the south-west section of the East Kennett parish boundary, before recent damage, one mound was described as having sarsens on the summit, and another mound as having four sarsens protruding from it. The latter suggests an opened and eroded stone-chambered, round barrow, and the former may indicate a second chambered barrow, with the roof stone exposed but in position. The barrows were recorded as the *gemer beorgas* in BCS 600 (AD 905), the boundary barrows and most interestingly slightly later as *stanige beorh* in BCS 998 (AD 957) the stone/ stony barrows. This demonstrates parts of the chamber or cist, were visible in the tenth century.

Comments: The inclusion of a sword and a knife is very suggestive of an Anglo-Saxon male grave of some status. This very interesting burial appears to have been placed in a

stone chamber, either through removing and replacing the upper stone slab or through another point of access perhaps when the chamber was partially open and accessible. This is unique, although see the possible parallel at Overton Hill below in Appendix Aii – Overton c.

References: Stukeley 1743, 45; VCH Wilts Vol.I, pt. I, 173.

The White Horse, Broad Hinton   41306 17538

Very little information can be found on this discovery. The barrow described as a bowl barrow was located north of Broad Hinton White Horse chalk figure. The barrow is not marked on the recent 1:25000 map. The assumed location is at the very top edge of the chalk escarpment. The description of the barrow as a bowl barrow suggests it might be prehistoric. The find is described as an inhumation with a spear and may plausibly be Anglo-Saxon.

References: VCH Wilts Vol.I, pt. I, 162 (1).

Barbury Castle   41449 17623

A group of objects were recovered from a central position in the eastern half of the hillfort before 1934. The find spot is adjacent to the footpath running through the monument. The group comprised an iron scramasax of sixth- or seventh-century date and fragments of others, smaller single-edged knives and an iron spearhead. Human burials were located elsewhere, in the ramparts in 1939–45, but remain undated.

Comments: Clearly a group of Anglo-Saxon weapons but perhaps votive rather than sepulchral, given the lack of human remains in association.

Appendix Aii: Possible burials of Anglo-Saxon date from the Avebury region

Avebury   4089 1693

An iron spearhead, a rivet and part of a knife were discovered in the re-deposited backfill of an eighteenth-century stone-burning pit. Found during the recent excavations of the Beckhampton Avenue in Longstones Field. No human bone was associated, and thus the items could represent a non-funerary deposit. Now suggested as Iron Age.

References: Joshua Pollard, pers comm; Pollard and Reynolds 2002, 228–9.

Overton c   unknown location

A barrow was levelled in 1720, located amongst the barrow group at Overton, but to the south of the main cluster. The work revealed an unburned skeleton 'within a great bed of stones forming a kind of arch' accompanied by several beads of amber, long and round, as big as one's thumb end, and several enamelled beads of glass, some white and some green'. Thurnam examined what he thought was this barrow in 1854, but found no trace of a burial. This barrow lay a short distance west of the sanctuary in a field that in Thurnam's time was called Mill-Field. This excavation revealed 'deep foundations in the chalk and bits of old-fashioned pottery, several large nails, and a ring or loop of iron' remains that sound suspiciously like the footings of a post-mill. There is every reason to suspect two different mounds are involved, particularly as that opened in 1720 was 'levelled'.

References: Cunnington 1933, 174; Meaney 1964, 265; VCH Wilts Vol.I, pt. I, 94; Eagles 2001

Ogbourne St. Andrew   41885 17235

A large round barrow located in the churchyard of St. Andrew's immediately east of the chancel. It is situated at the eastern end of a distinct long rise or mound. Recent geophysical survey produced evidence of a series of rectilinear masonry structures at the west-end of the church.

The Cunningtons excavated the barrow in 1885 and discovered a complex Bronze Age sequence of deposits and a secondary Anglo-Saxon burial. This had been inserted centrally at a depth of approximately 2.13m [7']. The male burial was placed in a wooden coffin with iron clamps and fittings, some of a very decorative nature. No other finds accompanied the burial. Recent research by the author has dated the coffin fittings to the late ninth/ tenth century.

Comments: The location of this late Anglo-Saxon burial in a prehistoric burial-mound is extremely unusual. Find spots suggest a focus of Anglo-Saxon activity, possibly settlement, further south, along the Og. The earliest surviving fabric from the church is eleventh-century and thus no evidence of an ecclesiastical context for the burial is known as yet. This burial seems to be the latest known example of a wealthy, secondary barrow burial.

References: Cunnington 1885; Goddard 1913/4, 300, no. 11; Baldwin Brown 1915, III, 150, Pl.XVIII, no. 2; Cunnington 1933/4, 165; Cunnington and Goddard 1934, 60; Meaney 1964, 272; VCH Wilts Vol.I, pt. I, 93–4 and XII, 138–9; SMR no. SU17 SE609; Semple in prep.

Comments: The description of a great bed of stones forming a kind of arch strongly implies a prehistoric stone-chambered barrow. The extended supine burial with beads may very plausibly be of Anglo-Saxon date and as seen above at Kennet, secondary burial using a stone chambered barrow is evidenced in the area.

References: Stukeley 1743, 44; Thurnam 1860, 327–8; Smith 1885, 169, XI. H. VI. I; Pollard and Reynolds 2002, 229.

Overton d, The Sanctuary 41180 16805

Antiquarian accounts indicate a certain Dr Toope of Marl-borough excavated close to the sanctuary. Toope wrote to Aubrey on 1st Dec. 1685. The correspondence notes how Toope had come across workmen engaged in digging field boundaries who had discovered human bones. Toope clearly believed an extensive burial ground existed, noting that the ground 'is full of dead bodies'. Although early accounts, especially of this period, are prone to wild exaggeration, Toope evidently returned to the 'Temple' (the Sanctuary) to recover 'bushells' of bones to make medicine. The location of the shallow extended (probably supine) burials, is recorded as being about 73m [80 yds] from the Sanctuary and on 'even' ground. The most likely spot on topographical grounds is just north of the A4 road, although Toope doesn't mention the road. Building to the north and quarrying to the south mean the site of these burials may well have been destroyed. This location lies on the boundary between Avebury and West Overton parishes.

References: Long 1858, 327; Pollard and Reynolds 2002, 234.

Overton e   *unknown location*

A further obscure find was made at the Overton Hill barrow group. One of the barrows on the north side of the A4 and to the west of the Ridge-way was re-excavated in 1857, after an earlier discovery of the burial of a small horse with iron shoes in the summit of the mound.

References: Thurnam 1860, 331; Smith 1885, 149, XI. H. V. 1; Pollard and Reynolds 2002, 229.

South of Silbury Hill   *unknown location*

Stukeley records 'a bit of gold (I suppose the covering of a button, or the like, such as that I dug up at Stonehenge), and many sharp bits of iron'. This could possibly refer to a sixth-century saucer brooch, a period when men and women were buried with large numbers of iron objects.

Comments: This may suggest a flat-grave cemetery awaits discovery south of Silbury Hill, or the items could be non-funerary.

References: Stukeley 1743, 45; Pollard & Reynolds 2002, 231

Windmill Hill, Avebury   *4085 1715*

At the north-west corner of Avebury parish are four barrows positioned where a series of parish boundaries use Windmill Hill as a meeting point. Three were opened by Merewether in 1849; one revealed an inhumation with a missing left hand.

Comments: Very dubious. The barrows are prehistoric. The use of the barrows in the parish bounds and the mutilation or amputation evident from the burial could just possibly suggest this is a secondary deviant burial of Late Anglo-Saxon date.

References: Merewether 1851a, 94, No. 14; Smith 1885, 89, VI. F. IV. G; Pollard and Reynolds 2002, 232

South East Kennett   *unknown location*

A poorly recorded excavation of a barrow to the south east of Kennet revealed twelve skeletons with the feet pointing towards the centre of the mound (thus a radial arrangement) at the centre a grape cup of early Bronze Age type was found. Radial arrangements of burial, often in relation to barrows are known in the Anglo-Saxon burial record – see, for example, Cuddesdon, Oxfordshire.

References: Merewether 1851a, 108, fig. 2; Pollard and Reynolds 2002, 232

Notes

1 Roundway 6 was thought to be a long barrow until excavations in the 1930's demonstrated the monument was in fact a conjoined pair of prehistoric round barrows with a single encompassing ring-ditch.

2 The megalithic settings and stone circles of Wade's Stone, North Yorkshire (Elgee 1930, 106), Yeavering, Northumberland (Hope Taylor 1977, 108–116), Mount Pleasant, Dorset (Schweiso 1979, 181–183) Little Rollright, Warwickshire, (Lambrick 1988) and Stonehenge, Wiltshire (Pitts et al. 2002) all have Anglo-Saxon funerary evidence in association. At Rollright (fig.) however, the burials focus on a mound positioned on a natural rise, adjacent to the stone circle. At Mount Pleasant, the stone settings had been removed prior to the early Anglo-Saxon period and thus the early medieval burials were made in relation to the banked enclosure, and at Yeavering, the removal of the stone circle preceded the use of the western ring-ditch for burial. The stones were therefore apparently not the primary foci at these sites.

3 A seventeenth-century description of Avebury.
'Within one mile of *Selburie*, is *Aiburie*, an uplandish village built in an old Campe as it seemth, but of no large compasse, for it is environeth with a faire trench, and hath foure gappes as gates, in two of which stand huge Stones as jambes, but so rude, that they seeme rather naturall than artificiall, of which sort, there are some other in the said village' (Camden 1610, 255). amongst other references (see for example Harrington 1591, 22 and Jones 1655, 34, 36–7), suggest the stones were perceived as a natural phenomenon. Early medieval populations may have responded similarly, failing to recognise standing stones as ancient constructions, particularly when they lay recumbent and scattered.

4 The discovery of a sixth-century sword, in isolation, from a long mound at Knap Hill, Wiltshire, and the very recent discovery of an as yet undated isolated iron spear-head and shield rivet from a stone-setting during excavations of the Beckhampton Avenue at Avebury (pers. comm. Joshua Pollard) may provide evidence of Anglo-Saxon, non-funerary weapon deposition in and around prehistoric monument complexes. The Barbury Castle finds may be considered as a votive deposit rather than as an indicator of a

cemetery. For a full examination of the evidence for this rite see Semple 2002.

5 See Wihtred (690–725) Promulgated at Barham, 685. Attenborough 1922, 3. **28**. If a man from afar, or a stranger, quits the road, and neither shouts, nor blows a horn, he shall be assumed to be a thief. [and as such] may be either slain or put to ransom. Ine (688–725) Place of promulgation unknown but the date probably falls between 688 and 694. Attenborough 1922, 34. **20**. If a man from afar, or a stranger, travels through a wood off the highway and neither shouts nor blows a horn, he shall be assumed to be a thief, and as such either slain or put to ransom.

6 The female burial from Roundway Down was of course accompanied by a gold and garnet pin-suite, with a central glass stud moulded in a cruciform pattern that is suggested as the product of mid seventh-century Irish workmanship (Meaney and Hawkes 1970, 49). The motif almost certainly held Christian religious connotations when the jewel was created but may not necessarily have implied Christian faith for its wearer, given that comparable jewellery sets, such as the cabochon garnet necklace from Desborough, Northamptonshire have developed cruciform pendants.

7 The positioning of seventh-century barrow burials with reference to important communications is recognized by Eagles 2001, 225–6. who rightly sees a link with an increasing need to control movement along major thoroughfares in this period. The positioning of 'high-status' burials such as Lowbury, Oxfordshire, Taplow, Buckinghamshire and Swallowcliffe Down, Wiltshire at territorial limits is explored very successfully by Williams (1999).

8 O'Brien 1999, 55–6, presents an overview of this interesting source material. See *Historia Brittonum* iii. 44 for Vortigern's instruction to his followers to bury him on the seafront as a protective measure against further attack or an early Irish reference to the practice (seventh century) relating the tale of the burial of the pagan Loguire, on the ridges or heights facing and opposing his enemies (t:*Tirechan*, c.12(2), Bieler translation).

9 Beliefs in a form of 'quasi-physical' afterlife in the place of burial are explored in Semple 1998. Late Anglo-Saxon prose

and poetic sources, in particular *The Wife's Lament*, depict a form of sorrowful afterlife, living yet confined to the place of burial. In *The Wife's Lament*, the location of the woman's exile is an *eorðscræfe* or *eorðsele*: an earthen dugout or abode, OE terminology also used in *Beowulf* to describe the ancient barrow in which the dragon dwells. Such sources suggest ancient barrows were sometimes perceived as evil and haunted places, where the ancient dead might reside in ghostly or monstrous form. These beliefs were no doubt enhanced by the use of ancient barrows as places of execution and locations for deviant cemeteries (Reynolds 1998, 1999). In certain late Anglo-Saxon manuscript illuminations, the location of hell and damnation is portrayed in a compatible manner, with the damned depicted as decapitates or amputees lying beneath mounds, and in some cases suffering a living/ dead existence trapped in small hollows and fissures beneath the ground (see Semple in press). This evidence illustrates a union of religious and popular ideas resulting in a uniquely late Anglo-Saxon concept of hell, where the damned were trapped in the place of burial (see Thompson in this volume for further evidence for damnation comprising a 'living death'). It is possible that the importance of barrows (ancient and Anglo-Saxon) as locations of burial in the early and middle Anglo-Saxon period, their role in pre-Christian religion and rituals and their importance along with other types of prehistoric monument as potential places for early Anglo-Saxon religious and secular gatherings, led ultimately to their emergence in the Late Anglo-Saxon period as heathen and haunted places (Semple 1998, 2002, 2003, *in press*).

Abbreviations

VCH Wilts Vol.I   Victoria History of the Counties of England, A History of Wiltshire, Volume I, Part I, ed. R. B. Pugh and E. Crittall, 1957, London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research.

VCH Wilts Vol.XII   Victoria History of the Counties of England, A History of Wiltshire, Volume XII, ed. D. A. Crawley, 1983, Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research.

Bibliography

Anon. 1849. Thurs. Dec. 7, 1845, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 1, 12–13.

Anon. 1897. Additions to the Museum, Presented by Mr. H. N. Goddard, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Magazine*, 29, 86.

Anon. 1912. Antiquities recently added to the Museum, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Magazine*, 37, 610–613.

Akerman, J. Y. 1855. *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, London: J. R. Smith.

Arnold, C. 1984. *Roman Britain to Saxon England*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Arnold, C. 1988. *An Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, London: Croom Helm.

Attenborough, F. L. (ed. and trans.) 1922. *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baldwin Brown, G. 1915. *The Arts in Early England*, Vol. III, Saxon Art and Industry in the Pagan Period, London: John Murray.

Baldwin Brown, G. 1915. *The Arts in Early England*, Vol. IV, Saxon Art and Industry in the Pagan Period, London: John Murray.

Barker, C. T. 1984. The Long Mounds of the Avebury Region, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 79, 7–38.

Bonney, D. J. 1966. Pagan Saxon Burials and Boundaries in Wiltshire, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 61, 25–30.

Bonney, D. J. 1979. Early Boundaries and Estates in Southern England, in P. H. Sawyer (ed.), *English Medieval Settlement*, 41–51, London: Edward Arnold.

Blair, J. 1994. *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd.

Blair, J., forthcoming. *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*.

Camden, W. 1610. *Britain*, London: Philemon Holland.

Carver, M. O. H. 1998. *Sutton Hoo Burial Ground of Kings?* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Colt Hoare, R. 1812–21. *The Ancient History of North Wiltshire*, 2 vols., London: Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor and Jones.

Chadwick Hawkes, S. 1989. The south-east after the Romans: Saxon settlement, in V. Maxfield (ed.), *The Saxon Shore. A Handbook*, xx, Exeter: Department of History and Archaeology, University of Exeter..

Cunnington, W. 1860. Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon Barrows on Roundway Hill, In the Parish of Bishops Cannings, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 6, 159–167.

Cunnington, W. 1885. Barrow at Ogbourne St. Andrew, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 22, 345–8.

Cunnington, M., 1910. Notes on Barrows on Kings Play Down, Heddington, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 36, 311–7.

Cunnington, M. E. 1933/4. Wiltshire in Pagan Saxon Times, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Magazine*, 46, no. CLVIII, June 1933, 147–175.

Cunnington, W. and Goddard, E. H. 1896. *Catalogue of Antiquities in the Museum of Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society at Devizes*, Part I, Devizes: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society.

Cunnington, M. E. and Goddard, E. H. 1934. *Catalogue of Antiquities in the Museum of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society at Devizes*, Part II, Devizes: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society.

Deck,—. 1851. Notice on the Remains of the Anglo-Saxon Period, Discovered at Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, *Archaeological Journal*, 8, 172–8.

Dickinson, T. M. 1976. 'The Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites of the Upper Thames Region, and their bearing on the history of Wessex, circa AD 400–700', unpublished DPhil. thesis, University of Oxford.

Eagles, B. N. 1986. Pagan Anglo-Saxon Burials at West Overton, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 80, 103–120.

Eagles, B. N. 1994. Evidence for settlement in the 5th to 7th centuries AD, in M. Aston and C. Lewis (eds), *The Medieval Landscape of Wessex*, 13–32, Oxbow Monograph, 46, Oxford: Oxbow.

Eagles, B. N. 2001. Anglo-Saxon presence and culture in Wiltshire AD c.450 – c. 675, in P. Ellis (ed.), *Roman Wiltshire and After*, 199–234, Devizes: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society.

Edwards, H. 1986. Two documents from Aldhelm's Malmesbury, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 59, 1–19.

Elgee, F. 1930. *Early Man in North East Yorkshire*, Gloucester: Printed for the author by T. Bellows.

Evison, V. I. 1969. A Viking Grave at Sonning, Berkshire, *The Antiquaries Journal*, 49, 335–6, n. 9.

Fowler, P. J. 2000. *Landscape Plotted and Pieced, Landscape History and Local Archaeology in Fyfield and Overton, Wiltshire*, London: The Society of Antiquaries of London.

Geake, H. 1997. *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion-period England, c.600–c.850*, BAR British Series, 261, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Geake, H. 2002. Persistent Problems in the Study of Conversion Period Burials in England, in S. Lucy and A. Reynolds (eds), *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, London: Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph.

Goddard, E. H. 1896. Notes on objects from a Saxon Interment at Bassett Down, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Magazine*, **28**, 104–8.

Goddard, E. H. 1913/14. A List of the Prehistoric, Roman, and Pagan Saxon Antiquities in the County of Wiltshire, Arranged Under Parishes, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, **38**, 153–378.

Goodier, A. 1984. The Formation of Boundaries in Anglo-Saxon England: A Statistical Study, *Medieval Archaeology*, **28**, 1–21.

Harrington, J. 1591. *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse*, London.

Hope Taylor, B. 1977.*Yeavering An Anglo-British centre of early Northumbria*, Dept. of the Environment Archaeological Reports, 7, London: HMSO.

Jackson, J. E. 1854. Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Harnham near Salisbury, Wiltshire, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, **1**, 196–208.

Jones, I. 1655. *The Most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stone-Heng on Salisbury Plain, Restored* [ed. John Webb], London.

Lambrick, G. 1988. *The Rollright Stones: Megaliths, Monuments and Settlement in the prehistoric landscape*, English Heritage Archaeological Report, 6, London: Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England.

Leeds, E. T. 1913. *The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Long, W. 1858. Abury, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, **4**, 309–63.

Loveluck, C. 1995. Acculturation, Migration and Exchange: The Formation of An Anglo-Saxon Society in the English Peak District 400–700 AD, in J. Bintliff and H. Hamerow (eds), *Europe Between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, 84–92, BAR International Series, 617, Oxford: Tempus Reparatum.

Lucy, S. 1998. *The Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of East Yorkshire*, BAR British Series, 272, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Meaney, A. and Hawkes, S. C. 1970. *Two Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at Winnall, Winchester, Hampshire*, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series, 4, London: SMA.

Merewether, J. 1851. *Diary of a Dean, an account of an examination of Tilbury Hill and of various earthworks of North Wiltshire*, London.

Merewether, J. 1851a. Diary of the examination of barrows and other earthworks in the neighbourhood of Silbury Hill and Avebury, *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute* (Salisbury) 1851, 73–81.

O'Brien, E. 1999. *Post-Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England: Burial Practices Reviewed*, BAR British Series, 289, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Pevsner, N. with Cherry, B. 1975. *The Buildings of England. Wiltshire*, London: Penguin Books, 2nd edit.

Pitts, M., Bayliss, A., McKinley, J., Boylston, A., Budd, P., Evans, J., Chenery, C., Reynolds, A. and Semple, S. 2002. An Anglo-Saxon Decapitation and Burial at Stonehenge, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, **95**, 131–146.

Pollard, J. and Reynolds, A. 2002. *Avebury: The Biography of a Landscape*, Stroud: Tempus.

Reynolds, A. 1995. Avebury, Yatesbury and the archaeology of communications, *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology*, **6**, 21–30.

Reynolds, A. 1998. 'Anglo-Saxon Law in the Landscape', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London.

Reynolds, A. 1999. The Definition and Ideology of Anglo-Saxon Execution Sites and Cemeteries, in G. De Boe and F. Verhaeghe

(eds), *Death and Burial in Medieval Europe. Papers of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' Conference* **2**, 33–41, Zellik: Institute voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium.

Reynolds, A. 2001. Avebury: a Late Anglo-Saxon *burh*? *Antiquity*, **75**, no. 287, 29–30.

Reynolds, A., Sudds, B., Semple, S. and Edmunds, R. forthcoming. *The Medieval Village of Yatesbury*.

Schweiso, J. 1979 'The Anglo-Saxon Burials', in G. J. Wainwright (ed.), *Mount Pleasant, Dorset Excavations 1970–1971*, 181–183, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 37, London: The Society of Antiquaries of London.

Semple, S. J. 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*, **30:1**, 109–126.

Semple, S. and Williams, H. 2001. Excavations on Roundway Down, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, **94**, 236–9.

Semple, S. 2002. 'Anglo-Saxon Attitudes to the Past: A Landscape Perspective', unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford.

Semple, S. 2003. Locations of Assembly in Early Anglo-Saxon England, in A. Pantos and S. Semple (eds), *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Semple, S. in press. Illustrations of Damnation in Late Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, *Anglo-Saxon England*, **32**.

Semple, S. and Williams, H. forthcoming. Excavations on Roundway Down.

Smith, A. C. 1879. Sketch of the Parish of Yatesbury. *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, **18**, 329–334.

Smith, A. C. 1885. *Guide to the British and Roman Antiquities of the North Wiltshire Downs in a Hundred Square Miles Round Abury*, Devizes: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 2nd edit.

Smith, I. F. and Simpson, D. D. A. 1964. Excavation of three Roman tombs and a prehistoric pit on Overton Down, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Magazine*, **59**, 68–85.

Stiegemann, C. and Wemhoff, M. 1999. *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit, Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. In Paderborn*, VI. 18, Mainz: Verlag Phillipp von Zabern.

Stukeley, W. 1743. *Abury, a temple of the British druids, with some others, described*, London.

Thurnam, J. 1860. Examination of Barrows on the Downs of North Wiltshire in 1853–57, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, **6**, 317–36.

Thurnam, J. 1871. On Ancient British Barrows, especially those of Wiltshire and the adjoining Counties (Part II Round Barrows), *Archaeologia*, **43**, 285–487.

Yorke, B. 1995. *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages*, Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Webber, M. 1999. The Roman, Anglo-Saxon and medieval coffins, in C. Heighway and R. Bryant (eds), *The Golden Minster: The Anglo-Saxon Minster and Later Medieval Priory of St Oswald at Gloucester*, 207–218, Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 117, York: CBA.

Welch, M., 1992. *Anglo-Saxon England*, London: Batsford.

Whittle, A. 1997. *Sacred Mound Holy Rings*, Oxford: Oxbow Books Ltd.

Williams, H. 1997. Ancient landscapes and the dead: the reuse of prehistoric and Roman monuments as early Anglo-Saxon burial sites, *Medieval Archaeology*, **41**, 1–32.

Williams, H. 1998. Monuments and the past in early Anglo-Saxon England, *World Archaeology*, **30:1**, 90–108.

Williams, H. 1999. Placing the dead: investigating the location of wealthy barrow burials in 7th century England, in M. Rundkvist (ed.), *Grave Matters. Eight Studies of 1st Millenium AD Burials in Crimea, England and Southern Scandinavia*, BAR International Series, 781, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 57–86.