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Faculty of Humanities

Archaeology

<u>Doctor of Philosophy</u>

Fresh cadaver to skeletal matter:

text, practice and the Cluniac death-course

By

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

April 2015

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

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This study examines how the dead were engaged with, treated and managed by one of the most influential of medieval monastic orders, the Cluniacs. At the heart of this study is a consideration of the eleventh-century Cluniac customaries. These invaluable yet under-exploited texts prescribe in minute detail how the dying, the dead body and the monk's memory should be physically and spiritually treated and commemorated. Through them we see a highly ritualised approach to the body, structured by interplay of repetitive symbolic actions, combined with the practical requirements of treating and disposing of a cadaver. These texts were intended to regulate daily life at Cluny, and of her dependencies and affiliates (Paxton 1993a: 1), for as Abbot Hugh's statute in 1200 directed, 'as we are one congregation and order, we should conform in all things' (Constable 2010: 140). They have, however, been described as 'living texts' (Kerr 2007: 14) and the practices they prescribe termed, 'adaptable to local needs and desires' (Constable 1976: 160-161). An integration of osteological and archaeological evidence has permitted a direct examination of the extent to which this was the case for the treatment of the dead. Specifically, it questions how far Cluny could impose conformity in funerary practice amongst its dependencies, which although members of the same *familia*, varied considerably by 'type' of house and geographical location. The varied ways in which Cluniac customary practice could be adapted and the diverse temporal and spatial factors influencing conformity and digression are thus addressed.

Over 400 burials from four well-excavated Cluniac sites in England and France (dating predominantly from the late-eleventh through to the fifteenth century) form the comparative data-sets, where their rich archaeological and osteological documentation has permitted a direct examination of text versus practice. These sites represent two very different types of establishment: the large, original foundations of Bermondsey Abbey (London), Lewes Priory (Sussex) and La Charité-sur-Loire (Burgundy), and the smaller reformed house of Beaumont-sur-Oise (Picardy). This study has thus moved beyond individual house-specific enquiries or broad inter-order comparisons to a detailed examination of how diverse houses within one order responded to the spiritual and practical requirements of managing the dead.

Novel in a British later medieval context, the taphonomic approach of *anthropologie de terrain* has been successfully applied post-excavation using burial photographs and associated archival material. Placing the body at the centre of enquiry, this approach has permitted a more accurate reconstruction (in the absence of 'direct' archaeological indicators) of the multiplicity of acts performed to and for the body in each stage of the Cluniac funerary procedure. It has permitted detailed analysis of pre-burial body preparation, interment strategies and post-burial treatment of disturbed remains, as the deceased were manipulated and re-integrated in varying ways within the funerary landscapes. The concept of the 'death-course' has been introduced to envisage this continual inter-related cultural and biological process; the body and soul are physically and spiritually 'managed' by the living, whilst the corpse is simultaneously transforming through the natural processes of decomposition and decay. Situating the deceased within this framework has helped direct enquiry towards Cluniac attitudes and responses to the dead body in each stage of the death-course, as it evolved from fresh cadaver through to skeletal matter.

The results have demonstrated that a complex and dynamic relationship existed between each of the houses, their relative adherence to the customaries, and their attitudes to the dead. Influence from pre-existing monastic customaries and local traditions, developments in Cluniac customary practice, reform pressures, economic practicalities, varied emphasis on doctrinal and folkloric teachings/beliefs and broader social, political and religious changes all contributed to spatial and temporal variability in adherence. Crucially, underlying this was also the practical and unpredictable requirements of managing the realities of death: the biologically and possible spiritually unstable 'dynamic cadaver' (Nilsson 1998).

As well as relative distance from Cluny, the 'type' of house was shown to be paramount; circumstances of foundation and community size greatly influenced spiritual and practical responses to the dead. This was also the case on a smaller scale, where the specific burial location was shown to directly influence how the physical and metaphysical manifestations of death were viewed, handled and managed.

For Cluny's dependencies examined here, the customaries were shown on the whole to be highly theoretical in terms of the death and burial rites. They promulgated a carefully selected or 'ideal' image of Cluniac spirituality, which may have been more attainable for Cluny, but practically unrealistic for many of the diverse houses under its rule. This study has revealed, however, that customary influence in funerary practice could be more subtle and indirect. A closer and more holistic scrutiny of these texts, alongside the *anthropologie de terrain* assessment, has revealed that the dead body (in various stages of decomposition) could fulfil diverse roles. The customaries carefully structured and directed daily practice towards cementing and reaffirming community bonds, perpetual meditation on death and continual commemoration of the dead. A number of the identified practices, particularly those relating to the management of disturbed remains, mirrored this structuring. Through handling and staging of the deceased's body, it could acquire new meaning and purpose as a 'tool' for reflecting on death, as a malleable entity for promulgating Cluniac ideals, and as an 'object' around which a shared Cluniac identity and community bond could be created and maintained.

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STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I, **Eleanor Williams**, declare that the thesis entitled **'Fresh cadaver to skeletal matter: text, practice and the Cluniac death-course'** and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;

- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;

- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;

- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;

- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;

- parts of this work have been published as:

WILLIAMS, E. (2013) Rites funéraires clunisiens: Un examen des recherches antérieures et une proposition pour de futurs travaux. IN: PETIT, A. and HANQUIEZ, D., eds. *Saint-Leu-d'Esserent et l'implantation monastique dans la basse vallée de l'Oise*. Histoire médiévale et archéologie 25. Amiens: CAHMER, 59-69.

Signed: …………………………………………………………………..
Date:………………………………………………………………………

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

project. All our collaborations so far have been extremely inspiring to my research and hopefully they will continue for some time to come.

The archaeology staff and postgraduate research community at Southampton have always been so supportive of one another, and I am so thankful to them for their help and encouragement. In particular, I would like to thank James Miles for coming to my rescue so many times whilst battling with the computer.

Finally, I cannot express my gratitude enough to my incredible family, Trevor, Frances and Gareth, for their unwavering support and encouragement throughout all my university studies.

ABBREVIATIONS

AM	Archéologie Médiévale (journal)
Ann. Monast.	*Annales Monastici*
Art.	Articulation
BABAO	British Association for Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology
Bern	*Customary of Bernard*
c.	*circa*
CA	*Consuetudines Antiquiores*
CNRS	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
CRAHAM	Centre de Recherches Archéologiques et Historiques Anciennes et Médiévales
CRAM	Centre de Recherches Archéologiques Médiévales
d.	died
DISH	Diffuse Idiopathic Skeletal Hyperostosis
Est.	Established
EH	English Heritage
EM	Early Medieval
f.	founded
F	Female
GAAF	Groupement d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Funéraire
INRAP	Institut National de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives
LAARC	London Archaeological Archive Research Centre
LM	Late Medieval
LT	*Liber Tramitis* (customary)
M	Male
MA	Medieval Archaeology (journal)
MNI	Minimum Number of Individuals
MOLA	Museum of London Archaeology
n	number
N	North
PCA	Pre-Construct Archaeology
RC	*Regularis Concordia*
Red.	Reduction
Ulr	*Customary of Ulrich*
UNK	Unknown
VCH	Victoria County History
W-E	West-East
Yr	Year
Yrs	Years

Let him set himself down in thought on the slab where the dead are washed, and let him contemplate the manner in which bodies bound for the grave are treated. Now they are turned on their backs, then to face the stone; the way the head nods; the arms fall; the legs stiffen and lie inert. The way the body is prepared; the clothes sewn; the way it is carried to the cemetery where it is laid in the grave; the way it returns to dust. The way it is devoured by worms; and it is nothing more than a sack of putrefaction.

Written in the twelfth century by a Cistercian monk, Arnulf. In Paxton (1993a: 25-26).

1. INTRODUCTION

*La mort pour un moine du Moyen Âge n'est-elle pas à la fois une
méditation, une expérience et une célébration?* (Gazeau 2004: 13).

Death and burial held a multitude of meanings for the members of a monastery mourning and
physically managing the loss of a community member. The seemingly inert complexes of bones
and earth so frequently uncovered by archaeologists often conceal the prolonged, meaningful
and highly symbolic sequences of funerary actions surrounding a burial's initial creation and at
times, re-creation. The digging of the grave, the body's committal, and the final closing of the
complex do not mark the end. In a medieval context, these acts form one stage of a long
sequence of structured (and at times unstructured) stages, from the spiritual and physical
preparation of the dying and dead body, the interment (and even re-interment), through to the
commemoration of the deceased's memory. The 'death-course', as it will be termed herein, can
be envisaged as a continual inter-related cultural and biological process; the body and soul are
'managed' by the living whilst the corpse is simultaneously transforming through the natural
processes of decomposition and decay. The dead body is thus a complex entity around which
the cultural necessities and biological realities of death must be negotiated, potentially
prompting a diverse array of responses from the living. Our conventional biographies generally
begin with the birth of the subject and end with their biological death (Robb 2013: 447). The
concept of the 'death-course' adopted here for a medieval monastic context begins that
biography from the moment that the monk's death is perceived as a very real eventuality (at
which point the community's relationships to one another and to the dying individual are both
temporarily and permanently altered and re-defined) to long after biological death and
committal of the body. In a later medieval context, this stage of the 'extended life-course' (see
Gilchrist 2012; Hockey and Draper 2005) has a particular significance and potency in terms of
managing and negotiating both the short and long-term physical and metaphysical
manifestations of death.

In examining sacred spaces, proponents of the cultural view turn their attention from the
essential nature of places toward the human activities associated with them; they regard these
places as meaningful and hence interpretable (Harris 2005: 134). This can also be applied to the
micro-scale - the individual graves. The practical and symbolic actions that contributed to the
creation of these sacred micro-spaces can leave their mark so distinctly in the archaeological

record, opening windows into past practice to reveal the often-mutable attitudes to the dead and the corporeal body as it evolved from fresh cadaver to skeletal matter.

Integrating textual, osteological and archaeological evidence, this study examines how the dead were engaged with, treated and managed by one of the most influential of medieval monastic orders – the Cluniacs. Founded in *c.*909 by Duke William I of Aquitaine, hundreds of dependencies were rapidly established; they were constitutionally bound and decreed in daily practice to 'conform in all things'.[1] Venerating the dead was of particular importance to everyday life and practice at the mother-house, Cluny, more so than any other monastery (Hilton 2005: iv, 26), thus making it a particularly pertinent monastic order to examine. With the added benefit of a number of well-excavated funerary contexts and a rich corpus of surviving texts, the Cluniacs offer an excellent opportunity for detailed interdisciplinary study. Indeed, Cochelin (2000a: 22) notes that no other monastery in the central Middle Ages has left so many texts detailing its daily life as Cluny. Of particular interest for this thesis, customaries were composed to help regulate daily life at Cluny and of her dependencies and affiliates (Paxton 1993a: 1). Although they were not necessarily considered binding, each member of the Cluniac *familia* was expected to adopt them.

Three of the most detailed surviving Cluniac customaries date to the eleventh century (the *Liber Tramitis*, the *Customary of Ulrich* and the *Customary of Bernard*) and describe at considerable length the ante- and post-mortem rituals to be observed on the death of a monk or abbot. The customaries have been described as 'living texts' (Kerr 2007: 14) and the practices they prescribe termed 'adaptable to local needs and desires' (Constable 1976: 160-161), but to what extent is this the case for the treatment of the dead? The customaries prescribe in minute detail how the dying and deceased should be treated and cared for from the moment death was imminent to the long-term commemoration of their memories. Previously, adherence to the customaries has mainly been explored textually, particularly in relation to the ante-mortem rites (e.g. Boynton 2006), making a direct osteological analysis of the post-mortem rites a novel avenue to explore.

Uniting both textual and material evidence provides this thesis with a strong basis for reconstructing and exploring the individual actions performed to and for the dead as the body was physically and spiritually 'guided' through the examinable stages of the death-course. These include preparation of the dead body, the interment and post-burial treatment of the

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[1] Statute 20 of Abbot Hugh V of Cluny in 1200 (Constable 2010: 140).

deceased, as burials were disturbed, re-used and the bones manipulated and re-integrated in varying ways within the Cluniac funerary landscapes. In her consideration of texts and the death of monks, Gazeau (2004: 15) has advocated crossing the instructions in the customaries, which constitute highly theoretical prescriptions, with how things were done in practice. Although this question is addressed herein, the aim of this thesis is not simply to identify archaeologically which specific prescriptions may or may not have been followed. Rather, the nature of the documents in question and their power to influence practice in different Cluniac contexts are considered. This research goes beyond merely determining 'what was done' and also seeks to examine attitudes to the dead and their bodies in each stage of the death-course.

The Cluniac customaries are generally less well known in comparison to other monastic texts such as biographies or *vitae* (Cochelin 2000a: 22). Although they have interested researchers since the seventeenth century, their study is still limited to a narrow circle of Cluny specialists and those particularly interested in monastic life (Boynton and Cochelin 2003: 2). Paxton's (1993a, 1993b, 2002, 2005) historical and anthropological work on the Cluniac death rituals has highlighted the importance of these documents to the wider study of medieval monastic attitudes to the dead. However, their impact on archaeological studies of medieval death and burial remains minimal. Modern scholarship, Moreland has argued (2001: 9), fragments the past on the basis of types of evidence – archaeologists study objects, historians study words, but as McClain (2012: 131) notes, the period's wealth of both material and documentary evidence recommends itself to analyses that utilise archaeological and historical sources in tandem. Together with an engagement with the rapidly growing body of social theory and innovations in methodological approaches developing within the field of funerary or death and burial archaeology, the potential for a fully contextualised and truly interdisciplinary study is strengthened.

This thesis examines funerary practice in four Cluniac houses at which the human remains and associated burial structures were comprehensively recorded. Sites from England and France were chosen for comparison: Bermondsey Abbey (London), Lewes Priory (Sussex), Beaumont-sur-Oise (Picardy) and La Charité-sur-Loire (Burgundy). They were selected as together they provide the opportunity to directly examine similarities and differences in Cluniac funerary treatment between houses of varying geographical location, circumstances of foundation, community size, and status in the order.

The 351 Cluniac period burials across the four sites mostly span from their foundation (late eleventh century/early twelfth century) through to the fifteenth century, allowing treatment of the dead to be examined over the long term. Their phasing into earlier and later periods permits a temporal assessment of funerary practice in relation to the actions prescribed in the customaries, as well as to house-specific and broader social, political, economic and religious developments. The reformed house of Beaumont-sur-Oise also includes 84 burials from a pre-Cluniac order of Augustinian canons. Whether its re-foundation as a Cluniac house directly resulted in distinct changes to established funerary practice, and the implications of this, can thus also be considered.

Research questions in this thesis

What is the relationship between Cluniac text and practice, as exhibited through the archaeological and osteological remains? For the sites examined herein, how 'theoretical' were the customaries for the funerary rites? To what extent did they structure or influence approaches and attitudes to the body in different stages of the death-course from pre-burial body preparation and interment, through to the long-term management of the dead body?

To what extent can we detect differences, similarities or uniformity in funerary treatment between those buried within the four houses? How does this relate to the 'type' of Cluniac house (e.g. original, higher status verses a small reformed establishment) and what does this suggest about their relationship to the customaries (e.g. degree of adherence or influence), and more broadly, to the Cluniac order? To what extent was Cluny able to impose conformity in funerary practice between such geographically and foundationally diverse houses? What factors influenced degrees of conformity?

Considering both whole and fragmented bodies at each site, what do the various funerary treatments imply about both Cluniac and wider medieval attitudes to the dead and the dead body in each stage of the death-course? What was the relative role, status and view of the body as it evolved from fresh cadaver to dry, disarticulated bones?

Do responses to the dead at the different sites vary through time? How does this relate to the social, political, economic and religious developments taking place within each house, the Cluniac order, and in the wider medieval context for the period examined here?

In this thesis, the taphonomic approach of *anthropologie de terrain* has been chosen for a high-resolution reconstruction of the multiple acts performed (to and for the body) in each stage of the death-course. Following Nilsson Stutz (2003), this approach is applied post-excavation, working from the detailed excavation documentation (particularly the photographic record) available from the four sites. In conducting funerary analysis, reliance solely on direct archaeological evidence, such as surviving elements of grave structures, inclusions and burial dress, potentially masks considerable variability in the burial record. This therefore limits the extent to which the full and possibly complex range of funerary acts can be directly examined, and especially in the context of this thesis, in relation to Cluny's meticulous written prescriptions. This taphonomic, 'body-focused' approach, on the other hand, considers the burial as a dynamic whole, where the cadaver is placed at the centre of enquiry (Nilsson 1998: 6). It aims to reconstruct, as far as is possible, pre-interment body preparation (wrappings or clothing), the original burial context (overall body positioning, space of decomposition, and mode of burial), and evidence for post-burial skeletal manipulations. This is achieved through a detailed analysis of the spatial arrangement of the skeletal elements. At its basis is an understanding of the dynamics involved in disarticulation and it considers a range of natural and non-natural factors influencing the deposit (Nilsson Stutz 2006a: 218). This approach aims to isolate, even in the absence of direct archaeological indicators, cultural modes of disposal and subsequent interventions. For decades this methodology has been incorporated into French excavation and funerary analysis, but its impact within a British context has been, on the whole, limited. In reviewing the discipline of bioarchaeology, Knüsel (2010: 62) has argued that burials are often only used to develop a notion of time-successive funerary traditions that support a chronological framework and the event represented in the burial is left underdeveloped. The dead body itself is thus commonly overlooked, both methodologically and theoretically.

In a later medieval context, both Dinn (1995: 237-8) and Westerhof (2008: 6) make the point that the position of the soul and its salvation are often the most central elements in discussions on medieval death, whereas the ways in which the cadaver was perceived and manipulated are frequently overlooked or treated summarily (Westerhof 2008: 6). However, the transformation of the body, both metaphysically as it moves from a pre-liminal through to a post-liminal state (van Gennep 1960), and physically, as it progresses from cadaver to dry bones, involves a diverse array of strategies employed by the living to aid the mourners and the transition of the deceased. Thus, there is considerable potential to identify a range of responses to the dead in the burial record. However, as this thesis addresses, the treatment of and attitudes to the dead

should not simply be considered in terms of the fresh cadaver, but also the decomposing corpse in the ground, as well as the bones of the long dead so frequently disturbed, fragmented and re-interred within these sacred spaces. *Anthropologie de terrain* can serve to bridge the gap between the observed osteological and archaeological remains and the original intended actions. Through appreciating the 'biological reality of the body' (Nilsson Stutz 2008: 19), considered in relation to its surrounding burial feature, these individual actions and their underlying meanings can start to be unravelled.

The idea that the dead and the cult of their memory were central to life in the later medieval period does little justice to the daily realities of catering for the dead in a later medieval monastery. The process of dying, death itself and the necessity of providing for the soul were everyday concerns, as this study will demonstrate. Constable's (2011: 169) recent review of the future of Cluniac studies notes that one avenue for new research should consider the activities of monks. Breaking away from the common concern with daily monastic lifeways, an integrated osteological, archaeological and historical study into one of the most important functions and activities of the Cluniac monks – as caretakers for the deceased – is thus offered within this thesis.

1.1. Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 briefly introduces the historical background and spatial and temporal development of the Cluniac order. It focuses on the different types of houses and their varied statuses. A review of previous archaeological and historical research on the Cluniacs and then more specifically on their funerary practices follows. The latter is then discussed within the context of wider developments taking place in the French and British study of early and late medieval funerary practices, and particularly, in the burgeoning field of the 'archaeology of death'.

Chapter 3 focuses in depth on Cluniac death and burial, with a particular emphasis on documentary sources. After setting the development of the Cluniac relationship with the dead into the wider historical context, a summary and discussion of the prescribed funerary rites in the Cluniac customaries are presented. The principal themes in medieval death are then explored, where the key eschatological developments, such as the formalisation of the concept of Purgatory are placed within a broad chronological framework. This section is critical for considering the prescriptions outlined in the customaries, as well as placing the observed

funerary treatments from the Cluniac samples recorded in this study, within the wider context of medieval Christian belief systems.

Chapter 4 introduces the theoretical and methodological principals of *anthropologie de terrain.* It begins by looking at the development of this approach in the context of French and British funerary analysis. This is followed by a consideration of *anthropologie de terrain* in practice, examining how evidence for preparation of the dead, burial mode and the different strategies for managing disturbed remains can be approached taphonomically. Photographic examples from Bermondsey, La Charité-sur-Loire and a range of other prehistoric and historic period sites are used to demonstrate the reasoning employed in using this technique.

Chapter 5 provides brief summaries of each of the sites under study: location, historical background and a discussion of previous archaeological work. It concludes with a presentation and discussion of the burial samples examined herein.

Chapter 6 outlines the methodology developed for the present study. It builds closely on the theory presented in Chapter 4, defining how the approaches of *anthropologie de terrain* have been applied to the chosen samples. A consideration of the methods employed for age and sex determination of the skeletal material by the respective osteologists follows. It concludes by summarising the choice of statistical tests employed in Chapter 7 to examine burial variability.

Chapter 7 and **Chapter 8** present the results and discussion. Both sections are structured as a rite of passage, guiding the reader sequentially through the post-mortem stages of the Cluniac death-course: preparation of the body, burial, and the post-burial treatment of the dead. The questions posed above are addressed throughout.

Chapter 9 is a final integration of the textual, osteological and archaeological evidence, summarising the principal findings and concluding on the outlined questions. Recommendations for further work are then presented.

A series of appendices complement the main body of the thesis and help guide the reader through the various osteological, archaeological, historical and textual elements. **Appendix 1** presents a summary timeline detailing the principal historical events relating to the foundation, development and demise of the monastic houses examined herein. To clearly situate the Cluniac customaries within this framework, the dates of their creation have been included.

Appendix 2 presents relevant passages from the key Latin texts on the preparation of the body and burial from the principal monastic customaries cited throughout this work. **Appendix 3** summarises the main anatomical terms, and those of orientation used in the analysis and discussion of the skeletal remains. This terminology has been applied principally in Chapter 4, as well as in the *anthropologie de terrain* catalogue (Appendix 5). **Appendix 4** presents the codes created based on the *anthropologie de terrain* analysis for the burial variables, and which are examined within Chapter 7. **Appendix 5** is the *anthropologie de terrain* catalogue and includes a taphonomic assessment of the burials considered within this thesis. This is provided on a CD at the end of the document. Age and sex estimations along with probable date ranges for each individual are also included.

In integrating these varied archaeological, osteological and historical resources, this thesis provides significant new insights into the treatment of the dead in both a Cluniac and wider medieval context, whilst also demonstrating the great potential for conducting interdisciplinary research of this nature. To the author's knowledge, this study constitutes the first attempt to apply the methods of *anthropologie de terrain* post-excavation to later medieval burials in a British context. In so doing, it highlights the significant value and potential of this taphonomic approach to the advancement of medieval funerary analyses.

2. THE CLUNIACS
- HISTORICAL AND FUNERARY RESEARCH CONTEXTS -

This chapter introduces the historical background and development of the Cluniac order. A review of previous archaeological and historical research on the Cluniacs and their funerary practices then follows. The latter is discussed within the context of broader developments taking place in the French and English study of medieval funerary analyses, and more specifically, in the burgeoning field of the 'archaeology of death and burial'.

2.1. The Cluniacs: historical background

The early tenth century saw the emergence of a new strand of Benedictine monasticism, which although based on the *Rule of Saint Benedict*, broke significantly with the traditions of the established independent monasteries. The foundation of the Burgundian house 'Cluny' in *c.*909 by William the Pious, Duke of Aquitaine (Wollasch 2000: 175), initiated the order. By the end of the eleventh century, many hundreds of monasteries had been established (Dietz 2005: 214) - a number that continued to grow (Fig.2.1; see below). Each was constitutionally bound and to varying degrees controlled either directly or indirectly by Cluny. The result was a vast hierarchy of subordinate establishments (Gasquet 1904: 217).
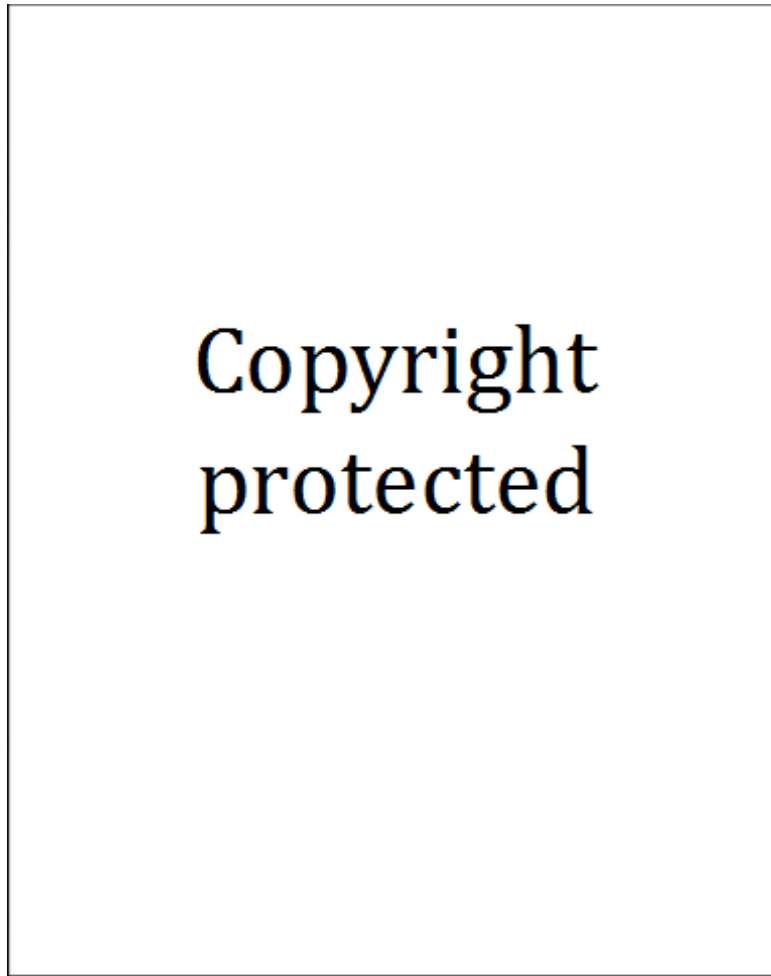
Figure 2.1: The network of Cluniac sites in Europe. From Voros (2010: 70).

The influence of Cluny, either through a direct spread of its offshoots or through an uptake of its highly valued customs (Chapter 3), stretched far beyond Central France. This spread was not, however, immediate. It was not until the mid-eleventh century that the order settled within the northern regions of France (Racinet 1982: 199). By the mid to late eleventh century, the Cluniacs were established across the Channel, with the first English house of Lewes (Sussex) being founded *c.*1081 (Lyne 1997: 6). The Order of Cluny marked the first of the great monastic revivals to affect England in the Norman Period (Sellman 1959: 44), and following Lewes, houses were rapidly established.

Cluny's influence can broadly be divided into two principal areas: its role in elaborating the monastic liturgy and in setting a precedent for establishing a monarchical federation of houses.[2] Burton (1994: 36) appropriately terms the Cluniac network a 'vast spiritual empire', which

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[2] The Cluniacs came under strong criticism from some orders for the degree of time devoted to liturgical practices. The Cistercians, unsurprisingly, were critical of many aspects of Cluniac life, promoting instead vocations aimed at a return to an emphasis, among other things, on labour (Miccoli 1990: 66).

although at the peak of its magnificence at the end of the eleventh century, Lawrence (2001: 83) has argued, remained a powerful force in the ecclesiastical and political establishment of the twelfth century.

Cluny's role in reforming and transmitting monastic practice was unparalleled for this epoch. Numerous long-established Benedictine houses adopted Cluniac customs to varying degrees (Chapter 3) - a trend evident in England, some years before the first Cluniac house was built. At Christ Church cathedral priory, Canterbury, Archbishop Lanfranc (1070-1089) introduced a new liturgy based on those of Le Bec Hellouin, Normandy (Golding 2001: 173), but also drawing heavily on Cluniac customs, such as the *Liber Tramitis* (*c.*1030) (see Cowdrey 2003: 156). This reflects, as Golding (2001: 173) notes, Lanfranc's desire to bring the English Church, particularly its monasteries, in line with Norman and Cluniac practice. On the continent, Normandy was also greatly influenced by Cluny, not originally in the form of direct establishments, but instead through adopting Cluniac practice, first brought by William of Volpiano and his monks into Fécamp Abbey via Dijon (Gazeau 2007: 213). Major abbeys such as Fécamp, Bernay, Jumièges and St Wandrille were just a few of those that, as Burton (1994: 36) notes, bore the imprint of Cluniac customs. Golding (1980: 66) suggests that in 1066 over three-quarters of all Norman monasteries were in some way inspired by the Cluniac example.

For decades questions at the centre of scholarly debate have focused on the extent to which the varying houses were, in fact, dependent and what the nature of this dependency or relationship was (e.g. Heale 2004; New 1916; Pacaut 1986). It is important to stress that the act of becoming a dependant was not a uniform process. The mother-daughter house relationship greatly varied, both spatially and temporally. This is relevant for the present study, where a contextualised approach is critical. Houses should not simply be broadly grouped based on 'order'; no two houses were the same, making their individual circumstances necessary considerations in evaluating uptake, adherence to, or adaptation of Cluny's customary practice. Many houses in France, England, Spain, Italy and Germany, for instance, adopted Cluny's customs in different forms and to varying degrees, without losing their autonomy (Pacaut 1986: 311). Reading, for example, although colonised by monks from Cluny, remained autonomous (Knowles 1963: 174), and as such cannot be strictly termed Cluniac. For those constitutionally-bound members of the Cluniac *familia,* the mechanism of control has been reported as somewhat strained, even lackadaisical (see Hunt 1967: 161,184). This is arguably true of the early years and during the abbacy of Hugh I (1049-1109), where the sudden and haphazard surge of daughter houses

resulted in the order remaining relatively decentralised (Heale 2004: 19). Burton (1994: 38) has described contact between mother-daughter houses as having been formal, for example the payment of a yearly tax and the recognition of the right of a mother-house to a voice in the election of its daughter's prior.

However, relationships between the various houses were more deep-rooted and multifaceted than this, encompassing both practical and ideological elements. Practically, the direct mother-house, whether Cluny or otherwise, had powers of appointment or removal over a subordinate's priors (Chibnall 1984: 48). In this respect, the priories (the term itself denoting a status of subservience) were often at the mercy of the greater powers. Officials were often moved between houses, possibly with the aim of further cementing Cluniac ties (see for example Knowles *et al.* 2001). Ideologically, this unity was further reinforced through an understanding that all monks of Cluniac houses were considered inmates of its mother-house (Heale 2004: 19). For example, the brethren of Bermondsey Abbey, despite being hundreds of miles away from the mother-house and separated by the Channel, still essentially 'belonged' both legally and in spirit to La Charité-sur-Loire (La Charité), Burgundy. Melville (2005: 67) therefore argues that by the time Abbot Hugh I (1049-1109) came into office, the unity of Cluny and its monasteries had actually achieved a considerably higher degree of solidity than before by developing an idea of a *Cluniacensis Ecclesia*, where Cluny's abbot was viewed as the ruling head. Papal bulls of Paschal II (1100 and 1109) testify to houses being subjected to Abbot Hugh's regime and his *ordinatio* (Melville 2005: 67).

From the early to mid-twelfth century, strategies were implemented to further regulate and centralise the order. Annual chapters were introduced and for administrative purposes, ten provinces were created, with England forming one. There was the added requirement that all priors had to visit Cluny annually (Knowles 1955: 158), which given the degree of dispersion, would undoubtedly have been logistically problematic. Cluny's desire to more closely band together was nonetheless clear and strategies took account of houses from all across the Cluniac Empire. English priors were required to visit Cluny once in every two years. The prior of Bermondsey was also obliged to attend the Chapter General at La Charité (Graham 1926: 165-7). Cluniac visitation records for the years 1262, 1275-6, 1279, 1298, 1390 and 1405, document evaluations undertaken on English subordinate monasteries, revealing the measures taken to enforce conformity in matters of liturgy and everyday life. These records refer to the observance of monastic practice according to 'the Order's rule and statutes' (see Duckett 1890).

2.1.1 Geographical spread

Traversing both natural and cultural boundaries, the Cluniacs established themselves across vast areas of Western Europe. Houses have been estimated at over one thousand, with some scholars arguing for as many as 2000 (see Evans 1938). Predominantly, they consisted of new, original foundations and 'donated' houses. In the latter case, the Cluniacs could on occasion be seen to quite forcibly claim their new possession. In 1068 at Saint-Orens-d'Auch, the donor expelled the monks in full and replaced them with Cluniacs (Pacaut 1986: 308), such was their ideological and practical power and dominance.

The vast majority of establishments were located across France, with a distinct predominance in the east (Fig.2.2).[3]
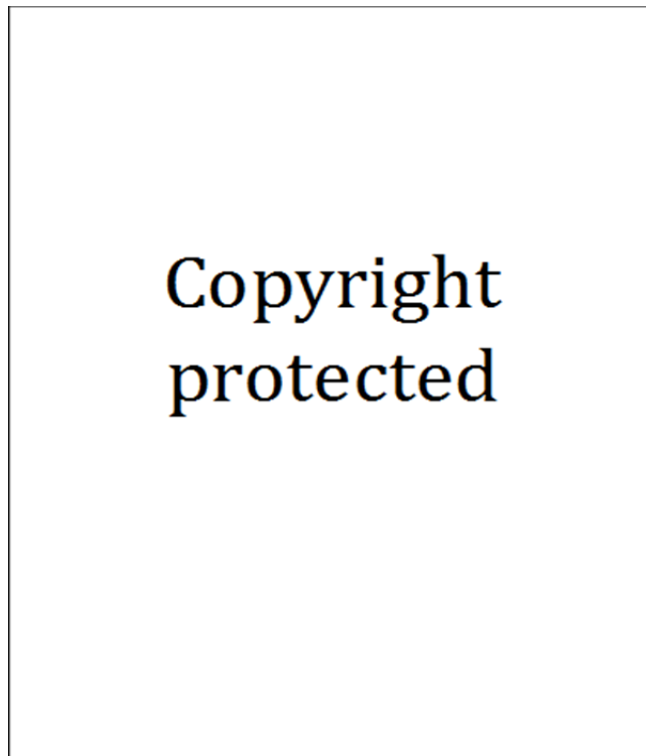
Figure 2.2: Distribution of Cluniac monasteries in France. From Pacaut (1986: 325), after Charvin (1977).

Each region possessed its more important foundations. For France, La Charité (Burgundy), Saint-Martin-des-Champs (Paris) and Souvigny (Auvergne) were among the most prestigious. La Charité earned the name, 'la fille aînée de Cluny' due to its hierarchical importance (Hilberry 1955: 1). Each house varied considerably by circumstances and date of foundation, location, physical size, the number of inmates and role and importance within the Cluniac 'system'. Notre Dame, La Charité, for instance, was developed entirely from new in a very ambitious

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[3] For a breakdown of houses by country and region see Pacaut (1986: 320-331 and his appendices).

style to mirror Cluny's second construction phase (*c.*955-981) (Barnoud 2010: 2). More modest foundations such as Saint-Nicolas d'Acy, Picardy, were conceded to the Cluniacs (Bourry *et al.* 1991: 103) who then established themselves within the pre-existing village community. Reformed houses, such as the former Augustinian priory of Saint Léonor, Beaumont-sur-Oise (Beaumont), Picardy, were also common.

2.1.2 The Cluniacs in England

Following the establishment of Lewes Priory (*c.*1081), some 30 Cluniac houses or cells were founded by 1154. Of these, Lewes and Bermondsey were two of the largest (Golding 1980: 66). In total, Cluny possessed 35 subordinate houses in England alone (Duckett 1890: 5) (see Fig.2.3 for the principal ones).
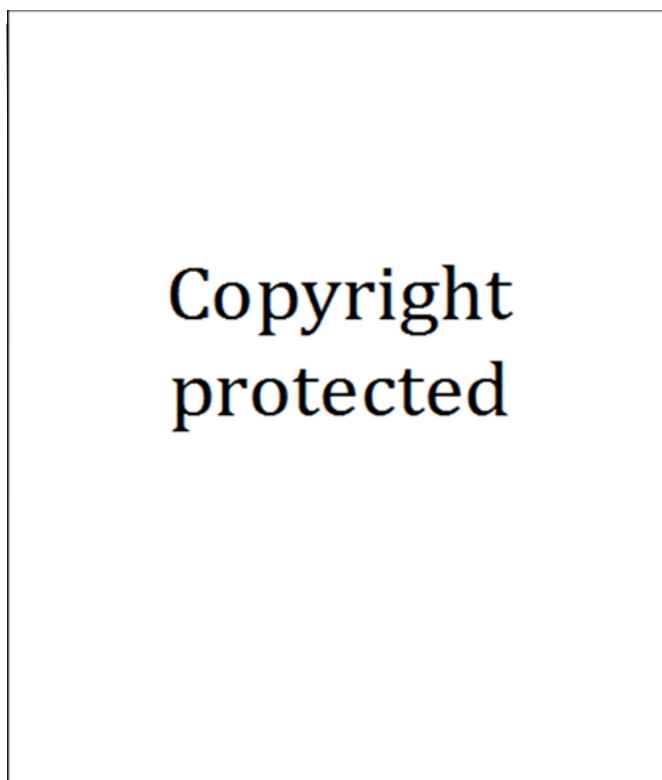
Figure 2.3: Location of English and Scottish Cluniac monasteries. From Pacaut (1986: 331), following Charvin (1977). The black dots denote Cluniac establishments, where the larger ones represent the more important establishments.

The circumstances of Lewes's foundation emphasise the intense popularity enjoyed by the Cluniacs in the late eleventh century, and the high degree of political power exhibited by the top Cluniac officials. King William I intended to use Cluniac monks to reform the English church (Knowles and Hadcock 1953: 11-12) but Abbot Hugh refused his request for Cluny to send six of its best monks in return for £100 a year for each (Poole 2000: 12). Hugh's initial

reluctance to send his brethren into unchartered and potentially ungovernable territory was later reversed when, at Lord William de Warenne's request, Cluny sent four monks to Lewes (Section 5.2).

Few houses were direct daughters of Cluny. Lewes Priory in England and Saint-Martin-des-Champs, La Charité, Sauxillanges and Souvigny in France were the only five (de Valous 1936: 486). Many in Britain were instead instigated by La Charité such as Bermondsey Abbey, Much Wenlock, Shropshire, Pontefract, Yorkshire, Daventry and Northampton (Knowles and Hadcock 1953: 95-101). This aside, influence from Cluny itself was strong from the outset. The churches of Saint Saviour, Bermondsey and Saint Pancras, Lewes, are noted as being two of Norman England's clearest examples of the influence of Cluny's architectural tradition (Klingelhöfer 2003: 193). At these sites, like at La Charité, attempts were made to emulate the overall design and thus prestige of the great abbey.

Impetus to found Cluniac houses in Britain went beyond a desire to associate with the grandeur of the new exalted liturgy, to incorporate a strong political dimension. As Golding (1980: 75) has argued, for those wishing to settle in England, it would not have been fitting to maintain close links with Norman communities forever. Cluny offered a unique chance to build French, if not Norman, monasticism on English soil. Foundation was not however restricted to Norman lords. English landholders also became benefactors, such as the merchant Alwin Child, who founded Bermondsey Abbey in 1089 (Harper-Bill 1992: 16).

Mother-daughter house ties were arguably often strong from the start. Houses such as Lewes, Bermondsey and Much Wenlock were founded by monks sent from their respective French mother-houses. In the case of Much Wenlock, the Cluniacs adopted the Anglo-Saxon saints as a way to legitimise their incumbency. With the discovery of the remains of Saint Milburga (d.715), they could argue for divine approval for their re-foundation as a house of foreign monks (Brown 2003: 64). This shows Cluny's strategy of implanting monks into new territories, but also for the sometimes volatile nature of this venture. Some may have been invited, even encouraged, but not everyone, particularly many of the established clergy, would have welcomed them unquestioningly. This trend of supplanting the Anglo-Saxon religious with foreign figures was felt from the first days of the Norman Conquest. By the time Wulfstan of Worchester died at the end of the eleventh century, most of the abbots and bishops were of continental origin (Ortenberg 1992: 234). Within the Cluniac sphere, English houses were

commonly known as 'foreign houses', given that they owed allegiance and paid taxes to a foreign abbot/French mother-house. It was not until 1374, when Bermondsey Abbey appointed its first English abbot, that its foreign status came to an end (Moore 2010: 70) (Section 5.3).

The mother-daughter house relationship was diverse and changeable. English Cluniac houses could be directly subject to French ones, offshoots of English houses or entirely independent. According to Knowles (1955: 157), Cluniac lines of organisation changed little throughout the thirteenth century. They consisted predominantly of English houses paying taxes to their respective mother-houses, the obligation of receiving a nominated prior and the necessity of visiting Cluny. The predominance of foreign brethren in English Cluniac houses was proposed by Knowles (1955: 158), where he argued that besides the prior, who was almost invariably a foreigner in the thirteenth century and entirely without experience of English ways, there was often a majority of foreign monks. The status of 'foreign house' could be an economic and political hindrance. They owed money to Cluny but were also taxed as foreign houses by the king (Dyson *et al.* 2011: 2). Politically, they were in an uncertain position during French-English conflicts; the 'Hundred Years War' (1337 to 1453), for instance, saw Bermondsey pass into the hands of the king as an enemy property (Dyson *et al.* 2011: 3).

During the Great Schism (1378-1418), links between French parent and English subsidiaries were cut entirely (Moore 2010: 70). Bermondsey (originally a priory), became an abbey in 1399 (Jurkowski 2006: 1), obtaining its independence from La Charité in 1380/81. Lewes secured its denisation some years previous in 1351 (Dyson *et al.* 2011: 3). As Heale (2009: 36) writes, contact between English houses and the continent became gradually weaker throughout the later Middle Ages. Although there were still a number of French priors and monks serving Cluniac priories, the 'Hundred Years War' resulted in an expulsion of foreign religious and ties with French mother-houses weakened.

2.1.3 Summary

The evidence demonstrates the role of both active lay encouragement and carefully implemented top-down Cluniac policy in the foundation and spread of the order. The religious and political climate of the time created the stimulus for expansion. Contributing factors came from a common desire for robust religious reform, and particularly in the case of England, a need for the newly landed elite to stamp a claim on their territory. The result was an extensive patchwork of varying sized establishments, connected politically and economically to greater or

lesser degrees to the centre of a complex and dynamic network, which saw a considerable movement of both ideas and people. Considering the sheer size and geographical spread of the order, the extent to which these houses were united in common practice can be questioned. This is particularly in terms of potential variability between the larger, original foundations such as La Charité, Lewes and Bermondsey, and the smaller reformed houses such as Beaumont. In examining the Cluniac treatment and attitude to the dead, this thesis will consider not simply the geographical location, but the 'type' or situation of each house and their changing relationship to Cluny. As Hilton (2005: 11) argues, although many monastic houses became dependencies of Cluny, it does not follow that they were reformed in the Cluniac fashion. In particular, the customaries, which were intended to unite disparate houses in common practice, could be adopted to greater or lesser degrees (Section 3.1). This thesis will consider the relationship between the different houses and these texts. It will explore the extent to which they controlled or influenced specific elements of funerary practice and their effectiveness in promoting conformity.

2.2. Previous research on the Cluniacs: the funerary context

Philip Rahtz's (1981) work on artefacts of Christian death highlighted archaeology's potential to contribute to studies of Christian death and burial in the Middle Ages. The subsequent four decades have seen significant developments in research, most notably in archaeology, history, art-history, anthropology, theology and sociology. Unsurprisingly, a history of medieval funerary archaeology has still to be written (Treffort 2010: 216), for the scale of the task is unfathomable. The number and nature of studies are constantly growing, matching the rapidly expanding archaeological and textual resources at our disposal.[4] This review cannot possibly do full justice to the wealth of important literature available on this topic from both sides of the Channel. Instead, an attempt will be made to provide a broad overview of some of the most relevant research for the contextualisation and development of this thesis.

Section 2.2.1 briefly sets the development of Cluniac studies into the wider archaeological and historical research setting. Section 2.2.2 presents a review of Cluniac funerary research in the context of medieval funerary studies, with a particular focus on Britain and France. The latter provides a broad overview of principal themes. More specific discussions on key aspects are incorporated within subsequent chapters and will be indicated as such.

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[4] Detailed translations of certain monastic texts have only relatively recently been undertaken and/or made publically accessible (see for example Bruce 2006; Paxton 1993a).

2.2.1 Cluniac funerary studies in the wider Cluniac research context

For seven centuries, the Cluniac order has been the subject of intense and varied research. The *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis novissima®,* provided by the University of Münster, records in excess of 3000 individual published works dating from the late fifteenth century.[5] The earliest years were dominated by biographies or *vitae* of prominent abbots and histories of individual establishments. However, interest in the Cluniac textual record surpassed desires to simply document monastic history. Scholars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, looking to revert to a 'golden age' of monasticism, used the *Customary of Bernard* (considered the ideal for proper devotional and institutional order) (Section 3.1.2) for promulgating positive images of monasticism and legitimising reforms (Saurette 2005: 85-86).

The nineteenth-century antiquarian pursuits prompted a growing interest, not solely in the documentary record, but also in the material one.[6] From the mid-1800s, Cluniac establishments became the subject of archaeological endeavour. Monastic structures were frequently disturbed by construction works. Occasionally, associated burial spaces were exposed, as was the case for both Bermondsey Abbey (Dyson *et al.* 2011: 4) and Lewes Priory (Lower 1846). One of the earliest published accounts detailing the discovery of archaeological material from a Cluniac context is associated not with structural remains, as is so dominant in subsequent monastic research, but with funerary remains. Excavations of Lewes Priory in 1845 unearthed inscribed lead chests containing the remains of what were believed to be the founder, William de Warenne, and his wife (see Blauuw 1846; Lower 1846, 1847; Mantell 1846) (Section 5.2). The subsequent attention received by this discovery or 'curiosity' highlights the fascination held at this time, in both public and academic spheres, for the individual lives and deaths of the 'great' and 'famous' – a trend which corresponds to the focus in the Cluniac historical literature. Some of the earliest pursuits in medieval archaeology can be directly attributed to this fascination with the romantic past. As Chapelot and Gentili (2010: 3) write, in France, the first excavations were directly linked to the interest of the romantics for the Middle Ages. Under the influence of the English antiquarians (see Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 8-9), key figures such as the Abbot of Cochet (1812-1875), began publishing on the findings from excavated medieval sites (Chapelot and Gentili 2010: 4).

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[5] See http://www.uni-muenster.de/Fruehmittelalter/en/Projekte/Cluny/BiblClun/index.html. It should be noted that this is not an exhaustive list.
[6] See Coppack (1990), Gerrard (2003), Gilchrist and Sloane (2005) and Greene (2005) for more detailed discussions on the development of antiquarian interest in medieval and, specifically, monastic archaeology.

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of publications focused on Cluniac monasticism (Fig.2.4). This was undoubtedly aided by the sudden increase in archaeological and historical societies and institutions, many providing journal series and various fora through which to disseminate research, such as the Société Française d'Archéologie in 1834 (Chapelot and Gentili 2010: 3). Cluniac research became no longer solely the pursuit of a minority of Latin scholars.[7] The physical remains of individual Cluniac monasteries (particularly the architectural features) became a primary concern (see, for example, Marion 1850; Ochier 1855).[8]
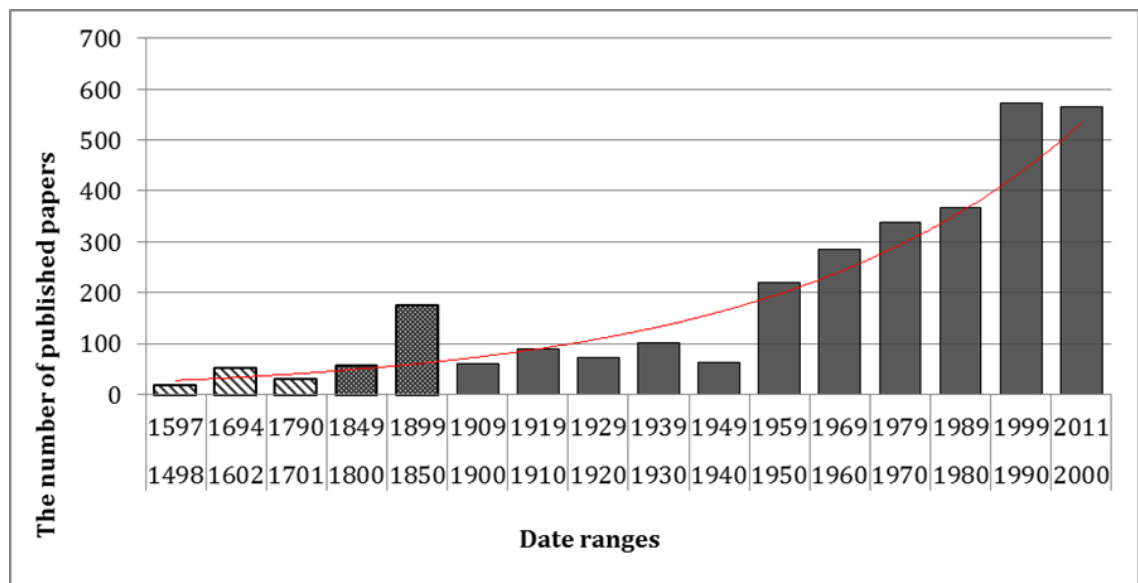
Figure 2.4: Total number of works on Cluniac monasticism published between 1498 and 2011 (in roughly 100, 50 and 10 year ranges) according to the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis Novissima®*, Institut für Frühmittelalterforschung, Universitat Münster.
(http://www.unimuenster.de/Fruehmittelalter/en/Projekte/Cluny/BiblClun/index.html).

The subsequent decades following this sudden surge of research saw a continued increase in the overall number of published works (with the exception of the 1940s, undoubtedly in large part due to World War II), a marked diversification in themes and a growing number of interdisciplinary studies. The establishment in recent decades of societies and journal series specific to medieval archaeology and history has undoubtedly helped to promote a greater cohesion and collaboration of researchers from across Europe and from a diverse range of

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[7] An unprecedented number of national and regional historical and archaeological organisations and journal series came into being from the mid-1800s in many parts of Western Europe. For instance, La Société de l'Histoire de France (est.1833), La Société de l'École des Chartes (est.1839), Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin (est.1845), Sussex Archaeological Society (est.1846); La Revue Bénédictine (est.1884), English Historical Review (est.1886).

[8] See Poole (2000) and Samuel (2011) for considerations of early architectural studies focused on Lewes and Bermondsey, respectively.

specialisms.[9]   CRAM (Centre de recherches archéologiques médiévales), for instance, was transformed into CRAHAM (Centre de recherches archéologiques et historiques anciennes et médiévales) specifically with the aim of gathering researchers from various fields including historians, archaeologists and specialists in the field of archaeometry.[10] It has served an important role (along with the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS)) in enhancing the credibility of medieval archaeology within the sphere of historical research (Chapelot and Gentili 2010: 5), and has contributed greatly to diversifying research.[11] The recent conference 'Cluny, 2010. Rencontres Internationales' reflects this diversification. It included papers on a range of subjects, including archaeology, history, art history, historiography, film, musicology and virtual reconstruction, to name a few.[12] This can be contrasted to the heavily historical and art-historical-themed conference 'Millénaire de Cluny: Congrès d'histoire et d'archéologie' (1910), where out of 36 papers, only a few dealt explicitly with the material remains.[13] The following decade witnessed the first serious programmed archaeological work undertaken on a Cluniac site. Breaking away from the strongly document-based research tradition, Cluny itself became the subject of ongoing Medieval Academy-funded excavations under the direction of Kenneth John Conant. Conant's extensively published accounts on the findings (see Conant 1929, 1930, 1931 and 1942) sparked considerable interest in the material remains of Cluniac monasticism. The archaeology of monasteries thus began and continued for years to be 'the archaeology of buildings' (Bonde and Maines 1988: 795; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 10), with a particular focus on the grand establishments. However, with the ever-growing corpus of material obtained from archaeological excavations of both the larger elite and the smaller Cluniac sites, the focus has shifted away from predominantly a traditional concern with the lives and establishments of the great, to provide insights into the quotidian Cluniac world.

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[9] For example the 'Society for Medieval Archaeology' in the UK (est.1957) with their journal series 'Medieval Archaeology' and France's 'Centre de recherches archeologiques et historiques anciennes et medievales' (est. 1954/1955) with the journal 'Archéologie Médiévale' (est.1971).

[10] See http://w3.unicaen.fr/ufr/histoire/craham/spip.php?article166&lang=fr

[11] See comments by Crawford (1921: ix) on archaeology's role in confirming or contradicting historical facts and of supplementing historical information; see also comments by Moreland (2001: 11) on the traditional perception of archaeology as the 'handmaiden of history'.

[12] The establishment in 1994 of 'la Fédération des Sites Clunisiens', funded by the Council of Europe, has also contributed to the promotion and integration of Cluniac research and scholars from across Europe. See http://www.sitesclunisiens.org/index.php.

[13] See http://www.uni-muenster.de/Fruehmittelalter/it/Projekte/Cluny/BiblClun/mille.html for a list of papers presented at the congress 'Millénaire de Cluny' (1910).

2.2.2 Cluniac funerary studies in the wider medieval funerary research context

An escalation in urban and rural development, particularly over the last few decades, has provided archaeology with the means to complement the ever-growing body of text-based studies on Cluniac death and burial.[14] In England and France specifically, the journals 'Medieval Archaeology' (MA) and 'Archéologie Médiévale' (AM) have offered since the 1950s and the 1970s, respectively, yearly accounts of excavations by universities, regional departments and commercial units. On both sides of the Channel, Cluniac establishments have received considerable attention, from the most prestigious sites (e.g. Cluny, La Charité, Souvigny, Lewes Priory and Bermondsey Abbey) to the more modest (e.g. Beaumont, Saint-Nicolas d'Acy and Nanteuil-le-Haudouin) (Fig.2.5). The Dissolution (1535-9) and the French Revolution (1787–1799) resulted in the closure and either destruction or adaptation of many hundreds of monasteries. With this came the loss of their status as sacred places, and as a consequence, recent development of these sites has provided opportunities for detailed archaeological study (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 1).

Figure 2.5: Map showing some of the principal Cluniac sites in France and England to have been the subject of archaeological enquiry. Those in red are the focus of this study.

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[14] See in particular Henriet's (1996) study of the Cluniac hagiographies; Iogna-Prat's (1996) examination of the special and ordinary dead through the literary sources; Paxton's (1993a, 1993b, 2002 and 2005) work from an historical, anthropological and music-thanatological perspective on the death rituals as prescribed within the Cluniac customaries; Wollasch's (1971) work on the Cluniac necrologies.

In Britain, between 1956 and 2010, MA records 46 individual archaeological interventions of around six Cluniac sites, ranging from small-scale assessments to larger-scale excavations (Fig.2.6). Of these, 13 encountered human remains (most notably from the sites of Lewes Priory, Bermondsey Abbey and Pontefract Priory, Yorkshire).
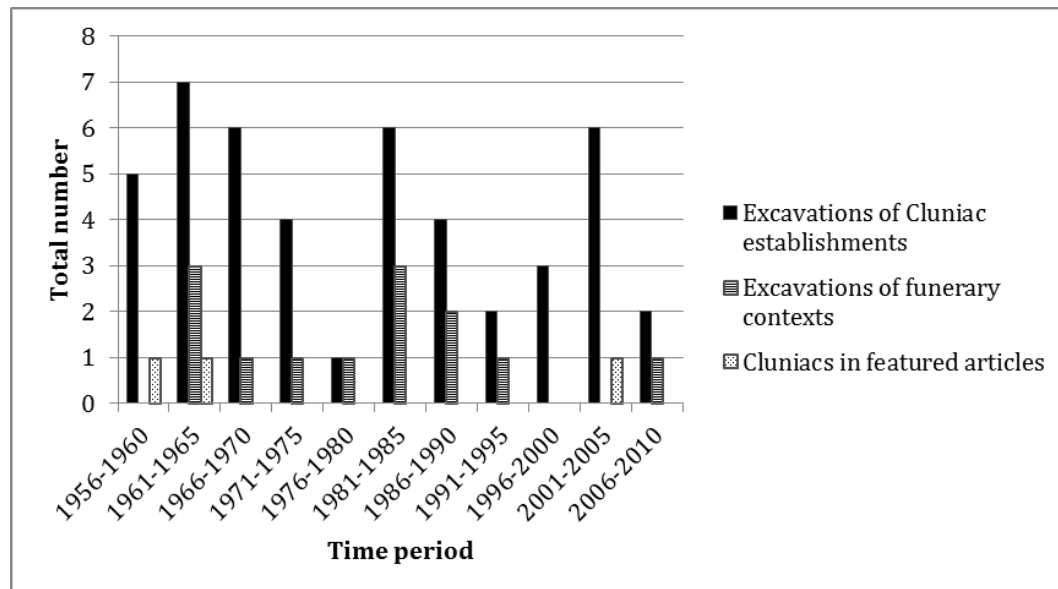
Figure 2.6: Total number of archaeological interventions at British Cluniac sites, those encountering funerary remains and the number of papers focused on Cluniac sites in featured articles in four year periods. Summarised from Medieval Archaeology (1956-2010).

Despite the wealth of osteological material obtained from these sites, their overall contribution to the study of Cluniac death and burial nonetheless remains relatively small in proportion to the text-based studies. Architectural research is also often prioritised. In MA, of the three featured articles on the Cluniacs, all are in full or for the most part focused on architectural enquiries (e.g. Faulkner 1962-3; Klingelhöfer 2003; Robertson-Mackay 1957).

Of the roughly eighty published works (ascertained primarily but not exclusively from the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis novissima®*) focused entirely or predominantly on Cluniac death and burial, only a small proportion are concerned with funerary remains (osteological and/or archaeological).[15] This is a general trend in medieval funerary studies, particularly for the later period. Treffort's (2010) review of medieval mortuary research in France notes that until the present, the study of the relationship between medieval society and their dead has relied

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[15] In particular see Baud's (1999) consideration of the spatial arrangement of burials from Cluny; Bourry *et al's.* (1991) osteological and archaeological study of the funerary remains from Saint-Nicolas d'Acy; Poree's (1993) examination of the associated funerary material (primarily ceramics) from Saint-Nicolas d'Acy; Racinet's (1993) comparison of funerary practices from Saint-Nicolas d'Acy and Nanteuil-le-Haudouin (Picardy); Durand (1988) and Gilchrist and Sloane's (2005) broad examination of Cluniac funerary practices as part of wider regional studies.

principally on textual, iconographic or monumental discourses of the living and more rarely on the direct archaeological evidence. Mays (1998: 197) has echoed this sentiment. In his consideration of the archaeological study of medieval English human populations (1066-1540), he argues that until relatively recently, the archaeological study of mortuary practices from this period has been comparatively neglected. The tradition of burial archaeology has supposed that only interments with grave goods are of interest or worthy of study (O'Brien 1996: 161-2; Rahtz 1981: 117). Various authors (e.g. Bonde and Maines 1988: 806; Hadley 2001; Zadora-Rio 2003: 1) have highlighted the greater interest that early medieval burials in both France and Britain have received, undoubtedly in part due to the presence of grave goods, and the assumption that later medieval burial grounds are in comparison homogeneous and thus unworthy of attention (see Rodwell 1975). The work of Ariès (1981) could, in part, be responsible for this widespread view; he argued that the richness of mortuary traditions was lost by the thirteenth century (Section 3.2). Assumptions such as 'chalices and patens are normally the only grave goods found in medieval cemeteries' (Steane 1985: 94) have been pervasive. More recent work has, however, challenged such statements in a British and French context (e.g. Alexandre-Bidon and Treffort 1993a; Daniell 1997; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005), demonstrating that a complex range of funerary treatments and responses to death were in existence throughout the later medieval period (Section 2.2.4).

In reviewing the last four to six decades of studies published within the journals MA and AM, it is clear that there has been a strong imbalance in research foci both within and between France and Britain (Fig.2.7).
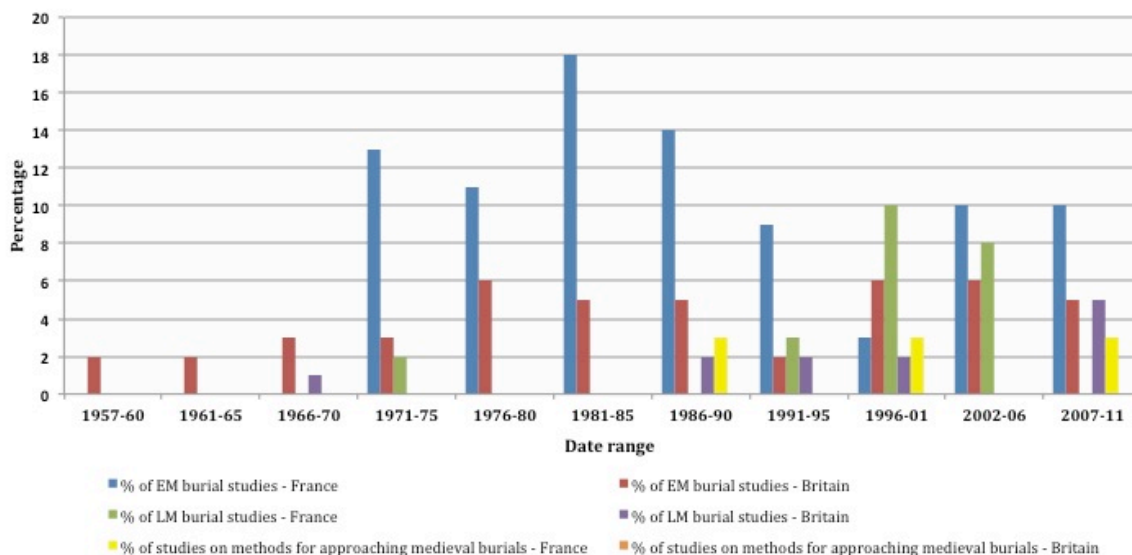
Figure 2.7: The number of French and British early and later medieval burial studies and those focused on approaches to the study of burial deposits (applicable to both time periods) as a percentage of the total number of studies published by 'Medieval Archaeology' and 'Archéologie Médiévale' in roughly five-year periods.

Key: EM = early medieval; LM = late medieval

Taking these journals to be reasonable representations of general trends in British and French archaeological medieval research, the greater attention received by early medieval burial contexts in relation to the later period is strongly apparent in both countries. Treffort (2010: 215) writes that until the second half of the twentieth century early medieval cemeteries were the most commonly explored, with an emphasis in England and France on the study of objects from graves. Undoubtedly, this has in part been influenced by early inadequacies in skeletal recording, as Chadwick (1958: 3) noted for the Anglo-Saxon burials from Finglesham, Kent. The often poor preservation of skeletal remains relative to certain grave goods (see Alexander 1987; Hedges and Buckley 1985) or simply a lack of desire to engage with the human remains (see comments by Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 1; Roberts 1996: 166; Chapter 4) have also been prominent issues.

For the early medieval period, questions of ethnicity, migration and Christianisation have traditionally dominated, particularly through the study of grave goods (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 10; Lorans 2007: 177; Treffort 2010: 215-216; Zadora-Rio 2003: 1; see for example Alexander 1987; Chadwick 1958; Chadwick Hawkes 1961; Huggett 1988; Young 1977). Williams (2005: 195) notes that mortuary practices were commonly categorised into an index for ethnic groups and religious beliefs. Where the skeletal remains were examined the focus tended towards the

physical characteristics, with the aim of understanding population migration and/or the diffusion of Christianity (Treffort 2010: 216).

The creation of typo-chronologies of grave goods (e.g. Geake 1999; Kennett 1970) and burial features, particularly with the aim of dating individual graves, cemeteries and associated buildings has, and continues to be, a common objective (e.g. Ardouin and Galmiche 2008; Welch 1976; see comments by Lorans 2007: 177) (Section 2.2.4). Many of the papers in the volume *Archéologie du Cimetière Chrétien* (Galinié and Zadora-Rio 1996), for instance, are strongly orientated towards constructing typo-chronologies. Billoin (2004: 149) argues that typo-chronologies should be an archaeological priority and a pre-requisite to the study of medieval funerary deposits, further adding that they are important for providing chronological dates, which can be used for dating buildings. Several burials were recorded during excavations in the late 1950s and early 1960s from the Cluniac Priory of St. Mary, Thetford, Norfolk (Robertson-Mackay 1957) and Pontefract Priory, Yorkshire (Bellamy 1965). In both cases, brief descriptions of location and archaeological remains of burial structures were included, but the human remains were only briefly discussed, relegated to the appendix and with age and sex estimates, metrics and pathology constituting the predominant foci. The Pontefract Priory excavation report notes how the transferral of some of the interments in the chancel during construction works was a disappointing occurrence, given that the original positioning of the graves could have been helpful in establishing the dating of the rebuilding (Bellamy 1965: 127). The full potential of these burials, not only as tools for advancing architectural discourses, but as important resources in their own right, has commonly been overlooked.

Detailed studies of later medieval burial contexts have only relatively recently come to the fore (Fig.2.7).[16] This could, in part, be attributed to improvements in excavation and skeletal recording, better suited to more complex, deeply stratified, intercutting burials (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 1, 6; see also Chapelot and Gentili 2010; Dufton and Fenwick 2012; Treffort 2010; Chapter 4).[17] As a result, there have been improvements in both the quality of burial data and dating for this period. A decline in grave goods from the seventh-eighth centuries made dating of later burial grounds difficult, but the 1980s and 1990s saw refined excavation techniques and greater use of radiocarbon dating (Zadora-Rio 2003: 1). As a result, the ways in which later

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[16] It is particularly notable that the volume 'Reflections: 50 years of Medieval Archaeology' (Gilchrist and Reynolds 2009) does not specifically consider developments in funerary studies for the later medieval period; no detailed account has been written since for Britain or France.

[17] See Kjolbye-Biddle (1975) for a case study into the problems encountered, particularly those that are stratigraphy-related, during the 1960s excavation of a medieval cemetery north of Winchester Cathedral.

medieval funerary assemblages are considered and approached have developed considerably. Gallien and Langlois (1996: 400), in discussing the Basilica of Saint Denis (Paris), note that unusually, the cemetery was excavated to the same degree of detail as the surrounding habitation zones. This shows a dramatic shift in research focus as precision in excavation and interpretative thought were traditionally reserved for settlements (Duday and Guillon 2006: 118). As a consequence of these improvements, the number and nature of questions we can now ask of later medieval burial remains are broadening.

A recent surge in methodological and theoretical studies focused on the 'archaeology of death and burial' has also opened up new lines of enquiry. Recent years have seen a distinct shift in approaches to the study of burial evidence, from an interest in life in the past (inferred from the remains of the dead) to a concern with death in the past (Härke 2002: 340). The impact of these developments on the archaeology of later medieval death and burial is considered in the following section. It will focus, in particular, on the complex balance being negotiated by researchers between the archaeological, historical and theoretical contexts and approaches to death and burial in the past.

2.2.3 Developments in later medieval funerary analyses

Funerary research and medieval life

Crubézy (2007: 10) separates the study of funerary assemblages into three domains: the world of the dead, the world of the living and the evolution of populations. Research output, however, appears imbalanced. Considering Härke's (2002: 340) statement above, reconstructing lifeways, particularly in a British later medieval context continues to be a prominent area of research, arguably to the detriment of studies specific to the treatment of the dead (see also Nilsson Stutz 2008: 22).[18] Although Rodwell commented nearly two decades ago that 'awareness of the value of unaccompanied inhumation burials has risen significantly in recent years' (1996: 200), this could arguably be related more to the growing scientific exploitation of burial contexts for their skeletal resource, as direct windows into past lifeways (Chapter 4). Williams has lamented, 'it seems ironic that given the fact that archaeologists constantly dig up, record and publish the material remains of death and mortality from the past, the key questions of how past

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[18] A brief examination by the author of all papers presented at the BABAO (British Association for Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology) conferences since 1999 clearly reveals that across all time periods, British studies focused purely on attitudes and approaches to death in the past have been less prominent in comparison to those focused on life. The later medieval period is thus not particularly unusual in this respect.

populations engaged with their mortality and attempted to deal with, and commemorate their dead, are rarely addressed' (2003a: 5). This situation is unsurprising. It has long been appreciated that human bodies are shaped by the lived experience of social and cultural practices and able to offer direct insight into a lived life (see Nilsson Stutz and Tarlow 2013: 3; Sofaer 2006). These stories, which can distinctly leave their mark on bones, provide what could be considered more concrete and tangible 'scientific-based' insights into the past and thus more readily investigated. Archaeologically exploring ways in which death was handled and responded to, on the other hand, could appear comparatively less accessible, providing one possible explanation for its relative neglect.

A key issue noted by Mays (1997a: 601, 1998: 195) is that many osteologists in Britain came to the study of human bones from a medical rather than from an anthropological background, resulting in human skeletal analysis being conceptualised as a purely scientific undertaking, and thus rarely fully incorporated into social archaeology (Gowland and Knüsel 2006: ix; Chapter 4). Duday (2009: 6) writes that training including the study of human bones is rare in France, adding that there are not many university courses in osteology for archaeologists. This could explain why focus in France has tended more towards the methodological approach (e.g. *anthropologie de terrain*) in the field, resulting in a relatively high number of studies centred on burial typologies (see below), as opposed to the British emphasis on laboratory-based analyses.[19] It is particularly notable that the only three studies published within either MA or AM (up to 2011) on the methodological approaches towards medieval burial contexts derive from AM (Fig.2.7). Blaizot's (1997, 2008) work, in particular, demonstrates the stronger focus in France on reconstructing actions, following the approach of *anthropologie de terrain*, surrounding the construction, use and reuse of burial contexts.

Patterns or individual case-studies of disease, daily activity and diet, often to examine standards of living, continue to be veritable staples in studies of parish, ecclesiastical and monastic burials from the later medieval period, particularly in a British context (e.g. Farley and Manchester 1989; Grauer 1993; Knüsel *et al.* 1992; Lewis *et al.* 1995; Mays 2006; Müldner 2009; Roberts 2009a; Waldron 1985).[20] The burials from Bermondsey Abbey, for instance, were the subject of research by Patrick (2000, 2002, 2007), who focused on evidence for obesity, and

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[19] See for example Alduc-le Bagousse *et al.* (2004); Bardel and Perennec (2004); Baud (1999); Gallien and Langlois (1996); Langlois and Gallien (2004); Le Maho and Niel (2004); Prigent (2004); see also papers in Galinié and Zadora-Rio (1996).
[20] Note that Waldron's (1985) paper on DISH in Merton Priory's monastic community was published in a medical journal (see note 21).

prevalence rates of osteoarthritis and DISH.[21] The increase in availability and applicability of scientific methods to the study of osteological remains has been strongly instrumental in stimulating growth in research into medieval lifeways. Isotopic analyses for example have been applied to later medieval monastic assemblages to examine dietary patterns (Mays 1997b; Müldner and Richards 2005) or to contribute evidence towards constructing osteobiographies (Crubézy and Dieulafait 1996; Knüsel *et al.* 2010). These latter examples demonstrate continuing interest in later medieval research for examining the lives and deaths of notable individuals (e.g. Blaauw 1846; France-Lanord 1992; Treffort 2004; Weiss-Krejci 2005; see also Treffort 2010: 217). A focus on remarkable individual cases has been particularly strong in medieval funerary analyses in osteological, archaeological and historical contexts. The bias in documentary records towards the elite (e.g. wills, hagiographies and *vitae*) naturally directs attention towards the way the privileged minority or notable individuals responded to and managed death. As evident in Daniell's (1997) and to some extent Hadley's (2001) work, this can result in a rather narrow, one-sided representation of death and burial in the past.[22]

2.2.4 Medieval life to medieval death: key developments in the archaeology of death and burial

The last three decades have witnessed a surge of research in the archaeology of death and burial across a range of time periods (e.g. Gilchrist 2012; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005; Nilsson Stutz 2003; Parker Pearson 1999; Tarlow 1999, 2002; Williams 2003b, 2006; see also the wide-ranging papers in Alexandre-Bidon and Treffort 1993a; Fahlander and Oestigaard 2008a; Sayer and Williams 2009; Tarlow and Nilsson Stutz 2013) contradicting Chippindale's (1990: 465) prior claim that the archaeology of death is now regarded as an old issue. Durier's (2013) review of around one hundred doctoral theses on the theme of medieval death (historical and archaeological based), completed or in progress in France from between 1975-2011, clearly reflects the degree of diversity and potentiality inherent in a subject area of this magnitude and complexity. The following section considers key developments and emerging trends in this rapidly expanding field, with a particular focus on the early and late medieval periods in Britain and France.

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[21] Diffuse Idiopathic Skeletal Hyperostosis is a joint disease characterised by bone formation in the spinal ligaments. Its cause is uncertain, but it has been linked to diabetes and obesity.
[22] See also comments by Finch (2000: 2) who describes a similar pattern in art history, where the bias has been towards the most remarkable, elite monuments.

Death, burial and the body: theoretical concerns and interdisciplinary issues

'New Archaeology' was particularly concerned in the 1960s and 1970s with approaching burial rites as direct indicators for social organisation, complexity and evolution (e.g. Binford 1971; Saxe 1971). A dramatic paradigm shift took place in the following decades, particularly with the rise of post-processual approaches. Over 20 years ago, Parker Pearson defined funerary archaeology as 'the archaeological study of the funerary practices that the living perform for the dead. It is not so much about the dead as about the living who buried them' (1999: 3). This, Knüsel (2010: 68) argues, is in line with deciphering the 'gestes funéraires' in French funerary archaeology, the goal being to document funerary practices to better understand them in their historical context and to explain why they took the form they did. The 1980s and 1990s post-processualist developments in funerary archaeology/mortuary behaviour thus saw a shift away from social organisation orientation of mortuary analyses (Goldstein 2006: 376), to one where burials were viewed as active arenas for social, political and religious negotiations, or 'dialogues' (Dinn 1995: 238) between the living and the dead, and their separate worlds. An emphasis on the living's agency has, as Williams (2004: 264) argued, had the positive effect of seeing mortuary practices as a 'field of discourse' for the living.

Dufton and Fenwick (2012: 155) note that the medieval funerary sphere was complex and dynamic, constituting a key arena where individuation, commemoration, social status and corporate identity were closely associated. The grave and funerary rituals played a key role in promoting these concepts (Dufton and Fenwick 2012: 155) (Chapter 3). Remains of ritualised practices relating to dealing with death and the dead can also reveal glimpses into the more abstract world of ideas and beliefs about life and death (Nilsson Stutz and Tarlow 2013: 5). Daniell (1997: vi) has proposed that for the later medieval period, beliefs concerning the afterlife were the predominant force in the rituals connected with death and burial and as beliefs changed so did the practices, the only issue here being that it is difficult to separate out practices which are religiously motivated from those that are socially important (Daniell 1997: vii). This is, however, a dramatic shift in thinking about responses to death and burial from Binford's (1972) earlier stance that mortuary practices are largely unrelated to the beliefs or social identities of the deceased.

According to Knüsel (2010: 72), post-processual approaches have added interpretative vigour to the explication of archaeological funerary contexts with a shift in focus towards symbolism, semiotics, phenomenology and sensory elements. Recent archaeological studies have developed

these ideas further, exploring aspects of identity, agency, belief, perception, emotion, memory, performance and personhood (e.g. Fahlander and Oestigaard 2008a; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005; Nilsson Stutz 2003; Price 2010; Sayer and Williams 2009; Tarlow 1999, 2002; Williams 2003b, 2004, 2006, 2007a). However, despite the growing number of studies encompassing these converging 'death-related' themes, Robb (2013: 441) asserts that we have never had an archaeology of death, where death itself is seriously theorised as an event or process. Instead, it is treated as a self-evident biological fact, where except in terms of taphonomic studies (Chapter 4), biological changes at death are afforded little attention (Robb 2013: 441, 446). With such an intent focus on the structural, social, symbolic and landscape aspects of sites, archaeologists have tended to ignore the individual bodies themselves (Goldstein 2006: 385). Overall, the body itself has received relatively little attention archaeologically (Borić and Robb 2008: 1). This therefore negates a truly contextualised approach. Although developments in body theory have had a significant impact on archaeology in recent years (e.g. Joyce 2005; Meskell 2000; Sofaer 2006), which is a positive leap forward from the seemingly 'backseat' or 'static' position that the human body has traditionally been afforded, many discussions 'have tended to focus upon the agency of the living body, its physicality, perception and engagement with material cultural and architecture, rather than the agency of the dead body itself' (Williams 2004: 264). This is a common issue in funerary archaeology, in general, even where addressing the physicality of the body might appear unavoidable (Nilsson Stutz 2008: 19) (Chapter 4). For later medieval death and burial research, scholarly interest in debating the abstract soul has often dominated over concerns for the physicality and materiality of the dead body itself (Westerhof 2008: 6; see also Dinn 1995: 237-8). Attempts have been made in a French context, however, to address this issue. In the introduction to their volume *À Réveiller les Morts: La Mort au Quotidien dans l'Occident Médiéval,* Alexandre-Bidon and Treffort (1993b: 1) stress that their concern is with the body more than the soul and how medieval society materially organised and managed death. Nonetheless, where the treatment of and attitudes towards the dead body have been the object of discussion and debate, the focus has tended towards more high-profile elite or saintly bodies, for instance their preservation, fragmentation, translation and commemoration (e.g. Bynum 1995; Daniell 1997; Hadley 2001; Henriet 1996; Weiss-Krejci 2010; Westerhof 2008). Furthermore, many such discussions engage primarily with the documentary record, rather than the archaeological.

Although Gilchrist (2009: 389) has argued that burial archaeology has been most receptive to post-processual approaches, later medieval archaeology (funerary or otherwise) has taken

longer to engage with theory. This sentiment echoes the earlier comments of Gilchrist and Sloane (2005: 4), Johnson (1996: xii) and Williams (2003b: 228), where for funerary studies, scholars of the early medieval period have been considered more theoretically engaged. Williams (2003b: 228) has attributed this to the relationship between archaeology and history, where archaeology has been used to bolster existing historical paradigms and orthodoxies rather than being used to develop new theories that challenge and problematise the study of medieval death and burial from an archaeological perspective. This has resulted, Williams (2003a: 22) has proposed, in a 'sidelining' of burial archaeology for this period. Treffort (2010: 214) supports this in a French context, arguing that despite the fact that funerary archaeology has taken on an intellectual dynamism in the last 20 years, medieval funerary archaeology only plays a minor role. Late medieval archaeology has not, as McClain (2012: 131) proposed, lived up to the enormous potential of its wealth of material and documentary evidence. Despite the fact that studies of meaning, choice, agency, identity, perception, belief and emotion are emerging more and more in archaeology (see above), they are few and far between for the later medieval period (McClain 2012: 136). Although nearly two decades ago Moreland stressed that, 'any attempt to understand the Middle Ages must use the full range of evidence which exists from the past' (1997: 180), the later period, in particular, is still conspicuously fragmented; arguably, it is characterised by an overall disjuncture between material and text-based studies, where theoretical approaches are rarely explicitly confronted.

Fragmenting the medieval past: archaeology, historical sources and theory

The overshadowing of the later by the earlier medieval period in the adoption of theoretical perspectives (McClain 2012: 131) could partly be related to the relative reliance on textual sources from both periods. Historical evidence concerning the cadaver is rare for the early medieval period (Gleize and Castex 2012: 115), where most sources are concerned with life, not death (Williams 2006: 14). This could, in part, account for a more active engagement of early medievalists with theoretical approaches to death and burial. Although the absence of written sources in archaeology is a challenge, it can also be resource, as it leads to a problematisation of theories formulated in other disciplines (Berggren and Nilsson Stutz 2010: 172) and from other less textually rich time periods. Williams's (2006) work on early medieval memory is a good case in point where in exploring the complex relationship between mortuary rituals and social memory he drew upon Andrew Jones's (2004) concept of 'technologies of remembrance' developed in relation to Neolithic and early Bronze Age mortuary practices. Williams (2007b: 11) has argued that there is considerable potential in thinking of early medieval mortuary

practices as evolving and varying 'technologies of remembrance'. Here, material culture and the spatial and temporal structuring of the funeral are employed, together with the corpse, to create memorable experiences and influence the perception of the past and the future through the present (Williams 2007b: 11). Approaches such as this emphasise the importance of uniting all available evidence, of affording the corpse a more central position in our enquiries and of viewing the funerary sphere as an active arena for 'negotiations' or 'dialogues' between the living and the dead.

The later medieval period, in contrast to the earlier, is particularly notable for its abundance of textual and iconographic sources concerning the dead (e.g. necrologies, wills, customaries, hagiographies and Books of Hours). These have traditionally formed the focal point of studies into medieval death, over a theoretically informed engagement with the archaeological remains themselves. The work of Ariès (1977; 1981) (Section 3.2.1), and, in particular, his approaches deriving from the history of mentalities, for instance, has opened doors to researchers exploring the relationship between the medieval living and the dead (Treffort 2010: 213; Vidal Lorenzo 2008: 408). In this regard, the historical record has often been afforded primacy. Although Mays (2006: 179) has suggested that recent approaches to medieval monastic archaeology have attempted a more ambitious integration of the historical and archaeological evidence (see below), rather than archaeology playing a subservient role, Williams argues that publications assessing the archaeological evidence and its importance in the social study of death (e.g. Binski 1996; Daniell 1997; Hadley 2001) 'appear more comfortable handling the historical and art-historical data than making interpretations from the archaeology' (2003b: 228). This inevitably creates an imbalance where the often little documented 'ordinary dead' are generally overlooked. Hagiographies, for instance, have featured in examinations of medieval monastic death, but as Gazeau (2004: 15) points out, the death of simple monks is rarely considered. Monastic customaries in this respect are unusual. Williams (2003b: 228) goes on to argue that a lack of an explicit theoretical position denies a truly inter-disciplinary approach – a situation in direct contrast to studies of death and burial in prehistoric societies (e.g. Nilsson Stutz 2003; Parker Pearson 1999) and other historic-period contexts (e.g. Lucy and Reynolds 2002; Tarlow 1999; Williams 2006). Recent research in later medieval death and burial has, however, started to address such issues.

Medieval death, burial and the body: emerging interests and approaches

Particularly over the last 10 years, research in later medieval death and burial has been striving towards a more interdisciplinary approach, encompassing archaeological and historical evidence examined within a defined theoretical framework. Gilchrist and Sloane's (2005) broad spatial, temporal and chronological study examined around 8000 graves (*c.*1050 to *c.*1600) from more than seventy monastic cemeteries in Britain. It demonstrated (see also Nilsson Stutz 2003; Willis and Tayles 2009) the potential for systematically re-evaluating sites excavated many years, or even decades, previously. Despite the fact that few of the extensively excavated later medieval burial assemblages have, as Mays (1998: 196) argued, produced adequate publication reports, Gilchrist and Sloane's (2005) study highlighted the great potential for medieval funerary studies of this approach.

Drawing on the more anthropological approaches adopted by prehistoric archaeology (e.g. Parker Pearson 1999), Gilchrist and Sloane's (2005) work systematically examined the medieval funeral as an extended transition from life to death. The dying and dead body journeyed through sequential stages or 'rites of passage' (following van Gennep 1960) where, aided by specific materials (objects, texts and iconography), various actors (religious and lay) negotiated this transition. This approach helped to structure, visualise and more thoroughly contextualise the different events (and participants' roles) constituting the later medieval funeral. Building on previous studies, which broadly examined the geography of later medieval English burial practices (e.g. Daniell 1997), Gilchrist and Sloane (2005) applied quantitative methods to better gauge broad spatial and temporal differences in funerary treatment. As this thesis will develop further, they demonstrated that empirical analysis and social interpretations are strongly compatible (McClain 2012: 131) and are particularly valuable when employed alongside fully contextualised historical evidence. Through theoretically and quantitatively considering treatment of the dead at the level of both the individual body and the broader funerary landscape, they were able to demonstrate the dynamic and multifaceted nature of later medieval burial, thus refuting prior assumptions of widespread uniformity or homogeneity. Rather than being a static feature, the grave was considered to embody 'a complex set of interactions', which should be viewed as a 'physical residue of a chain of social events, in which material culture is active in commemorating an individual and his/her place within the community' (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 13). Crucially, their study approached later medieval death and burial as an extended inter-related process, not simply as a series of short isolated events.

Death and burial to commemoration: the materiality of medieval funerary practices

Our conventional biographies generally begin with the birth of the subject and end with their biological death (Robb 2013: 447). However, the social, symbolic and mnemonic significance of the dead body does not usually end with the extinguishing of vital signs (Williams 2004: 265). Social dying can be lengthy, from preparation long before death for the eventual rites through the biological crisis itself and on to eventual ceremonies of remembrance (see Robb 2013: 451). This is evident for the later medieval period, particularly from documentary sources. Memory and commemoration are central to this process and have been shown to structure many of the treatments afforded the dying and dead body, especially within a monastic context (Chapter 3). In a similar vein to the works of Hallam and Hockey (2001) and Williams (2003b, 2004, 2006), Gilchrist and Sloane explored the agency of both objects and bodies in the construction of memory, demonstrating that material culture 'actively represented relations between the living and the dead, and framed the context for memory of the deceased' (2005: 4). Material culture, as McClain (2012: 143) has argued, cannot be seen as a passive reflection of a static archaeological record. It is capable of dynamic interaction with people, and is active in the construction, negotiation and manipulation of the social structures that helped determine its creation and in creating and reaffirming individual and a shared community memory (McClain 2012: 143). As with texts, this can equally be applied to the dead bodies themselves. Williams (2003b, 2004, 2006, 2007b) has drawn on examples from early and later medieval Britain to explore the relationship between the materiality and mnemonics of death and burial (see also Hallam and Hockey 2001). Through exploring the performative and experiential elements of the burial process, including notions of both display and concealment, Williams (2006) envisaged the practices taking place around the corpse. He explored how burial rites allowed the incorporation of memories through a range of practices, technologies and ritual performances and how dynamic strategies were employed by the living to construct and maintain relationships with the dead and thus reproduce social memory. However, as Williams (2007b: 5) has argued, the potential for considering objects, cadavers, graves and monuments as having an 'agency' to affect and direct social structures and ideals has yet to be fully explored. This is particularly the case for the later medieval period, although Gilchrist's (2012) recent work on the medieval life course has offered exciting new perspectives on the dynamic relationship between human lives and the material world.

Despite the apparent relative paucity of material funerary remains for the later medieval period, beyond the interred body itself, the materiality of death and burial has nonetheless started to

attract considerable attention. This has been examined most fruitfully through closely integrating archaeological and documentary evidence. The overall lack of 'grave-goods' for this period has encouraged greater engagement with other forms of material remains such as funerary dress or wrappings and containers for the body. 'Materiality' does not simply concern the study of objects or materials, but the way in which these things actually constituted and structured behaviour (Price 2010: 131). In particular, Alexandre-Bidon's (1993a) work *Le Corps et son Linceul* (The Body and its Shroud) and Treffort's (1993) *Les Meubles de la Mort: Lit Funéraire, Cercueil et Natte de Paille* (Items of the Dead: Funerary Beds, Coffins and Straw Mats) drew on textual, iconographic and archaeological sources to explore how these objects may have been constructed and used, but also importantly, viewed.[23] The focus on how medieval society materially organised and managed death has moved the discussion away from an 'Ariès-type' approach centred principally (and more abstractly) on mentalities or feelings about death. Situating the adoption and use of these material entities within their social and theological contexts, Alexandre-Bidon (1993a) and Treffort (1993) demonstrated the importance of moving beyond considering them as passive, uni-dimensional objects, fulfilling a purely practical purpose. Non-liturgical objects of death (e.g. shrouds, coffins) lay at a significant junction between the message of the Church, its signs, and the perception of them by the laity [and religious persons], gravediggers and the creators of these objects; they were integrated into the sacred and thus meaningful spaces and were therefore far from trivial (Alexandre-Bidon and Treffort 1993b: 1). Their use (or lack of) played an active role in revealing and expressing or concealing and potentially denying the identities of the deceased or the biological realities of death (Chapters 3 and 8). They thus served important social, religious and mnemonic functions. In a Cluniac context, Poree (1993) examined both the function (practical and/or symbolic) and meaning of funerary vessels deposited in graves at the Priory of Saint-Nicholas d'Acy, Picardy. Poree also drew on the Cluniac customaries to examine the ritual 'role' of these objects in relation to the deceased, the mourners and in the context of the Cluniac funerary proceedings.[24] Such studies, along with more recent research (e.g. Williams 2004, 2006; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005; Gilchrist 2008; Price 2010; Gilchrist 2012) have demonstrated the importance of moving beyond purely typological assessments of funerary materials – of viewing them simply as 'assemblages of things' to be catalogued and described (Price 2010: 131). Uniting all available sources of evidence provides an insight into the multifarious ways in which the materiality of death and burial could be handled and manipulated by the mourners to negotiate (both

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[23] See also Gilchrist's (2008) study of objects from medieval graves.
[24] See also work by Schweitz (1981) along a similar vein.

individually and communally) the complex physical and metaphysical passage of the dying and deceased. In this respect, the material remains of graves are not simply direct indicators for social and political organisation; they can also provide valuable, yet subtle insights into religious beliefs, ideas about the afterlife, and the performative and commemorative aspects of death rituals (see also Rundkvist and Williams 2008). One element of the materiality of later medieval death requiring greater academic attention, however, is the dead body itself. As this thesis will address, the body in various states of decomposition and fragmentation should be considered if we are to more fully comprehend how the medieval dead in different spatial and temporal contexts were handled, managed and viewed.

The materiality of medieval death: the whole and fragmented dead body

In their studies of early and later medieval death and burial, Gilchrist and Sloane (2005) and Williams (2004; 2006) to some extent placed the physical dead body at the centre of enquiry. Williams drew attention to 'the centrality of the cadaver as a focus for personhood and remembrance of the dead in mortuary practices' (2004: 264) or as a mnemonic agent (Williams 2006). However, as with Gilchrist and Sloane (2005) and Williams (2004), the centrality of the body as a biological entity to be examined methodologically as well as theoretically was not fully emphasised. Although outside the scope of these studies, closer scrutiny of the taphonomic processes enacting on the individual bodies in each stage of the funeral would have permitted a greater insight into the minutiae of practices surrounding treatment of the body and thus of the attitudes to its changing physicality. Williams has claimed that 'while mortuary archaeology has frequently focused on the dead body's treatment, elaboration and representation through material culture, the materiality of the dead body itself has received less attention' (2004: 264). A biological perspective, Nilsson Stutz (2008: 22) has argued, would help us to understand the materiality of death, for dying 'is not purely a constructed experience, but responds to and integrates the biological affordances of the changes the body displays at death' (Robb 2013: 449) (Chapter 4). Citing the taphonomic work of Nilsson Stutz, Williams (2006: 82) has acknowledged the considerable potential for applying more detailed analyses of burial position and posture in early medieval graves to identify the influence of practical and ritual actions concerned in the construction of the grave and the burial of the dead. As presented in Chapter 4, individual later medieval burials (particularly in France) have been the focus of detailed taphonomic study aimed at reconstructing specific funerary treatments or the *gestes funéraires* (e.g. Blaizot 1997, 2008; Gleize 2007, 2010; Staniaszek 2005; see papers in Bizot and

Signoli 2009). However, overall, their contribution to wider theoretical discussions on medieval attitudes to death and the dead body remains minimal.

Paxton (1996), among others, has considered the liturgy on how the medieval dead remained part of the living community (Chapter 3), but the nature of their continuing 'physical' presence has been less well examined. The last 10 years, however, have seen a growing archaeological interest in the treatment of disturbed medieval bodies (Cherryson 2007; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005; Gleize 2007, 2010; Naji 2005; Williams 2004, 2006; see also Chapters 3 and 4). Gilchrist and Sloane (2005) were able to explore in detail the processes and extent of cemetery reuse, challenging previously held assumptions that systematic charnelling was in operation throughout the later medieval period (see Binski 1996). Instead, they concluded that the more usual practice in monastic cemeteries was to reincorporate disturbed bones within newly dug graves (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005), thus highlighting a commonly overlooked burial variable in need of further scrutiny. However, they were unable to quantify or comparatively examine intra- or inter-site variability in more detail. This can equally be applied to Cherryson's (2007) study of disturbed remains from early Medieval Wessex. Here, relative inter-site degrees of burial intercutting were identified and discussed, particularly as regards the views and teachings of the Church on bodily fragmentation and resurrection, but specific re-depositional strategies were only briefly presented.

Naji's examination of burial disturbance from the Augustinian site of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, France, revealed a complex range of strategies for dealing with disturbed remains, demonstrating that 'secondary burials in a monastic context could carry more interpretations than has been previously thought' (2005: 188), as has also been indicated by the more systematic research of Gleize (2007, 2010) and Aspöck (2011). We should now be engaging in more informed discussions on whether or not skeletal disturbance represents a lack of care or not on the part of the gravediggers or institution, considering motivations for various manipulations, which in many cases still remain largely 'hypothetical' (Naji 2005: 188). Hadley (2001: 119) has proposed that a disregard for earlier burials could be supported from instances of articulated limbs (such as from St Helen-on-the-Walls) found overlying interments. However, the very act of handling and reincorporating still decomposing body parts in direct contact with the recent dead requires greater attention and deliberation, particularly considering popular later medieval perceptions surrounding the cadaver (Section 3.2). Naji (2005: 188) has also asserted that signs of disrespect for the dead are unsurprising in a medieval monastery since medieval

people were concerned less with the expression of respect and remembrance of the body and more with that of the soul. More systematic archaeological studies are clearly required to challenge such assumptions based on notions of a simple body/soul dichotomy. This thesis will attempt to address this issue.

Both Bourry *et al's.* (1991) brief consideration of disturbed remains from Saint-Nicholas d'Acy and Williams's (2006) assessment of Boddington's (1996) findings from Raunds Furnells, have challenged common notions of 'disregard'. Williams (2006: 112) presented examples of disturbed, reused graves where the remains were seemingly treated with 'reverence', showing that careful handling and arrangement does not therefore imply expedient or practical responses on the part of the living in this case at least. He considered the visual impact of these prominently positioned remains on the mourners, therefore also raising questions as to the performative and sensory aspects surrounding their manipulation and reincorporation. Discussions centred on disturbed remains have also recently touched upon the mnemonic dimension. Williams (2003b: 230) explores how the intercutting of burials could be considered in terms of the role of the Church in the remembrance of the dead as a community. Citing the example of Carmarthen Greyfriars, Williams (2003b: 246) proposes that the process of disturbance through grave-digging and the discovery of older graves had a mnemonic dimension; it could have been one of the ways that history and the dead were incorporated into the friary's history. Re-encounters with remains could thus have been imbued with a particular commemorative significance on both an individual and community level.

Bourry *et al.* (1991: 127) have framed the physical re-encounter of the living and the dead as a 'dialogue'. Here, the resultant handling practices were considered in relation to the circumstances of discovery, where the various actors had different 'visions' or 'attitudes' when faced with the dead. For example, whether disturbance was 'fortuitous' such as during building works or 'expected, normal' as during grave-digging by 'professionals'. These issues were also touched upon by Cherryson (2007). The range of strategies encountered at Saint-Nicholas d'Acy (see Bourry *et al.* 1991: 127-130) reinforces the importance of a fully contextualised approach. In examining motivations behind specific responses to the body and exploring why they took the form they did, disturbed remains, as with complete interments, require careful examination on a range of scales. This should encompass the arrangement of individual graves and their relationship to other structures (funerary or otherwise) within the excavated burial zones (Chapter 4). Inter-site comparisons of funerary practice through time also offer considerable

scope to examine broader spatial and temporal factors influencing responses to the dead body. However, as the following section emphasises, a strongly contextual approach is required.

Placing the dead in the funerary landscape: broader temporal and spatial studies

In further examining the world of the dead, Crubézy (2007: 26) has divided the field very broadly into three: the funerary practices (what they signal/mean), the selection of the burial population, and the organisation in terms of the biological criteria (e.g. genetic links between individuals). These diverse themes have prompted a great variety of funerary studies on a range of spatial and temporal scales. Studies from throughout the medieval period have comparatively examined the evolution and management of burial zones and developments and changes in funerary practice, such as the spatial evolution of graves, burial constructions, the provision of grave goods and body positioning. They have traced these over broad time periods (e.g. Bardel and Perennec 2004; Daniell 1997; Durand 1988; Gallien and Langlois 1996; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005; Hadley 2001; see also papers within Alexandre-Bidon and Treffort 1993a) or between wide geographical regions (e.g. Daniell 1997; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005; see papers in Lucy and Reynolds 2002). Regional differences in later medieval funerary practices have been discerned, along with changes in burial construction and grave provisions. These have been broadly linked, among other things, to theological developments, including the rise in the concept of Purgatory and the associated need for a continued remembrance and commemoration of the dead (Section 3.2), catastrophic events such as the mid fourteenth-century Black Death and the resulting growing anxiety over the decaying corpse, as well as political and religious upheaval during the Reformation (see in particular Binski 1996; Daniell 1997; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005).

On a smaller scale, Gallien and Langlois's (1996) and Gilchrist and Sloane's (2005) studies also examined the placement of burials in relation to everyday negotiation of the cemetery spaces. A more recent emphasis on cemeteries, not as a collection of individual burial deposits, but as evolving, negotiable and meaningful funerary landscapes has encouraged new lines of enquiry (see also Williams 2006). Burial spaces (from individual sites) have been examined, for instance, to explore the relationship between their management and the social and religious identities of the buried population. Burial zoning (and inclusion and exclusion) by age and sex (e.g. Billoin 2004; Bourry *et al.* 1991; Guillon 2004; Racinet 1993), family ties (e.g. through non-metric analysis and more recently, DNA testing) (e.g. Gamba *et al.* 2011) and social or religious status/grouping (e.g. Mays 1997b) have been widely explored (see also Daniell 1997; Gilchrist

and Sloane 2005). The treatment of 'otherness' in death or in relation to specific circumstances surrounding death (e.g. criminals, women who died in childbirth, unbaptised infants and those with disabilities) (e.g. Reynolds 2009; see papers in Murphy 2008), have also featured. Studies of this nature have variably demonstrated the role of burial (as both a process and a stage) and mortuary landscapes in negotiating, conveying and reaffirming aspects of one's individual and/or group identity. There is a danger, however, that studies of this nature sometimes under-emphasise or mask the dynamic and multifarious nature of both later medieval society and management of the body in death. For instance, Robb (2013: 453) warns that while distinctions in rank and wealth are sometimes evident in aspects such as burial within churches for people of high rank, by and large the archaeological evidence does not really reflect the elaborate hierarchies of the time. As Chapter 3 will discuss, the Cluniac customaries arguably dissolved the traditional boundaries of internal (e.g. elite) and external spaces, perhaps to some extent seeking to emphasise commonality in death. This example underlines again the importance of reflecting upon observed burial patterns in relation to available fully contextualised documentary evidence.

Bourry *et al.* (1991: 122) write that there is often a tendency in monastic history and archaeology to schematise and create universal principles from descriptions or traits concerning funerary practices in monasteries. This concern for description and dating can, as Alexandre-Bidon and Treffort (1993b) suggest, lead to an excessive materialism or an evolutionary 'interpretation' of data, where we may become blind to the fact that medieval men and women viewed the world as a symbolic structure of complex systems, often contradictory, and sometimes a distortion of reality. A more reflexive and theoretically informed approach to funerary contexts could provide greater insight into the subtleties entrenched in the way that death was approached and managed in the past. The creation of broad spatial and temporal typologies, however, continue to be commonplace in later medieval archaeology, particularly in a French context (e.g. Lorans 2007; Tardieu 1993; see also papers in Alduc-le Bagousse 2004; Galinié and Zadora-Rio 1996), where studies focused on the evolution of containers, body positions, tomb orientation, grave goods and body preparations have revealed a multitude of similarities and diversities. As also demonstrated by Daniell (1997) and Gilchrist and Sloane (2005), regional differences in grave construction and provisioning are evident, but more detailed research is clearly necessary to comprehend these patterns further.

Dufton and Fenwick (2012: 156) note, however, that many studies for this time period are based on comparative analyses of national or regional patterns (see above), which can result in the detail of individual cemeteries and their micro-scale relevance becoming lost. As highlighted in Chapter 5 of this thesis, for instance, no two monastic houses within one religious order were the same. Extensive spatial and temporal variability in foundational circumstances, community size and political and economic situations, among other factors, existed. As such, treatment of the dead should, where possible, carefully address each individual establishment contextually. Broad comparisons based on religious order may mask the complexity of the various individual situations. As Paxton (1993a: 1) writes, the flexibility of Saint Benedict's Rule required each monastic community to resolve the problems and modes of its daily life to a large degree by itself (Chapter 3), increasing the potential for considerable (yet possibly subtle) inter-monastery variation in practice. As stressed throughout this thesis, monastic customaries deriving from a specific order should not therefore be uncritically adopted as an exemplar of general monastic practice. Instead, as Moreland (2001) has advocated, we should treat historical texts as items of material culture, where their meaning and perception is dependent on the context of the individual or group that created them, and those who owned and read them (McClain 2012: 158).

2.2.5 Summary

Although Dufton and Fenwick (2012: 156) note that medieval archaeologists have recently been drawing on wider theoretical perspectives from anthropology, history and prehistoric archaeology, these truly inter-disciplinary studies are arguably still few and far between, particularly for the later medieval period. An approach of this nature would, as Nilsson Stutz and Tarlow (2013: 1) argue, allow us to unpack socio-cultural aspects of the human past, including social relationships and identities, social structure, diet and health, population histories and individual biographies, emotional discourses, ritualised practices, migrations and cosmologies. Moves have been made, particularly in a French context, to address this divide, for example Alexandre-Bidon and Treffort's (1993a) strongly interdisciplinary volume, *À Réveiller les Morts. La Mort au Quotidien dans l'Occident Médiéval*. [25] The 'Groupement d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Funéraire' (GAAF), for instance, was established to conceptualise and understand death in the past. With their primary focus being the burial structures and skeletons, they strongly advocate an integration of evidence and approaches drawn from the

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[25] See also Sapin and Treffort's (2004: 3) introductory comments in *Inhumations et Édifices Religieux au Moyen Âge*; Gilchrist and Sloane's (2005) work in a British context.

physical remains themselves, archival sources, history, iconography, sociology, ethnology and environmental sciences.[26] In particular, their publications *Rencontre Autour du Cadavre* (Guy *et al.* 2012) and *Rencontre Autour des Sépultures Habillées* (Bizot and Signoli 2009) drew heavily on case studies from the medieval period, highlighting the potential for inter-disciplinary research focused on the historic period. Methodologically and theoretically, mortuary archaeology for the later medieval period nonetheless has a considerable way to go. Nilsson Stutz and Tarlow (2013: 12) have argued that the presence of the human body places mortuary archaeology at the threshold between the natural sciences (biological remains), the humanities, and the social sciences by locating the individual within a historical, cultural, social and ritual context. This 'threshold' position assumed by the human body has arguably fostered a divide between the more scientific osteological studies (frequently focused on research into medieval lifeways) and those grounded more in historical research and/or social theory. The result has been that human skeletal analysis is rarely fully incorporated into social archaeology (Gowland and Knüsel 2006: ix) (Chapter 4). According to Joyce (2005: 141), although the frequency of articles devoted to the body from a bioarchaeological perspective has increased considerably, these contributions are in no obvious way post-processual. Responding to this comment, Nilsson Stutz (2008: 21) has made the point that since the critique against processual archaeology in the 1980s, archaeological theory has moved away from the natural sciences, thereby closing off some interesting avenues. One element which is notably absent from studies of later medieval death and burial is a consideration, methodologically or theoretically, of the human body as a dynamic and changing biological entity. This is in terms of its treatment and status in all stages of decomposition and fragmentation (Chapter 4). As this chapter has discussed, historical research into attitudes towards the dead body and death as a whole have been prolific, but the predominant focus has been on elite bodies and theological discussions centred on the body/soul divide (Section 3.2.1). This thesis goes some way towards addressing this imbalance. It integrates bioarchaeological and historical evidence, considering bodily remains and the varied material culture, both of which contributed to the creation of these highly meaningful and dynamic funerary landscapes. Central to this is a critical examination of monastic texts specific to the Cluniac order, allowing for a closer contextualisation of archaeologically identifiable funerary practices and theories surrounding attitudes to the dead.

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[26] See http://gaaf.e-monsite.com/pages/qui-sommes-nous/qui-sommes-nous.html

In exploring medieval attitudes to death, Alekshin (1983: 138) argues that one should make use of written sources if they are available, but as Mays (2006: 179) rightly points out, most written evidence on monastic daily life consists of strictures ('Rules') concerning how life should be lived rather than the way it actually was. It is therefore necessary to take into account the context in which the texts were written and to not use them unquestioningly as precise and realistic evidence (Gleize and Castex 2012: 115). Medieval textual and iconographic sources should thus not, where it suits us, be passively cited to exemplify individual cases or patterns observed within the archaeological record, or vice versa. Rather, the active nature of texts to directly or indirectly effect a potentially diverse array of context-dependent responses (see Moreland 2001) should be critically considered. This should be undertaken in close conjunction with the material remains, to measure, at their fair value, the contribution of each, and to identify divergences and convergences (Alexandre-Bidon and Treffort 1993a). For studies of later medieval death and burial, we should appreciate and foster the degree of overlap and mutual dependence inherent in the disciplines of archaeology and history (see Tabaczyński 1993). A truly interdisciplinary approach would help us to tackle the complex questions of what a grave actually represents, how a burial is performed and by whom, and how we should interpret their different properties and interments (Fahlander and Oestigaard 2008b: 1). The materiality of death is fundamental to funerary research, yet traditionally, the more readily classifiable objects interred with the dead or types of grave construction have received the majority of attention, resulting in the creation of broad spatial and chronological typologies. All components of the funerary process should be afforded due attention, importantly including (yet often forgotten) the primary object of death, the dead body itself. Following Fahlander and Oestigaard (2008b: 5), the dead body should not be viewed as a constant materiality, but instead its changing physicality, and the various responses that it can effect, should be considered.

To situate the Cluniac treatment of the dying and dead within the textual context, Chapter 3 focuses on the funerary actions prescribed within their customaries. This is then considered within the broader context of later medieval attitudes towards death and the dead body. This strongly document-based discussion is complemented in Chapter 4 by a focus on the physical remains themselves – the human skeleton as a locus for theoretical and methodological engagements with past responses to death and burial. The concept of the 'death-course', as an inter-related cultural and biological process, underpins both chapters. The dead and dead body are considered in terms of the practices afforded their treatment (physically and metaphysically) from pre-burial preparation through to commemoration (the 'rites of passage'),

along with the biological processes and stages through which the body progresses. This latter is considered in terms of a methodological resource (*anthropologie de terrain*) and a theoretical concern (Cluniac attitudes to the body in different stages of decomposition and fragmentation).

3. CLUNIAC AND MEDIEVAL DEATH AND BURIAL

3.1 Cluniac death and burial

Cluny maintained, since its foundation by Duke William of Aquitaine (910), a privileged relationship with the dead and the beyond (Iogna-Prat 1996: 79).

The *Rule of Saint Benedict*, written by Benedict of Nursia in the sixth century for his abbey of Monte Cassino (Kerr 2009: 4), became the principal guide to medieval monastic living. Over 73 chapters in length, it prescribes the requirements for daily life of the individual and governance of the monastic community. The degree of specificity on matters of life can be greatly contrasted to the almost complete absence of guidance relating to matters of death and burial.[27] As Gazeau (2004: 13) writes, the *Rule of Saint Benedict* presents the dead as both God's punishment and a source of redemption, but at no time does it envisage treatment and even less commemoration of the dead. Two of the only references to death and burial in the text can be found in Chapter IV 'Guidelines for Christian and monastic good practice'. They state that one must 'keep the reality of death always before your eyes' and 'bury the dead' (Barry 1997: 13-14). The document provides no formal guidance on the preparation of the dying and the management of the deceased. This is despite the fact that the eventuality of death was a central consideration within daily monastic life, evidenced by the explicit instruction to reflect constantly on death. It leads us to question both the Cluniac attitude towards the dead, together with their role in managing them.

This chapter situates the development of the Cluniac relationship with the dead into its wider social, economic and historical context. A brief introduction to the origin, nature and use of the Cluniac customaries, together with a detailed discussion of the prescribed death and burial rites follows. Section 3.2 presents the broader concepts and developments in later medieval understandings of death.

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[27] For example: Chapter 22, 'Sleeping arrangements for the community'; Chapter 40, 'The proper amount of drink to be provided' (Barry 1997: 31, 47).

3.1.1 Cluniac death and burial: the wider context

The foundation of the Cluniacs brought about a greater formalisation of the place of the dying and deceased within the monastic context. The dead appear less transient, acquiring a central place in the everyday structuring of the Cluniac world. This is evident from the written sources and architectural developments, both of which had a profound influence on the vast majority of western monastic orders. Indeed, most of the influences for monastic development in the British Isles came from Europe and, in particular, from Burgundy (Aston 2001: 9). Cluny's impact was vast, arguably most visible in its liturgical elaboration and commodification of the dead. From the first millennium, as Henriet (1996: 94) writes, diverse indices confirm the grand role of Cluny in the Christian economy of death (see below). Careful strategies allowed the Cluniacs to acquire and develop a privileged position to the dead that stretched far beyond the walls of the individual Cluniac monasteries. With the introduction of the 'Feast of All Souls' (established between 1024 and 1033) by Abbot Odilo (962-1048) (Moore 2003: 489), the dead were afforded a prominent place. Formal codifications followed, with the issuing of a 'Statute Concerning the Dead', explaining the nature of the new feast-day and giving liturgical instructions for its celebration (see Hourlier 1949). It was not, however, intended to be restricted to just Cluny and its dependencies. The decree instead mentions the 'Universal Church' and gradually, the whole of Christendom adopted it (Iogna-Prat 1996: 80). For instance, Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury (1070-1089), ensured that the diffusion of the 'Feast of All Souls' reached England (Iogna-Prat 2002a: 132).

From the place of the dead in Saint Benedict's Rule as a 'consideration', the dying and deceased in the Cluniac world become the subject of rule, regulation and legislation and, importantly, perpetual celebration. At Cluny, the monks engaged in a ceaseless round of prayers for the dead (Moore 2003: 491), imposed upon them and structured through the customaries and later statutes. The imposition of statutes, which took the continuous repetition of certain practices, connected them to a text and manifested them as laws (Melville 2005:80), was intended to help promote commonality and uniformity in practice across the Cluniac network. Krüger (2005: 204) notes, however, that certainly in the case of Cluny at least, the statutes issued by Peter the Venerable in the mid twelfth century supplemented and amended the customaries but did not replace them.

The 'Office of the Dead', a post-mortem prayer cycle introduced to aid the repose of the soul, was the subject of a decree under Abbot Hugh (1049-1109), who established that 'this same

should be done for the dead in the cemetery of each place, in every place subject to this place' (Constable 1976: 160). Subsequent abbots Pontius (1109-1122) and Hugh V (1199-1207) reiterated this proclamation. Pontius stated that the 'Office of the Dead' should be undertaken 'not only at Cluny but also in all our abbeys, priories and cells, now and as long as the monastery persists in the holy religion' (Constable 1976: 160). In 1200 Abbot Hugh V produced a statute requiring that the divine services should be identical in all Cluniac houses, 'for since we are one congregation and order, we should conform in all things' (Constable 2010: 91). Several communities in the Liège diocese, which adopted the Cluniac customs in the twelfth century, are recorded as having communally celebrated the 'Office of the Dead' daily (Lauwers 1997: 118). [28] This quotidian concern for the dead developed in part as a result of the growing monastic-lay relationship during the later eleventh century, which saw Cluny, and over time its dependencies, taking on more of a pastoral role in the management of the dead. Caring for both the physical bodies, as well as the souls of the dying and deceased, became a primary concern, even an obligation. Dependencies of Cluny, for instance, were given the right to bury in the lay cemetery in 1097 (Iogna-Prat 1996: 82), indicating an 'opening up' of the monastic domain, and thus a broadening of the Cluniac role as 'caretakers for the deceased' to encompass the wider population. Prayer was an essential structuring element of this 'service' and helped to connect the monastery to the outside world, to its patrons and allies (Moore 2003: 494).

During this same period, the individual memory of the dead became fixed in the form of necrologies. These consisted of lists of names of dead monks and their benefactors to be recited and commemorated. They can be regarded as a 'transaction' or a form of counter-giving, where donations were made in return for perpetual prayer, essentially constituting a 'remedy for the soul' (Henriet 1996: 94). The honouring of the dead each year at a regular date ensured a continued memory after death (Iogna-Prat 2002a: 139). The sheer size of these Cluniac necrologies (the largest known contained 10,000 names (Wollasch 1971: 145)), reflect both upon the importance of the funerary services provided by these monasteries but also the importance of the *memoria.* The necrologies helped to ensure that the dead maintained an identity long after death. Iogna-Prat (2002a: 139) stresses the importance of 'individuality' here. This individualisation of the commemoration, which arguably developed in the eleventh century, accompanied the development of private masses celebrated for each deceased on a regular fixed

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[28] According to the Cluniac customaries - the *Liber Tramitis*, the *Customary of Ulrich* and the *Customary of Bernard* - every day after morning and vespers, the community of Cluny was to move in procession to the abbey church annex, to chant in particular the 'Office of the Saints' and the 'Office of the Dead' (Billoin 2005: 39).

date (Racinet 2007: 178). The laity's increasing imposition on the Cluniac order to provide for the dead in the form of both burial itself and formal commemorations, as well as the steady growth in the number of Cluniac monks at this time was clearly reflected in architectural developments. At the turn of the millennium, the number of altars at Cluny was increased and a *Galilee* chapel was added to accommodate them (Harris 2005: 149).[29] This elaboration of the monastic space is evident at other Cluniac monasteries. In the early-thirteenth century, the construction of a monumental gallery at La Charité served to connect the main church to the smaller annex church of Saint Laurent. Arguably, it served an important function in structuring the processions during the commemorations for the dead (Billoin 2005: 39-40).

However, the nature of the Cluniac relationship to the dead did not remain constant. Around the year 1100, Cluniac ideals surrounding the 'exploitation system of death' were challenged (Iogna-Prat 1996: 86), particularly regarding the receiving of gifts in return for services. This resulted in part from various new orders demanding that interment rights be given up. Key figures such as the Carthusian leader Guigues I strictly opposed any pastoral funerals (Iogna-Prat 1996: 86). In 1132, Peter the Venerable (the eighth abbot of Cluny), responding to challenges from the Cistercians (particularly Bernard of Clairvaux), assembled 200 priors and more than 1,200 monks at Cluny to propose a plan of reforms to restrict the splendour of ceremonies (Racinet 2007: 35). Changes to the funerary procedures were imposed. In the sixty-second of his reforming decrees, Peter the Venerable prescribed that 'when sick brothers are anointed with oil according to the custom of the church, a wooden rather than a gold or silver cross should be offered to them to adore' (Paxton 1993a: 14). The cost of the funeral was reduced and as Iogna-Prat (1996: 86) argues, Peter the Venerable appears to have become interested in the 'ordinary dead'. This is highlighted by his *de miraculis*, which does not just focus on stories of the grand, but the death of the ordinary layperson, perhaps highlighting Cluny's growing pastoral role in the care of the dead and dying (Iogna-Prat 1996: 86).

Over a century later, the pressures on the monasteries to provide for the dead had reached a critical point. In 1270, the Cistercians had to restrict the services and instead provided one mass per year per soul. This, as Daniell (1997: 179) argues, was an admission that the role of memoralising had simply become too much for the living.

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[29] The *Galilee* was a chapel or porch at the west end of certain churches. Within Cluniac establishments it seems to have been used for celebrating masses for the commemorations of the dead (Doig 2008: 160).

3.1.2 Death, burial and the Cluniac customaries

The customaries were intended to fulfil an essential structuring role in the everyday functioning of the Cluniac world. They provide us with an inestimable source for exploring Cluniac daily life and liturgy. The flexibility of Saint Benedict's Rule necessitated that each monastic community resolved the problems and modes of its daily life to a large degree by itself, for which the customaries, which evolved over generations of daily chapter meetings (Paxton 1993a: 1), were the outcome. Customaries were written documents, which were intended to regulate, either by codifying or formalising, past and present practice or to introduce new guidelines and effect reform (Kerr 2007: 14). The writing down of oral customs often occurred in periods of change and growth, for instance if old ways were threatened or if the customs were to be introduced to another house (Constable 2010: 132). Krüger (2005: 194) has argued that, although the customaries were primarily descriptive at first, they inevitably acquired a prescriptive character upon their adoption in another monastery. Therefore, as Constable (2010: 132) argues, far from being miscellaneous compilations of folk memories, they were specialised and organised codes addressing liturgical and administrative matters and often represented a considerable degree of legal sophistication.

Each member of the Cluniac *familia* was expected to adopt the customaries. However, unlike the later statutes, they were negotiable to some degree and could, if necessary, be adapted according to local needs and desires (Constable 1976: 160-161). Kerr (2007: 14) argues that whilst some sections may have been formulaic, there is evidence that these were living texts, and were modified and updated to suit the community's needs. The *Customary of Bernard* allowed for change in funerary rites in specifying that, 'the aforesaid custom of burial may be changed if required by some reasonable cause in accordance with time and place' (*Bern*: cap.XXIV, p.196; Constable 2010: 136). From her study of the customs from Farfa, Italy, Boynton (2006: 136) demonstrated that, although the abbey's death rituals derived directly from the early Cluniac customary of the *Liber Tramitis* (see below), it appears that the monks of Farfa adapted the Cluniac ritual to their own traditions, such as including elements found in a customary from the central Italian abbey of Vallombrosa. The Cluniac customaries were not binding, in so far as they could be supplemented through texts and local customs (Melville 2005: 78), but this should not warrant their dismissal as vague descriptions. Melville (2005: 83) argues that these texts served a function. They acted as repositories of norms that could be transferred in time and space, where the validity of these norms had derived from the already established sphere of actions that had been realised through on-going repetition (Melville 2005: 78). The actions

described could be initiated anew in other communities and become once again customary in accordance with the recorded texts, thus producing a new, renewed, validity (Melville 2005: 83). Adoption of the customs in reformed houses could, however, vary. Constable (1998: 173) argues that many of the twelfth-century reformed houses had no customaries, relying instead on statutes and decrees of General Chapters and increasingly on visitations to ensure uniformity within their order. Adoption of a particular custom could thus be only a partial borrowing that left intact the pre-eminence of local traditions (Palazzo 1998: 217). Of particular importance to this thesis, the nature of the house's origin and its status within the order are thus vital considerations when examining the degree and nature of adherence to prescribed practice within the Cluniac customaries.

The four main Cluniac customaries date to the late tenth/eleventh century: the earliest *Consuetudines Antiquiores* (*CA*), the *Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis* (*LT*), the *Customary of Ulrich* (*Ulr*) and the *Customary of Bernard* (*Bern*). The oldest Cluniac customaries, the *CA*, composed most probably during the earliest years of Odilo's abbacy (994-1049), pertain mainly to the liturgical life of the monastery (Iogna-Prat 2002b: 62). Although they refer to the commemoration of the dead, they say nothing about ritual responses to death (Paxton 2005: 297). In contrast, the succeeding three customaries provide detailed insights into how the dead were supposedly managed at Cluny from the mid to late eleventh century. Paxton (2005: 297) argues that they express a distinct spirituality, both through the level of a community's participation in the death of one of its members, and by the degree of specialisation and attention given to the care of the dying.

The *LT*, first written at Cluny *c.*1030 (Iogna-Prat 2002b: 61), provides minute detail on both the daily life of the monastery, but also offers a significant degree of detail on the ante and post-mortem rites, the preparation of the dying for the 'good' or 'correct' death and the treatment of the dead body.[30] It provides more information on the death ritual than any previous monastic text and it preserves an early form of the Cluniac traditions seen in the later *Ulr* and *Bern* (Boynton 2006: 136). Paxton (2005: 298) proposes that the *LT*, which represents a real change from the *CA* in the level of detail provided about life and death at Cluny, could have been influenced by non-Cluniac customaries such as the English *Regularis Concordia* (*RC*). The latter, which was intended to apply to every monastic house in the English Kingdom, was

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[30] Note that the version of the *LT* which survives today derives from Farfa Abbey, Italy. It was composed during 1050 and 1060 (Iogna-Prat 2002b: 61).

promulgated at the meeting of English abbots (the Synod of Winchester) in *c.*970 (Pfaff 2009: 78). It provides some basic detail on the preparation of the dying and the treatment of the dead (see below).

The *Ulr* and the *Bern* were both produced under the Abbacy of Hugh (1049-1109) (Riche 2000: 221). They were composed during the 1080s (Iogna-Prat 2002b: 62), with the *Bern*, it is argued, being written to remedy the deficiencies in the *Ulr* (Boynton 2005: 110). Whereas the *Bern* depicts Cluny in the 1070s and early 1080s, the *Ulr* draws primarily on experiences at Cluny in the early 1060s, when Ulrich was temporarily in residence there (Boynton 2005: 110). These customaries, as Paxton (1993a: 1) has argued, formed the institutional basis for life at Cluny, her dependencies and affiliates. Saurette (2005: 85) importantly questions how, when senior monks died and their knowledge of traditional practices passed away, a monastery could continue to maintain an authentic and correct regimen. Bernard found a solution in his codification of the *consuetudines;* the loss of community memory, as he worried (and stated in his introduction), led novices to question the validity of customs and necessitated that he provide a 'truthful' repository of Cluniac observances (Saurette 2005: 85). Bernard was therefore commissioned to preserve the knowledge of contemporary norms in the Cluniac way of life for subsequent generations of Cluniac monks, forming his customs (as he states in the preface) from old records, reports of knowledgeable people and from his own experience and observation (Melville 2005: 70). In short, his written customs provided a 'reference manual' for novices at Cluny (Cochelin 2000a: 22).

Although it is unknown exactly how long these customaries were in active use within each institution, documentary sources suggest a relatively long duration. The terms *consuetudo, consuetudines* and *consuetum* appear with relative frequency in the later statutes and general chapter documents, which Saurette (2005: 87-88) argues could be referring to the *Bern*, although he also stresses that these could instead be referring to custom in a general sense. The new twelfth-century orders maintained and transmitted the death rites in substantially their eleventh-century form, and the Carthusians, for example, used them right up until the nineteenth century (Paxton 1993b: 7). Bernard's customary continued to be copied into the late Middle Ages in monasteries once linked to the Cluniac sphere of influence, demonstrated by the thirteenth-century manuscript Arras Bibliothèque Municipale MS 864 and the fifteenth-century copy of Bibliothèque Municipale, Douai MS 555 (Saurette 2005: 87).

All three customaries, very similar in essence, detail both the practicalities of dealing with the dying and the dead body, as well as the ritual responses. [31] The degree of detail reflects the prime importance given to the proper treatment of the brethren in their final moments. Through them, we see a highly ritualised approach to the body, structured by an interplay of repetitive symbolic actions combined with the practical requirements of treating and disposing of a cadaver. The procedures are intimate, multi-sensory and importantly, communal. The overall message from the *LT*, *Ulr* and *Bern* is very different to that put forward in the *Rule of Saint Benedict*. In Chapter 32, the first in a series of texts about the sick and dying, the *LT* states that death is sweet and must be accepted (Henriet 1996: 95). The antiphon mentioned by Bernard from the psalms 'for the dead' for instance, states 'the bones that have been humbled shall rejoice' (Paxton 2002: 17). The customaries then lay out a procedure for how, with the help of the community, the 'best death' can be achieved.

Paxton's (1993a, 1993b, 2002, 2005) work constitutes some of the most comprehensive research into the Cluniac death rituals, as seen through the *LT*, *Ulr* and *Bern*. Although many of the actions they describe would leave no material trace, such as the prayers, body washing and processions, and are therefore invisible to us archaeologically, the importance of integrating these texts into an osteological study of Cluniac funerary practices should be strongly underlined. For each stage of the Cluniac funeral, they provide an insight into how Cluny intended or desired the body to be viewed, interacted with physically and spiritually, and managed. Both sources of information complement one another, thus widening the scope of this study. Iogna-Prat (2002a: 127) asserts that the *LT* has been an under-exploited resource to historians. This, together with the more detailed *Ulr* and *Bern*, should equally be of prime importance to archaeologists and anthropologists, seeking to explore and comprehend the Cluniac, as well as the general monastic, relationship with the dead.

3.1.3. The Cluniac customaries and the *rites of passage*

The customaries play out as a dialogue between the dying monk and the community members and between the various community members themselves. To aid both the transition of the dying and to alleviate the suffering of the mourners in each stage of the funeral process, these texts assign a distinct set of actions to individuals and to the monastic group as a whole. In approaching the medieval funerary process, various discussions have considered the concept or

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[31] Paxton (2005: 303) argues that although Bernard has more to say, the rituals both he and Ulrich describe are essentially the same. There are, however, some important differences with the earlier *LT* (see below).

model of the *rites of passage* first laid down as an anthropological framework by van Gennep in 1909 (e.g. Binksi 1996; Dinn 1992; Hadley 2001; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005; see also Paxton 1993b for a specific consideration in relation to the Cluniac death rites). Van Gennep (1960) defined *rites of passage* as those rites accompanying every change of place, state, social position and age, where all are marked by three phases: separation, transition and incorporation (see also Turner 1969: 94). The rites of separation (preliminary) symbolise a break with an old group or status, the liminal (or threshold rites) are transitional and the rites of reincorporation (post-liminal) involve re-entry into a new social order on a new level (see also Parker Pearson 1999; Paxton 1993b: 8). This tripartite model, which is particularly applicable to death in medieval European Culture (Bouchard 1992: 1042), provides an apposite framework for this thesis to situate and examine the Cluniac customs on death and burial.

Dinn's (1992) study of death in late medieval Bury St Edmunds divided the funerary process into three stages: separation before and immediately after death, the liminal phase including the procession and funeral, and reintegration during burial and commemoration. This study prefers to adopt the medieval funeral model proposed by Gilchrist and Sloane (2005), which situates the preparation of the dying for a good death within the pre-liminal rites of separation, the preparation of the corpse, procession to the graveside and interment within the liminal rites and the continued commemorations within the post-liminal rites of reincorporation. As will hopefully be apparent from the following discussion, this model provides an appropriate framework for the rituals laid down in the Cluniac customaries. It offers a clear structure through which to approach the dying and dead monk's 'journey' and to gauge the relative importance of the different elements.

As Gilchrist and Sloane (2005: 230) stress, however, this schema, although a useful framework, should not be used to project cross-cultural interpretations on to specific historical context. Although the bodies of the medieval dead were treated in ways that can be broadly broken down into three stages, the souls of the dead remained suspended in Purgatory (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 230). In this context, the Day of Judgement (salvation) was a further rite of passage of reincorporation for the bodies and souls of the deceased and the living (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 230). This raises an interesting line of enquiry vis-à-vis the physical body and soul's separate, yet parallel passages and the resulting treatment by the living. The final 'reincorporation' rites have been proposed to imply for the ritual subject a certain degree of stability and a clearly defined 'new' identity (see Turner 1969: 95; van Gennep 1960), but on

biological death the later medieval body and soul were thrust into a volatile and uncertain position for an indeterminable period of time and were highly reliant on the continued support of the living. The physical body could also take on a temporary 'polluting' and 'dangerous' identity as folkloric beliefs promulgated (Section 3.2). The different strategies employed in a Cluniac context to negotiate the complex post-liminal phase of the death-course will therefore also be explored within this thesis through integrating and examining both the textual and archaeological records.

Sections 3.1.4 and 3.1.5 provide condensed 'scripts' of the pre-liminal and liminal rites as laid out in the *Ulr* (cap.XXIX, pp. 773-774) and *Bern* (cap.XXIV, pp. 190-199). The passages presented herein follow the translations in Paxton (1993a), which should be consulted for a full account of the funerary process. These are interspersed and followed in Section 3.1.5 by a discussion of the principal themes. A consideration of the post-liminal rites, or, as they can also be termed, the 'Cluniac *memoria*' will follow. The original Latin texts detailing the actions surrounding treatment of the dead body have been consulted throughout this study; key excerpts are provided in Appendix 2.

3.1.4 Pre-liminal rites: preparation for death

The Cluniac death-course commences from the point that the religious community perceives the monk's death as imminent and preparations for death begin. This marks a distinct moment where the relationships between the different community members temporarily alter and those between the dying individual, his surroundings and the community change irrevocably. The normal daily routine is temporarily adapted for an unspecified length of time. Individual community members and the community as a whole adopt specialised roles, which differ drastically from their everyday ones, and the rituals surrounding preparing the soul for the afterlife intensify around this one monk. Many of the objects used and the spoken and sung words are distinct from the routine activities of daily life and liturgy. From this point onwards the monk's life-long preparations towards securing a 'good death' shift, where the spiritual and physical well-being of this one individual become the responsibility of the community as a whole. In so doing, the dying and dead monk temporarily becomes the primary 'object' on which the community is focused and around which monastic relationships are structured and cemented.

It should be noted that the customaries provide for the ideal situation, in that the approach of death is not so sudden that the full ritual process cannot be fulfilled and the ailing individual is not so sick that he cannot fully participate in the initial stages.

The ritual begins with a dialogue between the dying monk and the prior in which the monk confesses and is anointed. If able, he is accompanied to the chapter hall to beg forgiveness to the community for wrongs he has committed, followed by the absolution. He absolves others who may have wronged him. He is then led back to the infirmary and his bed is arranged so that the brethren can stand around him. The whole community moves to the infirmary chanting. The dying monk is then anointed. If he is to take communion, the *armarius* (the liturgical director of the community) clothes the priest and equips the *conversi*. The dying monk's mouth is washed and after another confession, he takes communion. He then drinks the water used to wash the chalice and the priest's fingers. After kissing a cross, the priest, the brothers and then the boys, the community leaves. The receiving of this final communion had an important purpose in guarding against dangers present at death, such as the devil (Paxton 1993a: 6-12).

Specialist servants from the infirmary watch over him. When death is imminent, the accounts of the passion are read to him. Servants well trained in noting the signs of approaching death prepare the sackcloth and ashes for him to die upon and place him on them. This last act is one of penitence decreed by Saint Sulpice-Severe at the start of the fifth century (Henriet 1996: 102). Single boards are then clapped together continuously and the brothers run to the infirmary chanting. If he has died, the *Bern* requires that they go quickly but moderately singing and they all stand around the brother saying the *credo* until his soul leaves his body (entering transition stage). If he lingers, then they begin to chant the litany again. A continuous vigil is set up and the community will be called to attend the bedside for as many times as it seems he is on the point of death, for 'the brother ought not to die without everyone present' (Paxton 1993a: 16).

Following death, the individual enters the transition (liminal) stage of the proceedings – the point where, as Turner (1969: 94) explains, the characteristics of the ritual subject are ambiguous: he passes through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state. For the first time, he has stopped being a conscious participant in the securing of his 'good death', and with the help of the community, the soul is encouraged to separate from the corporeal being; from then on, its care is solely a matter for the living.

3.1.5 Liminal rites: the preparation of the body and the interment

This stage marks the journey of the body as it is prepared for burial and interred within the physical community of the dead.

Paxton's (2002) 'reconstructive edition' of the Cluniac ritual for the dead from the *Ulr* and *Bern* depicts a lengthy and carefully structured sequence of actions. His study approaches the funeral from a music-thanatological perspective, carefully weaving together the ritual actions with the spoken and sung words - a key structuring element of the entire process from deathbed to grave. The following briefly summarises the main events outlined in the *Ulr* (cap.XXIX, p.773) and *Bern* (cap.XXIV, p.194), using the translations within Paxton (1993a). Again, key excerpts from the original texts are provided in Appendix 2.

Directly following death, the community assembles in the choir of the Lady Chapel and sings the vespers and the *Matins of the Dead*. The *conversi* ring all the bells to instigate the bringing of a cross, holy water, candles and a thurible (an incense burner suspended from chains). The holy water is sprinkled on the corpse, on those who carry it to the cemetery and on the shroud in which it will be laid. The shroud and the body are then censed. The body is then placed in a special antechamber specifically set aside for preparing the corpse, and it is washed. Importantly, the *Ulr* and *Bern* note here that no one carries, washes or places the body in the grave except other brothers who are his equals. The deceased is then placed on a table (for that purpose alone), unclothed, and is washed from the top of his head to the soles of his feet. He is dressed in a wool shirt, cowl, night slippers and a 'sudary' that wraps around the head, and which is of the same cloth as the wool shirt and slippers. The night slippers, which are longer than normal, are not open at the toes but closed. The hood of the cowl is then pulled over the face and sewn down from both sides. The hands are folded together on the chest outside of the cowl and the cowl itself is drawn together and sewn over them, so that no part is loose. The slippers are then sewn together and the corpse is wrapped in a shroud (*stragula*).

It should be noted that this procedure for preparing the body differs from other monastic texts. The earlier *LT* is considerably less detailed (*LT*: cap.XXXIII, p. 273; Appendix 2), and certain actions are not prescribed, such as the sewing of the garments so that no part is loose. Burial in a cowl is specified, with drawers/breeches (*femoralia*) and a cloak (*pallium*) placed over the body. The word *calciamenta (*shoes) is used instead of night slippers (*caligis nocturnalibus*). There is no mention of sewing together the footwear. The procedure in the *LT* appears to have more in

common with the English tenth-century *RC* (see below), potentially supporting Paxton's (2005: 298) suggestion that the latter influenced the former.

The *RC* pays little regard to corpse-washing and grave preparation, stating for example that, 'his body shall be washed by those appointed to do so' (Symons 1953: 65). It does however state that a monk should be buried in clean clothes, including a shirt, cowl, stockings and shoes, no matter what his rank, and with a stole if he is a priest (Symons 1953: 65).[32] *Aelfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, an English customary written in the early eleventh century, reiterates this procedure. It also adds that a stole (liturgical vestment) is placed over the cowl, if resources permit (Jones 1998: 143), thus demonstrating that practice could be altered where practicality necessitated it. Pre-existing texts such as the *RC* are important considerations, given that their influence may have been long-lasting in certain monastic institutions or regions.

After the body is prepared, the incense, which has been burning continuously, is sent above the monk and water is sprinkled over him. He is then placed on a bier, and a cover is lowered over him. [33] He is carried to the door of the choir and the Lord's Prayer is recited. To the accompaniment of bells, the community moves in procession to the Church of Our Lady. The procession is ordered with the boys following the cross, then the choir monks, the *conversi* and finally the bearers of the deceased. The procession stops at the steps to the altar whilst prayers are said. The body, laid on the bier, is placed on a frame in the centre of the church. Candles are left burning throughout the night and the psalmodies are sung continuously until the body is buried. There then follows a set of circumstances where the ritual may vary. For instance, the time of day is important. If a monk dies before the alarm sounds for the start of the day in the dormitory, he will be buried that day, and 'by no other means' (Paxton 2002: 17). If it is later, the vigil is kept during the night and he is buried after high mass on the following day.

The ringing of bells signals the funeral proper. The priest censes the deceased in the shape of a cross. Following the preparation of the grave, a prayer is said over it. After high mass, the prior strikes one of the big bells and candles are distributed to the attendants. This time, the order of the procession is changed. The priest and the *armarius* lead followed by the others according to rank. The community then encircles the burial place and lengthy psalms are sung. The body is

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[32] The French Bishop Durandus (1230-1296) later provides a motive for the dressing of the deceased in footwear, stating that boots or shoes should be worn in readiness to meet Christ (Rowell 1977: 66).
[33] Gougard (1930: 87-88) argues that this bier would have been more of a wooden stretcher, which formed a concavity and could be covered.

lowered into the ground and a wooden cover is placed over the deceased. The priest takes a shovelful of earth and whilst throwing it into the grave recites the prayers of the *inhumatio defuncti*. During burial, the rest of the community sings a psalmody.

The priest then leaves the grave with the cross and moves to the middle of the cemetery where the boys are standing, faces turned towards the east, just as the whole community is doing. Importantly, at this point, the deceased is named, denoting that personal identity remained important. The prayer for the commendation of his soul is said and the candles are extinguished. This is followed by a prayer for all those resting in cemeteries, thus linking the death of the newly deceased with the souls of the whole buried community. Reciting the psalms they then return to the church. The bells, which were ringing as the deceased was brought to the grave, do not cease before the priest leaves the gravesite. These final acts mark the end of the transitional stage. As Paxton (1993b: 13) argues, when the bells ceased as the priest turned from the grave and the candles were extinguished after the final prayer of commendation, the last link between body and soul had been broken and that phase of the ritual was ended.

Other texts, roughly contemporaneous to the *Ulr* and *Bern* elaborate further on the procedures. The *Monastic Constitutions* of Lanfranc, composed *c.*1070 for Christ Church cathedral priory, Canterbury, details the customs, which the archbishop (influenced by practice on the continent) wished to implement for his English monks (Klukas 1984: 136), and specifies additional actions not documented in the Cluniac customaries. They make clear that the monastic community was to stand around the grave whilst it was being prepared (Knowles and Brooke 2002: 191) and state that before interring the deceased, two attendants should go down into the grave, cense it and then remain there to receive the body and arrange it (Knowles and Brooke 2002: 192). This, Paxton (1993a: 36) argues, may have been in place at Cluny as well. It implies that the grave must have been large enough to accommodate three individuals at one time.

3.1.6 Pre-liminal and liminal rites: A discussion

From these brief summaries, the following important points can be drawn. Paxton (1993b: 9) notes, that in contrast to van Gennep's analysis of 'primitive' cultures, where he found that the rites of transition (liminal) and incorporation were more developed than the rites of separation, the latter at Cluny were highly developed, elaborately ritualised procedures. The importance of physically and spiritually preparing the dying for a 'good death' was clearly paramount. Central to this was the relationship between the dying monk and the community. As Moore

(2003: 493) notes, the spirituality of Cluny placed the fate of the individual soul in an eschatological framework, emphasising the commonality of the dead with the living. The *Bern* prescribes that the whole community goes in procession to the infirmary (Paxton 1993a: 72). Wollasch (1990: 52) has calculated that by the early twelfth century, between 300 and 400 monks would have resided at Cluny. Both the enormity and visual splendour of these funerary proceedings can thus be envisaged for a monastery of this size.

As well as affording the deceased a 'good death', these public ceremonies may have been intended to strengthen community bonds and importantly reinforce and reproduce the highly symbolic sets of codes and practices prescribed in the customaries. The provision of specialist roles (e.g. the infirmary servants to watch over the body, those well trained in noting the signs of death to place the dying on sackcloth, and the *armarius* who clothes the priest and equips the *conversi*) denotes order and importantly, regularity. As Henriet (1996: 95) writes, all those in the monastery would have seen a number of brothers die in front of them, always in the same way. Although it should be stressed that death would not always have been this predictable, it is foreseeable that a certain degree of repetition would have resulted in a strong familiarity with the dead body and the processes of death. The customaries are explicit that members of the monastic community themselves perform all stages of the funerary process and not servants. Paxton (1993a: 25) argues that the reason for assigning individuals of the same rank to perform duties of washing and preparing the corpse was no doubt so that they might meditate on their own deaths and was thus an exercise in contemplation. The dead body itself thus also provided a tool, a highly emotive entity around which practical and symbolic gestures could be performed and reflected upon. In line with the *Rule of Saint Benedict*'s instruction to 'keep the reality of death always before your eyes' (Barry 1997: 14), the customaries therefore prescribed actions that sought to emphasise the inevitability of death and encouraged the monks to meditate on it. This is also evident in other forms of Cluniac texts. Bruce's (2006: 96) consideration of a poem, possibly written by Bernard of Cluny in the early twelfth century as a meditative tool, includes explicit imagery of bodily rot and decay to convey the message that without exception, all mortals will eventually succumb to the embrace of death.

The customaries seemingly convey the message that the physical body, in all stages of the funeral, should be cared for and respected, and not necessarily feared. From both the preliminary and transitional rites, the degree of careful interaction between the dying monk and

the remaining living is most striking. Through a series of symbolic acts and gestures, he is integrated fully with the entire community.

The prescribed actions in both the pre-liminal and liminal stages appear intimate and multi-sensory, incorporating touch (body washing and kissing), smell (incense burning and candles), sounds (singing, bell ringing and the beating of boards) and visual stimuli. This last included witnessing the individual in his progression through different stages of the death-course, from a conscious recognisable participant to a wrapped undifferentiated cadaver, and finally as one of the many dead, interred, and entirely concealed from view.

The gestures prescribed in the customaries afford a great degree of significance not just to the body itself but also to the materials and objects in contact with the deceased. It is of particular interest that the shroud is sprinkled with holy water prior to wrapping. It was not simply treated as a practical item (although the tight wrapping would undoubtedly have aided transport and burial (Paxton 1993a: 27)) but was, through ceremonial gestures, also imbued with religious significance.[34] The act of sewing the shroud itself also had a symbolic value. De Valous (1970: 296) describes how it was an ancient custom particular to Cluny, which was still active in the seventeenth century, for each of those carrying the corpse to the cemetery to add one stitch to the shroud. It symbolically forged a link between the deceased, his memory and the living community. In this respect, following Alexandre-Bidon and Treffort (1993b: 10), there was nothing trivial about this 'object of the dead'; the shroud itself was immersed in the sacred space of those around and those performing the burial.

The customaries aimed to structure both the physical space and the internal arrangement of the community. Just as certain spaces in the monastery were imbued with a particular significance to the death ritual (e.g. the infirmary, the chapter room, cemetery and the *Galilee*) so too was the community. The cemetery did not simply hold significance as a physical space for burial. Moore (2003: 495) notes that during the 'Feast of All Souls' the monks walked chanting through the graveyard, communing with the souls. They thus acted as points of interaction between the living, the physical remains of the dead and the metaphysical. The *Galilee* itself was a space of transition 'par excellence', where the name symbolically refers to the migration of Christ; when the deceased were brought to Cluny from outside of the community, the dead body traversed

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[34] Knowles and Brooke (2002: 184) in discussing the sewing of the cowl detailed in Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions* argue that it was to prevent disarray before and during burial, as no coffin was used.

this space (Iogna-Prat 2002a: 144), thus symbolically making a transition through a physical space. Even when the funerary proceedings took place in the cemetery area, a symbolic association with the church was created. During the burial, the choir reformed around the grave in a mirror image of their internal structure, which, as Paxton (1993a: 35) argues, implies a symbolic widening of the physical body of the church to include the cemetery within the walls of the choir. The traditional classifications of intra- and extra-mural monastic space were thus blurred, emphasising still further notions of a united Cluniac community, living and dead.

The customaries did not aim to exclude any party but a distinct ordering is manifest, for example, the order in which the various groups – boys, *conversi* and choir monks – process at different stages, and the requirement that no one was to carry, wash, or place the body in the grave except other brothers who were his equals. The *Bern* shows a clear division of the young from the main community. It specifies that in the infirmary the young boys should not mix with everyone but stand to one side with their master so that they might hear and repeat what the community does (Paxton 1993a: 9). This structuring traversed all facets of Cluniac life. As Harris (2005: 148) writes, its power to shape the monks was exerted in every moment of the day. Cochelin (2000b: 5, 11), in discussing hierarchy in the organisation of Cluny, shows how it was arranged by seniority and was impressed upon the monks from when they first arrived to the moment they were buried. Henriet (1996: 95) notes, however, that death itself was communal, in the sense that it did not vary with the place of the sick in the hierarchy – death of the elite is not explored in the customs, only the death of brothers exists, and it is the same for all. The customs can therefore be seen to provide for all 'ranks' of Cluniacs the same set of preliminary rites, but set within them is a degree of internal division for the participants. Henriet (1996: 96) further argues that differences do, however, exist for the inhumation and post-mortem liturgy – unsurprisingly more lavish for the abbots than for the simple monks. Peter the Venerable reports that the Cluniac Cardinal Mathieu d'Albano was also put onto sackcloth and ashes to die, but he was inhumed in both the monastic cowl and episcopal robes (Henriet 1996: 100). The *Bern* (cap.XXV, p.199; Paxton 1993a: 97) notes that the lord abbot should be dressed after the washing in all the priestly vestments, and the pastoral staff should be placed in his left arm.

The customaries also stipulate on a basic practical level the Cluniac funerary obligations to the laity, as regards the transfer of the body to the cemetery. The *LT* provides for a standard ritual for any layperson (meaning here any person of importance), but the poor are to be left to the

discretion of the prior (Iogna-Prat 1996: 85). It then specifies the provision of a separate lay cemetery at Cluny, known as the *populare cimeterium* (Iogna-Prat 1998: 349). Again, a division by social grouping is apparent through these texts. This is reflected also in the internal space of the monastery, where the laity was supposed to be separated from the monks (Harris 2005: 136). The laity, however, also had a degree of control over the funerary proceedings. Wills record the wishes of individuals, not only to have their body collected and funeral arrangements organised by the monks of Cluny, but that they be buried in the manner of a monk. One such will stipulated, 'and if he die in the lay state of life, he be taken and buried honorably at Cluny and a due of Masses, prayers, and alms be performed on his behalf by all as for a monk' (Iogna-Prat 2002b: 223).

3.1.7 Post-liminal rites: the Cluniac *memoria*

Today in the Western world, many consider the funerary process ending at the moment the body is interred and sealed in the ground. For some there may follow a period of mourning, or involvement in commemorative acts such as visiting the grave or staging memorials on the anniversary. Responses are variable and individual. In the Cluniac customaries, the prescribed post-liminal rites are highly structured and involve a distinct temporality. Despite the fact that the pre-liminal and liminal stages are documented in the most detail, the final rites are the most prolonged; the Cluniac death-course continues long after biological death of the individual. The *LT, Ulr* and *Bern* prescribe a continual commemoration for a month after the interment. The rites known as the *septenarius* involved the community singing the 'Office of the Dead' and Mass especially for the deceased for seven days. For 30 days, six monks, without interruption, offered consecrated hosts to God daily for his soul (Paxton 1993a: 39). Iogna-Prat (2002b: 138) estimates that in total, 900 masses would have to be said over the period. It is thus easy to envisage a community as large as Cluny's being involved perpetually in burial and commemorative rites, so much so, that in the middle of the twelfth century, Peter the Venerable declared that 'the dead would drive out the living' (Daniell 1997: 177). It is interesting to speculate as to how the community would manage multiple or overlapping deaths, as surely would have frequently occurred. There is little information provided in the customaries for such an eventuality, except to state that if there are two or more deceased, each will have a cross, two candles for the procession and at the grave, holy water, a thurible, and his own priest to perform the office (Paxton 1993a: 94). The Annals of Bermondsey record the frequency with which consecutive priors died within the same year, for example in 1186 and 1290, where a total of six died in fairly quick succession (see Dugdale 1825: 91). The degree of disruption to the

daily monastic routine, the cost and the practicalities of burying and commemorating such senior members of a house (including informing all other houses in the order) are important considerations. Major events such as these, occurring over relatively short time periods, could possibly have helped forge closer ties between the living community members, both within and between houses.

Together with the inscription of each name in the necrologies, the sharing of lists between abbeys and priories in reciprocal prayer (Daniell 1997: 179) and the annual celebration of individual and shared commemorations, these rituals served to fix the memory of the deceased. A poignant act specified in the *Bern* (cap:XXIV, p.198; Paxton 1993a: 95), is that the dead man's clothing was to be worn by a novice taken in for the soul of the deceased. This act shows the importance of material items in creating memory. Just as the repetitive actions of the monks themselves served to sustain a *memoria* from one funeral and commemoration to the next, these personal items also served to aid remembrance, maintaining a continued physical and symbolic connection between the living and the dead. Clothing, in particular, as Schmitt (1998: 204) writes, was a powerful operator of exchanges between the world of the living and that of the dead – an exchange that could be positive. The act of passing on clothes could also have served an important meditative function; wearing them ensured that the monk was almost forced to reflect daily on the inevitability of death. In this respect, the processes of memory making, in relation to death and the dead, are not confined to institutionalised, public rituals but can be a factor of everyday life (Hallam and Hockey 2001: 201).

The post-liminal rites are primarily concerned with the metaphysical - the continuing care of the soul. The Cluniac customaries do not engage with the long-term care of the physical – the deceased's body. How bodies were cared for, managed and remembered therefore becomes a primary concern for archaeology. It could be argued that the customaries neglected to regulate this matter because it was thought that with appropriate provision for the soul - the ongoing concern for its continued passage and eventual 'reincorporation' (Section 3.1.3) - the physical body was no longer important. However, can it be maintained, following Naji (2005: 181), that once the individuality of the body was dissolved, either through time or other reasons, the remains (usually the bones) were considered as material objects and thus treated pragmatically? This raises questions surrounding the relative importance of the physical body over the soul, which will be explored in this thesis.

3.1.8 Summary

The Cluniac monastery represented more than just a physical space. It sought to represent symbolically the Hereafter (Iogna-Prat 1996: 84). It was a place where the monks and laity united in common concern for the well-being of their souls. These concerns, for the monastics at least, could be remedied through the structured, practical 'solution' offered by the customaries. The Cluniac monasteries became just as much about the dead as the living, as the architectural developments, the introduction of commemorations and the perpetual prayers reflect. In the case of Farfa at least, the relative importance of the Cluniac death rituals to the liturgical life, is strongly apparent. As Boynton (2006: 143) argues, above all else, the death ritual constitutes the most compelling piece of evidence for the influence of Cluny, through the *LT*, on the liturgy at Farfa.

The Cluniac customaries were intended to structure and regulate many facets of daily life and death. However, the degree to which practice followed rule is a key question. These rich narratives provide an invaluable opportunity for a direct examination into the relationship between monastic text and practice, exploring how and why this relationship may have varied between monasteries and through time. The customaries provide important information on the material aspects of the funerary process, which can be examined archaeologically. For instance, guidance in the *Ulr* and *Bern* for how the body should be prepared (in priestly vestments for an abbot or tightly sewn robes and shrouds for the monks, with the hands placed together over the body and the night slippers stitched together) and interred (directly in the ground with a covering board and no other prescribed inclusions), are aspects for which the detailed approach of *anthropologie de terrain* provides a valuable tool. It permits a direct examination of the *extent* to which these procedures were implemented or the possible ways in which they may have been adapted.

The customaries offer possible clues to the different ways and degrees to which the Cluniac communities interacted with, managed and cared for the body in each stage of the funeral process. As Paxton (1993b: 4-7) writes, the dying monk was both an individual and a member of a community and through outward signs, the ritual action moved back and forth between the individual and the community. The physical manifestations of these 'outward signs' or gestures permit specific actions to be directly explored, along with the attitudes of those to the deceased and the body. However, as the above discussion has demonstrated, the customaries were not solely focused on providing practically and spiritually for the individual's body and soul. They

also structured practice around the cadaver so as to create, maintain and reinforce Cluniac monastic relationships, to reaffirm the sense of community (both amongst the living and the dead) and to actively encourage meditation on death. It could be argued, therefore, that the prescribed death rituals were not primarily focused on the deceased monk as an individual. Rather, these texts placed him within the context of a shared history and a common present that served to create and cement Cluniac monastic relationships and community bonds. The prescribed actions on the physical treatment of the body brought the monks intimately close to the process of dying and arguably sought to stress the inevitability of death. Through viewing, handling and manipulation of both the body itself and the deceased's material possessions, these 'objects' could serve as powerful tools for remembrance and also reflection. How these motivations and intentions of the customaries directly or indirectly influenced the treatment of and attitudes to the dead in different stages of the funerary process are important considerations. How this varied between different types of houses will also be addressed within this thesis.

Finally, the degree of attention afforded the care of the body and soul is clear from these texts. The extent to which this applied to the physical remains of the previous deceased so frequently disturbed is, however, open to question. It could be proposed that these texts neglected to regulate this matter because it was thought that with appropriate provision for the soul, the physical body was no longer important; it was simply disembodied of all significance and meaning. The detailed approach of *anthropologie de terrain* (Chapter 4) allows for a deeper, direct assessment of these concepts. It permits insights into the potential roles fulfilled by these remains in the various funerary landscapes examined within this thesis, further raising questions as to the influence, if any, of the customaries in structuring approaches to their manipulation and management.

3.2. Medieval death: key concepts

The following explores the principal themes in medieval death, placing key eschatological developments within a broad chronological framework. It provides the wider social and religious contexts in which to situate and examine the Cluniac treatment of the dead prescribed within the customaries and in which to consider the observed funerary practices from the samples recorded within this thesis.

Death was at the heart of medieval life. The inevitability of the final moment and concerns over the Hereafter played deep into the medieval mind. From royalty to ecclesiastics and monastics through to laymen and women, anxiety over the fate of one's soul was ever-present. Core belief systems penetrated society. Some remained constant, whilst others transformed through time. The fate of the soul was a continuing concern. Death was defined as the moment when the soul left the body, but the soul could never die, as it was independent from the body (Daniell 1997: 1). Personhood was thus conceptualised as a combination of a strictly material body and a soul of divine origin – death broke the bond between the two so that they could follow their separate destinies (Robb 2013: 447). After physical death of the body, the soul continued in existence, awaiting the Last Judgement. Rebirth on Judgement Day was the final stage in the passage of a medieval Christian (O'Sullivan 2013: 260). Death was therefore a transition, not an end. The idea of the transitory nature of death was emphasised further with the rise of the Doctrine of Purgatory. Although the notion of Purgatory had developed in the early medieval period (Alexandre-Bidon 2011: 276), as Le Goff (1984: 4, 289) has argued, it first found more formal expression between 1150 and 1200, with official papal recognition dating to 1254. Purgatory was the 'Immediate Hereafter' (Le Goff 1984: 2), where the dead suffered a prolonged and painful purgation of the accumulation of their sins (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 6). The idea that prayers of the living could lighten the punishment of the soul constituted a significant shift in thinking about death and about the relationship of the living and the dead (Horrox 1999: 90). The living thus became intimately and inextricably linked to the dead, bounded by their obligations to shorten their trials and thus end their suffering. The salvatory needs of the soul therefore dictated many of the rituals enacted over the body (Naji 2005: 181), of which prayer was one of the most fundamental. The rise in belief in Purgatory meant that the dead needed to be remembered and this necessity required a continuing social, moral and economic relationship between the living and the dead, which Geary (1994) has likened to a form of gift-giving. Strategies of remembrance and commemoration therefore became key concerns (Williams 2003b: 230), as is strongly evident within the monastic setting, where continuous daily celebrations were instated (Section 3.1). The influence the dead retained over the living thus meant that the line between life and death was not definitive (Moore 2003: 495). The dead were ever-present and thus a constant reminder of the inevitability of death itself. The diverse array of material culture (e.g. specialised literature and *memento mori*) that developed throughout the later medieval period reflects this daily preoccupation with death in both the religious and lay communities (see Binski 1996; Duffy 2006; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005; Gilchrist 2008; Gilchrist

2012; Llewellyn 1991).[35] There was a particular concern over the 'good' and the 'bad' death: agreement on the importance of meeting death well prepared was thus common in nearly all sectors of medieval society (Caciola 1996: 44). To save the soul from sin, the church thus encouraged meditation on death (Daniell 1997: 1). Regular confession and a constant awareness of the inevitability of death could help relieve the trauma of this migration from life (Westerhof 2008: 18), and ensure that the soul was appropriately prepared.[36]

The first obligation of the living was to bury the faithful dead in sacred ground. The 'Acts of the Synod of Arras' in 1025 affirmed the necessity for all Christians to be buried in the house of the Lord; its sacred character protected these places from secular intervention and from demonic forces (Lauwers 2005:159). Burial *ad sanctos* (near the body of the saints) enabled the saints to intercede on behalf of the living as they prayed for the souls' salvation. However, burial within these restricted locations had a profound impact on the integrity of grave contexts. As Bynum (1995:204) writes, once consecrated ground was clearly defined as the only acceptable place for interment, pressure for reusing space greatly increased. Graveyards were sites of recycling (Binski 1996:55), and bodily fragmentation became an increasingly common occurrence throughout the medieval period (see Cherryson 2007; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 194-198), raising important questions surrounding the relative importance of the physical body over the soul. Resurrection, as Naji (2005: 181) points out, implies the restoration of the spiritual body, not the earthly one. A preoccupation with the soul and the deceased's memory over a concern for the integrity of the body has its basis in Christian theology, where a physical reconstruction of fragmentary remains at resurrection was promulgated by monastic and scholastic teachings. In twelfth-century monastic prose, as Bynum (1995: 186) explains, the metaphors used for the body still saw it as bits and pieces, scattered abroad by death but re-collected at the end of time. No theological argument thus existed within the Christian tradition against disturbance of the dead.[37] In the fifth century Augustine of Hippo wrote in his work, *The City of God against the Pagans* that, 'Even if the body has been completely ground to powder in some dreadful accident, or by the ferocity of enemies; even if it has been scattered to the winds or into the water that there is nothing left of it', bodily resurrection would not be impeded (Dyson 1998:

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[35] A *Memento Mori* was a symbolic or artistic reminder of the certainty of death. They were often found, particularly around 1600, on memorials (Llewellyn 1991: 13) or even amulets (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 20).

[36] See Section 3.1 for a consideration of the Cluniac customaries and their strategies for encouraging the brethren to reflect and meditate on death.

[37] See English Heritage's guidelines for the treatment of human remains from Christian burial grounds (2005); see also Thompson (2004) for a consideration of grave disturbance in the context of early medieval theology. Here, too, an understanding that the fragmented body would be reconstituted is clear.

1152). Contrary to present day popular misunderstanding, therefore, resurrection did not require the preservation of the actual material body or skeleton (O'Sullivan 2013: 260).

Overall, it appears that greater importance may have been placed on the burial location (in consecrated ground close to the saints) and on the salvatory needs of the soul, rather than on the physical body itself. So long as the remains were kept on sacred ground, disturbed and fragmented bodies were not considered desecrated (Naji 2005: 176).   The widespread development of charnel houses in the twelfth century (see Bynum 1995: 203-204) indicates that the process of disturbance, fragmentation and collective reincorporation of skeletal remains was accepted and widely practiced, with the cult of the saints being another case in point.[38] This apparent ambivalence towards disturbing buried remains could reflect, following Naji (2005: 187-188), that medieval people were concerned less with the expression of respect and remembrance of the physical body and more with that of the soul. Or to phrase it differently, that priority was given to the living, or rather the recent dead, over previous generations (Naji 2005: 188). As will be addressed in Section 8.2, this apparent lack of concern on the part of the religious authorities did not necessarily equate to a lack of structured practice on an individual monastic basis. Disturbed bones were not necessarily treated pragmatically. Through their exhumation, handling and re-interment, they could potentially acquire a new significance and role in the context of the monastic funerary process.

Influenced by scholastic and religious teachings, certain disturbed body parts may also have been afforded particular regard over others. According to Tardieu (1993), skulls were favoured as some liturgists considered a burial without a head not sacred. The *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, composed in the late seventh or early eighth century (Reynolds 2012: 81) emphasised the importance of the head where, 'some believe they will arrive in the place of the ashes, some where the bones are situated. Where for instance the head will have been, there all the members will be assembled' (Wasserschleben 1885: 206-7, in O'Brien 1996: 163). In this respect, bones in some cases may have been considered representative of the whole body or individual (Gleize 2010: 53). According to O'Brien (1996: 163), it was critical therefore that the head was buried at the preferred place of resurrection, but what exactly was this place? Gleize (2010: 53) has associated the symbolic value of the head with the specific management of the skull found in reused tombs. Skulls are often positioned near the head of the deceased.

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[38] See Alexandre-Bidon and Treffort (1993c) for an examination of the depiction of ossuaries in later medieval imagery.

However, given the extensive archaeological evidence from later medieval graveyards for disturbance and re-deposition of skulls or crania in a wide range of locations away from the site of initial interment (see for example Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: fig.142), it appears that consecrated ground, rather than the original grave context itself, was sufficient in the vast majority of cases. We must therefore also explore other possible factors influencing specific management strategies of crania, as well as other classes of bones. We should question why some disturbed crania (and other skeletal elements) were afforded prominent positions in grave contexts alongside new interments, whilst others were not.

To the medieval mind the disturbance of still fleshed bodies could nonetheless invoke considerable disorder and fear. Whereas dry bones were sometimes treated as artefacts, greater anxiety surrounded the fleshy remains of the recently deceased (Gilchrist 2012: 219). Daniell (1997: 179) has argued that previous to the eleventh century, the dead were regarded as passive, even pathetic creatures, but from this period onwards, the angry ghost became more frequent.[39] The iconographic and literary sources, particularly from the thirteenth century, suggest fear for a fleshed corpse. Originating in France, the imagery of the 'dance of death' depicting half-decomposed bodies became widespread (Caciola 1996: 24). According to Gordon and Marshall (2000: 7), in contrast to the authorised teaching that the souls went immediately to Heaven, Hell or Purgatory, it was a common belief across Europe in the Middle Ages that for a period after death, the dead remained in the vicinity of the living bodies, liable to haunt them. The tales of William of Newburgh emphasise the intactness of cadavers that could become revenants and all were of the recently deceased (Caciola 1996: 31). Westerhof (2008: 16), drawing on Hertz's (1960) observations that visible decay of the flesh signifies pollution and thus a lack of order, argued that medieval western society held broadly similar views about the body; the putrefying cadaver and its role in spreading disease posed a real threat to the survivors (Westerhof 2008: 22). In the thirteenth century, Bishop Guillaume Durand wrote in his *Rationale for the Divine Offices* that touching the body of a dead man rendered one unclean for seven days (Bathélemy 1854), which Alexandre-Bidon (1993a: 186) argues was a widespread belief. Both the fresh corpse and the rotting cadaver could therefore be powerful entities, not simply for their ability to physically pollute, but for their capacity to torment and corrupt the living. Fahlander and Oestigaard (2008b: 5) note that it is generally common practice to make a sharp distinction between the living subject and the dead object, but that is not necessarily always true; the dead

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[39] See Schmitt's (1998) *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The living and the dead in Medieval society*, for a detailed consideration.

can continue to be individuals or agents, after death. This can also be applied to specific locales temporarily or permanently inhabited by the dead. Just as the decomposing cadaver had the ability to invoke fear, so too did the place of burial. There was widespread belief that the soul, rather than migrating immediately, remained in the vicinity of the grave (Daniell 1997: 61-2), and whilst the dead remained close to their bodies, they had the power to haunt (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 28). The Cluniac customaries placed particular emphasis on the separation of body and soul (Section 3.1). Both at the time of death and at the graveside, invocations were said to free the soul and to allow it to swiftly join God (see Paxton 1993a: 22, 32-33). There is a clear emphasis on protecting the soul against the dangers threatening its passage to heaven, as is demonstrated by their prayers to free the soul from the dark land and bitter place (Paxton 1993a: 22). However, there may also have been a fear that immediately following death and during the decomposition of his body, the soul of the dead monk could become corrupted, thus posing a threat to the living Cluniac community. Moore's (2003) study of Cluny's liturgical program highlights the importance placed on demonic threats. Abbot Odilo's biographer Jotswald wrote of the abbot's struggle with demons at the time of his death; they had the ability to attack and dominate human souls and the moment of death was no barrier to them (Moore 2003: 494). Disturbance of the more recently deceased, fleshed and decomposing, may therefore have posed a threat or invoked fear and revulsion in the minds of the Cluniac monks.

The intense period of prayer and commemoration immediately following death, and for the following 30 days, could indicate that for roughly a month, both the living and the soul of the dead monk were in need of particular protection. Binski (1996: 139) proposes that the commemorations may have been prompted by the perception that the soul wandered only while the corpse was in a liminal (and hence potentially unstable) stage of decomposition; a month could thus have been understood as a reasonable time for the body to have significantly decomposed and thus pose less of a threat. Anxieties about negotiating the boundary between life and death itself thus strongly underpinned the practices surrounding treatment of the body (Gordon and Marshall 2000: 7). Naji (2005: 181) draws a distinction between attitudes about the corpse that can be identified as a person and attitudes about the depersonalised corpse. He has argued that once the individuality of the body was dissolved, the remains (usually the bones) were considered as material objects and thus treated pragmatically (Naji 2005: 181). The present study considers this supposition in a Cluniac context, examining the extent to which treatment can be considered 'pragmatic'. It further questions the approaches taken towards the dry bones in comparison to the still fleshed disturbed remains and the corpse of the newly deceased.

3.2.1 Changing perceptions, changing practices

Philippe Ariès' (1981) survey of death throughout the medieval period has prompted much subsequent scholarship and academic debate, particularly within the fields of archaeology and art history (see for instance Binksi 1996; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005; Postles 1996). In Ariès's (1981) publication *The Hour of Our Death*, he proposed a distinct shift in the experience of death and attitude to the body from the early to the later Middle Ages. He argued that in the early Middle Ages, death was 'tame' - a shared social and public experience. By the thirteenth century, he argued that for laymen and women, death had become private and centred on the individual over the community. This shift, Ariès (1981: 161) argued, took place in the eleventh century within the monastic sphere. This progression within the 'world at large' was proposed by Postles (1996) to have been strongly influenced by the monastics and their specialist role in caring for the dead away from the outside community. This shift was paralleled in the twelfth century by the development in understanding of a three-tiered afterlife of Heaven, Hell and Purgatory (see above), where the majority of souls went to Purgatory after a 'personal death' (Bynum and Freedman 2000: 6). It is argued that death therefore became a personal experience (Bynum and Freedman 2000: 6), where the focus was shifted towards accounting for the sins of the individual soul. The acceptance of the notion of Purgatory, Horrox (1999: 110) argued, thus turned the spotlight on the individual. This shift towards the individual and his destiny is one argued to be reflected in the institution of requiem masses for individuals rather than occasional collective commemorations (see Whaley 2011: 5-6), for it was more effective to be remembered as an individual than as one of a mass (Daniell 1997: 11). The Cluniac necrologies, which listed the individual names of the dead could, to some extent, support this argument for a developing concern in the later medieval period for the 'death of the self'. This can also be argued for the 30 days of commemorations after the death of each individual monk (Section 3.1.7). However, the introduction of the 'Feast of All Souls' and on a smaller scale, the prayer recited after burial for 'all those resting in cemeteries' (Paxton 1993a: 32) shows that in a Cluniac context at least, an emphasis was also placed on situating the deceased individual within the context of the whole community of the dead. In this respect, following Iogna-Prat (1998: 354), the 'faithful' were individually named in the necrology, or collectively in the customs; the monk was thus both individual and one of a community, in life and death.

A further argument underlying Ariès's study was that from the thirteenth century, a denial for the physical reality of death developed and that there was a shift towards concealing the body from view (Ariès 1981: 168). Recent archaeological research has strongly challenged this

premise, arguing instead that overall, emphasis in the later medieval period was on display of the body, rather than on its concealment (see Gilchrist and Sloane 2005). This thesis will re-evaluate these concepts in a Cluniac context, considering treatment of the material remains in relation to the actions and sentiments prescribed within the customaries. It will also direct the enquiry towards the body in different decompositional stages and consider the handling and display or concealment of the new interment in relation to disturbed remains.

3.2.2 Summary

Gordon and Marshall (2000: 8) described medieval attitudes towards the dead as complex and sometimes contradictory, stemming from the confluence of official doctrine, folkloric ghost beliefs, natural affection for the deceased, horror of the corpse, the obligation to remember and the impulse to forget. In a Cluniac context, the customaries and their power to directly or indirectly structure or influence attitudes and approaches to the dead also need considering. This is particularly relevant given that the overarching official doctrine seemingly prioritised the soul over the physical body. Based on religious and scholastic teachings, Naji (2005: 188) argued that medieval people were concerned less with the expression of respect and remembrance of the body than of the soul. Here, use of the term 'body' is ambiguous. Section 3.1 demonstrated that the body's journey is lengthy, encompassing many stages, which crucially incorporate the biological realities of death and decomposition. Cluniac approaches and attitudes towards the body in different biological stages of death therefore need considering. Was the body imbued with a particular significance, or did it serve certain 'roles' or effect different responses depending on its physicality (e.g. fresh/dry or complete/fragmented)? This thesis considers the extent to which the customaries structured or influenced these various responses and their relationship to the official Christian (e.g. doctrinal) and non-official (e.g. folkloric) teachings and beliefs about the dead being perpetuated within medieval society. Furthermore, the various ways in which the dead body was approached and responded to in the four Cluniac houses, where the complex interplay between 'individual identity' and 'community' may have been differentially negotiated, will also be examined.

Chapter 4 presents the theoretical and methodological 'body-focused' approach of *anthropologie de terrain*, applied within this thesis to enable these questions to be explored.

4. CORPSE TO CONTEXT
- ANTHROPOLOGIE DE TERRAIN -

To understand a burial is to bear in mind, above all, that skeletons were once corpses

(Duday 2009: 7).

Understanding past behaviours regarding the treatment of the dead through the excavation of burial contexts relies entirely on fully appreciating the factors or 'formation processes' (Schiffer 1987) contributing to their creation. Various cultural and natural processes converge to produce a dynamic environment in which the cadaver is transformed and, in turn, transforms its surroundings. What appears as a static entity in the archaeological record, a complex of dry bones and earth, in reality bears little resemblance to the initial burial deposit. The once fleshed body has undergone a long decompositional process. Beginning roughly four minutes after death (Vass 2001: 190), both endogenous (meaning operating inside of the body i.e. primarily bacterial) and exogenous (operating outside of the body e.g. the impact of animals, human activity, water, temperature, soil type and micro-organisms) factors influence the body, which is further affected to a greater and lesser extent and in variable ways by the cultural modes of disposal (Roksandic 2002: 2). The archaeologist must determine which elements of this context are the result of intentional human action related to funerary practices, and which are those deriving from natural processes of decomposition, as well as exogenous modifications from the surrounding environment. This intentionality represents the greatest problem for interpretation (Roksandic 2002: 1). To equate unquestioningly what we see in the ground directly with intentional practices performed to and for the dead is precarious without thorough consideration of the taphonomic processes enacting on the entire burial context. As funerary archaeology is particularly concerned with what people intentionally did with their dead, not what natural processes do to them (Nilsson Stutz 2003: 148), we should endeavour to isolate the two as confidently as possible.

Taphonomic analyses have long been an integral component of archaeological investigation (see Thiébaut *et al.* 2010). In a funerary archaeology context, taphonomy has been taken to refer to all the processes that affect human remains from the moment of deposition, considering the preservation or non-preservation of every skeletal element, and their spatial arrangement (Duday 2009: 13). In this respect, as Duday (2009: 13) importantly argues, we should be considering the 'taphonomy of the body', rather than just the skeleton.

Despite the fundamental role that taphonomic analyses play in our investigation and interpretation of archaeological contexts, the degree to which these processes are systematically studied and the approaches taken vary enormously. Marín-Arroyo *et al.* (2012: 505) argue that outside of palaeontology, taphonomic research has perhaps been most progressive in archaeozoology – the field in which it was first applied (Thiébaut 2010: 21). It is not uncommon to find an extended consideration of the processes and events leading to the formation of animal bone deposits (see Lyman 1994; Orton 2010) and those specifically related to ritual processes (see Wilson 2005). Taphonomic studies of animal bones have benefited from more freedom of experimentation and many researchers have effectively exploited this (e.g. Andrews 1995; Micozzi 1986; Toots 1965; see Denys 2002 for a general consideration). Although taphonomic analysis has long been integrated into many areas of archaeological research, its rigorous application to human burials, and specifically funerary practices, has been on the whole under-explored. Knudson and Stojanowski (2008: 408) partly attribute its slow uptake to the significant investment of time needed.

Formation processes are often little scrutinised either during the excavation process or subsequently, and this is particularly true for the study of British later medieval burials. Some important exceptions are, however, discussed below. Referring to Nilsson Stutz's (2003: 148) comment that we are chiefly interested in what people intentionally did with their dead, many taphonomic studies are, in fact, primarily concerned with what natural processes do to the skeleton; thus, the specifics of funerary treatment are either not discussed or are secondary considerations. Research has for example focused on general factors influencing element survival rates (e.g. Waldron 1987); age and sex biases in skeletal preservation (e.g. Buckberry 2000; Manifold 2010; Stojanowski *et al.* 2002; Walker *et al.* 1988); or natural factors such as soil conditions affecting preservation (e.g. Mays 1992; Stojanowski *et al.* 2002). In Marden *et al's.* (2013: 242) recent review of taphonomy, mortuary treatment of the corpse is identified as a taphonomic variable but there is little detailed consideration. Recognising and interpreting lesions on bone and identifying pseudopathology and pseudotrauma are the primary foci. This clearly derives from a stronger emphasis on legal and medical contexts in the field of forensic science, which has been strongly influential in British and US archaeological research (see below).

It is important to note that techniques for detailed recording came relatively late to funerary studies. As Duday and Guillon (2006: 118) point out, the study of gravesites did not benefit

immediately from the technical progress of the field; settlement sites instead received the majority of attention (Section 2.2.2). Until fairly recently, the worth of such endeavours has been questioned. Rodwell's claim that 'the excavation of deeply stratified, intercutting burials is immensely time consuming and the validity of the exercise is sometimes to be questioned' (1996: 200) has been a difficult standpoint to overcome and unfortunately the gathering of burial data in the field has frequently suffered as a result. The most obvious features, of limited value in exploring the full potential of burial variability, are often noted. This commonly includes gave orientation and overall body and limb positioning. Post-excavation analysis of age, sex and palaeopathological conditions, normally receives the majority of attention, leaving the individual relatively devoid of cultural context. In reviewing the potential of burial archaeology, Manchester (1989: 11) claimed that 'it is arguably the post-excavation stage which offers most promise', further adding that, 'it is the application of scientific analytical method to excavated remains, both organic and inorganic, which heralds the advance'. The potential to funerary studies of a rigorous excavation process was therefore somewhat overlooked, possibly also highlighting a general lack of awareness in a British context for the progress in the field taking place in France (see below).

As briefly introduced in Section 2.2.2, it has also been common across time periods for the burial structures and inclusions, particularly grave goods, to take 'centre stage' in both the recording and subsequent analysis phases, to the detriment of the human remains (see also Gowland and Knüsel 2006: xi). For example, Nilsson Stutz (2006b: 38) in her re-analysis of the Mesolithic Barum burial, Sweden, notes that it was not until the initial position of the grave goods was considered that an interest developed in the body and questions pertaining to how the individual was actually deposited started arising. As Sofaer stresses, 'archaeological practice tends to focus on artefacts surrounding the body rather than on the bodies themselves' (2006: 188). The latter are often considered a secondary element (Duday and Sellier 1990: 12; Roberts 1996: 166; Williams 2004: 264). This has traditionally been the case in the study of early medieval burials (both Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian for example), to which various authors have testified (Bonde and Maines 1988: 806; Dufton and Fenwick 2012; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 1; Gleize and Castex 2012: 115; Lucy and Reynolds 2002; Rodwell 1975; Zadora-Rio 2003: 1). Even with the 'scientific make-over' of processualism, Gowland and Knüsel (2006: ix) argue, studies of human skeletal material remained on the periphery.

The commonality of this led the French anthropologist Henri Duday to comment:

> *If one evaluates the respective place of the diverse elements that make up a*
> *burial as a function of written lines an author devotes to them in a*
> *publication, one often has the unfortunate impression that the deceased had*
> *been placed as an offering to a ceramic vessel or to a flint projectile point,*
> *rather than the other way around* (2006: 30).

What we are often left with is a fragmented consideration of a burial context, where the archaeologists comment on the architecture, the skeletal remains are removed and processed by the osteologists, and any further inclusions are sent to various specialists. This predicament, as Knüsel (2010: 62) argues, has its roots in a research tradition within biological anthropology that tends to provide biological data to the archaeologist who provides the social and cultural meaning (see also Manchester 1989; Gowland and Knüsel 2006: xi). Until recently, as Roberts (2006: 417) explains, most work on osteological remains has been undertaken by people in other disciplines such as anatomy, dentistry and medicine, who had little background knowledge of archaeology to allow them to contextualise their biological data. Parallel, rather than synthetic questions have thus commonly been addressed (Knüsel 2010: 62). Goldstein (2006: 376) in her review of mortuary analysis and bioarchaeology attributes this general lack of shared and combined research to the different directions taken by archaeology and physical anthropology (human osteology). Where researchers in the latter realised that they could use the tools of skeletal biology, DNA studies, and chemistry to answer new questions, research became more science and laboratory based (Goldstein 2006: 376). Mays's (2010a: 12) bibliometric study of osteoarchaeology publications (2001-2007) clearly shows a marked increase from his initial study (1991-1995) in the proportion of bone chemistry studies. Within this research framework, Goldstein (2006: 376) stresses, the osteologist does not necessarily need the archaeologist once the latter has excavated the bones. This disjuncture is apparent from DiGangi and Moore's (2013a) recent edited book on research methods in skeletal biology. A wide range of themes are discussed from methods for analysing skeletal remains (e.g. age-at-death and sex estimations, stature, paleopathology, trauma, taphonomy, dental anthropology, demographics and isotopes) to completing the scientific process (library research, presenting and publishing) but discussions on the actual excavation process itself are notably absent. A more active involvement of the osteologist from the initial stages of a project through to completion would undoubtedly enhance the quality of information and thus the potential for broadening the

scope of funerary studies. The relevance of this union was stressed back in the 1970s by Jane Buikstra, when in applying the term 'bioarchaeology' she advocated 'active participation of both archaeologists and physical anthropologists in all phases of research design' (1977: 69). However, three decades later, Larsen (2006: 359) and Knüsel (2010: 65) are still emphasising the frequent disconnection between archaeological context and bioarchaeological study, with Knüsel (2010: 65) also stressing the need for the biological anthropologist to be involved from the initial stages. As a result, the constituent elements of a burial are commonly separated, often irrevocably so. The individual specialist reports (frequently relegated to the back of a site publication) reflect this disjuncture. This results in the individual, the *raison d'être* (Duday 1990: 30) for the burial, losing its centrality, which as Duday (2009: 6) rightly stresses, is an 'epistemological aberration'. *Anthropologie de terrain* seeks to address this problem holistically and systematically, through applying a taphonomic approach specific to the study of human remains, but which also considers all associated physical aspects of the burial context.

This chapter will firstly outline the origin and key developments to have taken place in the field of *anthropologie de terrain*. This will follow with a summary and discussion of its principal methods and how they are applied within this thesis. This will be demonstrated primarily through use of the excellent photographic record of the burials from Bermondsey Abbey and La Charité, but also drawing on further prehistoric and historic period examples.

4.1 *Anthropologie de terrain*: historical development

The objective of *anthropologie de terrain* is to reconstruct how people in the past responded to death through the study of the human skeleton, and analysing the actions surrounding management and treatment of the dead body. It places the body at the centre of enquiry, and seeks to enhance the level of information that can be extracted from a burial through a more meticulous excavation and recording process. Ideally starting in the field, it aims to reconstruct, as far as is possible, the original burial context through carefully identifying individual bones and recording their spatial relationship to one another and all other elements of the grave. At the heart of this approach is an understanding of the dynamics involved in skeletal disarticulation and the creation and subsequent infilling of empty spaces resulting from the decomposition of soft tissue (Nilsson Stutz 2006b: 38). It allows us to separate the natural processes affecting the body and grave, such as effects of putrefaction (disappearance of flesh, the release of tendons and dislocations under the effect of gravity (Gallay 1987: 47)), erosion and bioturbation, from traces of mortuary practices (pre-burial or preparatory treatments of the

corpse, body positioning, the nature of the space in which the body decomposed and interaction with the body during or after decomposition) (Duday 2006: 33; Nilsson Stutz 2003: 22). On a basic level, these factors are crucial to consider in determining the intentionality of a deposit and to thus confirm that it is strictly 'funerary' in nature (Leclerc 1990: 13). Lerclerc and Tarrête define a burial as 'a place where the remains of one or more deceased have been deposited, and where there remains sufficient evidence for the archaeologist to detect in this deposit a willingness to accomplish a funerary gesture;(…) a structure formed at the time of this funerary gesture' (1988: 963). The formalisation of burial grounds in the historic period provides solid grounding for deducing the intentionality of a burial deposit. However, for more ancient periods such as the Palaeolithic, inferences can be more complex (Crubézy 2007: 13; see also Masset 2007). On a more detailed level, analyses can provide information on the nature of the burial (primary or in multiple episodes), the initial position of the body, the space of decomposition (did the body decompose in a 'filled' space or was it placed in an open volume such as a covered pit or coffin), whether other organic elements were present in the grave at the time of burial (e.g. pillows, wrappings) and, whether the body was manipulated in any way before, during and/or after decomposition (see Nilsson Stutz 2006a: 218).

Over the last 10 years, English language publications exploring the principles of *anthropologie de terrain*, *field anthropology* or more recently termed *archaeothanatology* (the archaeology of the social and biological components of death, of which *anthropologie de terrain* is a part) (see comments in Duday 2009: 3) have started to emerge, albeit in small numbers (for example Duday 2006; Harris and Tayles 2012; Nelson 1998; Nilsson 1998; Nilsson Stutz 2003, 2006a, 2006b; Tiesler *et al.* 2010; Willis and Tayles 2009). This is despite its integration several decades earlier within the sphere of French funerary studies.

The work of André Leroi-Gourhan, Gérard Bailloud and Michel Brézillon (1962) on the Mournouards collective grave (Marne) (see Duday and Guillon 2006: 119) developed methodological approaches to the study of funerary contexts, which traversed multiple disciplines. As Masset and Sellier (1990: 6-7) note, their work took anthropology in hand, and directed it towards interrogations that would be of use to historians [and archaeologists] (analysis of age and sex but also differences in bone preservation). At this same time, there was a renewal of interest in techniques [notably excavation] and how they could be applied to solving archaeological problems (Masset and Sellier 1990: 6-7). Excavation techniques were later

developed further and addressed more specifically to skeletal remains by French anthropologists, and in particular Claude Masset and Henri Duday, whose publications on the subject have been wide-ranging and extremely influential (e.g. Duday 1978, 2006, 2009; Duday and Masset 1987; Duday *et al*. 1990a; Duday *et al.* 1990b).[40] Interdisciplinarity was at the heart of their field anthropology approach. The need to understand the processes and relative timing of cadaver decomposition and skeletal disarticulation in a multitude of environments and conditions has promoted an integration of theory and method from a range of fields including archaeology, osteology, biology, and forensic science. However, the systematic implementation of such knowledge in the field has been generally lacking in an archaeological context.

Despite the fact that most forensic studies are associated with medico-legal contexts and, therefore, are not wholly applicable to the full range of different burial contexts exhibited in the archaeological record (Roksandic 2002: 2), they have nonetheless contributed valuable information regarding sequence of decomposition. They have provided valuable answers to patterns of bone movements in archaeological contexts (see papers in Boddington *et al*. 1987; Haglund and Sorg 1997; Haglund and Sorg 2002). William Bass's 'Body farm' programme at the University of Tennessee, for instance, has been particularly instrumental in providing detailed information on cadaver decay in a range of different environments (e.g. Bass 1997; Rodriguez and Bass 1985). Duday and Guillon (2006: 118) note, however, that the objectives of the two fields are fundamentally different, given that whilst anthropology studies mortuary gestures, forensic anthropology seeks to identify non-funerary but intentional gestures. Many of the techniques are nonetheless strongly relevant to both, as the application of Mant's (1953, 1987) work has demonstrated. His study of post-WWII exhumed bodies for medico-legal purposes offered valuable information on the sequences of decomposition under the influence of a range of exogenous factors, such as clothing, coffins and burial depth. It provided subsequent osteological work with some necessary information to start questioning skeletal patterning and different preservation of organic materials in archaeological contexts.[41]

Key to the development of the field, Duday's work over the last 30 years has gone a long way in integrating aspects of medical and biological science and osteological research within an archaeological context. His research, applied to both the prehistoric and historic periods,

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[40] The translation into English of Duday's book, 'Lectures in Archaeothanatology' (2009) has made the approach more accessible to the wider English-speaking academic community.
[41] See for example Boddington's (1987) study of the Anglo-Saxon burials from Raunds, Northamptonshire, and Janaway's (1987) paper in the same volume on the preservation of organic materials.

focuses on a range of themes. These include mechanisms of decay and decomposition/sequence of bone disarticulation, procedures for identifying primary and secondary burials, reconstructing the space of decomposition (e.g. in a void versus a filled space) and the chronology of infilling of the decayed tissues. He also considered funerary complexes – the identification of multiple and collective burials. Attention throughout his work to the wider funerary functions and ritual dimensions, combined with osteological and biological interpretations, embraced early on the interdisciplinarity needed to expand the potential of funerary studies. The theory and methods developed have, as Willis and Tayles (2009: 547) justifiably put it, completely revolutionised the approach taken by French archaeologists to mortuary analysis. It is interesting to note that such a detailed and laborious method developed in France alongside the rise of 'rescue archaeology'. It is now a fundamental component of French archaeological work, both in the university and commercial spheres. This can be explained by the active engagement of its chief proponents with the wider archaeological community. Nilsson Stutz (2003: 141) writes that Duday, his colleagues and students have made an extensive effort to educate university students and professional archaeologists working with salvage excavations. It is now common to find an extended *anthropologie de terrain* section with a taphonomic consideration of each individual burial with references to 'mode of burial' in French excavation reports. A good case in point is the 2010 document produced by l'Institut national de recherches archéologiques préventives (INRAP) under the direction of David Billoin entitled *Aux origines de l'église de Saint-Hymetière (VIe-VIIe /XXe siècles)*. The investigation of the medieval church revealed 29 skeletons for which nearly 40 pages were dedicated purely to the taphonomic assessment of each individual burial, revealing a diverse array of interment modes. This is in stark contrast to many British skeletal reports, where recording and discussion is still often focused more towards age and sex estimates, pathology and metrics.

We should, however, not be oblivious to the developments taking place in a British context. The desire to develop more detailed taphonomic approaches was present, even if the systematic methodologies were not immediately forthcoming. Contemporaneous with the early methodological work in France, studies aimed at more comprehensively understanding patterns of decomposition and disarticulation in human remains, as a means to reconstructing mortuary practices, were being set forth in British archaeological contexts. Nicholas Reynolds's paper entitled, *The Structure of Anglo-Saxon Graves* (1976), which analysed burials from the Empingham, Rutland cemetery, described (albeit to a lesser extent) individual bone and joint positioning/movements in relation to processes and degrees of decay. Through considering

different degrees of movement in filled versus empty spaces, Reynolds argued for the use of wooden coverings over burial pits. A more systematic consideration of the osteology in conjunction with moveable objects and the surrounding burial context situates his work more in line with that of the French anthropologists. Reynolds' warning that, 'we must be clear that we know the original position in which a body was buried if we are to use such evidence to impute patterns of social behavior' (1976: 143), constitutes an early plea to adopt a more 'body-focused' approach. His strong critique of Hirst's (1985) argument that a female skeleton from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery of Sewerby had been buried alive again challenged the extent to which taphonomic considerations were in place, or not. This skeleton was discovered above a coffin burial, with her legs in the air, 'fingers clenched' (deduced from the very few remaining) and a small piece of quern stone 'holding her down'. Reynolds (1988: 716-717) has since proposed multiple other explanations for the body positioning, taking into account decomposition, post-depositional disarticulation and movement, and importantly the surrounding burial environment/adjacent structures. He questioned whether the excavators may have missed the limits of a smaller pit into which the body was thrown, thus leaving her legs resting on a slope, or whether *rigor mortis*, which could have created unusual configurations of corpses in confined spaces (Effros 2003: 83), was still active at the time of burial.[42] The body could have descended downwards as the lid from the underlying coffin burial perished – a process during which a skeleton could turn over in all sorts of contorted postures (Reynolds 1988: 717). He has stressed that properly recorded, many post-mortem movements of bodies are discernible (and not just individual bones but whole bodies in the course of decay), and that these need to be considered when using the recovered position of the body as evidence (Reynolds 1988: 717).

Brothwell and Boddington's papers in the volume *Death, decay and reconstruction: approaches to archaeology and forensic science* (1987) developed these ideas further. Through their analysis of observed bone positioning in burials from the medieval cemetery sites of Jewbury, York and Raunds, Northamptonshire, respectively, they argued for specific post-mortem pre-interment activities. They equated 'bone tumbling' (severe disturbance predominantly in the vertebral region) with a delay between death and transportation in a coffin – evidence for the latter being acquired from spatial analysis of the skeletal elements in the field. Brothwell (1987) drew on evidence from radiographic studies of skeletal patterning in Egyptian mummies, arguing for an analogy between the delayed movement in both cases and the resulting patterns of

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[42] *Rigor mortis* sets in around two to four hours after death and peaks at about 12 hours before disappearing, but it can remain in the body for up to 36 hours (Nilsson Stutz 2003: 143).

disarticulation. These studies thus united osteological and biological reasoning in an archaeological context with theories surrounding specific modes of disposal.

Nilsson Stutz's more recent work (2003, 2006a, 2006b) on Mesolithic burial practices in Scandinavia has gone a long way in introducing the theory and methods of *anthropologie de terrain* into the English-speaking domain. Taking the approach a step further, she argues for the applicability of the methods in a post-excavation context too. Despite Duday and Sellier's (1990: 12) assertion that it is often impossible to retrieve funerary information *a posteriori*, Nilsson Stutz successfully demonstrates that with detailed excavation notes, good photographic evidence and a solid body of reference studies, taphonomic analyses can be undertaken some considerable time after excavation and can challenge assumptions on 'mode of burial' made in the field (see in particular Nilsson 2006a, 2006b). Her work has encouraged others to follow in the same vein (e.g. Harris and Tayles 2012; Willis and Tayles 2009). With the aid predominantly of photographs, Willis and Tayles (2009) re-examined a number of burials from Ban Lum Khao and Noen-U-Loke, Southeast Asia, with the intention of identifying modes of interment. Similarly to Nilsson Stutz, they were able to reassess the evidence for wrapped burials, identifying potential cases that were initially overlooked.

With relevant source material and abundant reference cases, studies of this nature could prove invaluable, not solely for the re-examination of moot cases, but for the exploitation of previously excavated burial contexts, for which little consideration was initially made. Other researchers have strongly emphasised the importance of a good photographic record, even going so far as to say that photographs should form the 'primary record of any cemetery' (Boddington 1987: 28). Refuting Rodwell's claim that, 'there is no merit in cleaning vast numbers of skeletons…simply to take eye-catching photographs of them…' (1981: 157), Boddington (1987: 28) has argued that site plans are only sufficiently clear when the skeleton is completely articulated, undisturbed and supine and that drawing skeleton plans in the post-excavation stage from detailed photographs (a practice common in French excavation reports published by INRAP) proves invaluable in assessing patterns of decay. The recent methodological developments in *anthropologie de terrain* have sought, however, to enhance the usability of site plans/drawings through a registration of each bone's position in three dimensions, the inclusion of scale drawings of each layer of the deposit, together with depth measurements and accompanying photographs after each stage of clearing. Ground-level

photography within burial contexts has also been used to great effect (see Duday and Guillon 2006).

4.2 *Anthropologie de terrain*: in practice

The ideal scenario for recording burial contexts is when they are primary and undisturbed by taphonomic processes other than decomposition (Willis and Tayles 2009: 547). In reality, the latter is uncommon. This is particularly true for later medieval burial grounds. Their usual situation in more urban/built-up areas coupled with their relative proximity to the surface often leaves them vulnerable to a range of both contemporary and modern disturbances. This undoubtedly adds a layer of complexity to the analysis, which is why the need for detailed and rigorous *in situ* recording and thorough documentation is so important.

As stated above, our main source of information in determining the original position of the skeleton and the components of the surrounding burial feature is the spatial distribution of elements. However, even in a primary burial, there will always be some degree of movement, as the processes of decomposition free empty spaces within the initial volume of the cadaver. The relative extent of these movements (internal or external to the initial volume of the cadaver) is thus fundamental. Under the influence of gravity, described by Duday as the 'most universal of the taphonomic agents' (2006: 34), bones will move to a greater or lesser extent until they reach a level of equilibrium (into a stable position); it is the surrounding composition and shape of the grave that will determine where the bones fall (Nilsson Stutz 2003: 151). Central to this is an appreciation for the relative timing of the decomposition of the various connections. Joints do not decompose simultaneously. They can be divided into labile (unstable articulations or those that lose their connection the quickest – generally the smaller bones) and persistent (Duday *et al*. 1990a: 31) - the latter constituting those subject to high biomechanical loading. Table 4.1 summarises the different types:

Articulation	Labile	Persistent
Strength	'Unstable' or quickest to Break down	Slower to break down
Time taken to break down	A couple of weeks to a few months	Months to years
Examples	Cervical vertebrae Hand bones Distal foot bones Scapula-thoracic joint	Lumbar vertebrae Lumbo-sacral joint Atlanto-occipital art. Sacro-iliac art. Knee joints Ankle and tarsal bones

Table 4.1: A summary of unstable versus persistent joints (compiled from Duday *et al*. 1990a; Duday 2006).

It is the basic decompositional chronology of the various articulations, which can be used to establish a specific relative chronology of the different events in the taphonomic history of the mortuary deposit (Nilsson Stutz 2003: 152). To distinguish a 'primary burial' (one that has been deposited 'fresh' into its final space of decomposition) from a 'secondary burial', the labile connections are the most informative. A primary burial will theoretically have maintained its labile articulations in connection (Duday 2006: 33) (Fig.4.1). In remains which have been subsequently moved, the degree of connection between the labile joints could inform as to roughly what stage of decomposition the body was in at the moment of disturbance. This is just as much a consideration for medieval burials, which were often subject to frequent disturbance, as for prehistoric burials with evidence for protracted funerary rituals.

Figure 4.1: An example of a primary burial (burial 38, Bermondsey Abbey). The cervical vertebrae are in connection and the labile phalanges of the left hand, although not all in strict anatomical connection, are present and in close association with the remaining hand bones.

As stated above, there will always be some degree of movement inside the initial volume of the body but the *extent* of these movements will vary, making them important considerations. Table 4.2 provides the principal ones. See also Figure 4.2 below:

Element/s	Position of skeleton	Movement	Result
Rib-cage	Supine	Accentuated inferior movement following rupture of intercostal, costo-sternal and costo-vertebral articulations; anterior rib ends move medially and down.	Collapse, flattening and reduction in thoracic volume
	On side	Lower rib cage held in place by friction and weight of upper ribs; upper ribs show an increase in angulation	A gap is produced between the anterior ends of the left and right ribs of the same vertebral level
Sternum	Supine/side	Follows movement of ribs and viscera inferiorly.	Descends inferiorly from original location
Vertebral column	-	Partial dislocation due to asymmetrical relationship in ligaments during decomposition	Division of vertebrae into segments/sub-sections of several vertebrae
Pelvic girdle	Supine	Destruction of the sacro-iliac ligaments results in the sacrum moving forward into the space freed by the pelvic viscera. The two *ossa coxae* fall to the rear into the space left by the muscles of the buttocks.	Sacrum becomes detached and moves forward *Ossa coxae* fall to the rear and appear more flattened
	On side	Upper-most *os coxae* moves inferiorly	Falls into the interior of the pelvic cavity

Table 4.2: A summary of common skeletal movements during decomposition. Summarised from Duday (2006).

Figure 4.2: Common bone movements within the volume of the cadaver (burial 183, Bermondsey Abbey). Note the inferior movement of the ribcage resulting in flattening, and the position of the sternum, which has followed. There is an opening at the pubic symphysis. There is some marginal opening between individual vertebrae in the mid-thoracic region.

One of the main considerations is the dynamic between the empty spaces that form during the decomposition of organic material and the infilling of these spaces by sediment (Nilsson Stutz 2003: 153). Duday (2006: 41) writes that it is surprising to see the extent to which the archaeological literature remains silent on an essential taphonomic process – the (in) filling of the space freed by the disappearance of the soft tissues. Identification of the nature and degree of the movements can provide vital information on whether the body decomposed in an 'empty' (original or secondary void outside of the cadaver's volume) or 'filled' space, and thus can be informative about the nature of the surrounding burial structure.

4.2.1 Space of decomposition: *empty space/void*

Archaeological evidence can, on occasion, provide direct information as to the funerary architecture accompanying a burial. This can include 'strong' indicators such as the remains of a stone tomb or a complete lead or even wood coffin encasing an individual, or 'weak' indicators such as nails or staining from organic material, where the latter requires further interpretation. Often archaeological reports will claim the presence of a 'coffin burial' (taken here to refer to a wide or narrow closed container, usually used for transportation and burial of the body) based solely on the presence of a few scattered nails or a 'wood stain'. In reality they could relate to any number of structures. Bardel and Perennec (2004) in their examination of the excellently preserved organic remains from the sixth-eighteenth century burial contexts from the Abbey of Landévennec, for instance, revealed a number of different wooden structures. These included timber racks (possibly to support a cover or a shroud burial), simple boards under the body, just covers and a range of coffin types (with or without nails).[43] Gallien and Langlois' (1998) examination of wood remains from Saint-Denis revealed that as well as coffins, wooden containers or 'coffrages de bois' constructed within the grave were present, adding a further level of complexity to the analysis. Nails could also be accidental inclusions. The possibility for contamination of the burial context needs to be considered before directly equating 'direct indicators' to specific funerary practices. The Shanidar 'flower burial', Iraq, is a good case in point, where large quantities of pollen identified directly beneath a Neanderthal skeleton were taken as evidence for a deliberate deposition of funerary offerings prior to burial. More thorough analysis of the taphonomic processes, however, (including evidence for extensive rodent activity around the body as a possible source of contamination) rightly brought into serious doubt the hypothesis that this constituted a deliberate funerary gesture (Sommer 1999).

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[43] See also Blaizot (2008) Treffort (1993) for considerations on variability.

The empty spaces internal to the cadaver, produced through the decomposition of soft tissues, provide voids for bones to move, which become destabilised and subsequently shift; a greater volume of body fat could result in more extensive movements. Roksandic (2002: 4) also notes that the buildup of gasses during the decomposition process could also lead to slight changes in bone position. However, if the body is surrounded by an initial empty space at the time of burial, these bones may also fall outwards (Nilsson Stutz 2003: 154). Eventually, these spaces become filled with soil (with an exception being inside a well-sealed stone sarcophagus or lead coffin) and serve to fix the bones in place. Burial in a void (e.g. a coffin, tomb, or a wrapping of durable/impervious material) produces recognisable movements. We see displacements of relative importance, particularly in the persistent joints, affecting the bones that would be in an unstable position at the time of the rupture of the articular surfaces (Duday and Sellier 1990: 14). When the individual is lying supine (the most common position in medieval cemeteries), movements can include (see Duday 2006: 40):

- The opening of the pelvic girdle so that the *ossa coxae* lie flat with an opening at the pubic symphysis.
- Lateral movements of the femora as the heads are pushed into the acetabula.
- A lateral shifting or complete displacement of the patellae during movements of the femora.

The last indication, although commonly cited as a strong indicator for decomposition in a void, should be approached with caution. The patellae commonly become dislodged during the excavation process. It is not always known from the written and photographic record what their initial position was. This problem is illustrated by Figure 4.3. In cases such as this it is hoped that the written documentation produced during excavation can confirm their initial positioning. The importance of an accurate photographic record must be emphasised, particularly if it is to form our primary record. Rearrangement of skeletal elements during excavation is common, which is why it is the ideal to make an assessment based on as many skeletal regions as possible and assess for inconsistencies. Figure 4.4 for instance exhibits a complete flattening of the iliac blades consistent with decomposition in a void, yet there is no opening at the pubic symphysis. The pubic bones have clearly been repositioned during excavation, which could also be proposed for the patellae.

Figure 4.3: Rearrangement of skeletal elements during excavation (burial 37, Bermondsey Abbey). Here, both patellae appear to be in their correct anatomical positions. However, on closer inspection, they have been rotated. It is not known whether they were initially in connection and simply removed for cleaning and replaced incorrectly, or if they had been placed in this position for the purposes of the photo (for example, initially displaced during decomposition).

Figure 4.4: Rearrangement of skeletal elements during excavation. In this coffin burial from the late medieval site of Hull Magistrates Court (from Roberts 2009b: 51), note the flattening of the *ossa coxae* but the close proximity of the pubic symphyseal faces. The pubic bones have been repositioned during excavation.

A dropped mandible is another factor commonly cited to support burial within a void. However, this movement can also occur during decomposition in a filled space, as the mandible can move into the space left free by the decomposition of the neck tissues (Nilsson Stutz 2003). An attempt was made to identify coffin burials based on this factor in the interred population from St Helen-on-the-Walls, but no consistency was found and the method was deemed to be unreliable (Dawes and Magilton 1980: 14-15).

In a void, filling of the internal spaces of the cadaver with earth will be delayed (the in-filling does not immediately follow disappearance of the flesh) and movements outside of the body will be more marked (Fig.4.5). Both the construction and permeability of the coffin, for example, influence the duration of space and therefore the movement of bones. A poorly constructed, less

durable coffin allows for a more immediate infiltration of soil and thus movements will be less marked (Willis and Tayles 2009: 547).

Figure 4.5: Decomposition in a void (burial 16, Bermondsey Abbey). This individual exhibits distinctive characteristics of decomposition within a void. The iliac blades have fallen posteriorly and flattened. The humeri, which show their anterior surfaces, have rolled laterally into a position of stability. The cranium has rolled posteriorly.

Secondary empty spaces can also form outside of the initial volume of the body, for example where a perishable item is included in the grave such as a pillow, an organic bag or a wooden board under the skeleton. A secondary empty space can be detected by its effect on the spatial distribution and orientation of the skeletal elements in the grave (Nilsson Stutz 2003: 155). The disappearance of a wooden base can cause the bones to move unevenly into the newly freed spaces. The disappearance of a perishable pillow can produce a complete dislocation of the cranium, mandible and superior cervical vertebrae, as was noted from grave 175 at the pre-Roman burial ground of Aleria, Corsica (Duday 2006: 41-42); see also the example in Rodwell (1981: Fig.71a), which could conceivably infer the initial presence of a perishable pillow. Evidence for pillows of non-perishable material is present in abundance in numerous early and late medieval cemeteries (see Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 146-147). It can therefore be postulated that those of perishable material were also present, yet they have generally gone undetected. The decomposition of some structures, however, may have resulted in limited movement of skeletal elements, thus making their former presence undetectable. Gougard (1930: 87-88), for instance, describes a medieval bier made of fabric stretched between two wooden supports; a decomposing structure of this nature would result in negligible disturbance to skeletal remains.

Other indicators for decomposition in an empty space can also be drawn upon. As Duday and

Sellier (1990: 13) note, it can be assumed that the re-opening of the tomb and reorganisation of skeletal elements presupposes the existence of an empty space (see burial 14, Lewes Priory). The same can be inferred from the significant movement of the lighter bones (commonly the sacrum, sternum, ribs and cervical vertebrae), which can at times be attributed to a rising water table – the freedom of movement would thus indirectly imply an empty space (Duday 2006: 40-41). This is one explanation proposed by Willis and Tayles (2009: 549) for the disorder or 'tumbling' recorded by Brothwell (1987) in the vertebrae of potential coffin burials from the Jewbury, York, cemetery. An alternative explanation is offered by Nawrocki (1995: 51) who proposes that it could be related to mass maggot movements. Environmental factors are therefore important to also consider. The collapse of a coffin cover or a perishable grave cover and the resulting damage to the skeletal elements has been used as an indicator for initial grave structures (see Crummy *et al.* 1993: 215-217). However, more systematic research needs to be undertaken on this factor.

4.2.2 Space of decomposition: *filled space*

When the body is interred directly in the ground, reasoning is diametrically opposite to that applied to a void (Duday 2006: 41). Decomposition in a filled space corresponds to inhumation *strictu senso* – the body is laid in the bare earth and immediately covered with soil (Duday 1990: 194). However, we must be careful to distinguish between *burial* in a filled space and *decomposition* in a filled space. It is conceivable that a non-durable or non-sealing perishable covering was laid over the burial (initial burial in a void) but given that soil could permeate rapidly, the majority of decomposition took place in a filled space. Tranoy (2007: 155) notes that there is often confusion with the term 'pleine terre' or 'filled space'. For some, it denotes burial devoid of a container, for others, a burial in the ground directly covered by earth. The difficulty lies in the distinction between the mode of burial (the body is placed in the ground and not in a container; with or without a cover) and the space of decomposition (empty or filled); a cover may have been used but allowed for a rapid infiltration of soil, meaning the body decomposed in a filled space (Tranoy 2007: 155).[44] It is therefore important that our descriptions are clear and consistent and that the full range of possibilities for mode of burial is presented before concluding on the most likely.

Filling can be either progressive/immediate or delayed. Immediate filling occurs when the

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[44] Examples were recorded from Bordesley Abbey of loosely fitting re-used timbers over graves (Hirst and Wright forthcoming), which would have allowed rapid infiltration of soil into some areas of the decomposing body.

decomposing soft tissues are replaced by sediment progressively, before significant empty spaces can form. Here, most of the labile connections will be maintained, even in positions of instability (Fig.4.6).

Figure 4.6: Examples of decomposition in a filled space (burials 82 and 201, Bermondsey Abbey). Note the maintenance of the labile finger bones in positions of instability over areas with a particularly high volume of soft tissue. In a void, gravity would have shifted these bones to the base of the grave.

However, perseverance of the proper anatomical connection of these joints is only indicative of decomposition in a filled space in situations where the part of the body in question had been placed originally in an unstable position (Roksandic 2002: 7). Figure 4.7 demonstrates this.

Figure 4.7: Example of immediate in-filling (burial 123, Bermondsey Abbey). The thoracic cage has maintained a good volume and the hyoid bone is still positioned precariously (circled in red). Roksandic (2002: 7) writes that the proper anatomical positioning of the hyoid can be taken as a telltale sign of progressive/immediate in-filling. The left patella also rests in an unstable position. The right appears to have been repositioned during excavation.

Clothing or wrappings together with the 'fluidity' of the surrounding sediment will all have an impact. Immediate infilling, for instance, occurs most readily in more sandy sediments, which Duday (2006: 41) describes as having an 'hour-glass effect'. Clays on the other hand would infiltrate more slowly, resulting in a delayed filling. Noting the soil type is thus imperative. Variability can also be caused by the volume of soft tissue each person has (Roksandic 2002: 7). The maintenance of bones in an 'unstable' position can be indicative of decomposition in a filled space (e.g. phalanges resting over a region of the body high in soft tissues or the humeri positioned forward and rotated medially). Something must have maintained these bones in a

state of disequilibrium. This is the result of what is termed an '*effet de paroi*' or 'wall effect' (Duday and Sellier 1990: 14). This could be the surrounding sediment, clothing or a wrapping (discussed below), the limit of the grave cut, or a perishable surface such as the wall of a coffin. They can all result in a lateral constriction with particularly marked consequences. An example from Bermondsey Abbey (Fig.4.8) demonstrates the 'effet de paroi' produced from burial within a constraining anthropomorphic grave cut.

Figure 4.8: Example of an '*effet de paroi*' (burial 188, Bermondsey Abbey). This individual shows the 'effet de paroi' created at the level of the shoulders, where they are raised up and forward. In a void they would roll laterally and downwards under the effect of gravity. This is due to the constraining effect of the narrow anthropomorphic grave cut. This same pattern has been observed at other medieval cemetery sites including burial 209 from Serris, Les Ruelles (Duday 2009: 46).

Delayed or 'differential' in-filling tends to refer to covered space (directly under soil) where sediments are less fine grained (Roksandic 2002: 7). This terminology has been adopted variously. Some authors (e.g. Fossurier 2009) take differential in-filling to mean any delayed filling, whether the body is directly covered by earth or not. Burial directly within the soil but covered in a durable wrapping for instance could result in a delayed in-filling, where bones are able to move for a short period of time. The movements will follow those detailed in Table 4.2 but to a lesser degree than in a void and importantly, the fact that the bones never move outside of the initial volume of the cadaver is critical in arguing against architectural elements (Roksandic 2002: 7-8), although other potential constraints, such as a tightly fitting coffin, need to be considered.

4.2.3 Evidence for body preparation: soft envelopes (wrappings and clothing)

Temperate environments do not generally favour the preservation of burial dress. Occasionally, direct evidence such as fragments of material or fixings (e.g. shroud pins or belt buckles) can be detected and used to reconstruct specific items of dress/accessories (see in particular Henri 2009; Jimenez *et al.* 2009; Proust 2009; Rast-Eicher 2009). However, with the risk of contamination (particularly in cemeteries with frequent re-use of space) combined with often-poor preservation, a reliance on them as a sole source of evidence can be problematic. Furthermore, depending on the nature of the excavations, small items can conceivably be missed. Medieval iconographic examples of pre-interment body preparation also indicate that some wrappings were fixed with cords (Lorans 2007: 218), evidence for which is rare (see however burial 176, Beaumont; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 106). The Cluniac customaries prescribe a sewing together of garments; direct archaeological evidence for such bodily preparation would require exceptional preservational conditions. *Anthropologie de terrain* can thus provide valuable indirect evidence.

Various studies (e.g. Buquet-Marcon *et al.* 2009; Fossurier 2009; Gaultier *et al.* 2009; Kliesch and Pluton-Kliesch 2009; Langlois and Gallien 2009; Nilsson Stutz 2006a; Paresys 2009; Peressinotto *et al.* 2001; Willis and Tayles 2009; see also papers in Bonnabel and Carré 1996) have specifically explored the impact of various types of soft envelopes (including wrappings such as shrouds, clothing and shoes) on the decomposition of the body and the resulting disarticulation and arrangement of skeletal elements. There is a wide range of possible soft envelopes in which a body could be buried, from tightly sewn, pinned or wound shrouds, loose wrappings from a single piece of material, habits (potentially sewn tightly together, as prescribed in the Cluniac customaries) or everyday clothing with or without shoes.[45] The early and later medieval iconography depicts a range of different wrappings (see Alexandre-Bidon 1996: 13-14; Treffort 1996). In the case of shrouds, excavation notes and reports frequently claim their existence simply because the skeleton has a narrow disposition (upper limbs close to the thoracic cage and lower limbs together) (see Réveillas and Castex 2010: 76), when in reality the constraint could have been produced by other factors, such as a particularly narrow burial feature (Nilsson Stutz 2006a: 219) or a tight coffin. Both Boddington (1987) and Brothwell (1987) equated a 'parallel-sided' effect of skeletal elements with that of a coffin burial (as does Rodwell

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[45] It must be noted that pins should not be unquestionably taken as indicators for the former presence of a wrapping. Gilchrist and Sloane (2005: fig.41) discuss the example of a cranium found with what were probably pins supporting a headdress.

1981: 151). Whilst this could be a useful indication, it must be considered carefully in light of possible wrappings and the grave cut, both of which could produce similar results. The parameters of the cut and associated burial structures should thus be ascertained as confidently as possible (Chapter 6).

Wrapped burials

A tight wrapping has a direct impact on the spatial distribution of the bones. It produces a bilateral pressure, which has the effect of constraining or compressing the body. As the soft tissues decompose, this pressure, if sufficient, can result in the following (Nilsson Stutz 2006a: 219-221; see also Bonnabel 1996; Fig.4.9) (Table.4.3):

Element/s	Bone movements	Result
Thoracic cage	Bilateral compression of the thoracic cage where the ribs are pushed medially	The thoracic cage appears narrow and the anterior part can even extend in front of the vertebrae
Humeri	Bilateral compression of the humeri	The humeri lie close to the thoracic cage, rotated medially (exposing the lateral surface), upwards and forwards into positions of instability (wall effect).
Scapulae	Bilateral compression of the shoulders resulting in movement of the scapulae	The scapulae are rotated laterally with the glenoid cavity positioned obliquely upward.
Clavicles	Bilateral compression of the shoulders resulting in the clavicles moving vertically	A verticalisation of the clavicles with the medial extremity being pulled towards the manubrium
Lower limbs	Bilateral compression of the lower limbs.	Lower limbs are lying close and converge at the knees. Buquet-Marcon *et al.* (2009) consider a convergence to consist of the knees and ankles resting ≤ apart (Chapter 6). A 'wall effect' may be apparent.

Table 4.3: Taphonomic indicators for a wrapped burial. Summarised from Nilsson Stutz (2006a: 219-221).

Nilsson Stutz's (2006a) analysis of the Mesolithic burials from Zvejnieki, Latvia, clearly demonstrates the potential for field anthropological methods in re-evaluating the use of wrappings from documentation available post-excavation, even if at times incomplete. Adopting the above criteria, she was able to refute or confirm earlier assertions made during excavation that certain individuals were wrapped, whilst also stressing the following fundamental points (Nilsson Stutz 2006a: 219, 222, 230):

- The need to ascertain as accurately as possible the limits of the surrounding burial feature – a narrow feature could equally cause constriction of the body.

- The need to register any significant slope in the feature, which could affect the movement of bones.

- The need to be aware that some wrappings may have been too loose to result in constriction to the degree summarised above or not long-lasting enough to have had any significant impact. A loose wrapping could, however, be inferred where constrictions are evident in certain parts of the body but not others (see Willis and Tayles 2009: Figs.3, 8; Chapter 6).

To the above criteria could also be added a strict connection of the feet (in a well-delineated space), potentially in strongly constricted positions (Figs.4.9 and 4.10) and even the movement of the patellae into the space between the lower limbs.
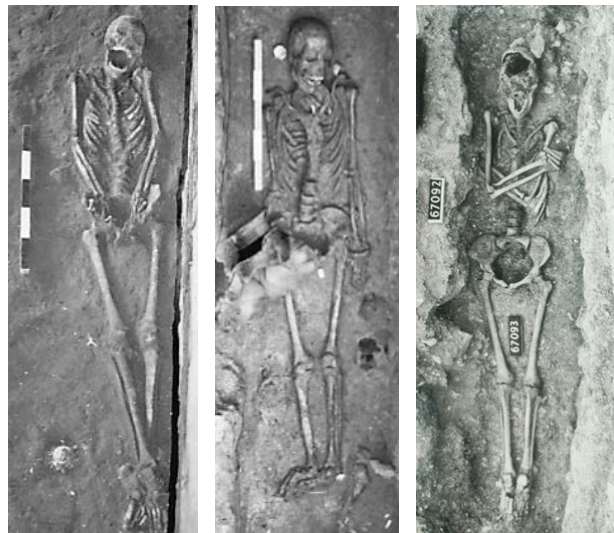
Figure 4.9: Examples of wrapped burials. **From left to right:** Burials 49 (Ban Lum Khao) and 27 (Noen U-loke) (Willis and Tayles 2009: 551, 553) and burial 69 (Beaumont). Note the constriction at the shoulders and the maintenance of the feet in close connection.

Figure 4.10: Examples of constricted feet, potentially indicative of wrappings. **Left:** Burial 178 (Bermondsey Abbey). **Right:** Burial 168 (La Charité). Note the proximity of the phalanges, and the strong plantar-flexion evident in those from Bermondsey Abbey.

Movement of patellae to between the lower limbs would indicate a void was present within this area, which could foreseeably have been produced by some form of wrapping. This was proposed for a burial from the church of Saint-Nicolas, La-Chaize-le-Vicomte (Vendée) (Langlois and Gallien 2009: 17). The movement of foot bones into the space between the tibiae could also imply some form of wrapping, as was argued for burial 107 from the early medieval site of Louviers, rue du Mûrier (Eure) (Jimenez *et al.* 2009: 50).

The spatial patterning of the foot bones can in some instances indicate whether shoes may have been worn. Buquet-Marcon *et al.* (2009: 72) argue that when the foot bones are distinctly apart or move in opposing ways, a clothed burial is more likely. This was proposed for an individual from the cemetery of St Maurice (Buquet-Marcon *et al.* 2009: 72) (Fig.4.11).

Figure 4.11: Possible examples of individuals interred wearing shoes. **Left:** Individual from the cemetery of St Maurice, France (Buquet-Marcon *et al.* 2009: 72). **Right:** burial 168 (Bermondsey Abbey). Note the distinct asymmetry in spatial positioning between the left and right feet.

Clothed burials

Clothed versus shrouded burials have been proposed in various cases in the absence of direct evidence. A strong constriction of the ribs, but with the humeri and possibly the forearms at some distance from the trunk, has been taken to imply burial within a sleeved garment with a separate bust, as was suggested for one individual from the Rue de l'église excavations (Nanterre) (Buquet-Marcon *et al.* 2009: 68), two further (burials 16 and 18) from the seventh-century necropolis at Chanteloup-en-Brie, Ile-de-France (Fossurier 2009: 22) and three from Châlons-en Champagne (Paresys 2009: 34-35). Buquet-Marcon *et al.* (2009: 68) further note that the ribcage could also exhibit a rectangular outline. Figure 4.12 demonstrates these various indictors.

Figure 4.12: Possible example of a clothed burial, as evident from the upper body (burial 16, Chanteloup-en-Brie, France) (Fossurier 2009: 22). Note the strongly constricted ribs with the humeri positioned some distance from the thoracic cage.

Positioning of the patellae can be informative in this instance too. Their movement and suspension in positions of instability over the lateral or medial borders of the distal femora imply some form of element creating a temporary void, long enough for them to move, but constrictive enough for them to remain suspended. This was suggested for burial 77 from the first-century AD necropolis of Clos au Duc, Evreux (Kleisch and Pluton-Kleisch 2009: 38). The use of a garment where each lower limb was surrounded separately was proposed for burial 16, Chanteloup-en-Brie (Fossurier 2009: 23), as the right patella was suspended at the level of the right knee (Fig.4.13).

Figure 4.13: Possible evidence for clothing using the position of the patellae as indicators (burial 16, Chanteloup-en-Brie, France) (Fossurier 2009: 32). The right patella was initially suspended just above the grave floor.

Finally, in rare cases, evidence for clothing and an additional wrapping can be proposed (e.g. Kleisch and Pluton-Kliesch 2009: Figs.1 and 2). It can be suggested from a clearly constricted rib cage with a significant spacing between the humeri and ribs and evidence for footwear, but with additional skeletal constrictions or movements in keeping with a wrapping.

4.2.4 Mode of burial and body preparation: complexities of analysis

It is thus clear that a number of inter-related processes and combinations of bodily preparations and funerary architecture could result in a complex range of outcomes, which at times can be a challenge to reconstruct. As Roksandic (2002: 7) notes, if the architecture creating an initial empty space decomposes prior to the body, for example a poorly constructed coffin, the effect will be the same as in covered space. A body wrapped in a tight shroud could portray many of the same characteristics as that of a burial in a narrow coffin, or in a narrow grave cut. All possible permutations should thus be proposed. The example presented by Duday and Guillon (2006: 147) (Fig.4.14) from the abbey church of Ardenne in Normandy demonstrates this issue.

Figure 4.14: *A possible coffin burial with conflicting skeletal evidence indicating decomposition in a filled space. Grave 145 from the abbey church of Ardenne, Normandy (Duday and Guillon 2006: 147).*

This individual exhibited evidence for burial in a filled space, with perfect connection of foot and hand bones in unstable positions, and the relatively good maintenance of volume of the thoracic cage. However, direct evidence for what was thought to be a coffin was visible in the section. This, they argue, is evidence for a decomposition of the burial architecture prior to the breakdown of the muscles and ligaments (Duday and Guillon 2006: 147). Alternatively, it could be proposed that this individual was buried within some form of wooden container that did not include a cover. We should be careful not to automatically suppose the use of a 'coffin' based on our modern conceptions of how one would have been constructed or used. The more general term 'closed portable container' is preferred within this thesis to denote any perishable form of sealing container, possibly used for transport, as well as burial of the deceased.

Willis and Tayles (2009: 350) have formulated a flow-chart (Fig.4.15) based on a range of taphonomic studies, from forensic and archaeological contexts. It clearly illustrates the large number of permutations possible in the skeletal arrangements and the varying modes of burial that they signify. Although a simplified model, which cannot possibly account for the full range of burial practices in the archaeological record, it nonetheless demonstrates both the

complexity, but also the potential for exploring specific modes of treatment through a systematic approach.
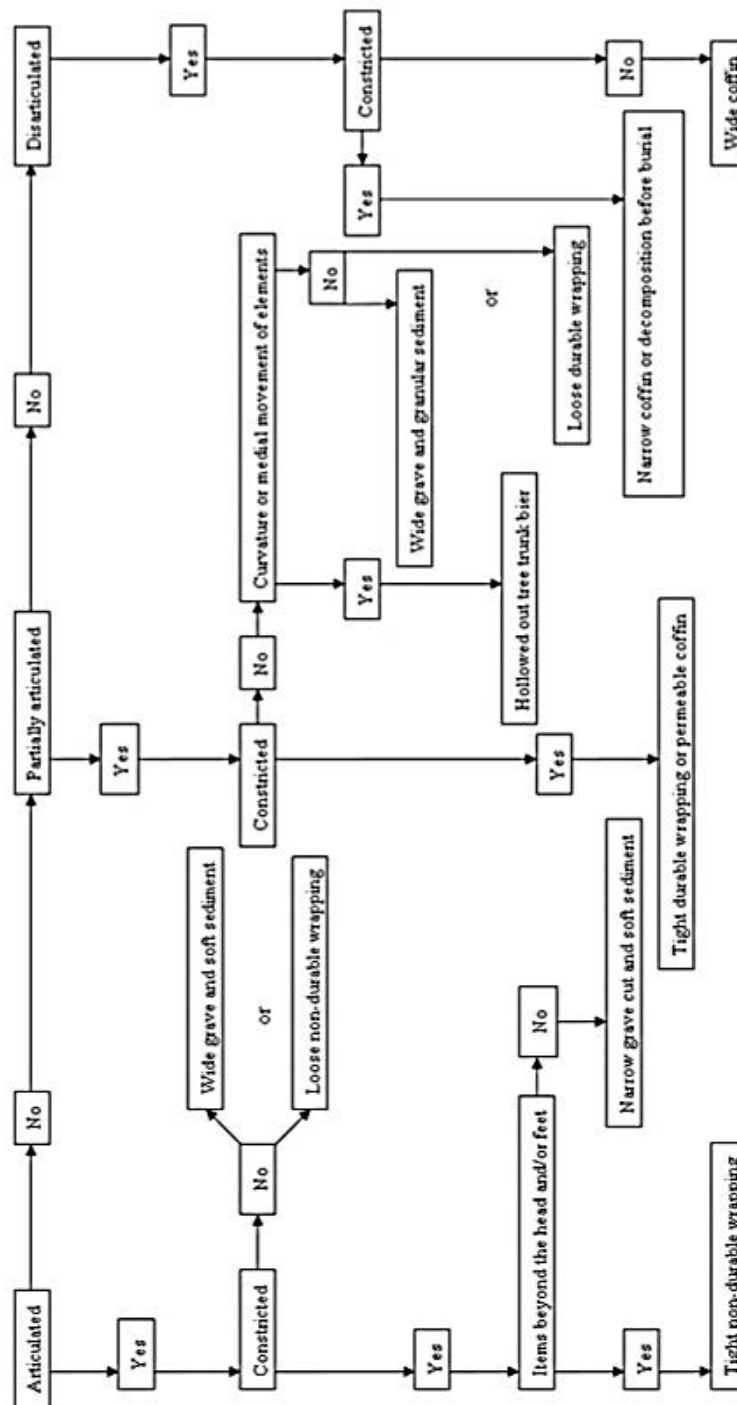
Figure 4.15: Flowchart illustrating the reasoning employed in *anthropologie de terrain*. From Willis and Tayles (2009: 150).

4.2.5 Reconstructing the original position of the body

This constitutes one of the most challenging, yet one of the most fundamental, aspects to funerary archaeology. As demonstrated thus far, a certain degree of natural movement (which often follows fairly predictable rules) takes place during decomposition. Durand (1988) in his

study of medieval cemeteries in the Oise Valley, France, has produced codes for limb (Fig.4.16) and head positioning, which disregards the potential for post-depositional movements.

Figure 4.16: Coding for forearm positioning. Reproduced from Durand (1988: 171).

Although such schematics can prove highly valuable for ease of comparison, they need to be complemented by taphonomic study prior to their adoption. As Duday and Guillon (2006: 131) note, the natural movement of the flattening of the ribcage, the distension of the abdomen and sometimes its expansion and collapse can have a significant impact on the positioning of the forearms if they are placed over the thorax or abdomen. Carefully noting the position of the labile hand bones in relation to the forearms can provide information on the original position of the upper limbs. The metacarpals from the individual in burial 157 (La Charité) (Fig.4.17) conform to the position of the corresponding forearm; they are also resting in positions of instability. This could indicate that the upper limb was positioned in this way at the time of the burial and that there was a fairly rapid infilling by soil following decomposition. The Cluniac customaries (Section 3.1.4) are fairly precise that the upper limbs should be positioned over the upper body during pre-interment preparation, making this aspect an important consideration for this thesis.

Figure 4.17: Likely original position of the right forearm at the time of interment (burial 157, La Charité). Note the position of the labile hand bones in positions of instability over the right humerus/hemi-thorax.

The position of the head can be a particularly important consideration in medieval funerary practices, given that it was commonly considered proper that the head faced forward, potentially to witness the rise of Christ on Judgement Day (see Daniell 1997: 178). However, as

Duday (2006: 35) stresses, a carefully positioned head can change orientation following the decay of the supporting attachments, putting the cranium in an unstable position (e.g. if placed on the occipital). Movement of the head in a living person involves the movement of the cervical vertebrae, with the greatest degree being between the atlas and axis. During decomposition, disarticulation occurs first in the uppermost cervical vertebrae. It is necessary to observe the positions of the most superior cervicals to see if they are consistent with one another and if they conform to biomechanical givens. However, the positioning of a disarticulated mandible, with the cranium displaced in another direction can also be evidence for rotation during decomposition (Duday 2006: 35; Duday and Guillon 2006: 132) (Fig.4.18).

Figure 4.18: Original position and post-depositional movement of the head. **Left**: Bermondsey skeleton 19 shows conformity in the alignment of the cervical vertebrae. This could reflect the original positioning of the head at the time of burial, however, the positioning of the uppermost cervicals are difficult to assess. **Middle:** Bermondsey skeleton 43 exhibits concealment of the uppermost vertebrae by the mandible and cranium, limiting interpretation in this case. **Right:** La Charité burial 294 exhibits displacement of the individual's cranium, which could be related to the disappearance of a perishable pillow.

If there is a discontinuity beyond that physically possible in the living person or fresh cadaver, then movement is taphonomic (Duday 2006: 35). Although Gilchrist and Sloane's assertion that 'post-mortem shifting of bones produces a wide range of recorded positions, and there is simply no way of telling whether any were deliberate' (2005: 152) is challenged here, we must be aware of the limitations. In the case of head positions, the majority of field records do not take note of cervical vertebrae positioning and as the uppermost are often concealed by the cranium or mandible, photographs cannot be used for post-excavation reconstruction of position. Furthermore, in the absence of a head support, the weight of soil would likely move the head laterally as the grave was backfilled – original intended placement can thus be difficult to ascertain. As such, it has not been considered within this thesis.

4.2.6 Post-burial skeletal manipulations

As Section 2.2.4 has demonstrated, a subject in medieval funerary archaeology often neglected in favour of a focus on intact, discrete interments, is the study of post-burial manipulations of skeletal remains. This is an area where studies of prehistoric funerary practices have been notably active, particularly focusing on intentional secondary burial, for example Shroeder (2001), who sought to explore different approaches to secondary manipulation through coding the range of possible strategies. There are, however, some valuable exceptions, which focus on early and later French medieval contexts.[46] As Roksandic (2002: 10) notes, various aspects of mortuary ritual and long-term maintenance of the cemetery can be discerned from different accumulations of bones: space for the deposition of the corpse, evidence of re-arranging, and the space assigned (or used) for later movements of the remains. Blaizot (1997: 2) argues, however, that interest in the treatment of body parts in a secondary context is less for the historic period than for the prehistoric, even when aspects of the structures are identical. Chroustovský and Průchová (2011: 55) attribute this in part to the character of many earlier period cemetery sites, where often the more spatially discrete graves allow for the detection of secondary impacts more easily in comparison to stratified cemeteries from historical periods. Groups of human bones associated or not with a primary burial from the later medieval period are often neglected. The Museum of London on their WORD skeletal database for example, refer to these re-deposited remains from various sites as 'intrusive material' and limited information has been recorded. McKinley (2004) in her guidance for compiling a skeletal inventory of disarticulated and co-mingled remains cites the example of Spitalfields, London, and how it has been concluded that there is limited value in the analysis of large quantities of re-deposited, disarticulated bone from disturbed burials which builds up and around the extant graves. English Heritage's, 'Guidance for best practice for treatment of human remains excavated from Christian burial grounds in England' (2005) notes, however, that deliberately placed disarticulated material, for example in ossuaries, may be of significance, particularly from the cultural point of view. What these two reports do not draw attention to is the potential importance of recording human remains (not just presence but their positions), which appear in discrete graves and are sometimes purposefully arranged in physical association with the newly deceased. Varied classes of disturbed remains exist and their relative values should be properly evaluated if we are to understand the motivations behind their treatment. As Naji

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[46] See for example Aspöck (2011); Blaizot (1996, 1997); Cherryson (2007); Gleize (2007, 2010); Naji (2005), see also Chroustovský and Průchová (2011) for a classificatory study into central European post-medieval skeletal disturbances and Whyman's (1996) examination of the potential for their study in relation to possible recording techniques.

(2005: 188) rightly surmises, the reason why such manipulations were originally made is still little understood in many instances.

To disregard these often 'invisible' individuals is to fail to appreciate the full range of cultural agents and practices affecting the dead body and burial assemblage as a whole. As Martínez *et al.* (2011: 1) argue, body manipulation can be diverse and triggered by social, environmental and historical factors. The reuse of funerary spaces and, as a consequence, the re-engagement with skeletal remains in a potentially wide range of decompositional states should not be disregarded as simply a 'matter of course', common to many historic period cemeteries. Instead, it should be seen in its full complexity, where decisions had to be made with a multitude of possible outcomes, all of which involved a certain amount of handling of the remains. Numerous strategies were employed during the medieval period for dealing with the chance discovery or planned re-engagement with human remains, as Bourry *et al's.* (1991) study of the burials from the Cluniac priory of Saint-Nicolas d'Acy revealed (Section 2.2.4). A systematic study of the varying ways in which disturbed burials were treated could reveal important information on how the body or parts of the body were viewed and the way in which the burial landscape was managed and evolved. Manipulations could include a reduction of the body, which in the *anthropologie de terrain* literature is generally taken to mean a handling and re-organising of the bones in the same space where initial decomposition took place (Fig.4.19). Here, there is intentional regrouping of *all* or the *majority* of the skeleton (Duday and Sellier 1990: 13) as it is 'reduced' to make way for a new interment.

Figure 4.19: Example of a reduced burial where the individual has been positioned over the new interment (burial 55, Bermondsey Abbey)**.**

A reduced burial should be separated from a secondary burial, which as Duday (2009: 14) notes, should be taken to imply that the manipulation of dry bones had been the intention from the start (e.g. in protracted burial rituals). Placement of the disturbed individual on top of or in direct contact with the new body (in various states of organisation) (Fig.4.19), and a complete or selective removal (or protection) of the remains or certain body parts (Fig.4.20) also occur.

Figure 4.20: Examples of skeletal elements selectively removed from and included within burials. **Left:** This bone from context 2730 (Bermondsey Abbey) could show a careful collection and re-deposition of the larger bones (crania and long bones). **Right:** a disturbed cranium was placed over the abdominal region of the individual from burial 187 (Bermondsey Abbey).

Taphonomic analyses can also allow us to envisage when the disturbance took place. For example, if any of the labile articulations from the disturbed individual are still present, then this could set the time of disturbance to weeks or months over years, taking into consideration that different preservation factors will influence decomposition rates.[47] This has been noted at La Charité, where re-deposited foot bones still maintained anatomical connections at the point of disturbance and re-deposition (Staniaszek 2005: 87).

A spatial analysis of the bones could imply specific methods of re-deposition. Boddington (1987: 29) reports on the reburial of an individual from Raunds, Northamptonshire, where the bone patterning is highly suggestive of deposition in a sack. The re-deposited bones of two individuals (burial 224) from La Charité, exhibited strong evidence for having been buried

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[47] Fielder and Graw (2003: 291) state that under favourable conditions it may take between 3 and 12 years for an interred body to fully decompose.

within some form of perishable square container, most probably a wooden box (Staniaszek 2005) (Fig.4.21).

Figure 4.21: Re-deposited bone within a box from La Charité.

Detailed *in situ* recording and taphonomic analyses could also allow us to see how the bones were organised in physical relation to the new interment. We can examine whether they were possibly positioned intentionally touching the body of the new interment, whether the body of the new interment was moved to accommodate re-deposition of the old, or whether an original separation was the intention but following subsequent collapse/movement of burial structures, they were subsequently brought into contact. The following example from Bermondsey illustrates how this taphonomic approach can be applied.

The individual from burial 180 (Bermondsey) (Fig.4.22) exhibits strong evidence for initial interment within a perishable closed container. There is a complete flattening of the iliac blades and of the rib cage. The hand bones are disarticulated and have migrated to the base of the grave. There is also a clear parallel delineation of the body from the left and right proximal humeri down to the iliac blades. Nails were also found alongside the body. It seems unlikely that the extra left broken femur lying across the abdominal region would have been placed within the container at the time of burial. The most likely explanation is that following

disturbance of an earlier interment, some skeletal remains were placed on top of the container's lid (or just above it in the fill) at the time of burial. Following the eventual disintegration of the wood, the remains fell down onto the interment below. Physical damage to the skeletal elements could also have been the result of a collapsing coffin board, cases of which have been proposed by Crummy *et al. (*1993: 215-17) from cemetery sites in Colchester.

Figure 4.22: Example of a burial within a closed container where its disintegration has possibly brought re-deposited skeletal remains in contact with the new interment (burial 180, Bermondsey Abbey). Note that the extra left femur resting on top of the body could have been from a disturbed earlier interment, bones from which were then placed on the container lid at the time of burial, and subsequently fell following the disintegration of the wood.

Finally, a careful recording of bone positioning can indicate whether intentional ordering or arrangements were made. Duday (1978: 65-6) reports on the site of Saint-Michel-du-Touch (Toulouse, France), where the body of an adult had been schematically reassembled from individual bone pieces but with obvious anatomical errors. Detailed osteological analysis, focusing on both the new interment and the disturbed remains, can therefore identify specific actions and gestures surrounding the handling of individual bones and whole bodies. This can provide significant detail on specific practices as well as overall attitudes to the previous dead *in relation* to the remains of the recently deceased. Leclerc (1990: 14) argues that we must find the limits of the burial and its structures, not simply in terms of the physical limits but also where the funerary space actually extended. By directing our attentions away from just the discrete, intact interment and associated grave inclusions to consider these dynamic complexes in their entirety, our assumptions surrounding what actually constitutes the burial are challenged. We can question who the funeral was actually for and the role played by the

disturbed remains in the proceedings. As this thesis aims to demonstrate, new questions surrounding the nature of the funerary process and the varying ways in which medieval mourners handled and managed the dead and the dead body thus start to emerge.

4.3 Summary

Knüsel (2010: 69) has argued that despite its innovative and standard-setting methodological approach, *anthropologie de terrain* provides little in the way of social interpretation of funerary remains. As with the age and sex data, there is a danger of taphonomic information acquired from excavation simply being catalogued and relegated to an appendix. The theoretical and methodological principles of *anthropologie de terrain* should, however, not just be a starting point to the engagement with funerary archaeology, by which I mean a method for excavation. The approach, which aims to put the body in the centre of our enquiry, should form an integral element of how we excavate, analyse and also interpret the human burial record. With the correct analytical tools - knowledge of osteological remains and the processes of decomposition, a detailed excavation record, and a solid corpus of culturally relevant references - the taphonomic approach allows us to envisage how the body was engaged with from cadaver to skeleton. It provides a means to separate out the natural from the non-natural, the environmental from the cultural, and thus enhances our understanding of the processes that contributed to the burial's initial creation and potential re-creation. Through a more complete appreciation of the full range of cultural actions that surrounded the funeral, we are better equipped to explore the individual responses to the dead body and to death as a whole, and better positioned to engage more fully with social interpretation. This should be no less relevant to studies of the medieval period than to those of prehistory, despite the common assumption that the documentary evidence tells us everything we need to know (see comments in Gardiner and Rippon 2009). It is specifically because of this reliance on the historical records that we should be exploring and integrating other resources at our disposal.

Graves are considered as 'closed contexts', which Marthon (2005: 2) defines as spaces where all the depositions have been made simultaneously. However, as Goldstein rightly stresses, 'human bone is not simply placed in the ground or in a tomb and forgotten - mortuary sites are active places and they are used and changed' (2006: 381).[48] Medieval graves are not static and we should be placing equal emphasis on the analysis of all the actions that take place after the

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[48] See for example the paper by Aspöck (2011) where she examines the opening of early medieval graves and the manipulation and removal of skeletal remains.

initial deposition. The analytical methods of *anthropologie de terrain* serve to bridge this gap between archaeology, osteology and the historical record, considering the grave context in its entirety, from the initial deposition to all subsequent environmental and cultural interactions. Chapter 5 introduces the sites and skeletal samples examined within this thesis following the approach of *anthropologie de terrain*.

5. BACKGROUND TO THE SITES

This chapter presents a summary of the sites examined for this thesis, including location, historical background and a brief outline of previous archaeological and osteological work at each. Starting with the earliest and most senior, the sites will be examined in order of foundation date and status within the Cluniac network.

La Charité, Lewes Priory, Bermondsey Abbey and Beaumont provide excellent case studies to examine funerary practice across a wide geographical area, from southern England through to northern and central France, and between 'types' of Cluniac house (Section 2.1). Each establishment is highly individual due to circumstances of their foundation, status within the network, community size, and their different economic and political relationships to Cluny. Burial information from a varied set of Cluniac sites has therefore been acquired for this thesis. This permits an examination of how different communities within one order responded to and managed death, and the extent to which Cluny's customaries structured or influenced funerary practice across diverse dependencies. The various house-specific and broader social, political, religious and economic factors affecting adherence to, or deviation from, Cluny's desired conformity of practice are thus also central to this discussion.

The burials from La Charité, Lewes and Bermondsey could be divided into roughly corresponding early and later phases (Sections 6.2 and 7.1; all dates for individual burials are provided in Appendix 5b), allowing for possible change in practice to be considered through time in relation to the factors outlined above. Beaumont's sample also includes 63 burials from a pre-Cluniac order of Augustinian Canons. This provides the opportunity to explore whether arrival of the Cluniacs in the twelfth century brought about distinct changes in the way in which the dead were treated and managed at Beaumont, or whether established practices were maintained. Practice in a smaller, reformed Cluniac establishment can thus be compared to three more elite houses with an initial direct political tie to Cluny.

5.1 La Charité-sur-Loire: history of the site

The priory of Notre-Dame is situated within the town of La Charité-sur-Loire, located on the western edge of the present-day department of Nièvre, Burgundy, and around 200km northwest of Cluny (see Fig.2.5 for an overall location map).

The act of foundation, signed during Hugh's abbacy of Cluny (1049-1109), records the year 1059 for the 'veritable establishment of a church, situated on the border of the Loire and consecrated Notre-Dame' (de Lespinasse 1887: 6). Possible remains of a small shrine constitute the only evidence of an antecedent (Barnoud 2010: 6). La Charité developed from the start along an ambitious plan similar to Cluny II (Barnoud 2010: 2). It quickly became one of the largest and richest of the Cluniac houses, with two hundred monks (Hilberry 1955: 1) and many dependencies. Its establishment was strategic. It allowed the abbey of Cluny to extend its territory north, into the diocese of Auxerre, situated between *Francia* (Frankish territory) and Burgundy (Billoin 2005: 14). Its situation on the navigable River Loire, together with its importance as a pilgrimage site, contributed greatly to its development and a flourishing town was rapidly established in close proximity to the monastery (Barnoud 2010: 3).

Throughout its history, La Charité experienced periods of both decline and regeneration. It suffered greatly as a result of political activity and fires. In the early decades of the thirteenth century, a fire necessitated the restoration and reconstruction of the priory buildings (Billoin 2005: 15). The subsequent wars of religion (1560-1598) had a profound impact and the monastery and large parts of the adjacent town were ravaged by fire (Barnoud 2010: 2), with the associated church of Saint Laurent being recorded as 'in ruins' in 1570 (Billoin 2005: 15). Significant renovations and alterations were undertaken in the seventeenth century, but as Barnoud (2010: 2) writes, the priory never regained the influence it had exerted in the medieval period. During the French Revolution, the buildings were sold off in lots (Barnoud 2010: 2). In 1840, to protect the integrity of the church from plans to construct a major road through part of the structure, the Inspector General of Historic Monuments, Prosper Mérimée, had La Charité classed as a '*monument historique sur la première liste'* (Arnaud 2010: 2; Billoin 2005: 16).

The present-day site of La Charité-sur-Loire and the surviving monastic buildings have been classified among the '*Grandes Sites Culturels et Touristiques'* and the church of Notre-Dame was included on the UNESCO World Heritage list. In 2000, the priory buildings were also added in their totality to this list (Billoin 2005: 16).

5.1.1 Archaeological Excavations

The site has been under archaeological investigation since 1975 in the zone of the ancient *Jardin des Bénédictins*, where in the nineteenth century, a public space was created to link the different neighbourhoods of La Charité-sur-Loire (Barnoud 2010: 5). Investigations commenced with the work of Serge Renimel (1975-1982) in advance of developments for a new social centre

(Barnoud 2010: 5). The area to the east of Notre Dame was explored (Fig.5.1) and included part of the zone that was once occupied by the associated church of Saint Laurent. In 1989, a brief examination by Deloffre-Roumégoux explored the area to the north of this church and also part of the cemetery (Arnoud 2010: 3). The 1992-1993 excavations, directed by Stéphanie Massou, identified a north-south orientated monumental gallery deliberately cutting through part of the cemetery zone, and opening up in the nave of Saint Laurent, linking this church with that of Notre Dame (Billoin 2005: 17). The 2003 excavations directed by David Billoin (INRAP) - the results of which form a primary focus of this study - continued with exploring the northern half of the gallery (Fig.5.1). Built in the early thirteenth century, it connected the main church of Notre Dame and the annexe church of Saint Laurent, but also facilitated the processions associated with the commemorations for the dead (Billoin 2005: 7). The customaries record that at Cluny, each day after matins and vespers, the community would process to the annex church (potentially analogous to Saint Laurent) for the psalmody and in particular for the 'Office of the Saints' and the 'Office of the Dead' (Billoin 2005: 39). This gallery zone could therefore have constituted a highly symbolic area.
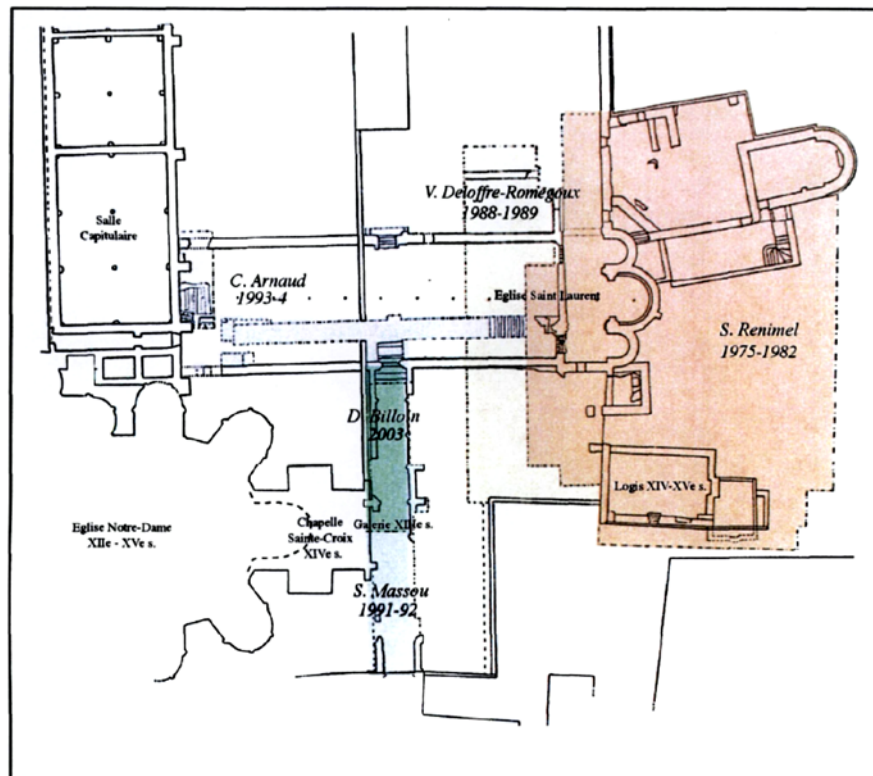
Figure 5.1: Plan of La Charité's excavated areas. From Billoin (2005: 18), after Arnaud (1994). The zone marked in green is examined within this thesis.

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The burials

Billoin and his team recorded 64 burials (one of which was a double burial) and over 100 individuals (including those that had been disturbed and re-deposited). They include the earlier pre-gallery cemetery interments and those buried within the limits of the gallery. All burials cut into a clay-sand soil, or directly into the underlying rock. The preservation of the skeletal material was generally good to excellent, perhaps related to good drainage. However, due to heavy intercutting, completeness was variable. The later thirteenth-century gallery, for instance, truncated many of the earliest burials.

The burials from the 2003 excavations complement the 32 already discovered in 1992 (Figs.5.2 and 5.3), but as yet remain unpublished. These are not discussed within this thesis.
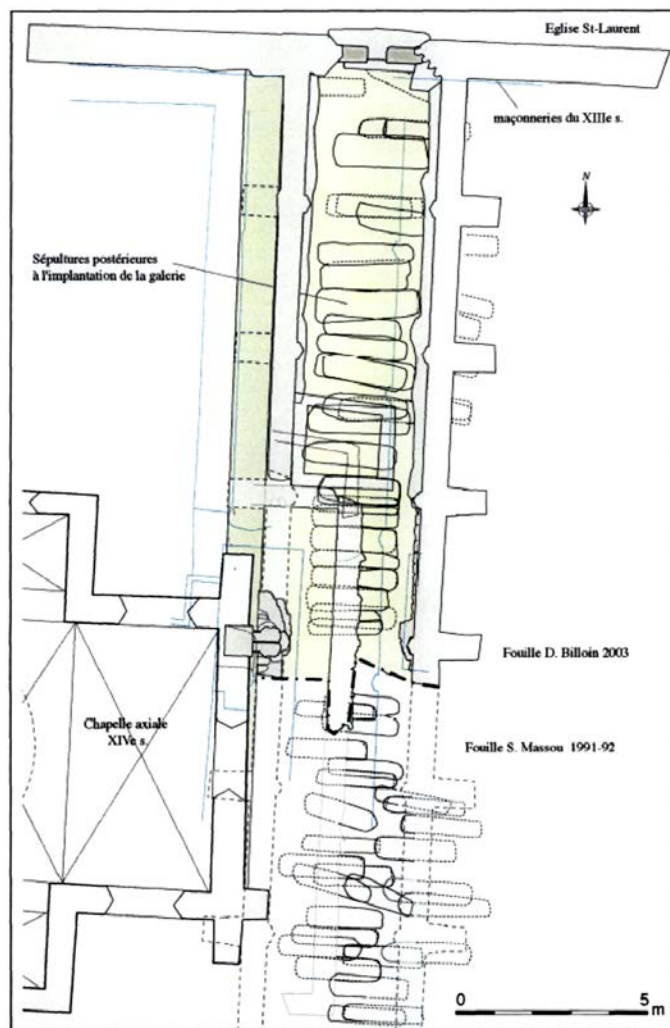
Figure 5.2: Recorded burials from La Charité's 1991-2 and 2003 excavations (Billoin 2005: 20). The zone marked in yellow is examined within this thesis.

The burials excavated in 2003 were from an area of approximately 70 square metres. The principal objectives of the excavation were to gain the maximum information possible on the architecture of the tombs, the disposition of the disturbed burials, and the actions taking place after burial. This was achieved through using the approaches of *anthropologie de terrain* in the field (Billoin 2005: 9). The density of burials in this cemetery and gallery zone highlights the importance placed on this location for interment. The church of Saint Laurent itself appears to have been a zone for privileged burials, particularly those of the religious community. The textual sources note that the founding bishop, Geoffroy and the first prior, Gérard were interred there and three commemorative plaques note the day of death of one monk and the names of two other brothers who died in the fourteenth century (Billoin 2005: 38-39). It could be that the connecting gallery zone was also an important place for the burial of the religious community.

Regarding previous research, dietary regulations and patterns of monastic consumption have been examined through the faunal remains (see Audoin-Rouzeau 1986) but aside from the site report, the human remains have not until now been the focus of detailed comparative study from a funerary perspective.

Phasing of the burials

Of the 64 burials excavated in 2003, a fine-grained sequence of seven levels was established relative to the development of the building. The first five correspond to the interments made prior to the construction of the thirteenth-century gallery. Levels six and seven represent the nine burials interred within the limits of the structure. The phasing is summarised below (following Billoin 2005: 75-6) (Fig.5.3).

Level one: This represents the phase of burials made immediately prior to the establishment of the Cluniac priory and could be linked to the small religious building previously situated on this site (Billoin 2005: 76). The difference in burial orientation is clearly discernible.

Level two: This phase corresponds to a period of burial at around the time of the establishment of the new priory buildings. They could possibly date to either directly before or at the time of the foundation (Billoin *pers. comm.*).[50] However, as Billoin (2005: 76) writes, apart from a few graves, the vast majority have an orientation that respects the newly constructed buildings, especially the adjacent church of Saint Laurent. This could suggest they are foundation period and thus Cluniac.

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[50] See Billoin (2005: 76) for information on radiocarbon dates.

Levels three to five: The successive burials within these phases cover a roughly 100-year time period and date to between the foundation of the Cluniac priory around the mid-eleventh century and the construction of the early thirteenth-century monumental gallery.

Level six: These seven burials date to the period after the construction of the monumental gallery. They date from the beginning of the thirteenth to the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Level seven: These two burials have been dated to after the monumental gallery was ruined by fire damage (*c.*1303) and then reconstructed. A fragment of pillar with evidence for burning was retrieved from the fill of burial 177, confirming that this burial was made around the time of the fire. Considering also the radiocarbon dates, the last burial (206) has been dated to 1305-1435 (Billoin 2005: 76).

For this study, burials from within levels 2-5 (*c.*1059-1200) and 6-7 (*c.*1200-*c.*1435) have been pooled to produce pre-gallery (external zone) and gallery (internal zone) samples (Section 7.1). The earliest date of '1059' has been tentatively provided to correspond with the documented foundation date of the priory.
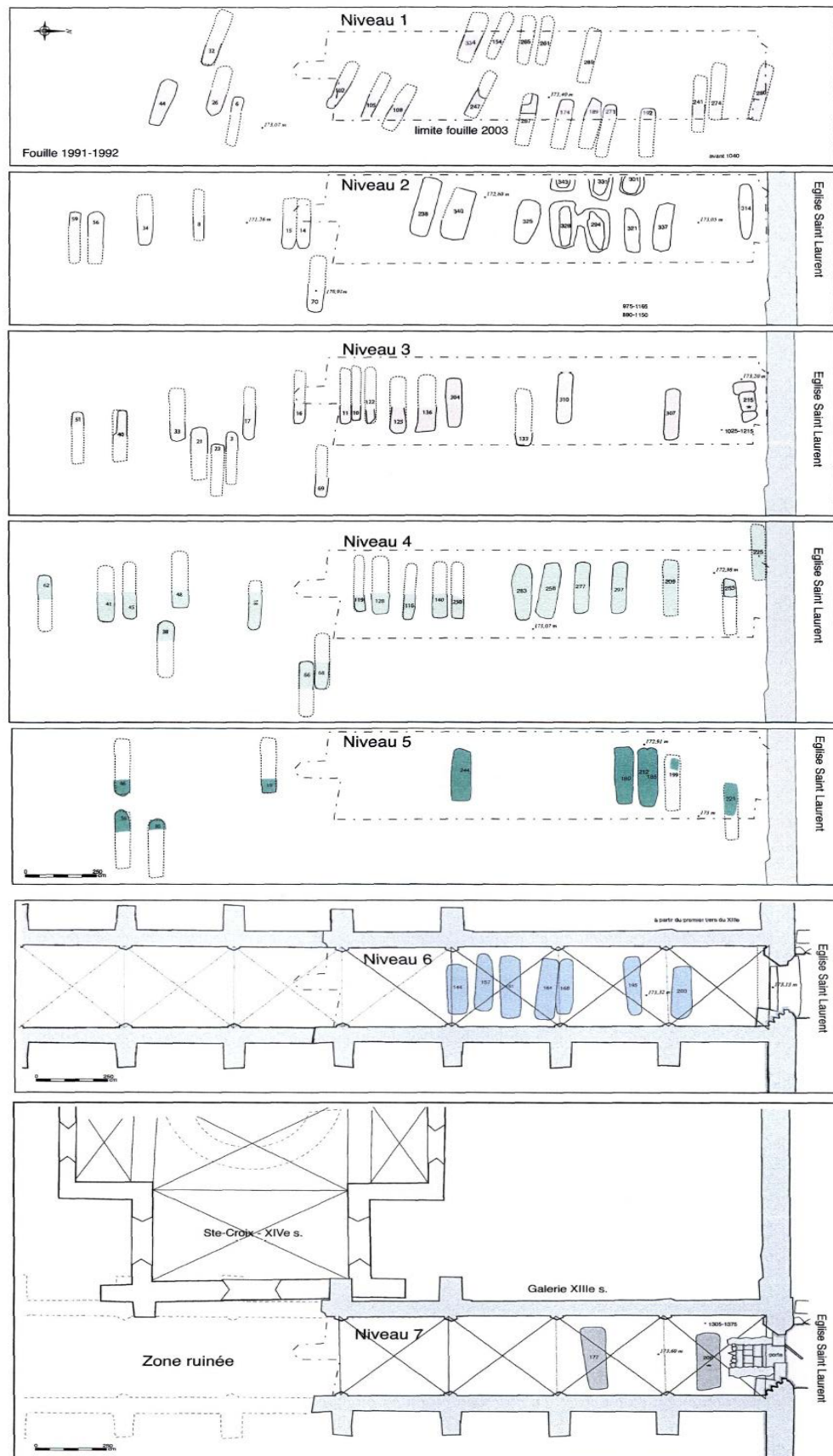
Figure 5.3: La Charité's burial levels (*niveaux*) after the relative and absolute chronology in relation to the construction of the gallery (Véronique Gaston, in Billoin 2005: 42-43). The successive burials outside the confines of the gallery structure are those recorded during the 1991-1992 excavations.

5.2 Lewes Priory: history of the site

Lewes Priory is situated within the county of Sussex (see Fig.2.5), positioned just south of the town of Lewes. It was originally a vast complex of buildings extending over 20 acres (Lewis 1973). Today, only ruins remain, owing to its widespread destruction during the Reformation and the construction of the Lewes to Brighton railway line in 1845 (Lewis 1973).

Founded *c*.1077 with money and lands from William de Warenne (Lewis 1973), it was the first Cluniac house in England and was known as 'the second daughter of Cluni' (Horsfield and Mantell 1824: 235), owing to its importance within the Cluniac network.[51] After an initial refusal from the Abbot of Cluny over fears that monks living such a great distance from the mother-house would lead to poor discipline (*VCH* 1973: 64), the first prior Lanzo, accompanied by three companions (Anderson 1989: 2), were sent from Cluny. By 1100, as well as developing the first church, the monks had constructed a cloister and a range of domestic buildings. Lewes had many generous benefactors and it rapidly acquired property. By the mid twelfth century, the number of monks had increased to roughly 100 (Poole 2000: 16). This growing community prompted the construction of a new church during this period and the First Monastic Church was reduced to the status of Infirmary Chapel (Poole 2000: 16).

Visitation records demonstrate the important role that Lewes played within the Cluniac network. Lewes's prior was in nearly every recorded instance the Vicar-General (Duckett 1890: 5) with significant administrative powers. The fortunes of the house did not, however, remain constant. For 1262, the visitation records note that the spiritual condition of the house was very satisfactory, the services were duly performed and the monastery was economically stable (Duckett 1890: 11) but this changed rapidly. By 1279, the house was in debt and the number of monks fell to 50 (Duckett 1890: 35-36). This indebtedness was possibly in part owing to the Battle of Lewes in 1264, where the buildings suffered significant damage (Lyne 1997: 11) and it worsened into the fourteenth century. By 1306 the number of monks was 30, rising again to 58 by 1391 (*VCH* 1973: 66). Prompted by wars with France, Lewes was granted its charter of denisation in 1351, and by 1480, the connection with Cluny was entirely cut. With just 23 monks remaining, the priory was finally surrendered in 1537 and the property and lands were granted to Thomas Cromwell (*VCH* 1973: 68-69).

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[51] 1077 is the date given for the possible arrival of the first monk, Lanzo, from Cluny. Others have estimated 1081 to be a more likely official foundation date (see Lyne 1997: 6-7).

5.2.1 Archaeological excavations

The cutting of the Brighton and Hastings railway led to the first organised excavations in 1845 (Lyne 1997: 2), during which the remains of the founder and his wife were unearthed. Between 1899 and 1902, William St John Hope uncovered the First Monastic Church. More extensive excavations were conducted intermittently under the direction of Richard Lewis between 1969 and 1982. Here, the First Monastic Church (later the Infirmary Chapel) was excavated (Fig.5.4). The burials from within the chapel area form the basis of this study. Synthesis of Lewis's excavation documentation was undertaken by Malcolm Lyne (1997).
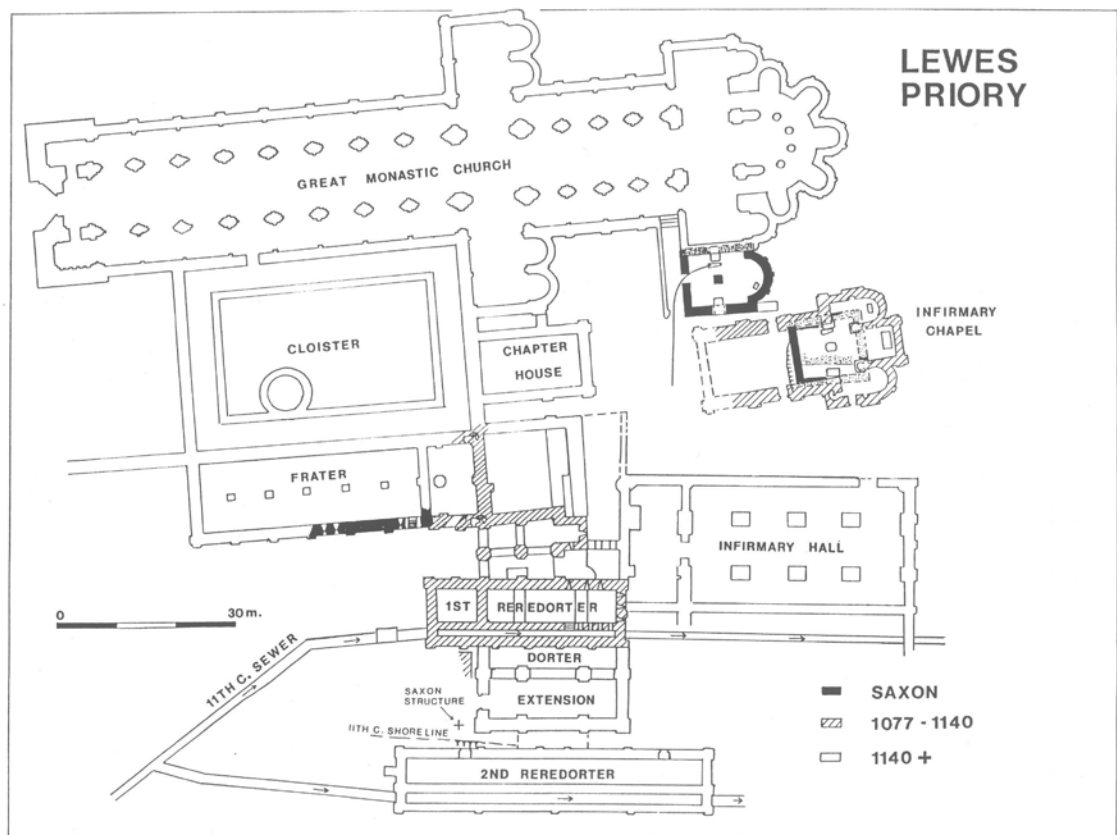
Figure 5.4: Plan of Lewes Priory showing the excavated zones. From Lyne (1997: 12).

The burials

Twenty-eight burials were excavated from within the First Monastic Church and the later Infirmary Chapel. They date from the late eleventh century through to 1538. The majority were positioned fairly evenly spaced and in well organised rows. Only burial 10 visibly cut through a previous interment. The earliest burials were mostly made within the nave of the First Monastic Church (Fig.5.5), with the side chapels, nave and chancel of the later Infirmary Chapel

providing other important locations (Fig.5.6). Beyond the site report, the burials formed part of the comparative analysis into monastic burial practice in Britain (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005). However, preservation of the *in situ* remains varied across the site. Skeletal damage was mainly a result of Dissolution period destruction and construction and the nineteenth-century railway works. Post-excavation treatment of the remains - see comments by Kenward (1997: 151) - resulted in further damage to the integrity of the skeletons and has prohibited further analysis on the remains themselves. Skeletal completeness was equally variable (Section 7.1).
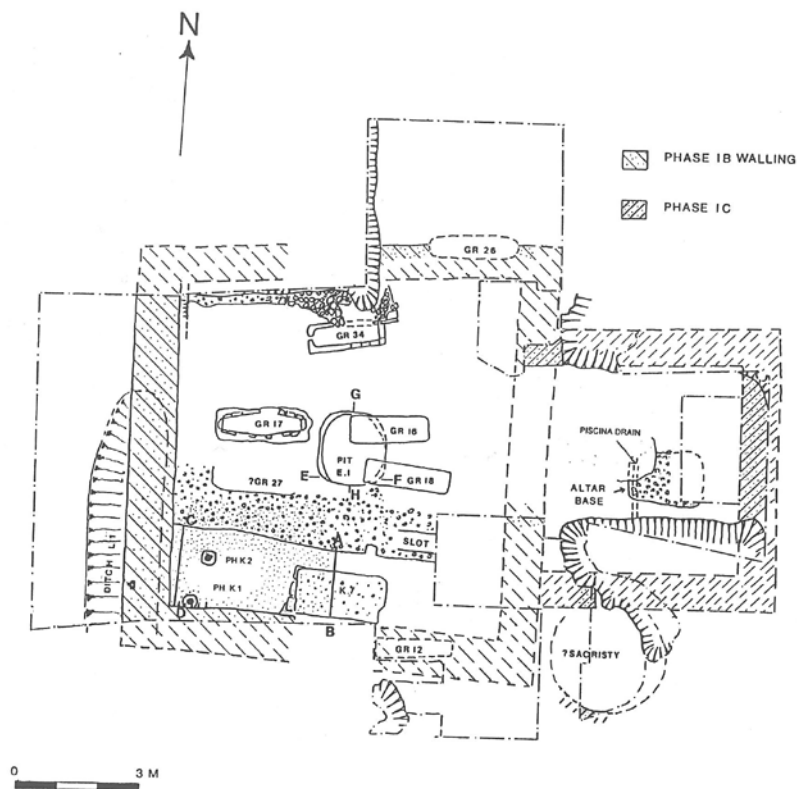
Figure 5.5: Location of Lewes Priory's burials in the earliest phase of alterations to the original Saxon church. From Lyne (1997: 14).
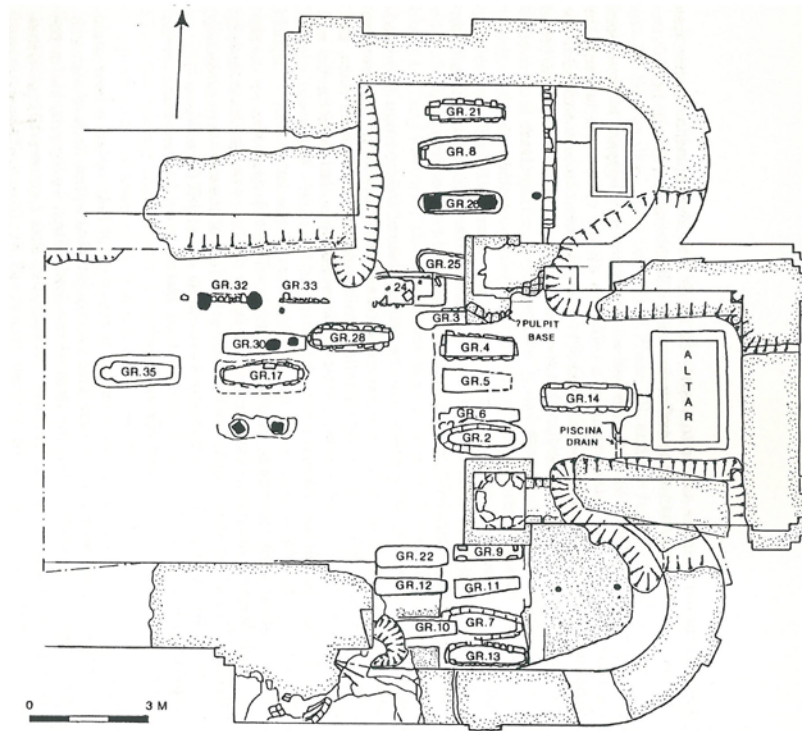
Figure 5.6: Location of Lewes Priory burials in the First Monastic Church/later Infirmary Chapel. From Lyne (1997: 22).

Phasing of the burials

Well-dated structural modifications to the church and inclusions (intentional depositions and building debris) recovered from within graves have permitted a fine-grained phasing of the burials. The following chronology is summarised from Lyne's (1997) excavation report, with slight refinements based on the re-assessment undertaken as part of the 'Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain' project (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005), the Excel summary of which is available through the ADS. Of the 28 excavated burials, the following 25 were represented by sufficient archaeological remains and excavation documentation to be examined in this thesis:

*c.***1066-***c.***1095:** additions and alterations to the original Saxon church. Three graves are possibly contemporary with this phase of the church (earliest priory church), which was completed during the 1090s (Lyne 1997: 23): burials 16, 17 and 18. These were cut into the mortared floor of the nave. Grave 17 may originally have been that of William de Warenne's wife, Gundrada, and was possibly re-used and adapted for a new interment (burial 17A) following her removal and relocation (Lyne 1997:23). This indicates an opening up of the priory space for lay interment from the beginning.

*c.*1095-*c.*1150: Warenne's rebuild of the first structure into the First Monastic Church at the end of the eleventh century. This includes burials 3, 4, 8, 9, 13, 25, 26 and 28.

*c.*1150-1538: The First Monastic Church becomes an Infirmary Chapel. Burials within this phase fall within an initial period of refurbishment of the First Monastic Church (mid-twelfth century), which takes place alongside construction works on the Great Monastic Church.   Burials 6 and 21 have been dated to the period 1150-1200, with all subsequent burials taking place from around 1200-1538 (2, 5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 17A, 22, 30, 32 and 35).

For the present study, burials have been grouped into two phases: those dating from roughly the foundation (*c.*1081) to 1200 (3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 13, 16, 17, 18, 21, 25, 26, 28) and those from 1200 to the Dissolution (2, 5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 17A, 22, 30, 32 and 35) (see section 7.1). Burial 11 could only be phased broadly from 1150-1300 and thus has been classed as 'general Cluniac' for the purposes of analysis. To concur with Lewes's likely foundation, a start date of *c.*1081 has been chosen.

5.3 Bermondsey Abbey: history of the site

Bermondsey Abbey is located within the London district of Southwark (formerly in Surrey), around 750m from the south bank of the Thames (Dyson *et al.* 2011: 4) (see Fig.2.5).

The annals of Bermondsey record the founding of England's third Cluniac priory in 1082, by Alwin Child, a citizen of London and the only Englishman to establish a Cluniac house. It further records the first colony of monks - Peter, Richard, Osbert and Umbald - arriving from the mother-house of La Charité in 1089 (*Ann Monast*, iii: 427). Bermondsey grew rapidly as a result of interest from aristocrats and royals into one of Britain's largest and more prestigious Cluniac establishments. The annals record generous gifts of property to the monastery by wealthy lords (*Ann Monast*, iii: 427), a trend that continued throughout the reigns of Henry I (*c.*1100-1135) and Stephen (1135-1154). A continued relationship existed between Bermondsey, its mother-house and Cluny until the late fourteenth century, when deteriorating relations between the English crown and Cluny (see Graham 1926) resulted in Bermondsey's re-foundation as an abbey.

Documentary sources, primarily from the thirteenth century, indicate that the mother-daughter relationship was not simply financial. Prior Theobald of La Charité is documented to have ordained the new prior of Bermondsey in 1238 (Dyson *et al.* 2011: 54). Ducketts' (1890) summary of visitations of English Cluniac foundations (Section 2.1) records evaluations of the house's everyday practices and their performance in accordance to the Cluniac Rule. The 1262 and 1279

reports for Bermondsey respectively record that, 'all devotional offices and rites were most properly and becomingly performed' and 'the brethren live correctly, and in accordance with the rule of the Order' (Duckett 1890: 13, 21). However, from around 1230, Bermondsey began to slide into severe financial troubles due to the necessity of catering for elite visits and repeated flooding (Dyson *et al.* 2011: 61). In 1237-8, a delegation from Bermondsey to the Chapter General in Cluny pleaded the near bankruptcy of the house (Steele 1998: 266). A report made in 1262 on behalf of Cluny recorded that 32 monks and one lay brother resided at Bermondsey, with 20 monks recorded in 1275/1276. This number fell to 18 by 1279, with the reason being that the house was 'overwhelmed with debt', necessitating the withdrawal of some of the brethren (Duckett 1890: 16, 20). The Hundred Years War (1337-1453) resulted in the sequestration of Bermondsey Abbey as an alien property in 1337, for which heavy charges added still further to the house's economic troubles. A petition to the king, probably dating to this time, claimed that the remaining finances were barely enough to sustain the community (*VCH* 1967: 7). Bermondsey's elevation to the status of Abbey in 1399 (Jurkowski 2006: 1) came about 18 years after its denisation was secured by Bermondsey's first English superior, Richard Dunton. From 1380 onwards the house, while remaining true to the Cluniac Rule, ceased to owe temporal allegiance to Cluny, or La Charité, and became a conventual chapter electing its own superior (*VCH* 1967: 7). By the early fifteenth century, the relationship between Bermondsey and Cluny appears particularly strained. In 1432-4, Bermondsey's abbot refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Prior of Lewes, vicar-general of the order, when cited by him for a visitation (*VCH* 1967: 7). Information was nonetheless obtained, reporting that 24 monks resided there and that hospitality, almsgiving, silence and all other monastic obligations and duties, as enjoined by the rule, were well observed (Duckett 1890: 39).

Bermondsey's eventual demise came in 1538, when most of the buildings were demolished and the remainder were converted into a manor house (Moore 2010: 71). The last of the standing remains of the site were pulled down in 1807 (Wheatley 1891: 168).

5.3.1 Archaeological excavations

In 1956 and 1962-3, D. Corbett and W.F. Grimes's excavations revealed the north part of the eastern arm of the priory church. Grimes' (1968) plan of the east end of the church shows possibly 10 burials, many in tombs. However, no information on the skeletons is available and their whereabouts is unknown. The Department of Greater London Archaeology, under the aegis of the Museum of London, undertook extensive excavations from 1984-1988 over an area

*c.*65m by *c.*65m (highlighted in green on Fig.5.7) (Dyson *et al.* 2011: 45). Principally, the infirmary building (converted from *c.*1330 into a formal cloister), a separate chapel south of the priory church and an extensive cemetery area were uncovered (see below). The osteological material deriving from the chapel and cemetery forms the basis of the current study. More recent work by Pre-Construct Archaeology (PCA) (1998-2010) has revealed the west part of the church, parts of the cloister and the south transept. Around 20 burials (not included within this thesis) were uncovered from internal areas of the precinct.
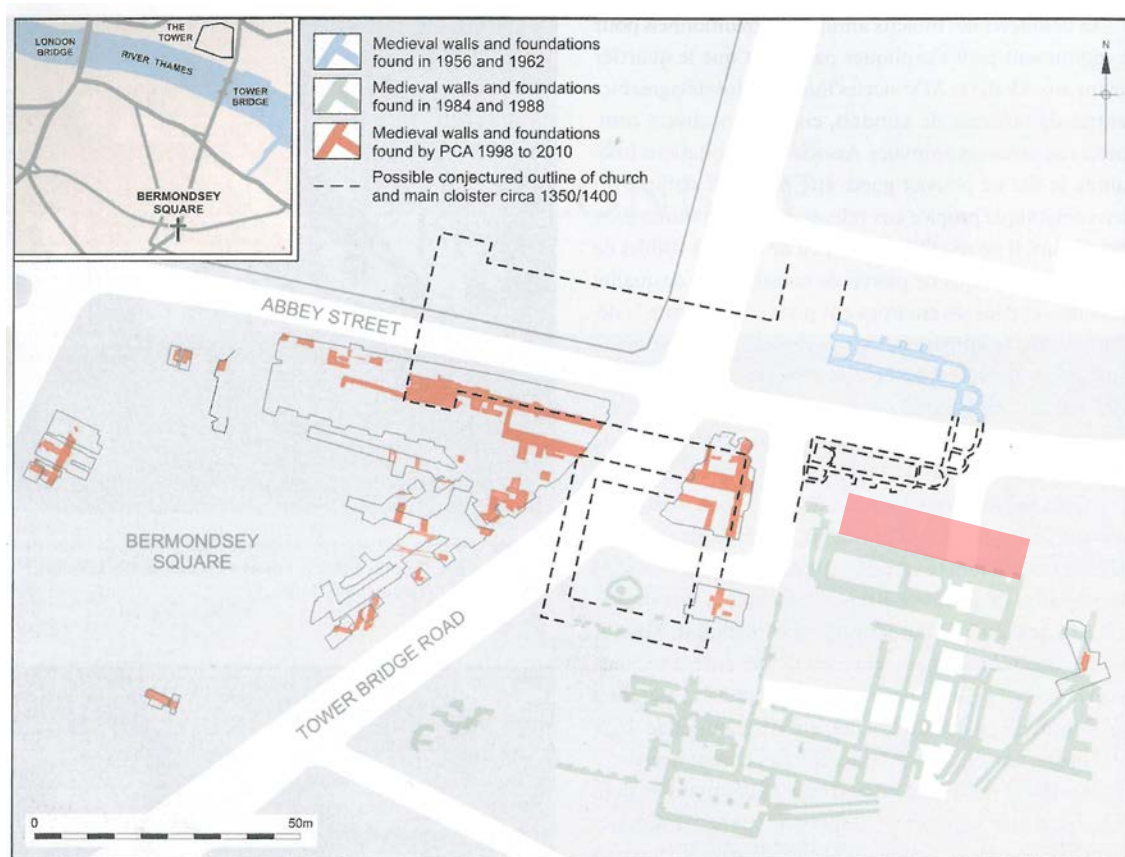
Figure 5.7: The location of Bermondsey's study area and the different archaeological investigations. The general location of the 'monastic cemetery' considered here is marked in red. Plan adapted from Moore (2010: 68).

The burials

The 1984-1988 excavations revealed 202 individual burials, along with a number of disturbed remains that had been re-interred with new burials or deposited within charnel pits. The vast majority of interments derived from a cemetery area (OA6) to the south of the priory church, with six coming from within a separate chapel (B1) (Fig.5.8).[52] Overall, the graves in the

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[52] OA6 and B1 are the abbreviations used within Dyson *et al.* (2011) and have been included here for concordance with the site report.

cemetery cut into a homogeneous dark sandy silt (Dyson *et al.* 2011: 34), with some recorded as having a more sand/silt or clay fill.   Bone preservation was variable across the site, where high sand content could be a primary factor for the particularly poor preservation of some skeletons. Graves in well aerated, damp, acid soil such as porous sand often contain poorly preserved skeletons (Stirland 2003: 7). Numerous burials from Bermondsey were recorded as being in 'loose sandy silt' and the priory and surrounding lands were frequently flooded by the Thames (Dyson *et al.* 2011: 3; see above).
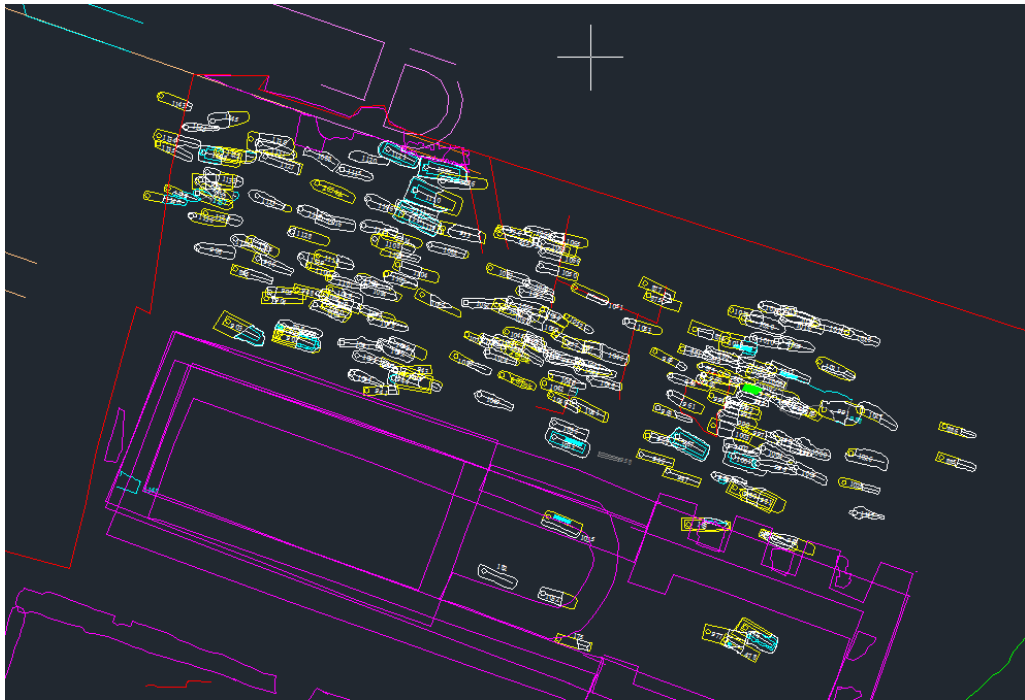
Figure 5.8: A plan of Bermondsey's BA84 burials excavated from within the chapel (B1) and cemetery area (OA6). This image was taken from 'The Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain (1050-1600): a digital resource and database of excavated samples' (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005) via the ADS.

On the whole, limited published research has been conducted on this assemblage. The remains and associated evidence for funerary practices formed a comparative data set for Gilchrist and Sloane's (2005) broad geographical study into medieval monastic burial practices. Patrick (2002, 2007) examined the osteological evidence as part of her study into monastic lifestyle with a particular focus on diet, evidence for DISH and obesity-related skeletal changes (Section 2.2).

Phasing of the burials

MOLA could place Bermondsey's burials within a fine-grained phasing and chronology of the site. Phasing for these individual burials was provided for use in this thesis by Susan Wright

(MOLA) and is given in Appendix 5b. This information was summarised in the site report (Dyson *et al.* 2011), the overall chronology of which is provided below. For concordance with the site report, the burials discussed below are divided into the periods M4-M8. M9 represents a phase of cemetery destruction.

Period M4 (*c.*1100-*c.*1150) saw the burial of three individuals within the chancel of the chapel (B1). Eighteen further burials were made in what has been termed the 'monastic cemetery', based on the high proportion of males (Dyson *et al.* 2011: 34). The first burials were widely spaced in irregular North-South rows and extended across the full width of the area between the chapel (B1) and the priory church (B3) (Dyson *et al.* 2011: 34).

Period M5 (*c.*1150-*c.*1200) saw around 50 individuals buried within the cemetery (OA6) but with a less clear distinction between rows than in period M4 (Dyson *et al.* 2011: 50).

In **period M6 (*c.*1200-*c.*1250)**, five individuals were buried in the cemetery. Three further burials were made in the chapel chancel (B1) (Dyson *et al.* 2011: 55, 60).

Period M7 (*c.*1250-*c.*1330) saw the burial of 91 individuals in disorganised north-south rows. The cemetery boundaries were also formalised in this period by the construction of a north-south cemetery wall (Dyson *et al.* 2011: 71-72).

In period **M8 (*c.*1330-*c.*1430),** 21 graves were dug in the cemetery just north of the chapel chancel (B1), around six metres from the cemetery wall. Eleven were around one metre apart in rough North-South rows, with 10 containing no skeletal material. These had been emptied during period M9 (*c.*1430-1538). The latter had been in a neat row against the cemetery wall (Dyson *et al.* 2011: 84).

The final period, **M9 (*c.*1430-1538),** saw no further burials taking place within this zone. The cemetery (OA6) appears to have been falling out of use. Rubbish pits were dug, even within the centre of the cemetery. A row of the most recent burials (see period M8) was removed and backfilled with mortar and building materials. The cemetery wall was also removed (Dyson *et al.* 2011: 95). Dyson *et al.* (2011: 96) note that the fill of the rubbish pits came from several areas of the site and the pottery recovered shows that dumping occurred throughout the period. Dating evidence shows that the removal of the burials was linked to pre-Dissolution land use changes.

To broadly fit with the phasing for La Charité and Lewes, the 195 burials which could be examined within this thesis have been grouped into an early Cluniac phase (*c.*1100-*c.*1200; from periods M4 and M5) and a later Cluniac phase (*c.*1200-*c.*1430; from periods M6-M8).

5.4 Beaumont-sur-Oise: history of the site

The site of Beaumont is situated on the bank of the River Oise, 30 km north of Paris (Fig.2.5).

As a reformed house, the nature of Beaumont's foundation as a Cluniac priory is distinct from those of the other establishments discussed in this thesis. At the start of the tenth century, Breton canons, displaced by the Viking raids, arrived in the region (Toupet and Blondeau 2013: 73). Their original wooden establishment was replaced later in the century by a college of Augustinian canons (Canons Regular), who transformed the building into a stone nave and choir (Notarianni 2006: 16) (Fig.5.9, left). The original religious precinct developed alongside that of a defensive complex. Instigated by the '*comtes de Beaumont*', whose Lordship is argued to have been born with the arrival of the canons (Notarianni 2006: 23), a motte and keep dating to the tenth century was constructed. With the benefit of both religious and seigniorial protection, the lay population in the valley relocated here (Toupet 1996). At the start of the eleventh century, with the help of Count Yves II, the college of Saint Léonor was expanded – a second nave was added as well as a bell tower, a large choir and an apse. At the end of the century, the naves were opened up to form one large spacious nave (Toupet and Blondeau 2013: 75) (Fig.5.9, right).
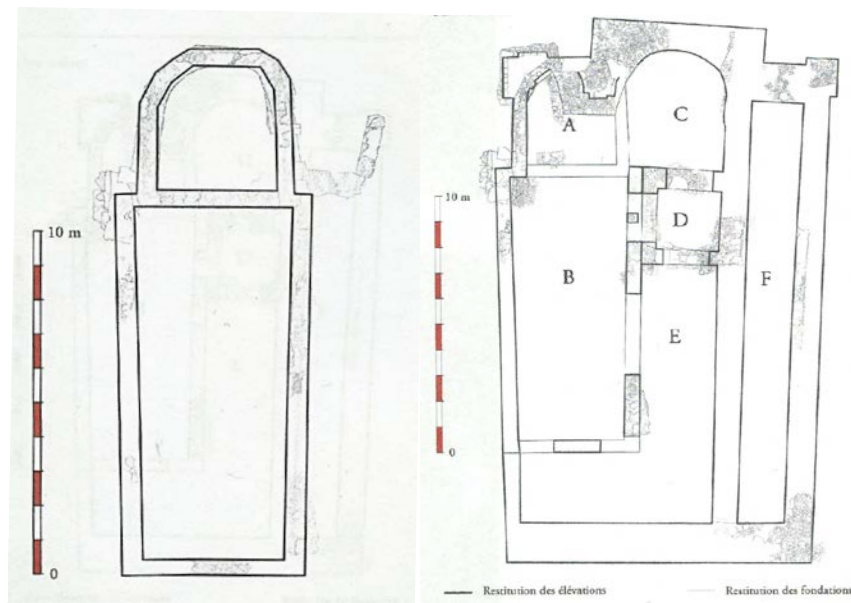
Figure 5.9: (left): Plans of the Augustinian college at the start of the tenth century and **(right):** Start of the eleventh century. From Toupet and Blondeau (2013: 81, 84; plans created by C. Toupet, E. Yéni and C. Blondeau).

Key: A = original choir; B = Carolingian nave; C = choir with apse; D = bell tower; E = second nave; F = domestic area

Documentary evidence points to the donation of Beaumont, with the help of Count Mathieu I, to Saint-Martin-des-Champs (Paris) and thus the affiliation of Beaumont to Cluny to between 1107 and 1119 (Henry 1986: 39). Toupet and Blondeau (2013: 77) write that to allow the new community to follow the Benedictine Rule with the vigour demanded by Cluny, major structural developments were undertaken. The buildings were enlarged, including the construction of a central nave with two side aisles and a cloister (Fig.5.10). In the thirteenth century, both the nave and choir were enlarged (Toupet and Blondeau 2013: 77).
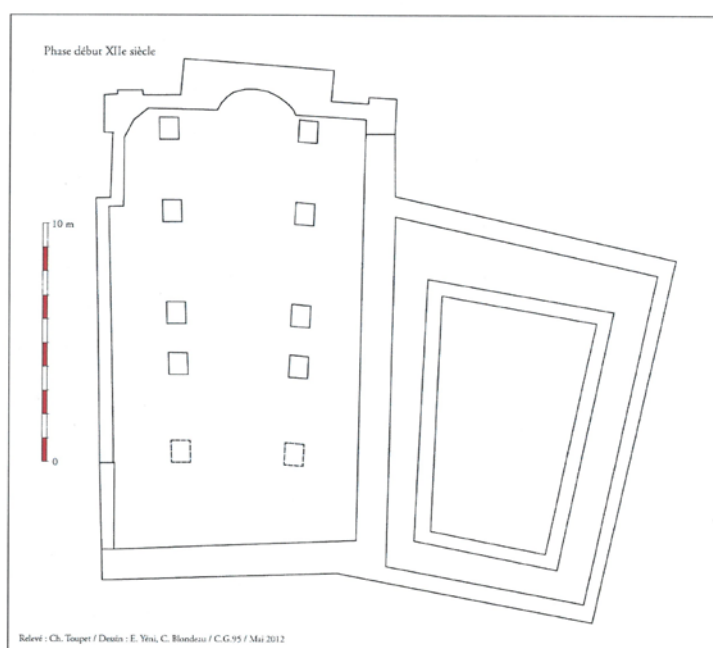
Figure 5.10: Plan of Beaumont's twelfth-century building alterations. From Toupet and Blondeau (2013: 86; plan by C. Toupet, E. Yéni and C. Blondeau).

Unlike many Cluniac houses, Beaumont does not seem to have experienced the same degree of financial difficulties in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Growing taxes and the diversion of lay donations towards the new mendicant orders left many Cluniac houses struggling (Pacaut 1986: 247). Continued donations from the Counts of Beaumont, particularly within the Cluniac period, allowed the priory to maintain a strong financial position (Notarianni 2006: 35). Even after the last count died in 1223, the cartulary attests to further donations from the local aristocracy (Notarianni 2006: 46). The monastery's situation in close proximity to a seigniorial site is unusual – no other colleges or Cluniac monasteries appear to have coexisted with one for such a long time (until the eighteenth century) (Notarianni 2006: 13). Although it was certainly the case that the Cluniac priors would have had an essential role in the spiritual lives of the counts (see Notarianni 2006: 43), it is unclear how much control or

influence the Counts of Beaumont had over the daily lives and practices of the brethren. Langlois *et al.* (1986: 26) argue that Beaumont's monks were not numerous and did not exceed six. It could be proposed that such a small community of monks, so closely linked both physically and economically to the adjacent population and aristocracy, could have enjoyed a relationship to the wider community very different from those brethren based in the larger, more established houses.

Similarly to the other three houses examined here, Beaumont appears to have been well integrated into the Cluniac order. Henry's (1986) study of surviving documents, including charters and necrologies, demonstrate that strong financial, administrative and spiritual links existed between Beaumont and Saint-Martin-des-Champs. Brethren moved between houses, many donations are attested to, and spiritual demands were made from the mother-house such as the under-prior's request that monks from Beaumont pray for him on his death and on each anniversary (Henry 1986: 46).

The priory's eventual demise came at the Revolution, where its possessions were confiscated (Langlois *et al.* 1986: 28).

5.4.1 Archaeological excavations

Between 1984-1989 and 1990-1991, the Service departmental d'archéologie du Val-d'Oise (under Christophe Toupet's direction) conducted rescue excavations at the site of the College of Saint-Léonor (the later Cluniac priory) and the Château de Beaumont-sur-Oise. As well as establishing a chronology for the structural changes, development of the funerary spaces from the mid-tenth century to the end of the eighteenth century could be examined. The excavation approach was innovative from an osteological perspective. The permanent presence of an osteologist on site had never been seen before for a medieval site, at least in France, unlike those of prehistoric or protohistoric date (Notarianni 2006: 7-8).

The burials

Around 80 Augustinian period burials, 97 medieval Cluniac burials and five sixteenth- to eighteenth-century burials were excavated from within the college/priory buildings and from an external cemetery. Four undated burials and charnel deposits were also recorded. Of these, 68 Augustinian and 85 Cluniac burials could be examined for this thesis. In contrast to La Charité, Bermondsey and Lewes, a number of females and non-adults were recorded as interred

within the different funerary spaces.   Preservation was generally good across the sample. Beaumont's geographically elevated position undoubtedly afforded the burials more protection from water damage. The fact that the majority of burials were intra-mural, with many in tombs could have reduced the impact from various cultural and natural agents. The level of skeletal completeness was also good (Section 7.1.4).

Notarianni (2006) and Vincens (1996) conducted studies on Beaumont's funerary practices as part of their Master's research. Notarianni examined the evolution of funerary practices and the seigniorial-monastic relationship, whilst Vincens made a taphonomic study of the cemetery burials.

Phasing of the burials

The extensive building works undertaken throughout the site's history have permitted a dating of burials into two broad phases: Augustinian and Cluniac (Fig.5.11). This information is summarised in Notarianni (2006).
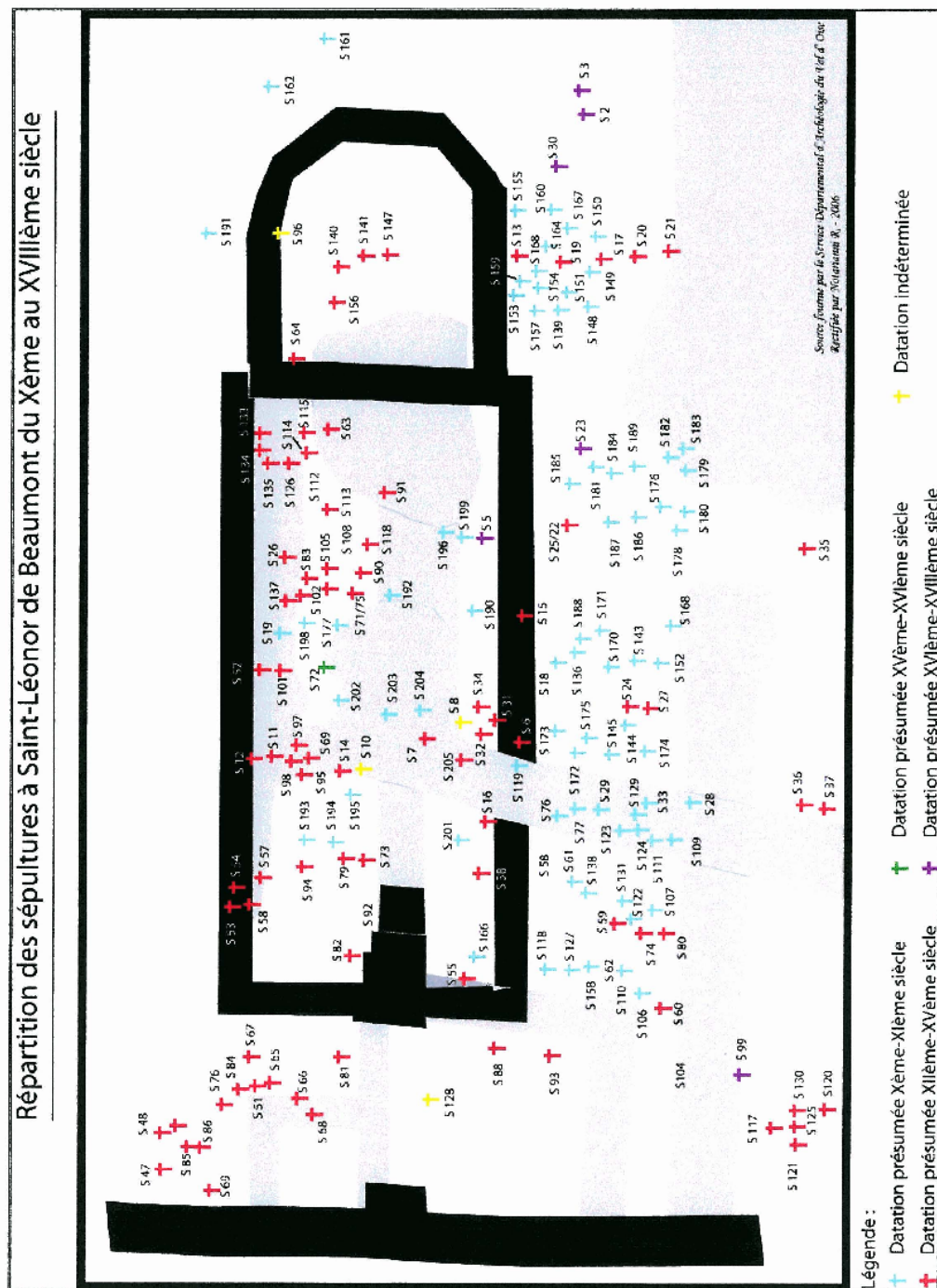
Figure 5.11: Location of Augustinian (blue) and Cluniac (red) burials in relation to the original Carolingian building Plan created by the Service Départmental d'Archéologie du Val d'Oise, modified by Notarianni (2006: 181)

Augustinian period burials (tenth-eleventh centuries): The earliest correspond to the original Carolingian building. South of the building, males and females were identified in an external cemetery zone (Figs.5.12 and 5.13), where 'Zone 72' included a concentration of non-adults who had died at a young age. This mixed population possibly indicates the opening up of these funerary spaces to civilians (Notarianni 2006: 91). Burials dating to after the start of the eleventh century correspond to the establishment of the college (around 1025); all interments took place within the new building, so that the original external burial space was covered by the subsequent internal burials (Notarianni 2006: 91). Males, occasional females and two non-adults were interred within these spaces (principally the nave, bell-tower and choir) (Chapter 7.1.4).
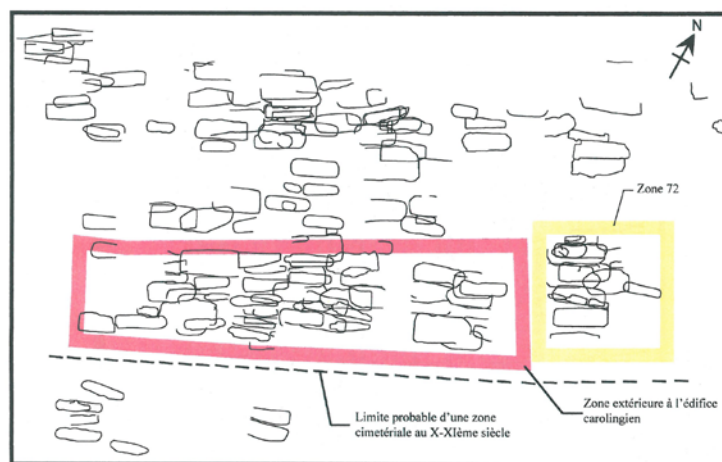
Figure 5.12: Plan of Beaumont's excavated burials with the external zones identified south of the Carolingian building. Plan created by the Service Départmental d'Archéologie du Val d'Oise, modified by Notarianni (2006: 183). 'Zone 72' indicates the concentration of non-adults.
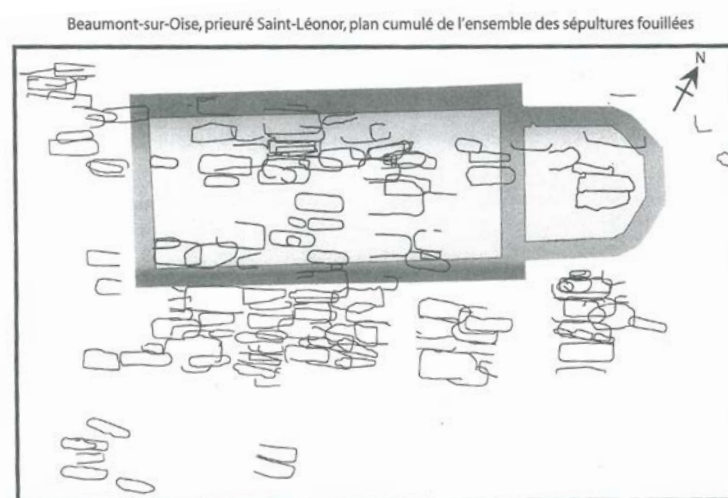
Figure 5.13: Plan of all Beaumont's excavated burials in relation to the original Carolingian building. Plan created by the Service Départmental d'Archéologie du Val d'Oise, modified by Notarianni (2006: 183).

Cluniac period burials (twelfth-fifteenth centuries): Following the Cluniac reform, burial continued within the internal spaces, and in particular the nave, side aisles and choir. The burials again consist of males, females and non-adults, reflecting a continuing accessibility of the monastic spaces for lay interment. As with the Augustinian phase, women were buried within the nave and side aisles but no Cluniac period females were recorded in the choir. However, for the six choir burials examined, three could not be assigned a sex. Non-adults were also permitted burial within the nave and side aisles.

For the present study, burials have been grouped into Augustinian and Cluniac phases. The two phases of Augustinian burial (external burials associated with the original Carolingian building and the later internal interments) have been pooled. This is firstly to produce a sample of appropriate size and secondly, given that the later Augustinian burials were made directly over the external cemetery, it was unknown from the available documentation which period various burials fell into. A more refined phasing for the Cluniac burials could not be obtained for the present study but with the eventual publication of the site report, a further breakdown should be more readily obtainable.

5.5 Summary

Despite the formal affiliation of each house to the Order of Cluny, the nature and date of their foundation, community size, and status and role within the Cluniac network varied. No two houses were the same, an important consideration for this thesis when examining both the relationship of the different monasteries to the customaries and to the dead in their charge. Geographical location aside, La Charité, Lewes and Bermondsey are arguably the most comparable; all were original (built from new), higher status foundations with relatively large long-standing communities of monks, although these could fluctuate. According to the visitation records, the priors from each had significant responsibilities over monitoring practice and conformity in other Cluniac priories, either subordinate or otherwise (see Duckett 1890).

The excavated burials from La Charité and Bermondsey were predominantly from external zones, with a relatively small sample deriving from a gallery and chapel respectively. A high prevalence of males was recorded; these samples could thus comprise mostly brethren, although this inference must be taken with caution. Conversely, those from Lewes were intra-mural, where funerary treatment of elite and potentially higher-ranking monastic officials could be examined. Lewes's intra-mural burials provide an interesting comparison to those from within Beaumont and La Charité's internal spaces. The treatment of the dead from Bermondsey

and La Charité's external funerary spaces can also be compared to those from within internal zones across each of the sites.

Beaumont was notably different. This reformed house was smaller, with potentially no more than six resident monks at any one time. The fact that Beaumont was reformed at around the same time that the statutes were being implemented could be an argument in favour of Beaumont *not* (or only partially) having adopted the customaries. As Constable (1998: 173) has argued, not all reformed houses would have used them. At Beaumont, the Augustinians were replaced by the Cluniacs, but it is conceivable that the latter were influenced in their monastic practice by the former. The Augustinian Canons were priests who followed the *Rule of Saint Augustine*. Even though they lived in a community, as Toupet (1996) points out, their doors were always open to the lay community. They thus arguably enjoyed a closer and more integrated position with the surrounding lay communities than many of the closed monastic orders. They spent time in the community looking after the spiritual well-being of the lay people (Aston 1993: 82). The number of females and non-adults recorded from the Augustinian and Cluniac periods demonstrates that both religious communities provided for them in death. The proximity of the village, together with the close financial and spiritual relationship between the religious and seigniorial communities was established from the tenth century and appears to have continued throughout the site's use (see Henry 1986; Notarianni 2006). Care and management of the lay dead may therefore have been a stronger priority at this site, particularly for the relatively small Cluniac community attempting to newly situate themselves within an already long-established and potentially closely integrated monastic-lay community.

6. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The methodology described below is designed to consider the treatment of the dead in a Cluniac context. It includes analysis of discrete interments and the disturbed dead, and the management of those individuals in the context of their respective funerary landscapes. The primary aim of the methodology is to identify all recognisable actions performed by the living for the dead, which have left their trace osteologically and archaeologically in the burial record. These actions are then considered in relation to the prescriptions within the customaries to explore the extent to which they were followed, how they may have been adapted and, more generally, the Cluniac (and wider medieval) attitude to the dead in each examinable stage of the death-course: pre-burial body preparation and burial (liminal rites), and post-burial treatment of the dead (post-liminal rites).

The methodology was structured in two stages. Stage one was the creation of the *anthropologie de terrain* catalogue (Appendix 5b). Here, information from the excavation archives for each examinable burial context was compiled. This included a taphonomic analysis to determine method of body preparation and interment (space of decomposition and mode of burial) and strategies for managing disturbed remains. In stage two, both *direct* (such as non-perishable elements of burial architecture and inclusions) and *indirect* (ascertained from taphonomic analysis) information from the catalogue was coded into a series of categories based on observed variability across the four sites, and entered into SPSS (see Appendix 4 for the full coding). This formed the comparative basis for statistically examining intra- and inter-site variability in funerary treatment (Chapter 7).

Section 6.1 will begin by specifying the types of data collected from each site for the catalogue and the collection process. Section 6.2 will define and discuss the examined burial variables. Tables 6.2 and 6.3 detail the criteria used in the assessment and categorisation of pre-burial and burial variables for which taphomomic analysis of the skeletal remains was required. Issues and considerations related to the data are provided within the relevant sections. This chapter concludes with a brief outline of the statistical tests employed in Chapter 7.

6.1 *Anthropologie de terrain* Catalogue: data collection

Following Nilsson Stutz (2003) and Willis and Tayles (2009), the *anthropologie de terrain* approach used within this thesis was conducted post-excavation, where burial photographs, drawings and excavation notes formed the principal data. For the four Cluniac sites examined herein, the taphonomic approach has permitted a high-resolution reconstruction of practices, many of which would be untraceable if considering solely the direct archaeological evidence (e.g. remains of nails, wood and elements of burial dress).

Data for the *anthropologie de terrain* catalogue were collected and compiled for 439 burials across the four sites. Of those, 435 provided sufficient information for at least one burial variable to be coded and entered into SPSS for further comparative analysis (Chapter 7). Table 6.1 provides a breakdown by site of the number of burials included within this study. Section 7.1 provides a further breakdown by period, age, sex and degree of skeletal completeness.

Site	Total number of burials included in the catalogue	Total number of burials in the catalogue analysed using SPSS	Total number of burials excluded from the catalogue and SPSS analysis
La Charité	65	62	0
Lewes	25	25	3
Bermondsey	195	195	7
Beaumont	154	153	~50

Table 6.1: Number of burials by site included in the *anthropologie de terrain* catalogue, the quantitative analysis and those excluded from the study. Note that 64 burials from La Charité were recorded in the site report (Billoin 2005). The double burial has been included here as two separate interments.

Burials excluded from the *anthropologie de terrain* catalogue or from the quantitative analysis were those for which sufficient documentation could not be obtained, the grave was too incomplete or dating was uncertain. The 16 pre-Cluniac burials from La Charité, for instance, were included within the *anthropologie de terrain* catalogue, although the poor level of burial completeness ultimately resulted in their omission from the majority of comparative analyses. Beaumont's approximately fifty burials excluded from analysis also included those post-dating the period considered herein.

6.1.1 Burial information

Information for each burial was obtained and synthesised from the archives of the respective sites and incorporated into the *anthropologie de terrain* catalogue. The archive for the Bermondsey Abbey (BA84) excavations is currently housed within the London Archaeological Archive Research Centre (LAARC). The Lewes Priory archive is currently split between the University of Southampton Archaeology Department (slides and field notes on loan from the Lewes Priory Trust) and Barbican House, Lewes (context sheets). The archive for La Charité is housed both at INRAP's office in Besançon (under the curation of David Billoin) and the Service Archéologique Régional, Dijon. The archive for Beaumont is currently stored at the Centre d'Initiation à l'Archéologie, Val d'Oise, under the curation of Céline Blondeau. David Billoin and the late Christophe Toupet, who were the site directors for the excavations at La Charité and Beaumont, respectively, as well as Céline Blondeau, were consulted during data collection. For Beaumont, as the excavations have not yet been fully published, their assistance was critical for obtaining all the relevant documentation and comprehending aspects of the site's development.

Where possible, the following was obtained for each burial:

Photographs and drawings

For Bermondsey and Lewes, the burial photographs were in their original slide format. All appropriate images were personally digitised. Colour and/or black and white photographs were selected depending on availability and clarity. Digitisation to a high resolution permitted sections of the burial or even individual bones to be enlarged, aiding a more detailed analysis of their spatial arrangement. The photographic archive from La Charité was already in digital format at the time of this study, and multiple colour photographs for each burial were provided by the project director David Billoin. Burial photographs from Beaumont were available as either processed film or printed scans, of which photographs were taken for the present study. Burial contexts drawn by hand or with Microsoft Illustrator were also consulted for Beaumont and La Charité, respectively. A large proportion of burials across the four sites were represented by one photograph taken from directly above or from a 'zenith' position. This position is the optimum for the *anthropologie de terrain* analysis. Numerous photographs, due to space constraints, were taken from the side or from a shallow angle. These were not the ideal given that the spatial arrangement of some elements in relation to the limits of the burial feature were not easily ascertained. Nonetheless, they proved adequate in the majority of cases for the

taphonomic analysis. The ideal for analysing certain burials was the presence of both a photograph and a detailed drawing. This was particularly the case where poor preservation or traces of fabric remains, for instance, rendered the positioning of individual skeletal elements unobservable in the photographs (see example in Fig.6.1a). In rare cases, analytical problems derived from inconsistencies between the two (Fig.6.1b). However, the field notes generally recorded when certain elements had been disturbed during excavation and it was often possible to establish at what stage each record had been taken.
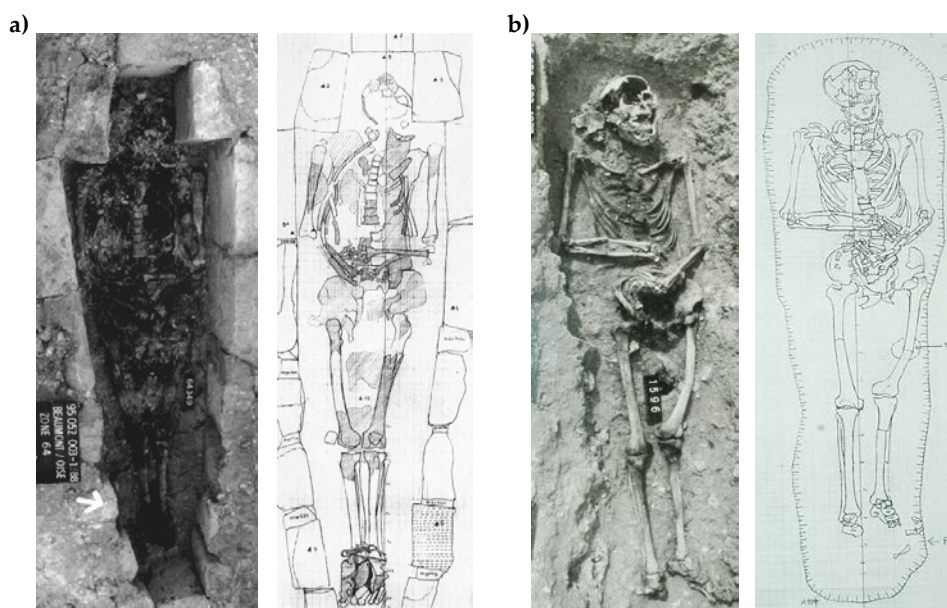
Figure 6.1) (**a**) Example of a photograph and accompanying drawing (F. Blaizot) of burial 176, Beaumont; (**b**) Burial 137, Beaumont. Note the different arrangement of left foot bones between the photograph and drawing (F.Blaizot). The field notes record that the foot bones were disturbed during excavation.

Fourteen burials from Lewes, Bermondsey and Beaumont did not have accompanying burial photographs or drawings (indicated in Appendix 5b). The photographic record book from the Bermondsey (BA84) excavations document in a couple of instances that the remains had to be removed prior to photographs being taken due to risks of vandalism or disturbance. In other cases, photographs were originally taken but have subsequently been removed from the archive, as was also the case for Lewes. In these instances, the present study has had to rely solely on the written archive, which limited in some instances the level of information obtainable for burials.

Context sheets

For Lewes, Bermondsey and Beaumont, written documentation was photocopied or photographed from the original excavation records. This included, for the most part, specific

sheets for grave cut, fill, skeletal remains and structures such as tombs. For La Charité, the information had already been synthesised into an *anthropologie de terrain* catalogue by anthropologist Luc Staniaszek (excluding the photographs in the majority of cases). Considering each site, the degree of information provided for each skeleton could be highly variable. This depended on a range of factors, including the state of preservation, time of year (e.g. the need to rapidly record and remove skeletal remains due to poor weather) and, particularly for the English samples, who was recording. The information obtained from La Charité's burials was consistent and detailed. This is, in part, due to the presence of the anthropologist in the field throughout the excavations. For Beaumont, a specialist charged solely with drawing the skeletal remains (Notarianni 2006: 8) and the presence of anthropologists Frédérique Blaizot and Hervé Guy in the field also ensured that the degree of information obtained for each burial was generally high and consistent.

Following data collection, the *anthropologie de terrain* catalogue was constructed and included the taphonomic analysis. Standard osteological nomenclature is used throughout the catalogue; the principal anatomical terms and those related to orientation are presented in Appendix 3. The full coding produced from the catalogue is presented in Appendix 4.

6.2 *Anthropologie de terrain* Catalogue: data synthesis and taphonomic analysis

For Bermondsey and Lewes, the *anthropologie de terrain* catalogue was created from new, compiling all available written and visual archival material from which the taphonomic analysis could be conducted. For La Charité's burials, a taphonomic analysis had been undertaken by Staniaszek in the field. The site report (see Billoin 2005) included a burial catalogue (Staniaszek 2005) with detailed observations on skeletal element positioning and some interpretations on space of decomposition and mode of burial. For this thesis, each burial was re-examined. Staniaszek's descriptions on element positioning compiled in the field were consulted, which aided analysis of the burial photographs. From this, interpretations and conclusions on space of decomposition, mode of burial and method of body preparation could be made; these are entirely those of the present author. For Beaumont, principally Frédérique Blaizot and Hervé Guy conducted the *anthropologie de terrain* analysis in the field (Toupet *pers.comm.*). The excavation report, including the final anthropological study, awaits completion. This thesis has therefore synthesised burial information from the original skeletal context sheets, photographs, drawings and the field notes. Descriptions by the anthropologists

of skeletal element positioning were drawn upon but the interpretations and final conclusions on space of decomposition, mode of burial and method of body preparation are those of the present author. Where interpretation differed from that proposed by Staniaszek, Blaizot and Guy, this is indicated and justified within the catalogue.

A key issue experienced in constructing the catalogue and conducting the taphonomic analysis was the inter-site variability in the quantity and types of information recorded for each burial. Numerous guidelines now exist for the treatment and recording of human remains.[53] However, these documents are primarily concerned with the post-excavation recording and management of skeletal remains. There are currently no standards across all archaeological departments and units for the excavation of burial contexts. The same is true of France. Although Weiss-Krejci (2011: 69) states that special data sheets for human remains guarantee that all important aspects during the excavation are recorded, there is still significant variability, and both the degree and quality of gathered information differs between site and excavator. At Beaumont, for example, it was standard practice for detailed skeletal drawing in the field, and at La Charité, multiple photographs during different stages of excavation were taken of each individual burial. The presence and location of re-deposited skeletal remains in individual grave contexts were also recorded in detail at both the French sites. However, neither of the English sites were excavated following the approach of *anthropologie de terrain*, and this level of information was not always available. The written documentation was also challenging to comprehend at times. Ubelaker (1995: 43) justly argues that since memories fade fast, notes should be clearly labelled so they can be deciphered by anyone (not just the excavator or note-taker). However, occasionally, writing on context sheets could not be deciphered for Lewes, Bermondsey and Beaumont, or the meaning behind descriptions, explanations or field sketches ascertained. All these factors considered, this has resulted in an omission of some elements of the burial analysis for various individuals considered within this thesis (indicated in Appendix 5b), thus reducing the sample sizes for certain variables. Overall, however, the taphonomic analysis still permitted an enhancement of the available information, thus expanding the questions that can be asked of the burial data.

Sections 6.2.1-6.2.4 detail the specific information compiled within the catalogue and subsequently coded for quantitative analysis.

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[53] See in particular the 'Guidelines to the Standards for Recording Human Remains' (Brickley and McKinley 2004) and 'Guidance for Best Practice for Treatment of Human Remains from Christian Burial Grounds in England' (English Heritage 2005).

6.2.1 Burial period and location; skeleton age, sex and completeness

Period and location

Chapter 5 has broadly outlined the burial samples for each site, including the phasing and zones examined. This information permits a spatial and temporal intra- and inter-site assessment of funerary treatment, allowing for a greater contextualisation of observed patterns. The phasing provided by the different project directors and reports for La Charité, Lewes and Bermondsey allowed their burials to be grouped into roughly comparable phases: early Cluniac (mid to late eleventh century – early thirteenth century) and late Cluniac (early thirteenth century – early fifteenth/sixteenth centuries). Those from Beaumont could only be grouped into pre-Cluniac (Augustinian) and Cluniac (early twelfth century-fifteenth century) phases (Section 7.1). Although the ideal would be for all burials across each of the sites to fall within precisely conforming time periods, this level of refinement was unobtainable. Nonetheless, the phasing of the available samples permits broad intra- and inter-site comparisons of practice. It also allows for a temporal examination of the site-specific and broader social, economic, religious and political factors influencing practice both within and between each of the houses.

Information on burial location was obtained (Chapter 5; Appendix 5b), permitting treatment of the dead to be examined within and between different intra- and extra-mural zones, offering insights into how practice may vary spatially within individual sites. It should be noted that the funerary zones considered within this thesis were not all fully excavated. What we are faced with is 'an incomplete and fragmentary version of past human activity…from which a coherent whole must be inferred' (Bowman 1990: 50).[54] Although Waldron (1994: 10-27) proposes that any sample exceeding 100 individuals ought to provide valid information about the population buried in the cemetery, smaller samples should not simply be dismissed. Even though La Charité and Lewes are represented by fewer than 100 burials, and at each site they derived from specific locations (i.e. not from across the entirety of the precincts), the degree of information available from the individual graves is on the whole excellent. For the intricacy of the taphonomic analyses conducted within this thesis, the chosen samples are more than sufficient to explore the specified questions. Statistical tests have also been selected that are appropriate for the nature of the available samples, thus exploiting their potential still further (Section 6.3).

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[54] See also DiGangi and Moore (2013b: 41-42) and Jackes (2011) for further considerations on general biases in archaeological samples.

Age and sex

It should firstly be stressed that the gathering and analysis of age and sex data were not principally about controlling for the male monastic community. This thesis is also concerned with wider adherence to both religious and Cluniac order prescriptions. It examines the treatment and management of the dead (taking into account both monastic and lay) across these different Cluniac funerary landscapes, considering evidence for conformity or non-conformity in funerary practice. A key issue is that there are fundamental problems with distinguishing lay burials from those of monastics. Coppack (1990: 60) writes that what is needed is a large-scale study of the total burial practice of any religious house where lay individuals can be separated from those of the convent. However, there are relatively few skeletal assemblages from monastic sites of this nature (Mays 2006: 179). Certain burial zones from religious sites have been proposed as being those of either lay or monastic burials, primarily based on demographics (e.g. Barber *et al.* 2004; Conheeney 2007; Stroud and Kemp 1993) and pathological and isotopic studies have been carried out to compare monastic and non-monastic lifeways based on such distinctions (e.g. Mays 1997b; Patrick 2002, 2007; Waldron 1985). However, these classifications are often based on small sample sizes from partially excavated zones or on assumptions surrounding where different social groups would have been buried, such as the chapter house for high ranking members of the clergy and the cloister for the monastic community (see Coppack 1990; O'Sullivan 2013: 271). Wills testify to lay benefactors and nobles requesting burial in numerous intra- and extra-mural locations (see Daniell 1997: 88-93; Postles 1996). The Cistercians, for instance, were entitled to bury two lay 'friends' within the exterior cemetery (Astill and Wright 1993: 132) and examples of lay individuals 'taking the habit' on their death bed and wishing to die in a monastic setting are well documented (see Lebecq 1996: 9). Alexandre-Bidon and Treffort (1993c: 245) note that in a general sense we can say that the rich are inhumed in the church and the poor in the cemetery ground, but as Coppack (1990) points out, ordinary monks were sometimes buried in the body of the church; spatial boundaries could therefore be fluid. Identifying zones exclusively reserved for the monastic community is therefore problematic and on an individual basis, near impossible in most cases.

Although based on demographics it could be suggested that La Charité and Bermondsey's burial zones examined herein could have been reserved predominantly for the monastic community (Section 7.1), this should be approached with caution. Issues of accurate sex determination must also be considered. Although the pelvis is the most reliable area for skeletal sex determination, Meindl *et al.* (1985) found a 96% accuracy level in estimating sex from the

pelvic bones, meaning that for every 100 burials analysed, four are possibly incorrectly assessed. Furthermore, the number of individuals classed as 'unknown' (Section 7.1) in these four samples, together with what has been found to be a 12% bias towards determining the sex of a skeleton as male (Weiss 1972), have implications for assigning zones from these sites exclusively to a particular social group. A lack of non-adult burials, as is the case for La Charité, Bermondsey and Lewes, should also not be unquestioningly cited in support of a particular burial zone being 'monastic'. Differential preservation is a major factor to consider (see Baker *et al.* 2005: 11), particularly when considering that infant burials are often relatively shallow and prone to disturbance (Lewis 2007: 23-5). This thesis has therefore not attempted to assign a particular individual or indeed funerary zone conclusively to one social group based on demographics, although inferences are made, and a range of interpretations on identified patterns in funerary variability is offered (Chapters 7 and 8).

The age and sex estimations used within this thesis are those obtained by the osteologists working on the respective collections. These are provided for each individual in Appendix 5. The specific codes are presented in Appendix 4. For age, Gilchrist and Sloane's (2005) coding has been used as it corresponded appropriately with the data available from the four sites. For many statistical comparisons (Chapter 7), however, sample sizes did not permit analyses based on different adult age categories. Sub-divisions have been included in the *anthropologie de terrain* catalogue for future study and in Section 7.1 to broadly examine inter-site demographic profiles, but detailed analysis based on these sub-divisions could, unfortunately, not be conducted for the majority of burial variables. 'General adults' were thus compared. For sex, sample sizes also necessitated a pooling of categories for the majority of comparative analyses; this will be clearly indicated in Chapter 7. Given that it is impossible to confidently assign a sex to individuals under the age of 15, except through ancient DNA analysis (Sellier and Guillon 2001: 60), only age data are available for Bermondsey's one, and Beaumont's 32, non-adults.

La Charité-sur-Loire

Luc Staniaszek conducted the osteological assessment and the remains are currently curated at the Centre INRAP de Dijon. Age of immature individuals was based on dental eruption, the lengths of diaphyses and epiphyseal closure (Ferembach *et al.* 1979; Stloukal and Hanakova 1978; Ubelaker 1978). The only two non-adults present within the excavated zones were from disturbed deposits and their date is unknown. For the adults, Staniaszek classed them into approximately young (16-25), mature (26-45) and older adults (>45) based on the pubic

symphysis (Ferembach *et al.* 1979), and cranial suture closure (Masset 1982). Given that the auricular surfaces were frequently well preserved in the sample, this region was also examined following Meindl and Lovejoy (1989). Where an individual could not be placed into a specific adult age group, they were termed 'general adult'.

Sex was determined from the morphology of the pelvis, following Bruzek (1991). Individuals were classed as male, possibly male or unknown. No females were recorded, although the large number of individuals classed as unknown (Section 7.1) should be remembered.

Lewes Priory

As discussed in Section 5.2, the remains from Lewes suffered post-excavation damage. Age and sex estimates were taken by the osteologist Robin Kenward (1997), where possible, but numerous individuals had to be classed as 'unknown' for sex and 'general adult' for age.

The specific methods used for age and sex analysis were not made wholly explicit within the site report, but they are stated to be in accordance with Brothwell (1963). This implies that tooth wear stages were the primary means for age determination and sex estimations were based on the morphology of the skull and pelvis. A summary of Kenward's findings can be found in Excel format through the ADS, which was overseen by William White for the 'Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain' project (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005). This data is used within the present study. However, where it was not clear from the documentation how Kenward arrived at her age and/or sex estimations and where the supporting information was lacking, the individual was classed as 'general adult' for the purposes of this thesis.

Bermondsey Abbey (BA84 burials)

The skeletal remains were analysed in the 1980s by the late William White, formerly of the Museum of London's Centre for Human Bioarchaeology, where they are currently curated. This data is available through the ADS, published as part of the 'Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain' project (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005), with some alterations made prior to publication within the site report (Connell and White 2011; Dyson *et al.* 2011). This thesis has used the age and sex data provided by Susan Wright (MOLA); a summary is available in the site report.

Age estimations for immature individuals were based on dental development and state of epiphyseal fusion (Bass 1995: 13-15; Brothwell 1981: 64-7) and diaphyseal lengths (Ferembach *et al.* 1980; Ubelaker 1984: 46-53). Those for adults included analysis of tooth wear stages

(Brothwell 1981: 71-2) and the morphology of the pubic symphysis (Brooks and Suchey 1990). Individuals were grouped by Connell and White (2011) into the following age categories: 11-15, 16-25, 26-45 and ≥46 years.

Sex estimations were based on the morphology of the skull and pelvis (Brothwell 1981; Ferembach *et al.* 1980; Phenice 1969) and classed as either 'male or female', 'possible male or female' and 'unknown'. Connell and White's report (2011) included eight females and possible females, although no females and only three possible females have been considered within this thesis. This is due firstly to poor preservation of the burial contexts and secondly, another assessment conducted by the Centre for Human Bioarchaeology (available on the MOLA WORD database) produced some conflicting sex estimations to those provided by Connell and White (2011). In the rare occasions where the two assessments were in disagreement, this thesis classed the individuals as 'unknown' or 'possible male or female' rather than 'male or female'.

Beaumont
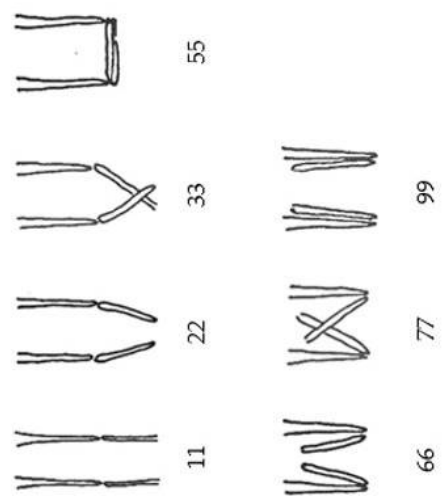
Age and sex estimations have been based on Guy Hervé's assessment. Based on the morphology of the skull and pelvis, adults were classed as male, female or unknown. Numerous adults could not be assigned an age beyond 'general adult' (>17 years of age). Where possible, cranial suture closure (Masset 1982) and the pubic symphysis (males only) were assessed in combination. However, in certain cases the age estimates based on these two factors did not concur, for which issues with accurate age determination based on cranial suture closure is a factor to consider (see Mays 2010b: 59-60). It was decided for the present study to place all adults into an overall 'general adult' category. Non-adults could be placed into narrower age brackets: infant (0-5), juvenile (6-10) and immature (11-15). For concordance with the other three sites, Beaumont individuals aged 16 and above were also placed within the 'general adult category'. There was a slight discrepancy in age groupings in that a few individuals were classed by the osteologists as (15-16) or (15-17). Ideally, individuals across all sites would be reassessed based on the same methodological criteria but this was not possible for the present study. This was a difficult dilemma to overcome but it was decided for this thesis to group these individuals into the 'adult' age category. The exact methods used for adult sex estimation, age determination using the pubic symphysis and non-adult age determination could not be more clearly defined. However, in the case of the adults, given that they have been classed as 'general adult' (negating the need to define more precisely with the pubic symphysis), this does not affect the comparative analyses.
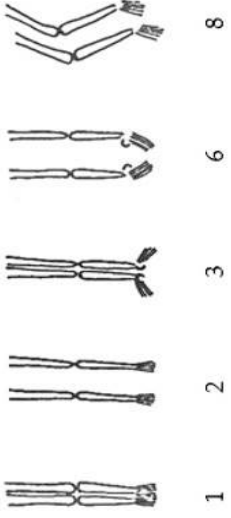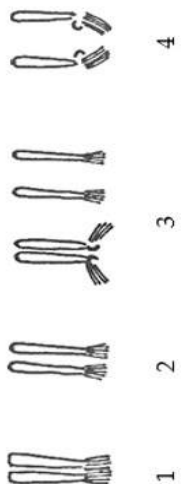
Skeletal completeness

Based on the excavation documentation and from visual inspection of photographs, each individual was recorded for degree of skeletal completeness based on the following: <25%, 25-50%, 50-75% and >75% complete. This was to firstly contribute to a discussion on cemetery disturbance but also to provide further information on the nature of the samples examined herein. One of the principal issues for this study was variability in the degree of skeletal completeness across the four sites (see Section 7.1). Poor skeletal completeness reduced the effectiveness of the taphonomic analysis in some instances, where not all variables could be examined for each burial. Sample sizes were thus reduced for certain comparative analyses. For some of the variables presented below, 'possible' or 'unlikely' categories were thus created for indeterminate cases, as indicated in the catalogue (see also Appendix 4). However, to produce adequate sample sizes for the quantitative analyses (Chapter 7), it was ultimately necessary for all cases within these categories to be pooled with the corresponding conclusive category.

6.2.2 Body preparation

To assess degree of variability in how individuals were physically prepared pre-burial, detailed taphonomic analysis of each examinable skeleton was conducted. As Section 3.1.5 has detailed, the *Ulr* and *Bern* prescribe that the hands should be folded together over the chest (the *LT* stipulates arms). They further specify that the slippers should be sewn together (thus joining the feet), and that following sewing of the garments, the body should be wrapped in a shroud. To explore the extent to which these procedures may have been followed, an *anthropologie de terrain* assessment (using photographs, drawings and excavation notes) was carried out (Appendix 5b). Forearm, lower limb and foot positioning were considered, together with an overall assessment of the nature of body preparation. Table 6.2 summarises the variables and the criteria used for assessment. As the size and shape of the grave cut can determine how skeletal elements disarticulate and move (Section 4.2.2; Fig.4.8), this information was acquired from the excavation documentation where possible and considered during analysis. Uncertainty surrounding the impact of a cut edge on the spatial patterning of the skeleton necessitated the exclusion of some individuals from the analysis of limb and foot positioning and/or nature of body preparation. As discussed in Section 4.2.3, not all elements of burial dress leave distinctive patterns in the spatial arrangement of skeletal elements, particularly where the material decomposed relatively rapidly. Nature of body preparation could therefore not be ascertained for certain individuals; they were classed as 'unknown' for this variable (Appendix 5b).

	Variables related to body preparation and criteria for assessment	Illustrations
Forearm positioning	Following Durand's (1988) approach of coding the position of the left and right forearms to produce a two digit code for each individual (see Fig.4.16), the below schema was created based on observed variability across the four burial samples: 11 = Alongside the body 22 = Resting over the pelvic region uncrossed (> 90 degree angle between humerus and forearm) 33 = Resting over the pelvic region crossed 44 = Resting over the pelvic region crossing unknown 55 = Resting parallel at right angles over the abdominal region 66 = Resting over the chest region uncrossed (<90 degree angle) 77 = Resting over the chest region crossed 88 = Resting over the chest region crossing unknown 99 = Touching each respective shoulder 1010 = Other e.g. behind head Forearms can move significantly during decomposition of the body (see Duday 2006: 35). This was therefore considered prior to assigning codes. Where significant post-depositional movements were discernible (e.g. still articulated hand bones located at some distance from the corresponding forearm), the original positioning was reconstructed, where possible. In ambiguous cases, or where a limb was missing, the forearm was classed as 'unknown' (Appendix 4).	 **Figure 6.2:** Principal forearm positions considered within this thesis.
Lower limb positioning	The below schema was created based on proximity of the left and right lower limbs from the observed variability across the four burial samples. Following Buquet-Marcon *et al.* (2009), the lower limbs converge when they are ≤5cm apart at the knees and ankles, denoting 'together or close'. This distance has therefore been used as a measure of proximity for this study, and also considered proximity of the feet (see below).	

1 = Knees, ankles and toes in contact (≤5cm apart)

2 = Knees, ankles and toes apart but roughly parallel (>5cm apart)

3 = Knees and ankles in contact (≤5cm apart), toes apart (out-turned).

4 = Knees together (≤5cm apart), ankles apart (>5cm apart) and toes together (plantarflexed)

5 = Knees together but ankles, toes apart (>5cm).

6 = Knees and ankles apart (>5cm) but toes together (plantar-flexed).

7 = Knees apart (>5cm), ankles and toes together (≤5cm).

8 = Staggered (not straight or aligned).

Where the original position of a lower limb could not be confidently ascertained due to possible significant movement during decomposition (e.g. where decomposition took place in a long-lasting void) or due to post-depositional disturbance, positioning was classed as 'unknown' (Appendix 4). This was also the case where both limbs were present but degree of proximity could not be confidently ascertained due to poor preservation or inadequate skeletal photographs and/or drawings.

Figure 6.3: Principal lower limb positions considered within this thesis.

| Foot positioning | The below schema was created for the proximity of the left and right feet. ≤5cm and >5cm apart were used as measures of proximity. This considered positioning of all or the majority of the metatarsals and phalanges.

1 = Feet together/comingled

2 = Feet close (≤5cm apart) but distinct

3 = Feet apart/evolved distinctly (>5cm apart)

4 = Mainly distal ends of toes touching (plantarflexed)

Where the original positioning could not be confidently ascertained for at least one of the feet, positioning was classed as 'unknown' (Appendix 4).

Figure 6.4: Principal foot positions considered within this thesis. |

Body preparation (wrappings and clothing)	Clothed: Defined as separate dress items with no clear evidence for wrapping. (Fig.6.5)	This was assessed based on some or all of the following criteria: • A distinct separation between the lower limbs and feet (>5cm apart), where the foot bones moved in an opposing manner (following Buquet-Marcon *et al.* 2009: 72); the latter could indicate the former presence of shoes (Fig.4.11). • The position of the humeri away from the trunk, possibly with a wide angulation of the elbows. • Distinct asymmetry in the positions of the forearms e.g. one over the other, with the other lying alongside the body. • A constricted ribcage exhibiting a rectangular outline; this could potentially be indicative of a constrictive bust with separate sleeves (following Fossurier 2009:22) (Fig. 4.12). • One or both of the patellae suspended in positions of instability at the level of the knees, possibly indicating a garment where each lower limb was separately surrounded (following Fossurier 2009: 23). • No constrictions in evidence along the body to indicate the former presence of a wrapping (see below).	 **Figure 6.5:** Example of an individual exhibiting evidence for clothing in accordance with the defined criteria (left). Only the asymmetry in forearm positioning is not satisfied. (From Fossurier 2009: 22)
	Clothed AND wrapped	• Satisfies a combination of criteria presented for a clothed (above) and wrapped (below) individual.	
	Tight wrapping: 'Wrapping' defined as a single or multi pieced soft envelope which has been wrapped or drawn together over/around	This was assessed based on some or all of the following criteria: • A bilateral compression of the thoracic cage, resulting in narrowing, with the humeri positioned in close proximity to it. • Bilateral compression of the scapulae, which are positioned obliquely upwards. • A verticalisation of the clavicles. • Close proximity of the lower limbs with a convergence at the	 **Figure 6.6:** Example of an individual exhibiting evidence for a tight wrapping in accordance with the defined criteria (left). Only the patellae positioned between the lower limbs is not satisfied. (From Harris and Tayles 2012: 234).

Figure 6.7: Example of an individual exhibiting evidence for a loose wrapping. The left upper limb is at some distance from the thoracic cage and despite possibly being interred within a filled space, the right femur has rotated laterally. There is, however, a constriction at the level of the feet indicative of a constraint.

(From Willis and Tayles 2009: 552).

the body or the majority of the body and fixed in place. (Fig.6.6)	• knees and ankles (≤5cm apart). • Movement of the patellae into the space between the lower limbs. • A close proximity of the feet (≤5cm), which appear constricted (possibly even plantarflexed), and in a tightly delineated space. • A 'wall effect' (away from the cut edge) is in evidence at the level of the upper and lower limbs, where they demonstrate a medial rotation into positions of instability. These constrictions can conform to the outline of the body (following Harris and Tayles 2012: 233), and not 'box-like' as with a container burial (Table 6.3). • Complementary 'direct' evidence *could* include pins in direct contact with the body.
Loose wrapping (Fig.6.7)	• Some constrictions evident within certain regions of the body as presented above, but with a more 'relaxed' overall skeletal profile.
Wrapped	• Some criteria for wrapping presented above are present but the degree of 'tightness' cannot be discerned. This is particularly applicable to individuals with a poor degree of skeletal completeness or preservation.
Clothed and/or loosely wrapped	• Criteria for a tightly wrapped burial cannot be satisfied and there are no indicators to suggest separate constrictive items of clothing.

Table 6.2: Summary of body preparation variables and criteria for assessment.

6.2.3 The burial

To assess variability in the treatment afforded the dead on burial, all examinable perishable (using taphonomic analysis) and non-perishable elements of grave construction were analysed and coded (Appendix 4). The *Ulr* and *Bern* specify that a monk should be interred directly in the ground, with a wooden cover placed over him. No other inclusions are prescribed. Space of decomposition and mode of burial were therefore examined to explore the extent to which these prescriptions were followed, and what variations in practice took place. Burial photographs, drawings and excavation notes were used to firstly determine whether each examinable individual was interred in a void or filled space (Table 6.3). Secondly, the mode of burial was considered. This firstly included a taphonomic analysis to identify the former presence of perishable structures (Table 6.3).

Burial variable and categories		Criteria for assessment	
Space of decomposition	Void	This was assessed based on some or all of the following criteria: • Movement of skeletal elements outside of the initial volume of the cadaver (displacement by animals must be considered). • An opening at the pubic symphysis with a flattening of the *ossa coxae*. • Lateral rotation of the femora and displacement of the patellae. • Extensive flattening of thoracic cage. • Disconnection of persistent articulations.	**Figure 6.8: (left)** Example of individual who decomposed in a void (burial 182, Bermondsey) and; **(right)** filled space (burial 69, Beaumont).
	Filled	• No movements of skeletal elements outside of the initial volume of the cadaver (proximity of the cut edge must be considered). • No opening at the pubic symphysis; limited flattening of *ossa coxae*. • Maintenance of a good volume of the thoracic cage. • Maintenance of labile articulations in unstable positions above the grave floor.	
Closed portable container	Present	• Evidence for decomposition in a void (see above): significant movement of skeletal elements inside and/or outside of the initial volume of the cadaver depending on coffin width. • 'Wall effect' along limbs from the container's sides (away from cut edge); possible 'box-like' (following Harris and Tayles 2010) or 'parallel-sided' effect along body caused by constrictive container or a lateral delineation of skeletal elements down one side of the body. This would not conform to the shape of the body (unlike a wrapping). • Possible damage to skeletal elements from falling lid or side boards • Complementary evidence *could* include remains of nails, wood and brackets.	**Figure 6.9: (left)** Example of individual interred within a wide container (from Reveillas and Castex 2010: Fig.2) and; **(right)** narrow container (from Harris and Tayles 2012: Fig.2). Note the 'parallel-sided' effect.

	Absent	• Evidence for decomposition in a filled space (see above) • No evidence for 'parallel-sided' effect or a lateral delineation of skeletal elements down one side of the body • The shape or dimensions of the cut would not permit the inclusion of a container (e.g. tight cut or certain anthropomorphic designs) • Other grave inclusions (e.g. funerary vessels or disturbed skeletal remains) in close proximity to the body with no evidence for damage or disturbance from a container.
Perishable cover (long-lasting and partial or non-sealing)	Present	• Evidence for decomposition in a void (see above) • No evidence that this void is related to a container burial (see above) • Complementary evidence can include remains of nails and wood (possibly just above the skeleton) and ledges in the cut wall to support it. • **Perishable cover evident but partial? Non-sealing?** denotes strong archaeological evidence for the former presence of a perishable cover but the osteological evidence indicates that the individual decomposed in a filled space.
	Absent	• Evidence for decomposition in a filled space (see above)
Other perishable structures	Present	• Interment on a **bier** includes evidence for a significant disruption to skeletal elements across most, or the whole, body and following Harris and Tayles (2012: Table 12), there are movements outside of the confines of the body but there is no other evidence of skeletal response to external space (i.e. localised movements). • A **non-sealing container** includes evidence for constrictions away from the cut wall suggestive of a structure encircling the body, such as a 'box-like' or 'parallel effect' specified above but with evidence that the individual decomposed in a filled space. • **Perishable structure form unknown** includes strong archaeological evidence for the former presence of a structure but no indicators on the skeleton are present to define its form further.
Perishable pillow	Present	• Complete dislocation of the cranium, mandible and possibly the superior cervical vertebrae. If the individual decomposed in a void, these elements may be located at some distance from the body. • If the individual decomposed in a filled space, the dislocation of the above elements may be the only evidence for disorder across the skeleton (localised void) (see Fig.4.18, right).
	Absent	• No dislocation evident

Table 6.3: Criteria for assessing variability in space of decomposition and perishable elements of grave construction and inclusions.

Secondly, non-perishable elements of grave construction and inclusions were recorded within the catalogue and subsequently coded based on observed variability across the four samples. This was to explore further, both spatially and temporally, the extent to which the customaries' stipulation of a materially simple grave was respected. The different ways in which graves were elaborated, together with the various house-specific and broader social, political, economic and religious factors influencing the degree of conformity, and adherence to this prescription, are thus explored. See Appendix 4 for the full list of codes related to the variables presented below.

Grave orientation and the overall attitude of the body in the grave were firstly recorded to assess whether practice deviated from the medieval norm of burial supine with the head to the west. The presence of tombs, base-linings, pillows and 'head-supports', together with the materials used, were then recorded and coded. Together with the latter two variables, the presence of head-niches in either a grave cut or tomb was recorded to explore the extent to which the head was afforded particular attention, in line with wider medieval scholastic and religious teachings (Section 3.2).

The presence and nature of other inclusions within the graves (religious and personal items, and deposits from grave-side practices) were recorded, permitting assessment of the various types of objects interred with the deceased, the possible meanings behind them, and the different practical and/or symbolic practices taking place within the vicinity of the grave. There are, however, issues related to intra- and inter-site assessments of their frequency. Objects within graves may have been removed, particularly at the time of the Dissolution, resulting in an under-representation of certain items. Disturbance of graves, possibly for this purpose, was recorded at the Dominican Priory, Oxford (Lambrick 1985). Daniell (1997: 197) writes that in 1536, one Christopher Tredar was denounced to Cromwell for encouraging people to dig for money. Burials 2 and 3 at Lewes Priory, for instance, were disturbed at the Dissolution, and it is unknown what, if any, items may have been removed. These factors should be considered when analysing relative frequencies of grave inclusions within and between sites.

6.2.4 Post-burial skeletal manipulations

To examine the treatment of and attitudes towards the previous dead, variability in management strategies of disturbed remains was recorded and coded. This analysis only considers treatment of disturbed remains within discrete grave contexts. Skeletal material was

recorded in charnel pits at La Charité, Bermondsey and Beaumont. However, the excavation documentation did not permit a detailed analysis of this class of remains.

For each examinable burial, it was firstly determined based on the excavation documentation whether the cutting of their grave disturbed the skeletal remains of a previous interment (recorded as 'yes', 'no' and 'unknown'). This was to gain an overall insight into the attitudes towards disturbing remains at each site through time. Where a new burial did disturb the remains of a previous interment/s and the bones were incorporated within the new grave, strategies surrounding their management were then assessed, for which the burial photographs, drawings and excavation notes were used. See Appendix 4 for the full coding of variables discussed below.

Firstly, it was determined whether disturbed remains incorporated within the new grave were placed 'in the fill' (denoting a physical separation from the new interment) or 'in association' with the newly deceased (denoting an arrangement in physical contact with the newly deceased, or where the bones were more or less organised in the grave i.e. a strategy beyond simply depositing the remains in the fill above) (following Billoin and Staniaszek 2005: 49). This information was obtained from a visual inspection of burial photographs and from the excavation notes. For those burials exhibiting evidence for disturbed remains in the second of these two categories, the following variables were recorded to assess the extent to which, and in what ways, the remains were handled and organised: the elements represented (class of bones), their overall arrangement, and their proximity to the new interment. To further explore the extent to which the head region was afforded particular attention (Section 3.2), the position of crania in relation to the body was recorded. An assessment was made of whether re-deposited bones may have served functional purposes (physically maintaining parts of the newly deceased in a desired position) and, finally, the state of articulation of the disturbed skeletal elements was recorded. The maintenance of certain connections could provide some indication as to the decompositional state of the individual at the time of disturbance, allowing attitudes towards cutting through, exhuming and handling human remains in different stages of decomposition to be explored.

The above variables could not be recorded for all burials. The excavation documentation did not always provide the relevant information; presence of disturbed remains within the grave was sometimes noted, but no further details on what the skeletal elements were or their

positioning was provided. Some photographs were also taken after the redeposited remains had been removed and the accompanying written information was limited. In these instances, the burial in question had to be excluded from analysis. On a few occasions, very rare human bone was recorded in the fill but given the degree of disturbance to the interment, it was not clear whether it derived from the interred individual or not. Finally, later charnel pits cutting through the fill of a grave could, on occasion, complicate the recording of deliberately redeposited bone, given that it was not always clear if it derived from the burial itself or charnel. Again, in these instances, the burial was excluded from further analysis.

6.3 Statisticial tests

As the data examined within this study was not normally distributed (hence non-parametric) and categorical (nominal variables), the statistical significance of any differences between categories was assessed using a Fisher's Exact test. This test can be used with both larger and particularly small sample sizes, thus making it highly applicable for the present study, where the number of cases for each variable could on occasion be relatively small (i.e. fewer than five cases). For a stated significance level ($p \leq 0.05$ in the present study), the null hypothesis (of no association between variables 1 and 2), is rejected if the p-value is less than or equal to the significance level (Fitzmaurice and Ravichandran 2011: 40). A p-value ≤ 0.05 indicates strong evidence against the null hypothesis, meaning that the observation is highly unlikely to be the result of random chance alone. The results of the Fisher's Exact tests in Chapter 7 will present the overall number of examinable cases compared for each test (n) and the p-value (p) e.g. [n=20, p=0.003].

When examining the results of the statistical analyses, however, false positives should be remembered. These occur when statistical differences are observed, but in reality they do not exist (type I error), and are purely related to chance. With the significance level of ≤ 0.05, for every 100 tests (a number greatly exceeded within the present study), five results are related to chance, not reality – an occurrence which needs to be remembered when examining outcomes of the Fisher's Exact tests in Chapter 7.

7. RESULTS

Based on the *anthropologie de terrain* analysis and the assigned codes for variables (Chapter 6 and Appendix 4), Chapter 7 presents the results of the intra- and inter-site comparison of Cluniac funerary treatment. Summarising the information presented in Chapters 5 and 6, Section 7.1, provides an overall breakdown by period, age, sex and skeletal completeness of the samples from the four sites.

Sections 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4 present the results for the stages of the death-course examined herein: the pre-burial, burial and post-burial practices. For Sections 7.2 and 7.3, each variable is compared for the Cluniac period on an overall site basis to assess general inter-site patterns. This is followed by an intra-site phase analysis, which assesses La Charité, Lewes and Bermondsey, the three larger elite sites with broadly comparable phasing. Comparisons between Beaumont's Augustinian and Cluniac phases then follow. Section 7.4 analyses the strategies for managing disturbed remains.

For concordance, all burial numbers referred to in the text correspond to both those assigned on excavation and to those presented in the *anthropologie de terrain* catalogue.

7.1 Period; age; sex; skeletal completeness

A total of 351 Cluniac and 84 Augustinian burials provided sufficient information for at least one variable to be coded and quantitatively examined using SPSS. The following tables provide a breakdown of the burial samples for each site by period, age, sex and skeletal completeness.

La Charité

Thirty-seven burials (60% of those examined across all time periods) took place towards the end of the eleventh century through to the early thirteenth century and were located within the cemetery (Section 5.1.1). Nine individuals (14.5%) were interred within the monumental gallery between the early thirteenth to the early fifteenth century (Table 7.1).

Period	Number of burials
1: (Pre-Cluniac)	16
2: Mid-11th century-early 13th century (early Cluniac) (cemetery)	37
3: Early-13th century-early 15th century (later Cluniac) (gallery)	9
Total	**62**

Table 7.1: Breakdown of La Charité burials by period.

The age and sex data do not reflect a normal population (Billoin 2005: 77) and are arguably typical for the burial grounds of a monastic institution (Tables 7.2 and 7.3). Of the 25 individuals that could be assigned a sex, all were male or possibly male and no individuals within the discrete graves were aged younger than 'young adult'. The number of interments of unknown sex (24 in total) should, however, be considered. Applicable to each of the sites, all individuals regardless of age and sex have been included within the overall inter- and intra-site comparisons (see Section 6.2.1), but to control to some extent for non-monastics, only males (definite and possible males pooled) have been considered for certain assessments. The greatest number of individuals with unknown age and sex data derived from the pre-Cluniac period due to the high level of disturbance from subsequent intercutting.

Period	Young adult (16-25yrs)	Adult (26-45yrs)	Older adult (≥46yrs)	General adult (16-46yrs+)
1: Pre-Cluniac	0	4	0	12
2: Mid-11th century-early 13th century	0	13	4	19
3: Early 13th-early 15th century	0	7	1	1
Total	**1**	**24**	**5**	**32**

Table 7.2: Breakdown of La Charité burials by period and age.

Period	Male	Male?	UNK	Female?	Female
1: Pre-Cluniac	1	1	14	0	0
2: Mid-11th century-early 13th century	15	0	22	0	0
3: Early 13th-early 15th century	8	0	1	0	0
Total	**24**	**1**	**37**	**0**	**0**

Table 7.3: Breakdown of La Charité burials by period and sex. UNK = unknown.

Degree of skeletal completeness was variable due to heavy grave intercutting and construction of the thirteenth-century gallery, where inevitably the earliest burials were the most affected (Table 7.4). In contrast, eight of the nine gallery burials were complete.

Period	<25%	25-50%	50-75%	>75%
1: Pre-Cluniac	13	3		
2: Mid-11th century-early 13th century	16	3	2	16
3: Early 13th-early 15th century				9
Total	**29**	**6**	**2**	**25**

Table 7.4: Breakdown of La Charité burials by period and skeletal completeness.

Lewes Priory

Twenty-five burials were examined. Two of these had no skeletal remains due to their complete destruction by building works (burial 25) or deliberate emptying and possible translation of the body (burial 17). One burial could only be assigned to a broad date range and so has been classified as 'general Cluniac' (Period 4) (Table 7.5). This burial could be assessed as part of the broad inter-site analysis but was excluded from the intra-site phase comparisons. 52% of examined burials were pre-1200. Eleven individuals had been interred within the First Monastic Church prior to its demotion to the Infirmary Chapel. Only seven burials (possibly including the broadly phased interment) took place within this chapel in the later medieval period (1350 onwards), possibly reflecting a shift in favour, where spaces inside the Great Church were more valued.[55] The laying of the tile floor across the central nave in the mid-late thirteenth century (Lyne 1997: 29) could also have reduced the accessibility of certain locations for burial.

Period	Number of burials
2: 1081-1200	13
3: 1200-1538	11
4. General Cluniac	1
Total	**25**

Table 7.5: Breakdown of Lewes Priory burials by period.

Of the examinable burials, the age and sex data again point to the expected patterning for a monastic institution (Tables 7.6 and 7.7). However, documentary evidence attests to the burial of laypersons within this building (Section 5.2.1) and the large number (n=17) within the 'unknown' category for sex should be considered. There is only one individual under the age of 16, suggesting that this intra-mural zone was reserved predominantly for adults.

Period	Immature (11-15)	Young adult (16-25yrs)	Adult (26-45yrs)	Older adult (≥46yrs)	General adult (16-46yrs+)	UNK
2: 1081-1200	0	0	2	1	9	1
3: 1200-1538	1	1	0	1	6	2
4: General Cluniac	0	0	1	0	0	0
Total	**1**	**1**	**3**	**2**	**15**	**3**

Table 7.6: Breakdown of the Lewes Priory burials by period and age. UNK = unknown.

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[55] Dunvan's (1795) study of the Registers of Lewes Priory indicates that the chapter house and the space before the high altar in the Great Church were popular burial locations for noblemen and women.

Period	Mal	Male	UNK	Female?	Female
2: 1081-1200	4	0	9	0	0
3: 1200-1538	1	2	8	0	0
4: General Cluniac	1	0	0	0	0
Total	**6**	**2**	**17**	**0**	**0**

Table 7.7: Breakdown of the Lewes Priory burials by period and sex. UNK = unknown.

Table 7.8 indicates a high level of completeness for the majority of burials. Over half were represented by at least 50% of their skeletal remains, with the majority of these falling into the higher end of the range. The three burials in the <25% category were those destroyed by Cluniac-period building works, post-medieval construction or were removed and possibly re-interred elsewhere. The high number of more permanent burial structures (Section 7.3), together with the relatively limited use of this space, undoubtedly contributed to the overall high level of skeletal completeness.

Period	<25%	25-50%	50-75%	>75%	UNK
2: 1081-1200	2		7	3	1
3: 1200-1538	1	3	2	5	
4. General Cluniac			1		
Total	**3**	**3**	**10**	**8**	**1**

Table 7.8: Breakdown of the Lewes Priory burials by period and skeletal completeness. UNK = unknown.

Bermondsey Abbey

A total of 195 burials were examined, of which 37% date to the earlier Cluniac period and 58% to the later Cluniac period. 9 could not be assigned to either of the phases and have thus been classed as 'general Cluniac' (Table 7.9).

Period	Number of burials
2: 1100-1200 (early Cluniac)	73
3: 1200-1430 (later Cluniac)	113
4: General Cluniac (1050-1430)	9
Total	**195**

Table 7.9: Breakdown of Bermondsey burials by period.

The relative number of males and females, together with the overall age profile is arguably the expected for a monastic site (see Dyson *et al.* 2011: 130-131) (Tables 7.10 and 7.11). Only three possible females were recorded. Sixty-four percent were males or possible males. However, the

68 individuals who could not be assigned a sex must be considered. Only one individual below the age of 16 was recorded, indicating that the burial zones examined here were reserved predominantly for adults. Based on the age and sex profiles, Sloane (2002: 391) and Dyson *et al.* (2011) have proposed that this external burial zone was the monastic cemetery. However, if the three possible females are indeed females then this zone cannot have been reserved exclusively for the monks (see Section 6.2.1).

Period	Immature (11-15yrs)	Young adult (16-25yrs)	Adult (26-45yrs)	Older adult (≥46yrs)	General adult (16-46+)
2: 1100-1200	0	6	23	14	30
3: 1200-1430	1	13	38	19	42
4. General	0	2	4	1	2
Total	**1**	**21**	**65**	**34**	**74**

Table 7.10: Breakdown of Bermondsey burials by period and age.

Period	Male	Male?	UNK	Female?	Female
2: 1100-1200	39	9	23	2	0
3: 1200-1430	57	12	43	1	0
4: General Cluniac	6	1	2	0	0
Total	**102**	**22**	**68**	**3**	**0**

Table 7.11: Breakdown of Bermondsey Abbey burials by period and sex.

The highest number of burials fall within the >75% completeness category (Table 7.12). The 92 represented by less than 50% of their remains can be mostly attributed to the high degree of intercutting from subsequent burials, re-use of the cemetery space for rubbish pits (fifteenth century) and disturbance from modern building works.

Period	<25%	25-50%	50-75%	>75%
2: 1100-1200	13	27	12	20
3: 1200-1430	25	22	22	45
4: General Cluniac	3	2	3	1
Total	**41**	**51**	**37**	**66**

Table 7.12: Breakdown of Bermondsey burials by period and skeletal completeness.

Beaumont

In total 153 Augustinian and Cluniac burials were examined. The dating for the Cluniac period could not be refined beyond 'general Cluniac' (12th-15th centuries) and the available age estimates resulted in the adults being classed into broad groupings (Section 6.2.1) (Table 7.13)

Period	Number of burials
1: Pre-Cluniac (Augustinian) (10th-11th century)	68
4: General Cluniac (early 12th-15th century)	85
Total	**153**

Table 7.13: Breakdown of Beaumont burials by period.

For both phases, the number of women and non-adults indicates that demographically a more mixed population was interred within the burial zones in comparison to the other three sites (Tables 7.14 and 7.15). Twenty-one per cent of the entire sample across both time periods consisted of individuals younger than around 15 years of age. Males were more abundant in both periods, with roughly twice as many males to females, although the sex profile of those under the age of 15 is unknown. The large number classed within the 'unknown sex' category should also be taken into account given that a large proportion of these could be female (see Section 6.2.1).

Period	Infant (0-5)	Juvenile (6-10)	Immature (11-15)	General adult (16-46+)	UNK
1: Augustinian	13	5	1	49	0
4: General Cluniac	4	5	4	71	1
Total	**17**	**10**	**5**	**120**	**1**

Table 7.14: Breakdown of the Beaumont burials by period and age.

Period	Male	UNK	Female
1: Augustinian	23	31	14
4: General Cluniac	30	37	18
Total	**53**	**68**	**32**

Table 7.15: Breakdown of Beaumont burials by period and sex.

Overall, the level of completeness was good (Table 7.16). Of the 151 individuals for whom a percentage skeletal completeness could be assigned, 56% had over >75% of their bones remaining. Again, intercutting from subsequent burials and building works in the later Augustinian and Cluniac periods disturbed numerous burials.

Period	<25%	25-50%	50-75%	>75%	UNK
1: Augustinian	4	13	11	40	0
4: Cluniac	12	14	11	46	2
Total	**16**	**27**	**22**	**86**	**2**

Table 7.16: Breakdown of Beaumont burials by period and skeletal completeness. UNK = unknown.

7.1.1 Summary

A Fisher's Exact test indicated no significant differences between the demographic profiles for Beaumont's Augustinian and Cluniac phases: for the age and sex comparisons [n=152, p=0.073] and [n=153, p=0.975] were recorded, respectively. Tables 7.17 and 7.18 show significant inter-site differences in the age and sex profiles:

Site	Beaumont		La Charité		Bermondsey		Lewes	
	n	**p**	**n**	**p**	**n**	**p**	**n**	**p**
Beaumont	-	-	199	**<0.001**	348	**<0.001**	175	0.081
La Charité	-	-	-	-	241	1.000	68	0.324
Bermondsey					-	-	217	0.193

Table 7.17: Fisher's Exact tests comparing age profiles between sites (Augustinian and Cluniac period individuals from Beaumont are pooled and only Cluniac period individuals from La Charité are considered. Individual age categories are pooled to produce 'non-adult' and 'adult' groups).

Site	Beaumont		La Charité		Bermondsey		Lewes	
	n	**p**	**n**	**p**	**n**	**p**	**n**	**p**
Beaumont	-	-	200	**0.001**	349	**<0.001**	179	**0.010**
La Charité	-	-	-	-	241	0.196	71	0.211
Bermondsey					-	-	220	**0.006**

Table 7.18: Fisher's Exact tests comparing sex profiles between sites (Augustinian and Cluniac period individuals from Beaumont are pooled and only Cluniac period individuals from La Charité are considered).

For both age and sex profiles, Beaumont is significantly different from the other three sites, with the exception being Lewes for age (Table 7.17). A more mixed population was clearly interred within Beaumont's examined burial spaces for both periods of use. Overall, Bermondsey, La Charité and Lewes are more similar demographically, with a higher proportion of males and few recorded non-adults. The significant difference for sex between Bermondsey and Lewes

could be related to the large number classed as 'unknown' for Lewes (n=17 or 68%) compared with 35% (n=68) for Bermondsey.

A Fisher's Exact test did not show a significant difference in degree of skeletal completeness between Beaumont's Augustinian and Cluniac phases [n=150, p=0.490]. Inter-site significant differences are, however, apparent (Table 7.19 and Fig.7.1).

Site	Beaumont		La Charité		Bermondsey		Lewes	
	n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Beaumont	-	-	197	**<0.001**	346	**<0.001**	174	**0.017**
La Charité	-	-	-	-	241	**<0.001**	69	**<0.001**
Bermondsey					-	-	218	**0.048**

Table 7.19: Fisher's Exact tests comparing inter-site degree of skeletal completeness (Augustinian and Cluniac period individuals from Beaumont are pooled and only Cluniac period individuals from La Charité are considered).
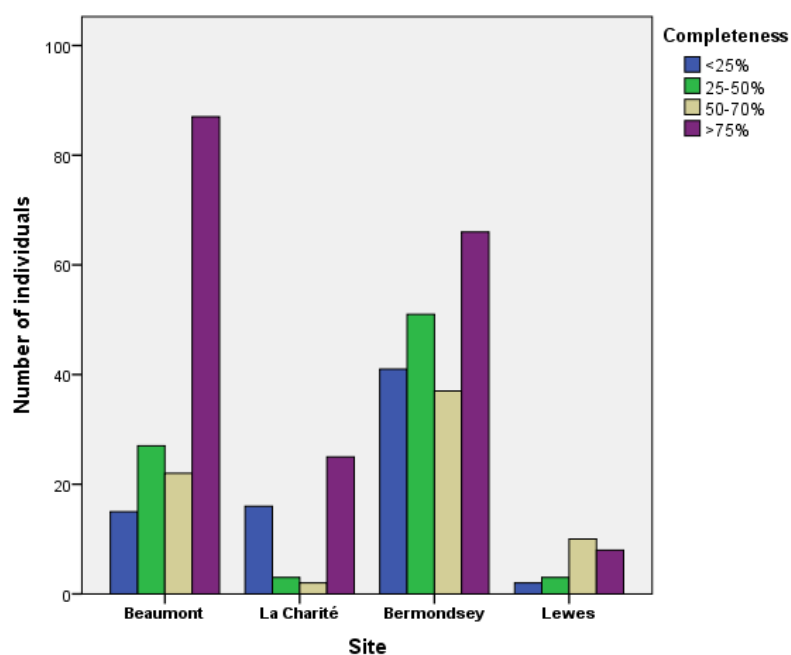
Figure 7.1: Inter-site comparison of the total number of individuals categorised within each of the four skeletal completeness categories (Augustinian and Cluniac period burials from Beaumont are pooled and only Cluniac period burials from La Charité are considered).

Overall, the burials from Beaumont exhibit the highest degree of completeness, with 57.6% (n=87) being represented by >75% of their skeletal remains. Although 54.3% (n=25) of burials from La Charité are also represented by >75%, a higher number (n=16 or 34.8%) fall within the

<25% category. The remains from Bermondsey and Lewes are more evenly distributed across the four categories. These skeletal completeness results contribute to a discussion on the treatment of disturbed remains post-burial (Section 7.4), but they should also be considered in terms of the results and discussions presented for burial variability. As Section 6.2.1 briefly highlighted, poor skeletal completeness (which generally also denoted an incomplete grave), resulted in a reduction of the examinable sample for certain variables. Caution must therefore be taken when considering how representative certain funerary practices are of the norm for the examined funerary zones.

7.2 The liminal rites: preparation of the body

This section examines the variables associated with the preparation of the body. As discussed in Section 3.5, the Cluniac customaries prescribe a joining of the upper limbs over the chest, sewing together of the burial slippers and a wrapping of the body. To examine the extent to which this procedure may have been adhered to, limb positions are examined independently (forearm, lower limb and foot positioning). This is followed by an assessment of the nature of body preparation. For both parts, the analysis begins with an overall inter-site comparison of variables followed by intra-site phase analyses.

7.2.1 Limb positions

Forearm positions: overall comparison between sites for the Cluniac period

A total of 204 Cluniac period individuals (58% of the Cluniac sample) could be scored for positions of both forearms. Pooling all phase, age and sex category data for an overall inter-site comparison of samples, a Fisher's Exact test indicated that there was a highly statistically significant difference [n=204, p=<0.001] (Fig.7.2). To control to some extent for non-monastics, males (including possible males) were examined; the inter-site differences were still highly significant [n=148, p=<0.001].

Figure 7.2: Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period individuals exhibiting the different forearm positions (left and right forearms combined to produce two digit codes) (all phase, age and sex category data included). Below details the individual codes for each forearm position presented above.

Key: L = left forearm; R = right forearm; 1 = alongside body; 2 = over pelvis uncrossed; 3 = over pelvis crossed; 4 = over pelvis crossing unknown; 5 = right angles over abdomen; 6 = over chest uncrossed; 7 = over chest crossed; 8 = over chest crossing unknown; 9 = touching corresponding shoulder.

Excluding all forearms within the 'crossing unknown' category, La Charité exhibited the least variation, where 58.3 % (n=14) of individuals had their forearms positioned at roughly right angles together over the abdominal region (code '55'), compared with 35% (n=21) at Beaumont, 12.1% (n=13) at Bermondsey and 8% (n=1) at Lewes. At both English sites, the category with the highest overall percentage of individuals was '33' (forearms more loosely flexed and crossed over the pelvic region), with 39.3% (n=42) (Bermondsey) and 46.2% (n=6) (Lewes) of individuals. No individuals from La Charité scored code '1' for either forearm (positioned alongside body). This is in stark contrast to Bermondsey and Beaumont where 19.6% (n=21) and 10% (n=6), respectively, scored '1' for one or both forearms. Differences in sample sizes considered, La Charité nonetheless exhibited a greater degree of uniformity (Fig.7.2), with only 17% (n=4) of individuals exhibiting asymmetry in forearm positioning, compared with 28% (n=17) at Beaumont and 23% (n=25) at Bermondsey. Seventy-nine per cent (n=19) of recordable individuals from La Charité had their

forearms crossed or positioned together. This is in contrast to 70% (n=7) at Lewes, 57% (n=60) at Bermondsey and 59% (n=34) at Beaumont (Figs.7.3 and 7.4).

Figure 7.3: Examples of forearm positions in individuals from La Charité. **From left to right:** burials 157, 168, 171, 180, 185 and 212.

Figure 7.4: Examples of forearm positions in individuals from Bermondsey Abbey. **From left to right:** burials 49, 111, 123, 162 and 168.

Breaking down the analysis further to a direct site-by-site comparison, Fisher's Exact tests did not show a significant difference in forearm positions between French sites or between English sites for the Cluniac period. Significant differences were observed, however, when comparing French and English sites (Table 7.20). This is likely related to a large proportion of individuals at both French sites scoring position '55' (forearms positioned together at right angles over the abdomen). In contrast to La Charité and Beaumont, position '33' (forearms crossed over the pelvis) is more prevalent at both English sites (Fig.7.2).

Site	Beaumont		La Charité		Bermondsey		Lewes	
	n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Beaumont	-	-	86	0.331	167	**<0.001**	73	**0.002**
La Charité	-	-	-	-	131	**<0.001**	37	**0.002**
Bermondsey					-	-	120	0.235

Table 7.20: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Cluniac period individuals exhibiting the different forearm positions between sites (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Forearm positions: intra-site analysis by phase

La Charité, Lewes and Bermondsey

Fisher's Exact tests indicated no significant differences in forearm positions between the earlier and later phases at either Lewes [n=12, p=0.880] or Bermondsey [n=103, p=0.721] when all age and sex category data were included. For both English sites, position '33' (forearms crossed over the pelvis) recorded the highest number of individuals in both phases, but a range of different positions were also noted. Comparing just the Bermondsey males between phases (Fig.7.5), whereas position '11' was recorded for 5.6% of the sample (n=2) in the earlier phase, this had risen to 10.7 % (n=6) in the later. Position '55' was recorded for 19.4% (n=7) of the sample from the earlier phase compared with 7.1% (n=4) for the later. Finally, whereas 61% (n=27) of males had their forearms crossed/folded together in the earlier phase, this had dropped to 50% (n=22) in the later. Although slight differences were observable, a Fisher's Exact test did not indicate a significant difference by phase when considering only males (including possible males) [n=92, p=0.464] (Fig.7.5); a variety of positions were in existence with a low prevalence of hands/forearms being arranged over the torso.
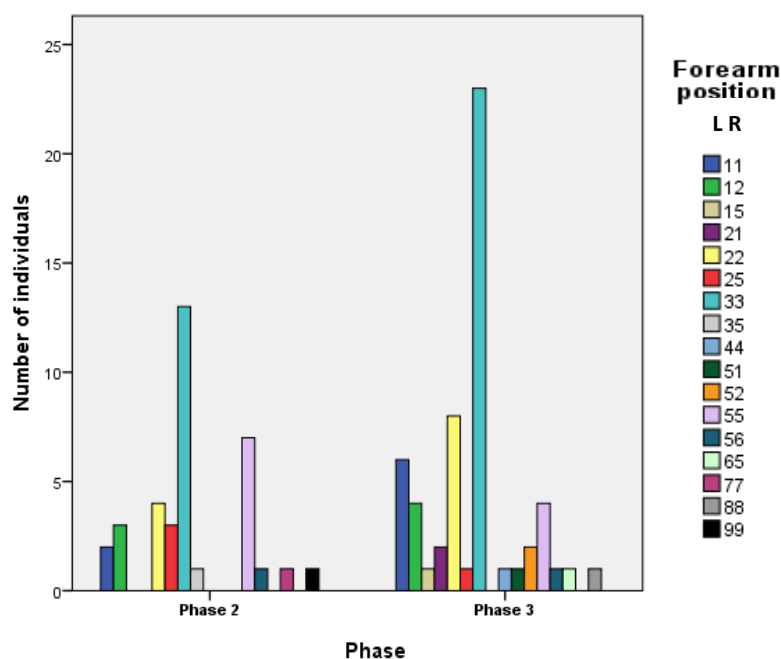
Figure 7.5: Number of males from Bermondsey exhibiting the different forearm positions between phase 2 (early Cluniac) and phase 3 (later Cluniac) (possible males pooled with males). Below details the individual codes for each forearm position presented above.

Key: L = left forearm; r = right forearm; 1 = alongside body; 2 = over pelvis uncrossed; 3 = over pelvis crossed; 4 = over pelvis crossing unknown; 5 = right angles over abdomen; 6 = over chest uncrossed; 7 = over chest crossed; 8 = over chest crossing unknown; 9 = touching corresponding shoulder.

For La Charité, a Fisher's Exact test showed a significant difference in forearm positioning between the early and later phases [n=24, p=0.021]. In the early phase, position '55' (forearms together, folded over the abdomen) dominated (n=11 or 73.3% of individuals). In the later phase, positions '33' (n=3 or 33.3%) and '55' (n=3 or 33.3%) were equal in number.

Beaumont-sur-Oise

Augustinian and Cluniac period forearm positions were compared. A Fisher's Exact test indicated that, overall, there was not a significant difference between sexes ('unknown' category excluded) for the Cluniac phase [n=43, p=0.275]; position '55' recorded the highest number of individuals (38.5% for the males, 41.2% for the females). These results are roughly comparable to those from the Augustinian phase, where a Fisher's Exact test also indicated no significant difference between males and females [n=31, p=0.315]. Position '55' again recorded the highest number of individuals (n=6 or 30% for the males and n=4 or 36.4% for the females), but in contrast to the Cluniac phase, it was not so marked (Fig.7.6). A higher percentage of male individuals (n=8 or 40%) from the Augustinian phase had their forearms loosely flexed (crossed or uncrossed) over the pelvic region (positions '22' and '33'), compared with 19% (n=5) from the Cluniac phase (Fig.7.6); the latter exhibited a greater number of individuals (n=8 or 38%), compared to none from the Augustinian period with their forearms crossed over the chest region.
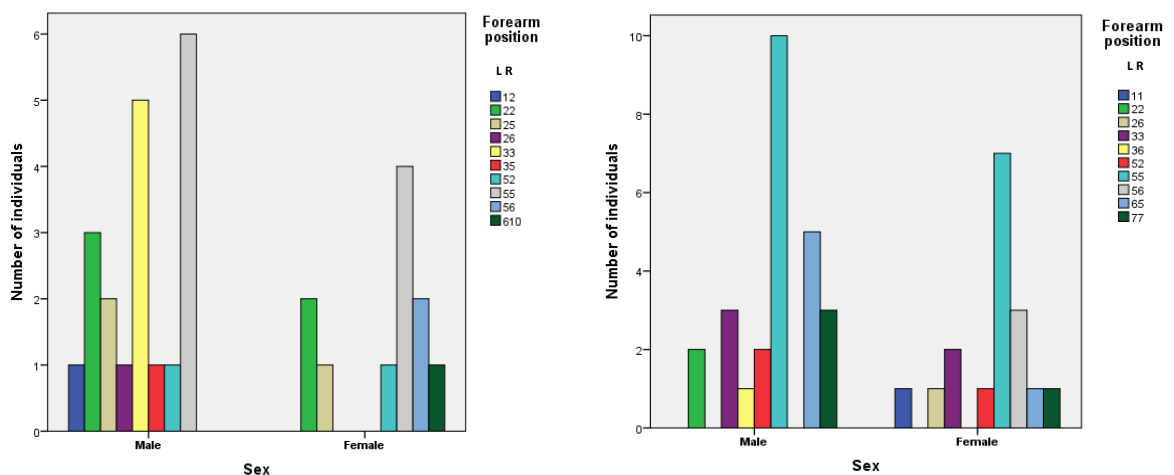
Figure 7.6: (left) Number of male and female individuals from Augustinian and **(right)** Cluniac period Beaumont exhibiting the different forearm positions. Below details the individual codes for each forearm position presented above.

Key: L = left forearm; R = right forearm; 1 = alongside body; 2 = over pelvis uncrossed; 3 = over pelvis crossed; 4 = over pelvis crossing unknown; 5 = right angles over abdomen; 6 = over chest uncrossed; 7 = over chest crossed; 8 = over chest crossing unknown; 9 = touching corresponding shoulder; 10 = other

Significant differences were apparent when considering forearm positioning by age. Comparing Cluniac adults (pooling all sex category data) with non-adults, a Fisher's Exact test indicated a significant difference [n=60, p=0.025] (Fig.7.7, right). This was even more marked when pooling the three non-adult age categories [n=60, p=0.010]. For the Cluniac phase, whereas position '55' recorded the highest percentage of adult individuals, all four non-adults within the infant and juvenile categories had both forearms positioned alongside the body – a position that was not recorded in the 'immature' (11-15 years) category. This pattern is similar to that of the Augustinian phase (Fig.7.7, left). Only individuals within the immature and juvenile age categories had their forearms in position '11', implying a different form of body preparation and/or arrangement in the grave in comparison to the adults [n=42, p=0.001] (when pooling the three non-adult age categories).
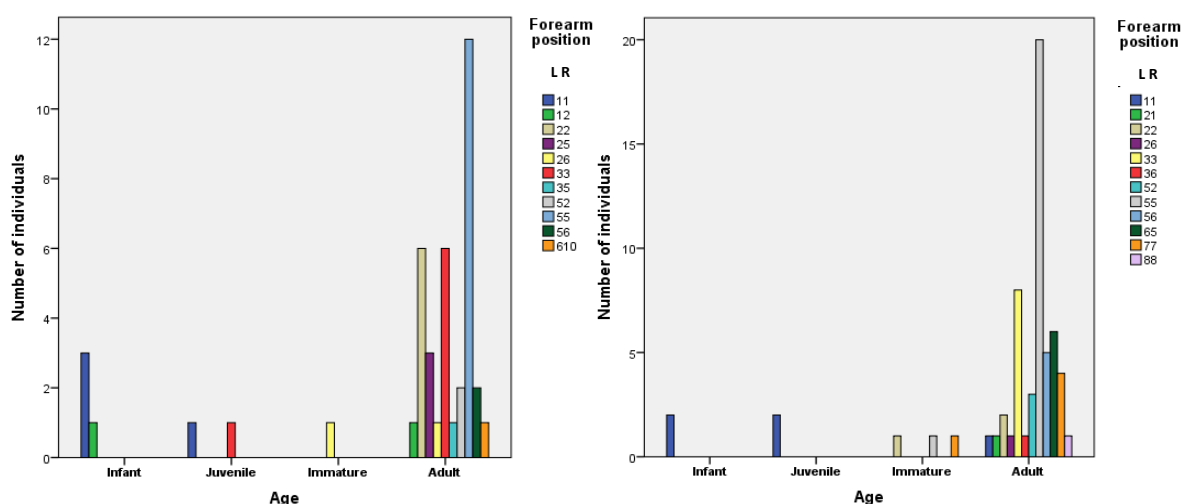
Figure 7.7: (left) Number of Augustinian period adults and non-adults and **(right)** Cluniac period adults and non-adults exhibiting the different body preparation types.

Key: L = left forearm; R = right forearm; 1 = alongside body; 2 = over pelvis uncrossed; 3 = over pelvis crossed; 4 = over pelvis crossing unknown; 5 = right angles over abdomen; 6 = over chest uncrossed; 7 = over chest crossed; 8 = over chest crossing unknown; 9 = touching corresponding shoulder; 10 = other.

Finally, when comparing forearm positioning between the Augustinian and Cluniac period males and females, Fisher's Exact tests recorded no strongly significant differences (Table 7.21).

Period / sex	Cluniac males		Cluniac females	
	n	p	n	p
Augustinian males	46	0.065	37	0.151
Augustinian females	37	0.065	28	0.612

Table 7.21: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of individuals exhibiting the different forearm positions between Augustinian and Cluniac males and females.

However, when including the 'unknown' sex category to compare Augustinian and Cluniac adults generally, there was a significant difference [n=87, p=0.037]. This appeared to be related to a greater prevalence of Cluniac phase adults with their forearms crossed or together (n=32 or 63%) and relatively few with their forearms more loosely flexed, uncrossed or asymmetrically positioned over the pelvic region/side of the body (codes '1' and '2') (n=8 or 15%). This is in contrast to the Augustinian phase where (n=18 or 51%) and (n=13 or 35%) were recorded respectively. Finally, there were no significant differences between earlier and later phase non-adults [n=14, p=1.000]. The most prevalent forearm position for both Augustinian and Cluniac infants and juveniles was to have one or both alongside the body, whereas for the immature individuals (11-15 years), the forearms crossed over the body in a range of positions was more common (Fig.7.7). The majority of non-adults decomposed in 'filled spaces' (Section 7.3.2.1), thus discounting substantial movement of upper limbs during decomposition.

Lower limb positions: overall comparison between sites for the Cluniac period

A total of 174 Cluniac period individuals (50% of the Cluniac sample) could be assessed for overall lower limb proximity and 180 individuals for foot proximity (51% of the sample). A Fisher's Exact test recorded a significant inter-site difference in lower limb positions when including all phase, age and sex category data [n=174, p=0.005]. This was also the case when considering foot positions only [n=180, p=<0.001]. These results are presented in Figures 7.8 and 7.9.

Figure 7.8: Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period individuals exhibiting the different lower limb positions (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Key: 1 = Knees, ankles, toes in contact (≤5cm apart); 2 = Knees, ankles, toes apart but parallel (>5cm apart); 3 = Knees and ankles in contact (≤5cm), toes apart (out-turned); 4 = Knees together (≤5cm), ankles apart and toes together (≤5cm); 5 = Knees together but ankles toes apart (>5cm); 6 = knees and ankles apart (>5cm) but toes together (plantarflexed); 7 = knees apart (>5cm), ankles and toes together (≤5cm); 8 = Lower limbs staggered.
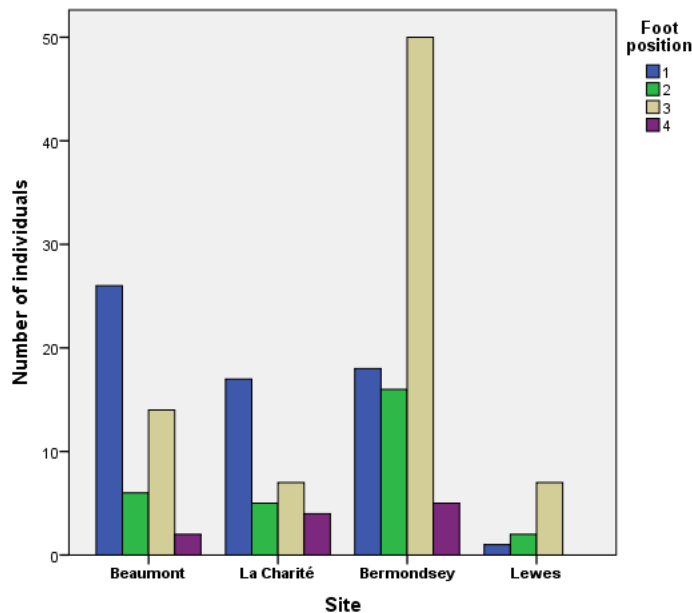
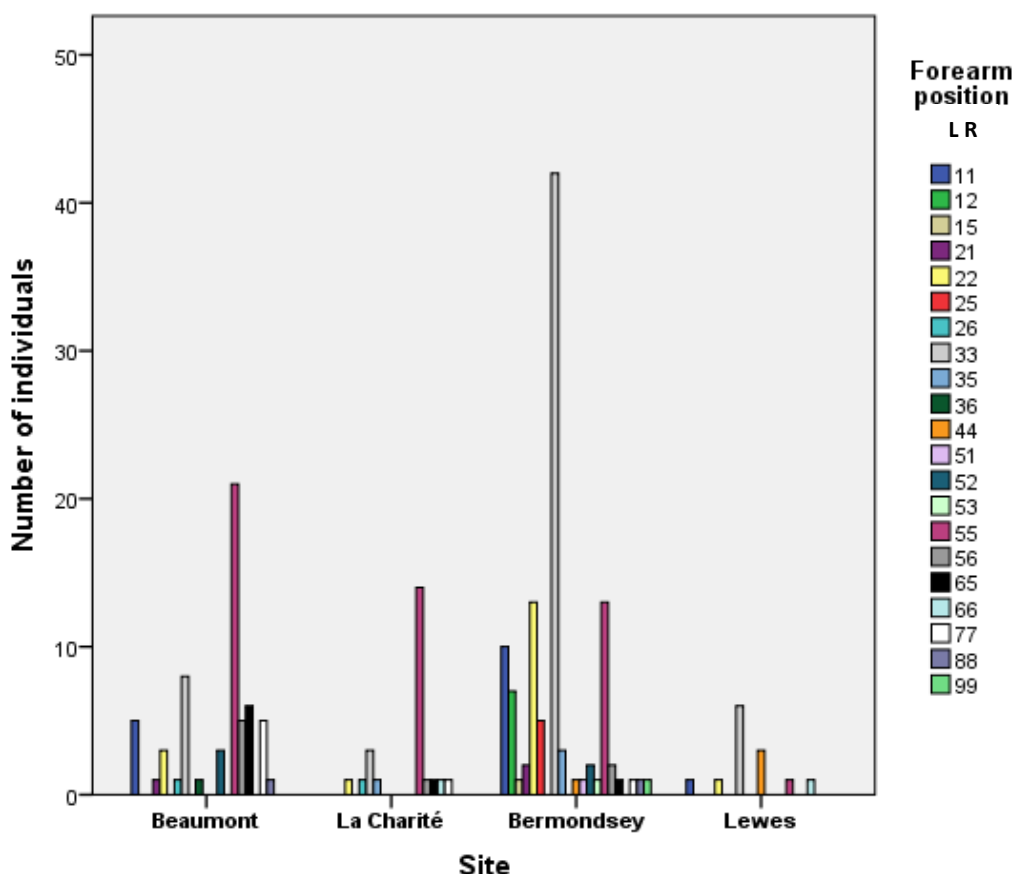**Figure 7.9:** Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period individuals exhibiting the different foot positions (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Key: 1 = Feet together/co-mingled; 2 = Feet close (≤5cm apart) but distinct; 3 = Feet apart (>5cm); 4 = Mainly distal ends of toes touching (plantarflexed).

When just considering Cluniac males (definite and possible male data pooled) between sites, a Fisher's Exact test also indicated significant differences for lower limb [n=103, p=0.005] and foot positions [n=106, p=0.007]. Overall, the differences are striking and correspond well to those of the forearm positions. Conforming to the *Ulr* and *Bern's* prescriptions, Beaumont and La Charité exhibited a strong tendency for the knees, ankles and feet to be in strict connection or code '1', where (n=25 or 51%) and (n=21 or 65.6%) were scored, respectively, and for the feet to either be in strict connection or resting close (≤5cm apart) or codes '1' and '2' (n=32 or 66.7%) and (n=22 or 66.7%). This differed for the English sites. Twenty-four per cent (n=20) and 20% (n=2) of individuals from Bermondsey and Lewes respectively scored code '1' for lower limb proximity. Only 38% (n=34) of individuals from Bermondsey and 30% (n=3) from Lewes had their feet either in strict connection or close (≤5cm apart). Fifty-six per cent of individuals from Bermondsey had their feet positioned distinctly apart (code '3') compared with 70% (n=7) from Lewes, 29% (n=14) from Beaumont and 21% (n=7) from La Charité (Fig.7.10).
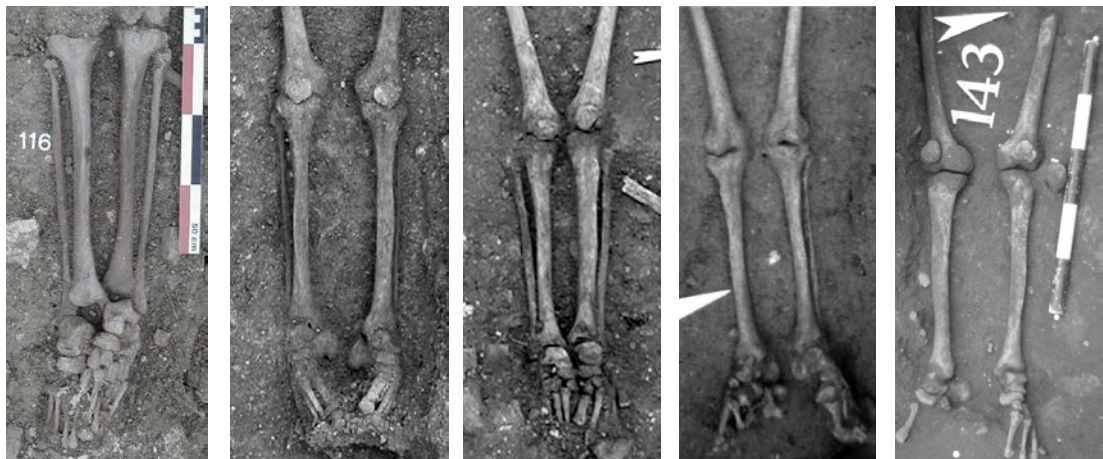
Figure 7.10: Examples of lower limb and foot positions in individuals from La Charité and Bermondsey Abbey. **From left to right:** burials 116, 168 and 185 (La Charité) and 109 and 143 (Bermondsey).

Breaking down the analysis further to a direct site-by-site comparison, Fisher's Exact tests did not show a significant difference in the number of individuals exhibiting the different lower limb or foot positions between French sites, nor did it show differences between English sites (Tables 7.22 and 7.23) (all phase, age and sex category data included). Similarly to forearm positions, significant differences, however, were observable between French and English sites:

Site	Beaumont		La Charité		Bermondsey		Lewes	
	n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Beaumont	-	-	84	0.798	132	**0.028**	59	0.207
La Charité	-	-	-	-	118	**<0.001**	45	**0.012**
Bermondsey					-	-	93	0.470

Table 7.22: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Cluniac period individuals exhibiting each lower limb position between sites (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Site	Beaumont		La Charité		Bermondsey		Lewes	
	n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Beaumont	-	-	84	0.495	137	**0.001**	58	**0.037**
La Charité	-	-	-	-	125	**<0.001**	46	**0.009**
Bermondsey					-	-	99	0.886

Table 7.23: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Cluniac period individuals exhibiting each foot position between sites (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Lower limb and foot positions: intra-site analysis by phase

La Charité, Lewes and Bermondsey

For La Charité, Fisher's Exact tests recorded no significant inter-phase differences in lower limb [n=32, p=0.779] or foot positions [n=33, p=0.335], where the most prevalent position was code '1' within the earlier (n=14 or 58.3%) and later phases (n=7 or 87.5%).

Fisher's Exact tests also recorded no significant inter-phase differences in lower limb or foot positions at either Bermondsey [n=83, p=0.758] and [n=88, p=0.830] or Lewes [n=10, p=0.579] and [n=10, p=0.653]. At both English sites, for both phases, a strict connection of knees, ankles and feet (code '1') was not common.

Beaumont-sur-Oise

A Fisher's Exact test indicated that there were no significant differences in lower limb or foot positions between males and females for the Augustinian [n=26, p=0.080] and [n=27, p=0.358], or Cluniac period [n=33, p=0.662] and [n=34, p=0.765] (Figs.7.11 and 7.12). Some trends are, however, discernible.

Figure 7.11: (left) Number of Augustinian period males and females and **(right)** Cluniac period males and females exhibiting the different lower limb positions (proximity of knees, ankles and feet).

Key: 1 = Knees, ankles toes in contact (≤5cm apart); 2 = Knees, ankles, toes apart but parallel (>5cm apart); 3 = Knees and ankles in contact (≤5cm), toes apart (out-turned); 4 = Knees together (≤5cm), ankles apart and toes together (≤5cm); 5 = Knees together but ankles toes apart (>5cm); 6 = knees and ankles apart (>5cm) but toes together (plantarflexed); 7 = knees apart (>5cm), ankles and toes together (≤5cm); 8 = Lower limbs staggered.

Whereas lower limb position code '1' was prevalent in the Cluniac males (n=12 or 52.2%) and females (n=7 or 70%) (Fig.7.11, right), which is also reflected in the foot position (Fig.7.12, right), the Augustinian female positions were in contrast to that of the corresponding males; code '1' for lower limb positioning was not recorded and only one female (12.5%) scored code '1' for foot position.
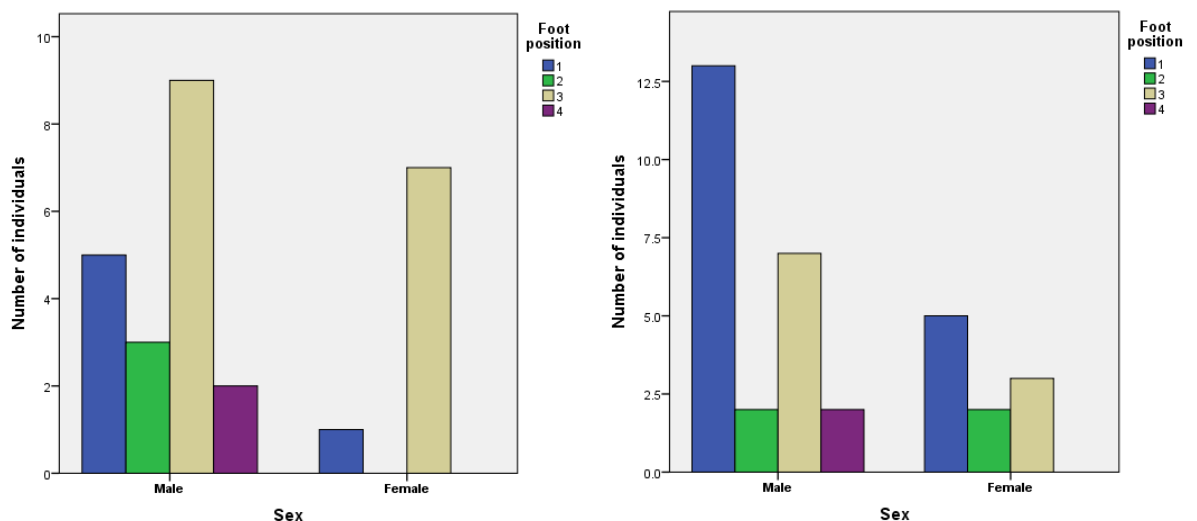
Figure 7.12: (left) Number of Augustinian period males and females and **(right)** Cluniac period males and females exhibiting the different foot positions.

Key: 1 = Feet together/co-mingled; 2 = Feet close (≤5cm apart) but distinct; 3 = Feet apart (>5cm); 4 = Mainly distal ends of toes touching (plantarflexed).

When the feet only were considered, the Augustinian period males and females did not show a strong tendency for a close proximity between the two (codes '1' and '2') (Fig.7.12, left).

There were also no significant differences when comparing lower limb and foot positions between adult and non-adult age groups (non-adult age categories combined) within each phase. For the Augustinian period, a comparison of lower limb [n=39, p=0.545] and foot positions [n=41, p=0.223] showed no significant differences. For the Cluniac period, no significant relationships and were found for lower limb [n=47, p=0.445] or foot positions [n=48, p=0.579] (see below).

When comparing Augustinian and Cluniac period individuals (all age and sex category data included), a Fisher's Exact test indicated no significant differences in either lower limb [n=88, p=0.229] or foot positions [n=89, p=0.158]. When breaking the sample down by sex and pooling foot position codes 1 and 2 into a general 'feet close or ≤5cm apart', some interesting results are apparent (Tables 7.24 and 7.25).

Period/sex	Cluniac males		Cluniac females	
	n	p	n	p
Augustinian males	41	0.394	28	0.401
Augustinian females	31	**0.003**	18	**0.007**

Table 7.24: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Augustinian and Cluniac period males and females exhibiting the different lower limb positions.

Period/sex	Cluniac males		Cluniac females	
	n	p	n	p
Augustinian males	43	0.356	29	0.384
Augustinian females	32	**0.042**	18	**0.025**

Table 7.25: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Augustinian and Cluniac period males and females exhibiting the different foot positions.

There were no significant differences between the Augustinian and Cluniac males for either lower limb or foot positions (Tables 7.24 and 7.25). The significant differences between the Augustinian and Cluniac females could be a result of no individuals in the earlier phase recording code '1' for lower limb positioning and significantly more scoring code '3' than code '1' for foot positioning. There appears to be a transition in the Cluniac period for the lower limbs and feet to be in close proximity for both sexes (Figs.7.13 and 7.14). The significant difference between Augustinian females and Cluniac males for both lower limb and foot positions could again be related to the high number of Cluniac males scoring code '1' for lower limb (n=12 or 53%) and foot positioning

(n=15 or 62.5%) – a percentage difference which was not so marked between the Augustinian and Cluniac males.

Finally, when comparing lower limb and foot positioning between Augustinian and Cluniac non-adults there were no significant differences [n=19, p=1.000 and n=15, p=1.000] (Figs.7.13 and 7.14). This could be a result of small sample sizes. It was noticeable, however, that there was a tendency for the feet to be in strict connection or close (code '1' and '2') (n=6 or 75% for the Augustinians and n=5 or 71% for the Cluniacs). However, these numbers are small and a range of lower limb and foot positions were also noted.
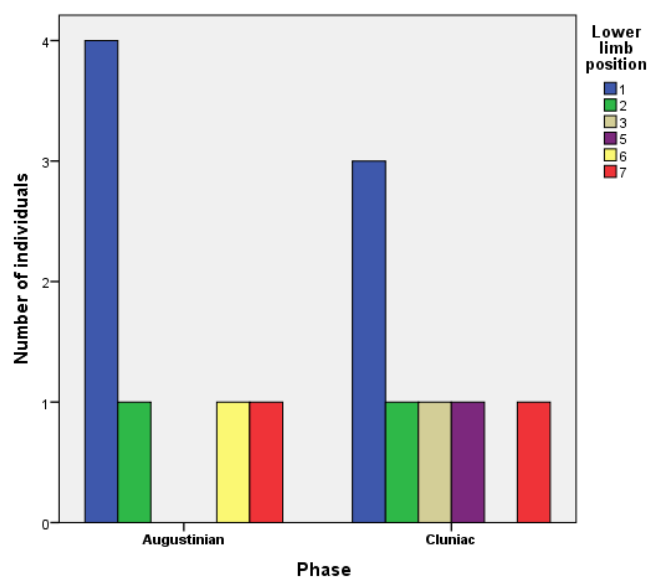
Figure 7.13: Number of non-adults from Augustinian and Cluniac period Beaumont exhibiting the different lower limb positions (proximity of knees, ankles and feet) (all non-adult age category data included).

Key: 1 = Knees, ankles toes in contact (≤5cm apart); 2 = Knees, ankles, toes apart but parallel (>5cm apart); 3 = Knees and ankles in contact (≤5cm), toes apart (out-turned); 5 = Knees together but ankles toes apart (>5cm); 6 = knees and ankles apart (>5cm) but toes together (plantarflexed); 7 = knees apart (>5cm), ankles and toes together (≤5cm).
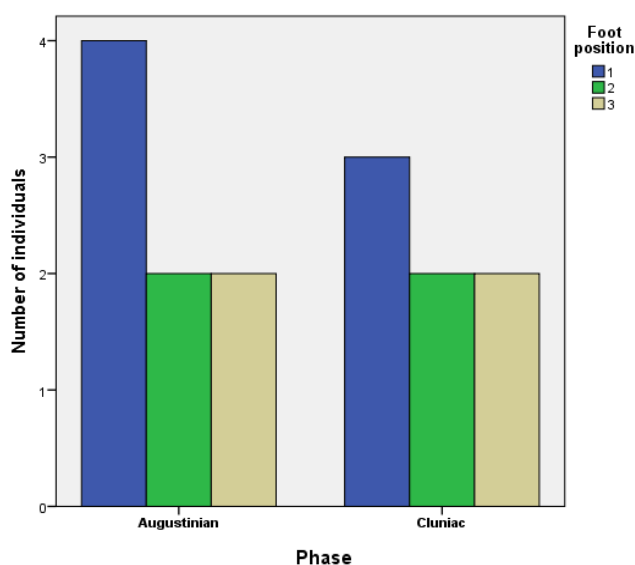
Figure 7.14: Number of non-adults from Augustinian and Cluniac period Beaumont exhibiting the different foot positions (all non-adult age category data included).

Key: 1 = Feet together/co-mingled or feet close (≤5cm apart) but distinct; 3 = Feet apart (>5cm)

7.2.2 Nature of body preparation

Nature of body preparation: overall comparison between sites for the Cluniac period

A total of 187 (43%) of Cluniac period individuals could be assessed for the nature of body preparation. A Fisher's Exact test showed a significant difference between sites in the total number of individuals exhibiting the different preparation types (all phase, age and sex category data included) [n=186, p=0.007] (Fig.7.15). When analysing only males (pooling possible males with males) (n=128), there was also a significant difference between sites for the Cluniac period [n=128, p=0.002].
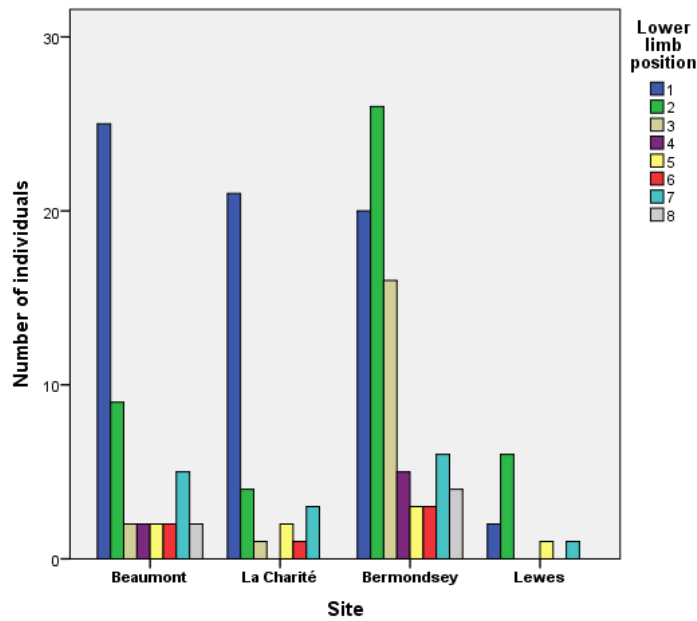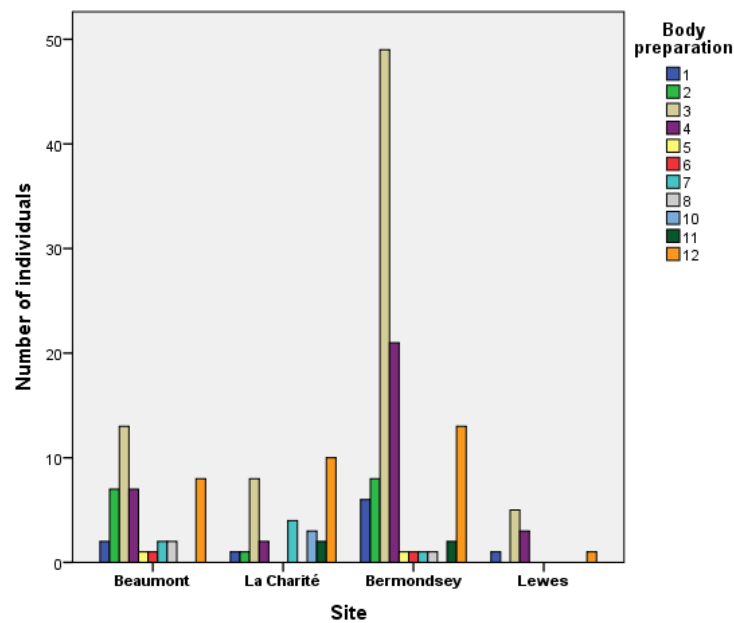
Figure 7.15: Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period individuals exhibiting the different body preparation types (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Key: 1 = clothed; 2 = possible clothed; 3 = clothed and/or loosely wrapped; 4 = possible clothed and/or loosely wrapped; 5 = clothed AND wrapped; 6 = possible clothed AND wrapped; 7 = tight wrapping; 8 = possible tight wrapping; 10 = possible loose wrapping; 11 = wrapping; 12 = possible wrapping

When including individuals scored as 'possible' for each body preparation type with those scored as definite (see Appendix 4), and pooling all of the wrapping types (tight, loose and general wrapping), a Fisher's Exact test still showed a significant inter-site difference [n=186, p=<0.001] (Fig.7.16).
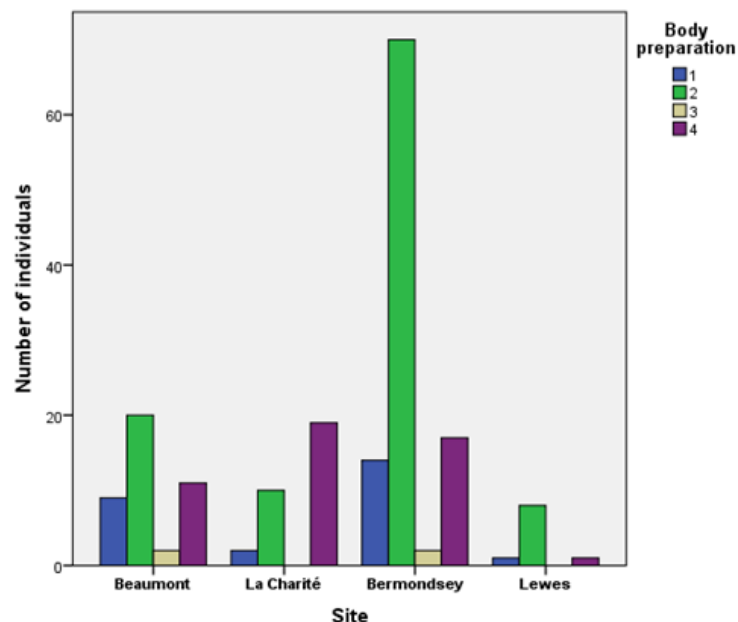
Figure 7.16: Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period individuals exhibiting the different body preparation types ('possible' and conclusive categories pooled) (all phase, age and sex category data included)

Key: 1 = clothed; 2 = clothed and/or loosely wrapped; 3 = clothed AND wrapped; 4 = wrapped

Whilst 61.3% (n=19) of burials from La Charité were recorded as 'wrapped' (combining all wrapping categories) (Fig.7.16) and 13% (n=4) as 'tightly wrapped' (Fig.7.15), this was in contrast to the other three sites. 26.2% (n=11), 16.5% (n=17) and 10% (n=1) of individuals at Cluniac Beaumont, Bermondsey and Lewes, respectively, were placed within the pooled 'wrapped' category. Sixty-nine per cent (n=29), 82% (n=84) and 90% (n=9) of individuals at these three sites were instead classed as 'clothed' or 'clothed and/or loosely wrapped', in contrast to 39% (n=12) at La Charité. This corresponds to the limb positioning, where those from Bermondsey and Lewes recorded a greater prevalence of individuals with feet and ankles apart, forearms positioned asymmetrically, loosely flexed and/or uncrossed, or resting alongside the body with no evidence for constrictions along the skeleton.

Breaking down the analysis further to a direct site-by-site comparison for the Cluniac period only, Fisher's Exact tests did show a significant difference in body preparation (when all individuals classed as 'possible' for body preparation categories are included with the definite cases) between French sites (phase, age and sex category data included) (Table 7.26). No significant differences were recorded between English sites or between Beaumont and Bermondsey. Again, La Charité exhibited a strong degree of difference with Bermondsey and Lewes, when all phase, age and sex category data was included.

Site	Beaumont		La Charité		Bermondsey		Lewes	
	n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Beaumont	-	-	73	**0.013**	145	0.098	52	0.398
La Charité	-	-	-	-	134	**<0.001**	41	**0.012**
Bermondsey					-	-	113	1.000

Table 7.26: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the different body preparation types between sites (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Nature of body preparation: intra-site analysis by phase

La Charité, Lewes and Bermondsey

A Fisher's Exact test showed that there was a statistically significant difference in body preparation between the earlier and later Cluniac phases at Bermondsey [n=99, p=0.017] (Fig.7.17, left). In the earlier phase, 2.8% (n=1) of individuals were classed as clothed, 77.8% (n=28) were clothed and/or loosely wrapped and only 13.9% (n=5) were wrapped. In the later phase 19% were clothed (n=12), 61.9% (n=39) were clothed and/or loosely wrapped and 19% (n=12) were wrapped.
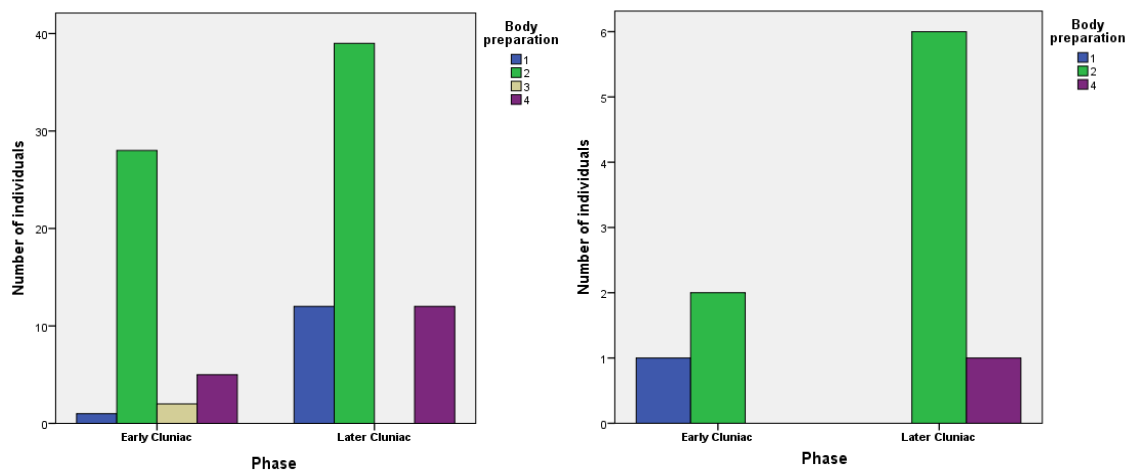
Figure 7.17: (left) Number of individuals exhibiting the different body preparation types by phase from Bermondsey and **(right)** Lewes (all age and sex category data included).

Key: 1 = clothed; 2 = clothed and/or loosely wrapped; 3 = clothed AND wrapped; 4 = wrapped.

No significant inter-phase differences were recorded for either Lewes [n=10, p=0.532] (Fig.7.17, right) or La Charité [n=31, p=0.163] (Fig.7.18). However, for La Charité's later Cluniac phase (gallery burials), a greater percentage of wrapped individuals was recorded with 88.9% (n=8), compared with 50% (n=11) in the earlier phase. 'Clothed' and 'clothed and/or wrapped' burials were more prevalent in this earlier phase (Fig.7.18).
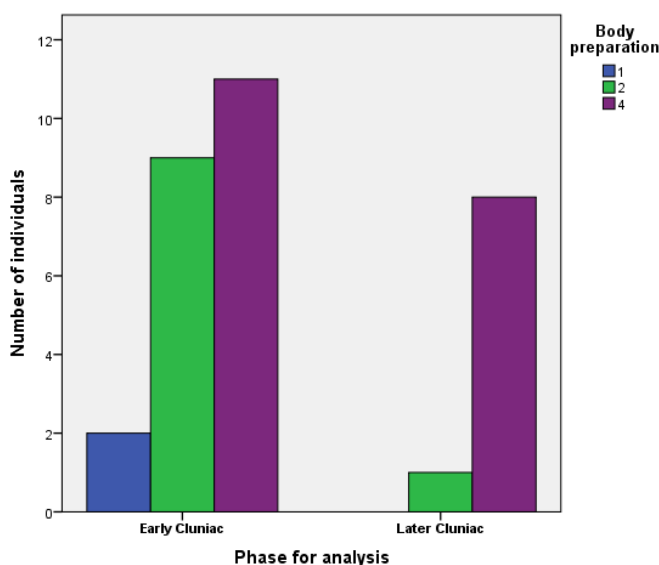
Figure 7.18: Number of individuals exhibiting the different body preparation types by phase from La Charité (all age and sex category data included).

Key: 1 = clothed; 2 = clothed and/or loosely wrapped; 3 = clothed AND wrapped; 4 = wrapped

Beaumont

For Beaumont, a Fisher's Exact test indicated that there were no significant differences in body preparation types between sexes for the Augustinian [n=32, p=0.231] or for the Cluniac period [n=29, p=0.452]. 86% (n=18) and 91% (n=10) of Augustinian phase males and females, respectively, were classed as 'clothed' or 'clothed and/or loosely wrapped' (Fig.7.19, left). Few exhibited strong evidence for constrictions along the body suggestive of wrapping, certainly not to the degree possibly indicated in the *Bern*. For the Cluniac phase, no one type of body preparation dominated for either sex, suggesting a range of possible preparation types were in use.
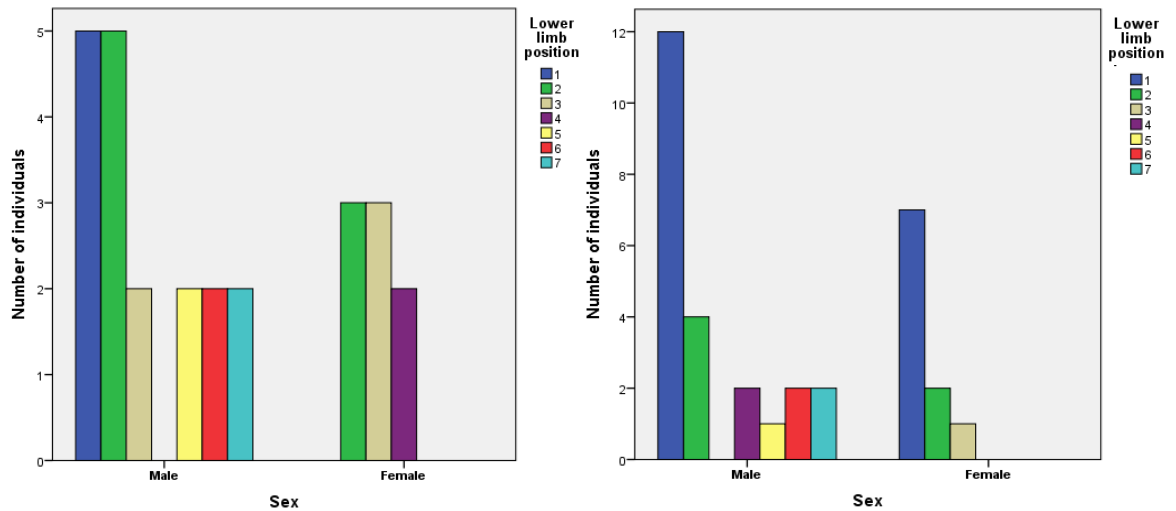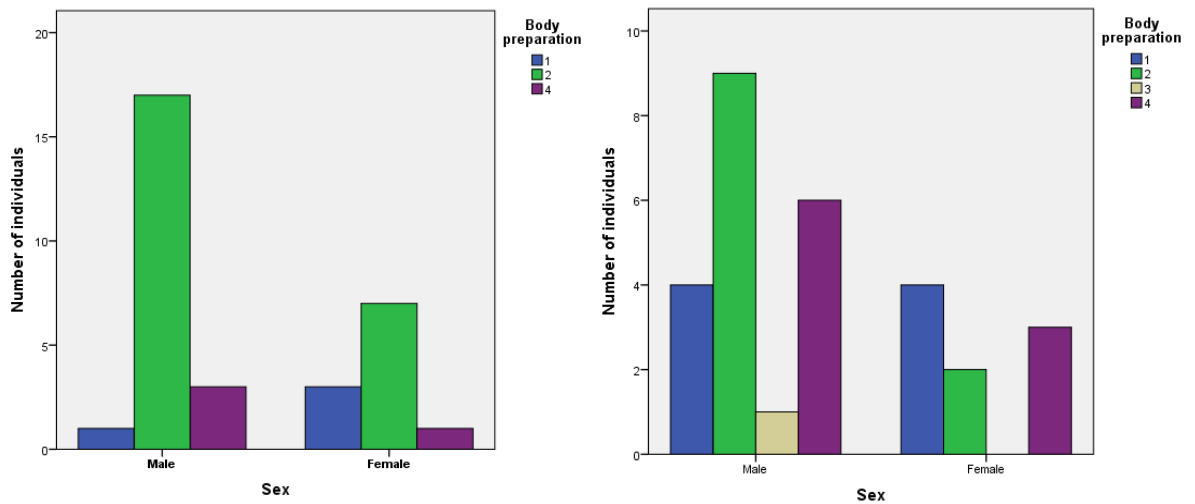
Figure 7.19: (left) Number of Augustinian period males and females and **(right)** Cluniac period males and females exhibiting the different body preparation types

Key: 1 = clothed; 2 = clothed and/or loosely wrapped; 3 = clothed AND wrapped; 4 = wrapped

There was no significant difference in body preparation between age groups within the Augustinian sample [n=47, p=0.634] (Fig.7.20, left) but there was for the Cluniac sample [n=42, p=0.012] (Fig.7.20, right).

Figure 7.20: (left) Number of Augustinian period adults and non-adults and **(right)** Cluniac period adults and non-adults exhibiting the different body preparation types

Key: 1 = clothed; 2 = clothed and/or loosely wrapped; 3 = clothed AND wrapped; 4 = wrapped

All eight non-adults within the Cluniac phase were classed under the category 'clothed and/or loosely wrapped'. This was in contrast to the Augustinian phase, where the non-adults were afforded varied preparation types. Those in the adult Cluniac sample showed a range of different types (Fig.7.20, right), with a higher percentage of individuals exhibiting evidence for some form

of wrapping (n=11 or 32%) compared with the Augustinian period burials (n=6 or 16%) (Fig.7.20, left).

When comparing Augustinian and Cluniac period individuals (all age and sex category data included), a Fisher's Exact test indicated no significant difference in body preparation [n=89, p=0.091]. However, when just comparing the adults between phases (including 'unknown' sex category), there was a strongly significant difference [n=71, p=0.010] (Fig.7.20), possibly owing to a dominance of those scoring code '2' (clothed and/or loosely wrapped) in the Augustinian phase, compared to a more even distribution of preparation types in the Cluniac phase. When considering only male adults ('possible' males included) between phases, however, there were no significant differences [n=41, p=0.082]. This was also the case when comparing just females [n=20, p=0.212]. However, Figure 7.20 (right) shows that in the Cluniac phase, the prevalence of individuals prepared within particularly constrictive clothing and wrappings increased, in comparison to the more uniformly prepared Augustinians. This could, in part, indicate an opening up of the monastic precinct in the Cluniac phase to a wider range of people for burial.

Finally, in terms of age comparisons, there were no significant differences between non-adults when comparing Augustinian and Cluniac phases [n=18, p=0.139]. 70% (n=7) of non-adults for the Augustinian phase exhibited evidence for burial 'clothed' and 'clothed and/or loosely wrapped' compared with 100% (n=8) from the Cluniac phase. Only three individuals were classed as 'wrapped', all from the Augustinian phase (Fig.7.20, left).

7.2.3 Summary

The above results exhibit clear intra- and inter-site differences in upper and lower limb positioning and the overall nature of body preparation. This is possibly suggestive of a different treatment of the body pre-burial. For each variable, La Charité exhibits the greatest degree of uniformity. The prevalence of forearms positioned together over the body, the strict or close proximity of the lower limbs and feet in the majority of individuals, together with evidence in 61.3% (n=19) of cases for some form of constrictive wrapping sets this site apart. The results indicate a relatively high degree of consistency in body preparation between the two time periods and between those in the cemetery space and the internal gallery zone. However, in overall body preparation, those buried within the later gallery were the most consistent, with all but one exhibiting evidence for a wrapping. In contrast, the two English sites were markedly different. A range of forearm positions were recorded, many of which were asymmetrical, loosely flexed or

not crossed/in close proximity. This was mirrored by the high prevalence at both sites of separately positioned lower limbs and feet; tightly sewn robes and sewn night shoes seem unlikely in the majority of cases. This is also supported by the overall taphonomic study of body preparation types, where relatively few exhibited evidence for constrictions along the body; generally a more 'relaxed', with loosely flexed upper and lower limbs, was the more common skeletal profile. At both English sites, wrapped and clothed burials were identified in both phases, but at Bermondsey there was a distinct change in the later period; a rise in the prevalence of clothed burials was identified. This could, in part, possibly indicate an opening up of this cemetery zone to a broader range of people with time.

Considering Cluniac period Beaumont, as with La Charité, individuals with forearms positioned together at right angles over the upper body (code '55') and with a strict connection or close proximity of lower limbs and feet (codes '1' and '2') were particularly prevalent. However, a broader range of positions was identified, which was more in keeping with the two English sites. A similar percentage of individuals forearm position '55' and to that recorded at Bermondsey had their forearms positioned asymmetrically or apart. This is mirrored by the body preparation types, where Beaumont showed a similar profile to Bermondsey, with a range of different preparation types. A relatively high prevalence of individuals buried in constrictive clothing and also wrappings was recorded.

Overall, there were no significant differences in forearm, lower limb/foot positioning and nature of body preparation between Augustinian males and females or between Cluniac males and females. However, comparing Augustinian and Cluniac individuals, differences arise. Whereas in the earlier period, there was a higher prevalence of adults (males and females included) with forearms positioned more loosely flexed over the pelvic region uncrossed or positioned apart (Fig.7.6) and for the lower limbs and feet to be positioned apart (Figs.7.11 and 7.12), a shift is discernible in the later period. There is an increase in prevalence for the forearms to be positioned together or crossed over the chest region and for the lower limbs and feet to be arranged in strict connection or close. A more 'relaxed' profile to the overall body position was noted in the Augustinian males and females, with a high percentage being recorded as 'clothed and/or loosely wrapped'. Wrappings become more prevalent in the later period, along with constrictive clothing. While older non-adults were afforded similar arrangements to those of adults, infants and juveniles had distinct differences in forearm position to those of mature individuals (particularly for the Cluniac period). For the non-adults, a range of preparation types was evident in the

Augustinian phase (including constrictive clothing and wrappings), with a more marked uniformity in body preparation for the Cluniac period; no evidence for constrictive clothing or wrappings was recorded.

7.3 The liminal rites: the burial

This section examines the principal variables associated with the physical structure (design and inclusions) of the graves, and the overall positioning of the bodies within them. The *Ulr* and *Bern* prescribe a simple burial: after the grave is censed, the body is lowered into the ground and a wooden board is placed over it (Section 3.1.5). The simplicity of the grave and of the interment process can be contrasted to the elaborate series of ritual actions and spoken/sung words enacted by the community around the burial, to which the customaries devote considerable attention. It can be questioned whether providing for the soul (through prayers and 'cleansing' or protective rituals performed by the community) was the primary concern, where the simplicity of the grave and interment process reflect their relative importance - their role as necessary 'practicalities'. This section will examine whether this degree of simplicity was respected and what, if any, adaptations to the burial process were undertaken by site and phase.

7.3.1 Orientation of the grave and attitude of the body

Burial orientation remained constant by site, phase, sex and age. Of 435 burials (including all pre-Cluniac burials), 427 (98%) were orientated W-E, with eight (2%) unknown.

Comparing Cluniac period burials, a Fisher's Exact test recorded a significant inter-site difference in overall body position (attitude) [n=336, p=0.46] (Fig.7.21). Inter-site comparisons indicated that the significant differences existed between Bermondsey and Lewes (n=213, p=0.022) and Cluniac period Beaumont and Lewes [n=102, p=0.047]. Only Lewes exhibited evidence for purposeful disarticulation linked to both contemporary and early twentieth century practices.
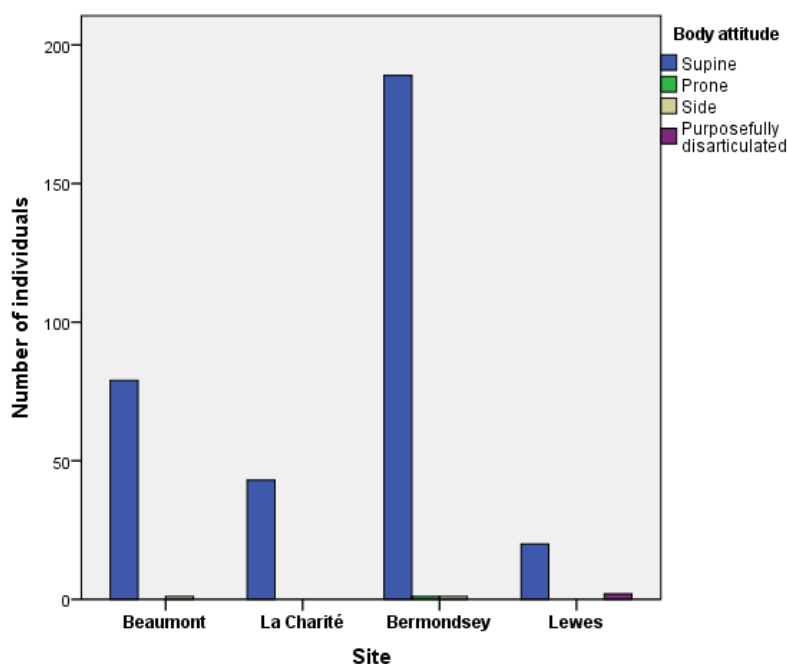
Figure 7.21: Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period individuals interred in one of the four different body attitudes (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Including all pre-Cluniac burials, 94% (n=412) were positioned supine, with two side burials, one prone, two purposefully disarticulated and 19 unknown. Adult female burial 102 (Cluniac Beaumont) was carefully deposited on her side. Cemetery burial 123, an adult male from Bermondsey's later Cluniac period, was more haphazardly deposited on his side. Both burials exhibited evidence for 'decomposition in a filled space' (Appendix 5), indicating that accidental movement during transportation in a container is unlikely to account for positioning. Bermondsey burial 15 (an adult male from the later Cluniac phase) was buried within the cemetery, prone. Again, decomposition took place within a filled space, which could suggest that this was a purposeful placement. The disarticulated remains from early and later period Cluniac burials 4 and 14 (Lewes Priory) were carefully re-organised, with the former possibly representing a translation and the latter having been moved during early excavations. Neither Augustinian period Beaumont nor La Charité included burials in a position other than supine. One burial from the former and three from the latter could not be assessed.

7.3.2 Construction of the burial context

Space of decomposition was examined, followed by an analysis of mode of burial. If the customaries were adhered to, a relatively simple burial directly in the ground could be expected. Decomposition may have taken place in a void depending on whether a cover was included

and its durability. The texts prescribe the use of a bier to carry the deceased, but they do not specify whether this was also lowered into the grave.

7.3.2.1 Space of decomposition

Overall comparison between sites for the Cluniac period

Sixty-six per cent (n=230) of the Cluniac sample was examined for this variable. Comparing individuals classed as 'decomposition in a void' with 'decomposition in a filled space' (including all 'possible' cases), a Fisher's Exact test recorded a significant inter-site difference when all phase, age and sex category data were included [n=230, p=<0.001] (Fig.7.22). This was also the case when comparing males (including possible males) [n=149, p=<0.001].
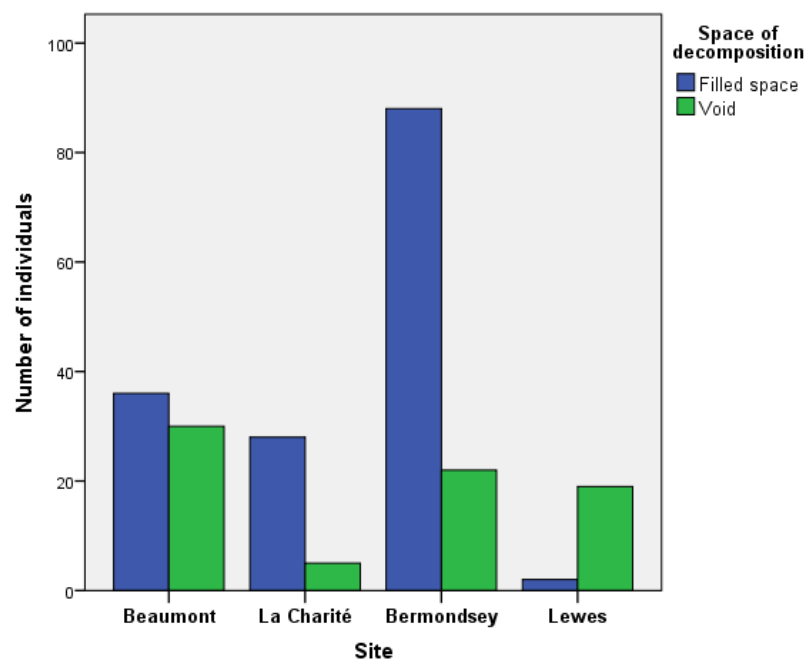
Figure 7.22: Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period individuals who decomposed within a filled space versus a void (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Site	Beaumont		La Charité		Bermondsey		Lewes	
	n	**p**	**n**	**p**	**n**	**p**	**n**	**p**
Beaumont	-	-	99	**0.004**	176	**0.001**	87	**<0.001**
La Charité	-	-	-	-	143	0.620	54	**<0.001**
Bermondsey					-	-	131	**<0.001**

Table 7.27: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Cluniac period interments to have decomposed in a filled space versus a void between sites (all phase, age and sex category data included).

There was no significant difference between La Charité and Bermondsey (Table 7.27), where 84.8% (n=28) and 80% (n=88) of individuals, respectively, decomposed in a filled space (Fig.7.22). Mode of burial therefore appears relatively simple and consistent for these two samples. Lewes recorded significant differences with each of the three sites, given that 90% (n=19) decomposed in a void. Cluniac period Beaumont exhibited a more varied distribution, with 54.5% (n=36) having decomposed in a filled space and 45.5% (n=30) in a void.

Intra-site analysis by phase

La Charité, Lewes and Bermondsey

For all three sites, Fisher's Exact tests did not record significant inter-phase differences. For Bermondsey [n=104, p=0.319], roughly equal proportions of burials within voids were recorded, with 25.6% (n=10) for the earlier phase and 19.9% (n=11) for the later. Furthermore, not all individuals within Bermondsey's chapel decomposed in a void: individual 178 decomposed in a filled space; 98, 146 and 180 were in voids; 159 and 170 were unknown (see page 205). For La Charité [n=33, p=0.290], no individuals within the later gallery decomposed in a void, compared to 21% (n=5) from the earlier phase. These five individuals derived from the earliest two levels of burial (2 and 3) and are associated with rock tombs (see below); overall, burial mode appears to become simpler with time. This is in contrast to the internal burials from Lewes, where all examinable individuals in the later phase (n=9) decomposed in a void, compared to 80% (n=8) in the earlier [n=19, p=0.474]. It does not always follow, therefore, that those interred within more prestigious locations were afforded more elaborate grave constructions.

Beaumont

A Fisher's Exact test recorded no significant differences in the space of decomposition between Augustinian males and females [n=33, p=1.000]: 40.9% (n=9) of males and 36.4% (n=4) of females decomposed in a void. This is comparable to the Cluniac sample [n=46, p=0.555]: 44.8% (n=13) of males and 35.3% (n=6) of females decomposed in a void. No significant differences were observed between Augustinian adults and non-adults [n=55, p=0.779] or Cluniac adults and non-adults [n=66, p=0.492]. For Augustinian and Cluniac non-adults, 33.3% (n=4) and 50% (n=5), respectively, decomposed in a void. There were also no significant differences between Augustinian and Cluniac non-adults [n=22, p=0.666]. Figure 7.23 indicates that some individuals across the different non-adult age groups for both phases were also afforded a mode of burial beyond simple interment in the ground, directly covered by earth.
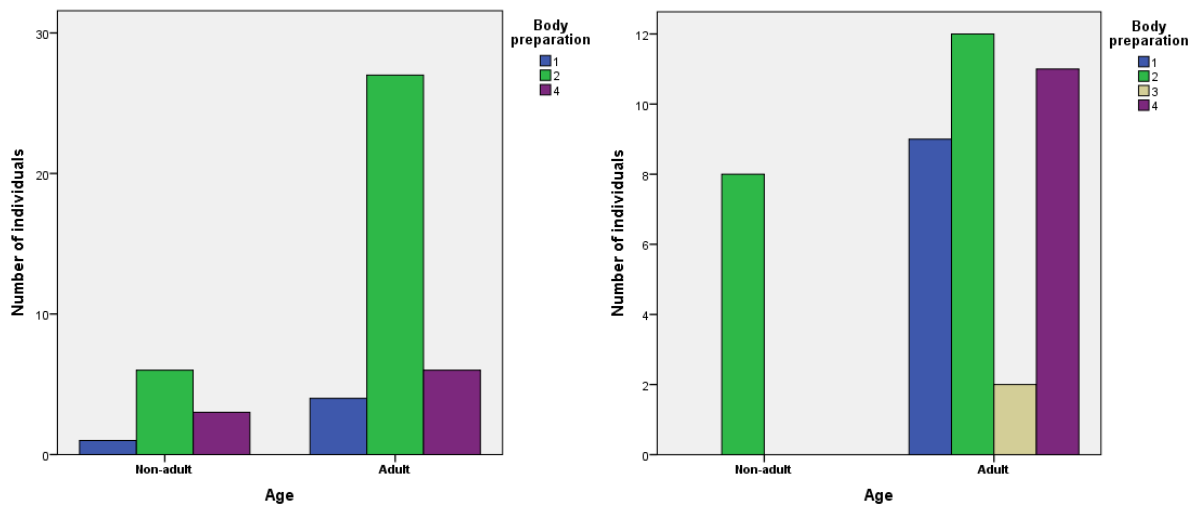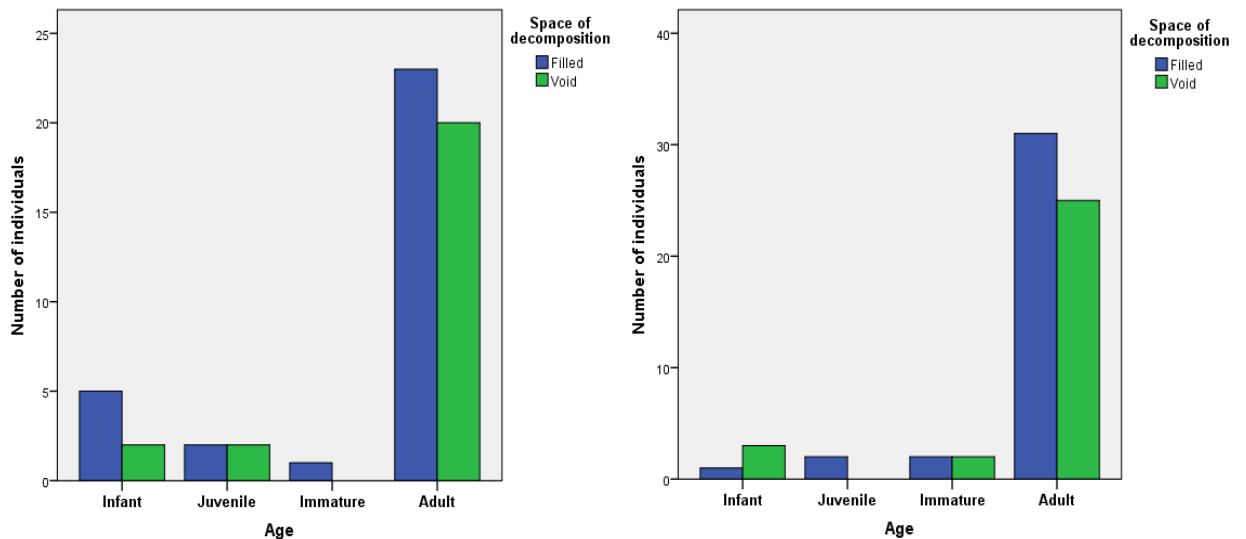
Figure 7.23: (left) Number of Augustinian period adults and non-adults and **(right)** Cluniac period adults and non-adults who decomposed in a filled space versus a void.

An inter-phase comparison of adult burials by sex (Table 7.28) recorded no significant differences:

Period / sex	Cluniac males		Cluniac females	
	n	**p**	**n**	**p**
Augustinian males	51	1.000	39	0.753
Augustinian females	40	0.730	28	1.000

Table 7.28: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Augustinian and Cluniac males and females who decomposed in a filled space versus a void.

Overall, across all period, age and sex categories, the evidence related to the space of decomposition indicates that no one group at Beaumont was treated significantly differently in their overall manner of interment.

7.3.2.2 Burial within closed portable containers

Overall comparison between sites for the Cluniac period

Sixty-eight per cent (n=239) of the Cluniac sample could be examined for this factor. Pooling all cases of 'possible container' with 'container' and 'container unlikely' with 'no container', a Fisher's Exact test recorded a significant inter-site difference in the number of Cluniac period individuals buried within closed portable containers [n=239, p=<0.001] (Fig.7.24). This was also the case when just considering males (including 'possible' males) [n=157, p=<0.001].
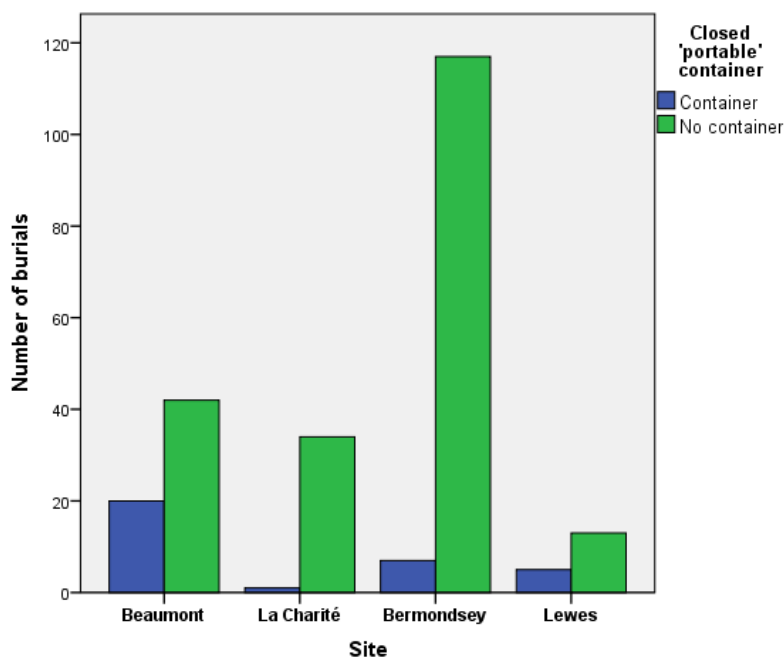
Figure 7.24: Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period individuals buried within closed portable containers (all phase, age and sex category data included).

For Beaumont, 32.3% (n=20) of individuals exhibited evidence for burial within a closed portable container. This is in contrast to Bermondsey and La Charité where only 5.6% (n=7) and 2.9% (n=1) were recorded respectively (see also Table 7.29). Although at Lewes, 90% (n=19) of individuals decomposed in a void, evidence for burial within a closed portable container was not that prevalent (n=5 or 28%). Use was however significantly higher in comparison to Bermondsey [n=143, p=0.008] or La Charité [n=53, p=0.014] (Table 7.29).

Site	Beaumont		La Charité		Bermondsey		Lewes	
	n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Beaumont	-	-	97	**0.001**	187	**<0.001**	80	0.781
La Charité	-	-	-	-	160	1.000	53	**0.014**
Bermondsey	-	-	-	-	-	-	143	**0.008**

Table 7.29: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Cluniac period individuals buried within closed portable containers between sites (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Intra-site analysis by phase

La Charité, Lewes and Bermondsey

Fisher's Exact tests recorded no significant differences in closed container use between the earlier and later Cluniac phases at La Charité [n=35, p=1.000], Lewes [n=17, p=0.250] or

Bermondsey [n=119, p=1.000]. For La Charité, the only recorded use (burial 325) took place in the earliest phase of the cemetery (level 2 – Section 5.1), where the deceased was also deposited in a rock-cut tomb (see Appendix 5b). A roughly equal percentage of portable container use was recorded for Bermondsey's early (n=3 or 6.7%) and later (n=4 or 5.4%) periods. Five individuals were from within the cemetery (four males and one of unknown sex) and two were from within the chapel (one male and one of unknown sex). Three individuals in closed portable containers were interred at Lewes in the later period, versus one in the earlier phase, and one of unknown date.

Beaumont

A Fisher's Exact test recorded no significant differences in the use of closed portable containers between Augustinian males and females [n=33, p=0.196]: 13.6% (n=3) of males and 9.1% (n=1) of females were interred within one. The single female buried within a closed portable container for this period (burial 192) was possibly interred in a chest. For the Cluniac sample [n=46, p=1.000], 31% (n=9) of males and 29.4% (n=5) of females were buried in closed portable containers. No significant differences were observed between Augustinian adults and non-adults [n=54, p=0.726] or Cluniac adults and non-adults [n=62, p=0.705]. 16.7% (n=2) and 37.5% (n=3) of Augustinian and Cluniac non-adults, respectively, were interred within one. This is in contrast to 14.2% (n=6) and 31.5% (n=17) of adults. No discrimination by age for the non-adults was discernible for the Cluniac period, where one infant, one juvenile and one immature individual were afforded this mode of burial. Both non-adults from the Augustinian phase were infants.

A comparison of Augustinian and Cluniac adults (all sex category data included) did not produce a highly significant difference in closed portable container use [n=96, p=0.058]. A tendency for their greater use in the Cluniac period is nonetheless apparent (Fig.7.25).
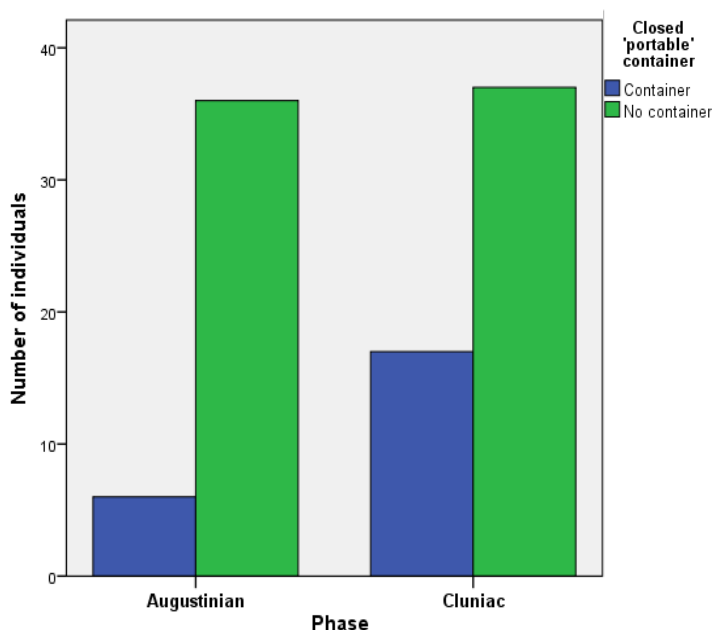
Figure 7.25: Number of Augustinian and Cluniac period adults interred within closed portable containers (all sex category data included).

Only 14.2% (n=6) of Augustinian adults were buried within a closed portable container compared to 31.5% (n=17) for the Cluniac period. Table 32 presents these comparisons by sex. Both Cluniac males and females recorded a higher percentage of closed portable container use in comparison to their Augustinian counterparts. Only 13.6% (n=3) of Augustinian males and 9.1% (n=1) of Augustinian females were interred in closed portable containers versus 31% (n=9) and 29.4% (n=5) for the Cluniacs. However, these results are not statistically significant (Table 7.30). The number of individuals of 'unknown' sex buried within these structures and not included within the below comparisons (n=10), however, should be considered.

Period / sex	Cluniac males		Cluniac females	
	n	p	n	p
Augustinian males	51	0.192	39	0.261
Augustinian females	40	0.233	28	0.355

Table 7.30: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Augustinian and Cluniac period males and females interred within closed portable containers.

No significant differences were recorded between Augustinian and Cluniac non-adults [n=20, p=0.347], although similarly to the adults, more Cluniac period non-adults were interred within closed portable containers (n=3 or 37.5%) compared to those interred by the Augustinians (n=2

or 16.7%) – this difference is marginal, however. Considering individuals of all ages, there appears to be an increase in the use of closed portable containers for burial in the later period.

7.3.2.3 Presence of Covers

Overall comparison between sites for the Cluniac period

A total of 194 Cluniac period burials (56% of the sample) could be assessed for the presence of a cover over the body, other than solely soil. This was followed by an analysis of the material used: stone, wood, charcoal/lime and possible partial or non-durable covers. Comparing Cluniac period burials and pooling all cases of 'possible cover' with 'cover' and 'cover unlikely' with 'no cover', a Fisher's Exact test showed a statistically significant difference between sites [n=194, p=<0.001] (Fig.7.26). This was also the case when comparing only males (including possible males) [n=128, p=0.001]. As Figure 7.26 shows, Lewes recorded the greatest prevalence; for the 16 burials (68% of the sample) that could be assessed, all included a cover. A Fisher's Exact test did, however, show there to be no significant difference between Beaumont, La Charité and Bermondsey for the presence of a cover [n=177, p=0.228]. They were less prevalent in the Cluniac period for these three sites.
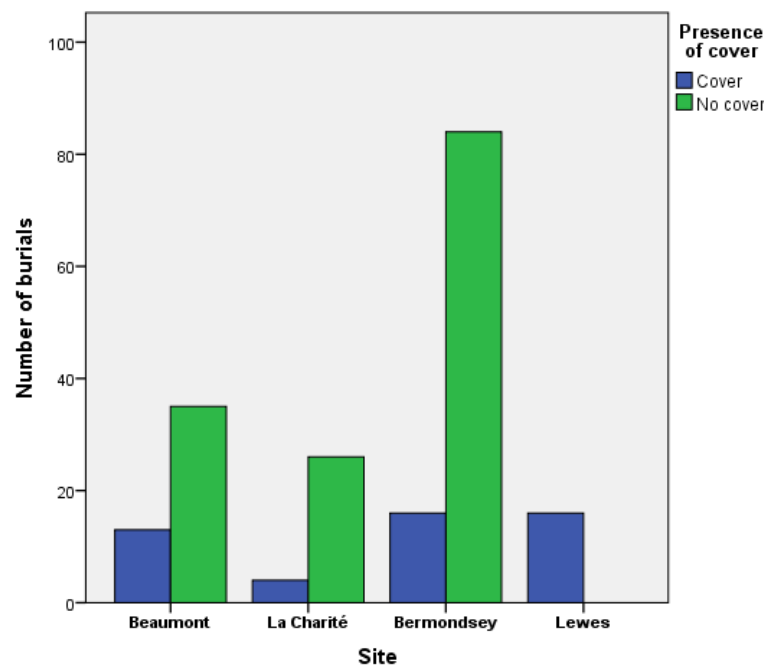
Figure 7.26: Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period individuals buried under a cover other than soil (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Intra-site analysis by phase

La Charité, Lewes and Bermondsey

At La Charité and Bermondsey, covers were not frequently used. Including all age and sex category data, only 13.3% (n=4) and 16% (n=16) of burials, respectively, included some form of cover. For La Charité, a Fisher's Exact test did not record a significant inter-phase difference in their use [n=30, p=1.000]. 14% (n=3) of burials in the earlier phase included them: burials 314 and 321 derived from La Charité's earliest Cluniac period (level 2) and were associated with rock-cut tombs and burial 215 was a covered mortared tomb (carefully cut stone blocks that had been joined together with mortar). Eleven per cent (n=1) of burials from the later gallery included a cover (burial 206). A Fisher's Exact test recorded no strongly significant differences in cover use between Bermondsey's earlier and later phases [n=95, p=0.093], with 25.7% (n=9) and 11.7% (n=7) recorded, respectively. Of the 16 recorded in total, nine (56%) were associated with tombs. For Lewes, the 16 burials (eight early and seven later Cluniac), which could be assessed, all included a cover.

Beaumont

A Fisher's Exact test recorded no significant differences in the presence of a cover between Augustinian males and females [n=31, p=1.000]: 50% (n=10) of examinable male and 55% (n=6) female burials included one. This was also the case for the Cluniac period [n=33; p=1.000], where 20% (n=4) and 23% (n=3) of male and female burials included a cover. No significant differences were observed between Augustinian adults (all sex category data included) and non-adults (all age category data included) [n=50, p=0.490]: 55% (n=22) of adult and 40% (n=4) of non-adult burials included a cover. For the Cluniac phase [n=47, p=1.000], 25% (n=10) and 28.6% (n=2) of adult and non-adult burials, respectively, included a cover.

An overall comparison of Augustinian and Cluniac burials (all age and sex category data included) did produce a significant difference in the presence of a cover [n=98, p=0.014]. Fifty – two per cent (n=26) and 27% (n=13) of examinable burials from the Augustinian and Cluniac period, respectively, included some form of cover other than soil (Fig.7.27).
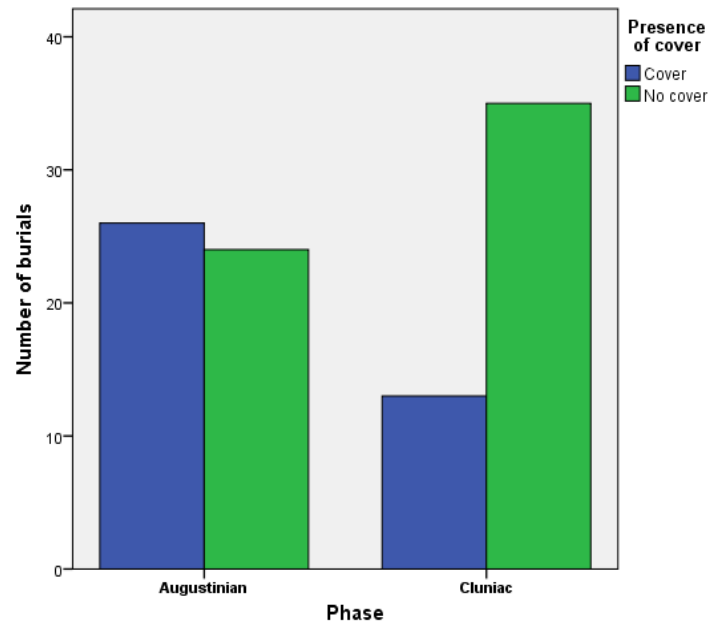
Figure 7.27: Number of Augustinian and Cluniac burials from Beaumont, which included a cover (including all age and sex category data).

When excluding all non-adults, the difference was still significant [n=80, p=0.012]. No significant differences were observed when comparing Augustinian and Cluniac period non-adults [n=17, p=1.000].

When comparing by phase and sex (all adult age category data included), no significant differences were observed (Table 7.31). The exclusion of the large sample within the 'unknown sex' category (n=33), could have impacted upon these results, possibly, in part, through reducing the examinable sample sizes and thus the reliability of the tests.

Period / sex	Cluniac males		Cluniac females	
	n	**p**	**n**	**p**
Augustinian males	40	0.096	33	0.159
Augustinian females	31	0.106	24	0.206

Table 7.31: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Augustinian and Cluniac period males and females buried under a cover.

Males, females and non-adults from both periods were interred with covers. However, there is a distinct fall in the frequency in the Cluniac period; nearly twice as many Augustinian period individuals were interred with a cover than their Cluniac counterparts.

7.3.2.4 Types of Covers: material used

Overall comparison between sites for the Cluniac period

The *Ulr* and *Bern* state that following interment, a wooden cover should be placed over the body. It is examined here whether the results from each of the sites indicate a close adherence to this prescription, adaptation (e.g. the use of other materials) or complete neglect. Including all age and sex category data, a Fisher's Exact test recorded a significant difference between sites in the types of covers used [n=48, p=<0.001] (Fig.7.28). This was also the case when just considering males (including possible males) [n=25, p=<0.001]. Table 7.32 demonstrates that Cluniac period Beaumont was significantly different to each of the other sites; where covers were detected, stone was the principal type. Bermondsey and Lewes exhibited a greater use of perishable (possibly wooden) covers than the two French sites, where evidence was overall scarce (see below).
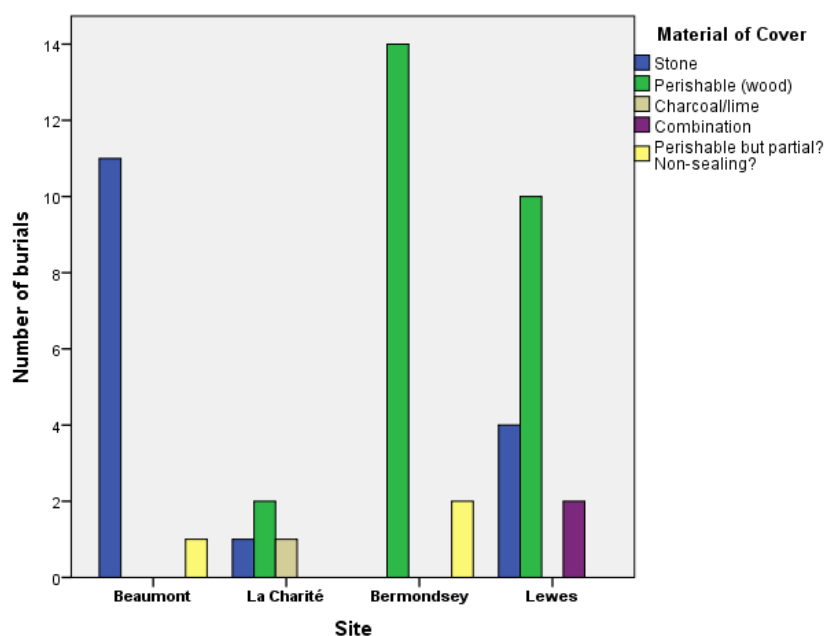
Figure 7.28: Inter-site comparison of the number and types of covers (material used) included within Cluniac period burials (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Site	Beaumont		La Charité		Bermondsey		Lewes	
	n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Beaumont	-	-	16	**0.014**	28	**<0.001**	28	**<0.001**
La Charité	-	-	-	-	20	0.062	20	0.296
Bermondsey					-	-	32	**0.016**

Table 7.32: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Cluniac period burials including the different types of covers between sites (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Intra-site analysis by phase

La Charité, Lewes and Bermondsey

Overall, wooden covers were not widely used at these three sites. The highest prevalence was recorded at Bermondsey, where 86.7% (n=16) of the burials including a cover were of fairly durable perishable material, most likely wood. Two further burials (13.3%) provided archaeological evidence for a perishable cover but the osteological evidence did not fully support this, as maintenance of labile connections in positions of instability suggested a rapid replacement of soft tissues by soil. Partial or non-sealing covers were thus proposed. No significant difference was recorded by phase [n=16, p=1.000]. Fifty-six per cent (n=9) were associated with a tomb; across the site, incorporation of a perishable cover within an earth grave was therefore uncommon, in direct opposition to the prescriptions within the customaries. Only one grave from within the chapel (burial 146) exhibited evidence for a possible perishable cover.

Both La Charité and Lewes recorded a broader range of cover types. The single stone covering from La Charité was associated with the early Cluniac phase mortared tomb of burial 215. Only two graves from La Charité exhibited evidence for perishable covers (burials 314 and 321); both were associated with the more elaborate rock-cut tombs and possibly date to the earliest period of Cluniac occupation. A covering of charcoal and lime was recorded over the upper layers of burial 206. This could have served as a prophylactic measure (see Billoin 2005: 71), possibly to prevent the spread of disease or to disguise odours; its internal position within the gallery could have prompted such a drastic measure. No inter-phase significant difference was recorded [n=4, p=0.503], although small sample sizes should be noted. In contrast to La Charité, the use of perishable covers was comparatively common at Lewes, where 63% (n=12) of examinable burials included them either exclusively or in combination with a stone covering. This is in contrast to 25% (n=4) of burials which included a stone cover exclusively. A Fisher's Exact test produced a significant inter-phase difference [n=16, p=0.48] where perishable covers (n=8 or 89%) dominated in the early phase, followed by a more varied use of covers; stone (n=3), perishable (n=2), and combined (n=2) types in the later phase.

Beaumont

Fisher's Exact tests recorded no significant differences in the type of cover used between Augustinian males and females [n=16, p=1.000] or Cluniac males and females [n=7, p=0.429]. For the earlier phase, 70% (n=7) of males were buried with some form of perishable covering, compared to 83% (n=5) of the females. The only individual interred under a perishable covering

from the Cluniac period was a female (burial 106). The nature of the cover could be ascertained for five non-adults: four Augustinian and one Cluniac. A stone cover was included with Cluniac burial 126, an infant interred within a stone tomb. Stone covers were associated with juveniles (burials 138 and 195) and possible perishable covers were included with an infant (burial 155) and an immature individual (burial 78) from the early phase, although these were tentatively proposed.

Comparing Augustinian and Cluniac period Beaumont (all age and sex category data included), a Fisher's Exact test exhibited a significant difference in the nature of covers used [n=38, p=0.001] (Fig.7.29).
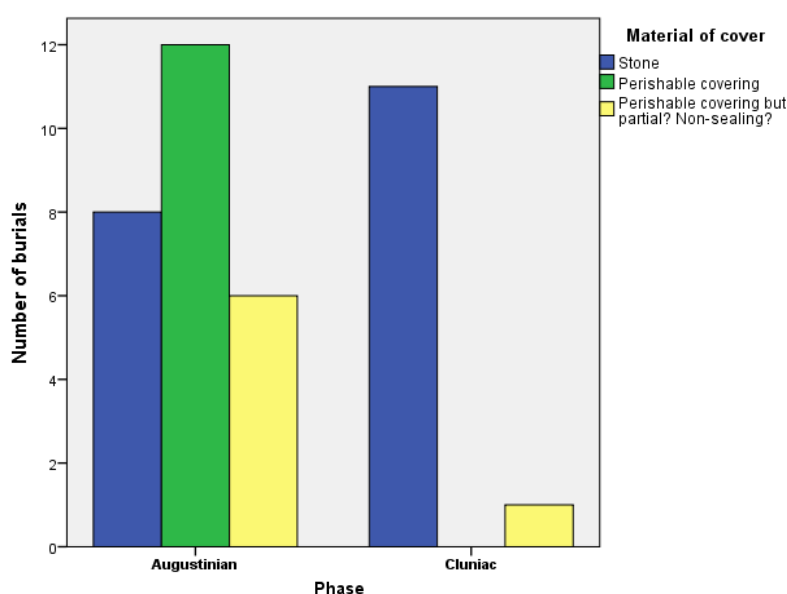
Figure 7.29: Number and nature of covers included within Augustinian and Cluniac period burials from Beaumont (all age and sex category data included).

Whereas only one (8.3% of burials with covers) partial/non-sealing perishable cover was identified from Cluniac period Beaumont, 18 (69%) were recorded in the earlier phase. Table 7.33 shows that no significant inter-phase differences existed between males and females. Small sample sizes could be a key factor here.

Period / sex	Cluniac males		Cluniac females	
	n	p	n	p
Augustinian males	14	0.131	13	0.383
Augustinian females	10	0.071	9	0.677

Table 7.33: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Augustinian and Cluniac males and females buried with one of the three recorded types of covers between sites.

7.3.2.5 Other forms of perishable structures (biers, non-sealing containers and other)

Overall comparison between sites for the Cluniac period

Some burials exhibited strong evidence for decomposition in a filled space but the archaeological and/or osteological evidence indicated that some form of perishable structure had been present at the time of burial. Unfortunately, in the majority of these cases, its exact nature could not be ascertained (Section 6.2.3; Table 6.3). They could have been biers/perishable supports positioned directly under the body, carrying containers which were either open or sealed with a non-durable material and thus enabled a rapid infiltration of the surrounding soil, or some form of perishable covering which decomposed/collapsed extremely rapidly. In some cases, the nature of the structures could be proposed in some cases (code '1' (bier) and code '2' (container with no cover/non-durable cover)) but not for others (code '3' (perishable structure but form unknown)). Examining their presence does, however, provide information on the number of individuals for whom provision beyond simple interment in the ground had been made.

A Fisher's Exact test showed a significant difference between sites in the number of Cluniac burials including a perishable structure [n=264, p=<0.001] (all age and sex category data included) (Fig.7.30). La Charité and Lewes produced the only non-significant difference [n=51, p=0.134]. Burials from Cluniac Beaumont again show a tendency for elaboration beyond earth graves.
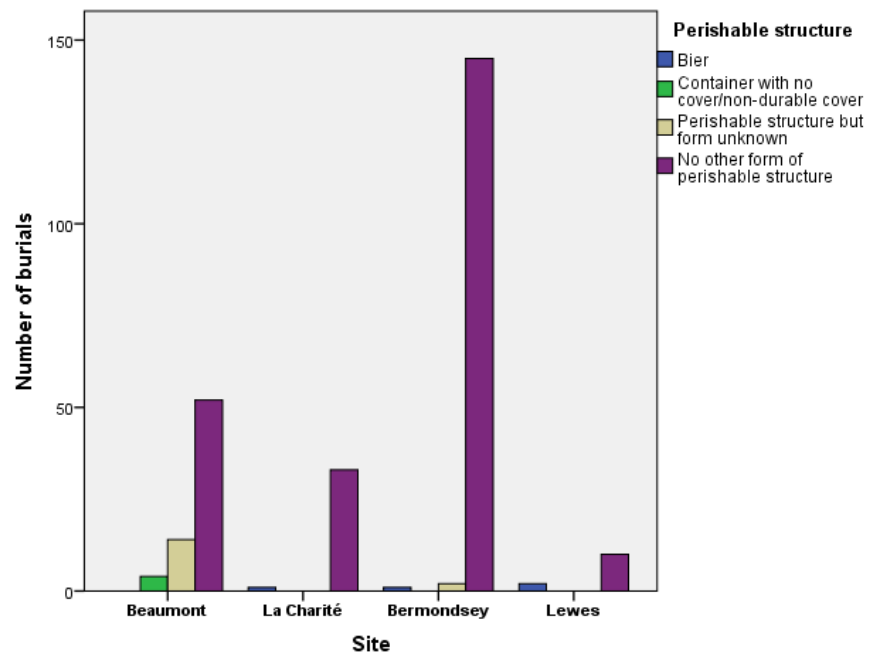
Figure 7.30: Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period burials including a perishable structure (other than a durable portable container or cover) (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Intra-site analysis by phase

La Charité, Lewes and Bermondsey

For these three sites, evidence for other forms of perishable structures (excluding more durable/sealing portable containers and covers) was rare. Only one individual (3% of the examinable sample) from La Charité (burial 314) exhibited osteological evidence for burial on some form of perishable structure (bier/wooden support). This was an adult male from within possibly the earliest Cluniac interments. Three later Cluniac period individuals from Bermondsey (burials 5, 113 and 168) exhibited evidence for perishable structures. For burials 5 and 168, the structures could not be defined further. For Burial 113, the osteological evidence suggested that some form of perishable structure had been placed under the torso at the time of burial, given the evidence for a secondary void within this region, but the exact nature of this is unknown. Two earlier Cluniac period individuals from Lewes (burials 8 and 18) exhibited possible archaeological evidence (iron strapping and nails directly under the deceased) for burial on some form of perishable structure. Biers could be suggested, but given the absence of osteological remains, this must remain uncertain.

Beaumont

Again, Cluniac period Beaumont exhibited more evidence than the other three sites for a range of structures, corresponding with the relatively high prevalence of closed portable containers and covers. Including all age and sex category data, a Fisher's Exact test shows a significant inter-phase difference [n=120, p=0.013] (Fig.7.31).
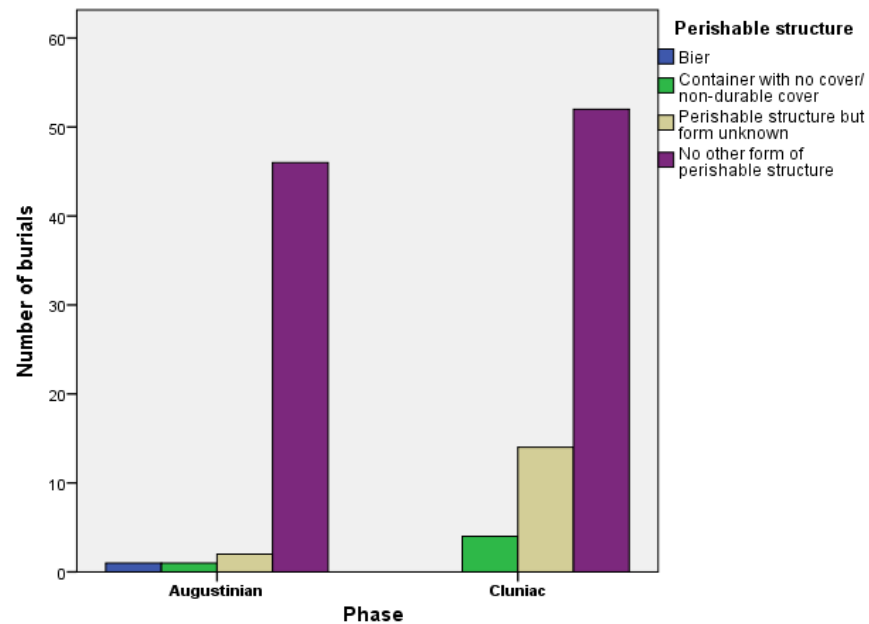
Figure 7.31: Number of Augustinian and Cluniac period burials including one of the four types of perishable structures (all age and sex category data included).

Four Augustinian burials (8%) included some form of perishable structure. One female (burial 182) and one male (burial 187) included an undefined perishable structure, one adult was possibly buried in an open/non-durable container and infant burial 155 was placed on a bier/perishable structure. For Cluniac Beaumont, 20% (n=14) of examinable burials exhibited potential evidence for some form of perishable structure but, unfortunately, its exact nature could not be ascertained. A further 5.7% (n=4) were potentially interred within an open or poorly sealed container (female burials 6 and 88 and male burials 20 and 38). Only two Cluniac non-adults (juvenile burials 121 and 125) recorded evidence for other types of perishable structure but the exact nature could not be identified.

7.3.2.6 Presence of tombs and wall lining material

Overall comparison between sites for the Cluniac period

A total of 349 (99%) Cluniac period burials could be assessed for the presence of a tomb and 65 for the material used for construction. A Fisher's exact test showed a significant difference between sites in the recorded number [n=349, p=<0.001] (including all age and sex category data) (Fig.7.32). This was also the case when comparing only males and possible males [n=184, p=<0.001]. There was also a significant difference between sites when comparing the type of material used when all age and sex category data were included [n=65, p=<0.001] (Fig.7.33), or when considering only males/possible males [n=30, p=<0.001].
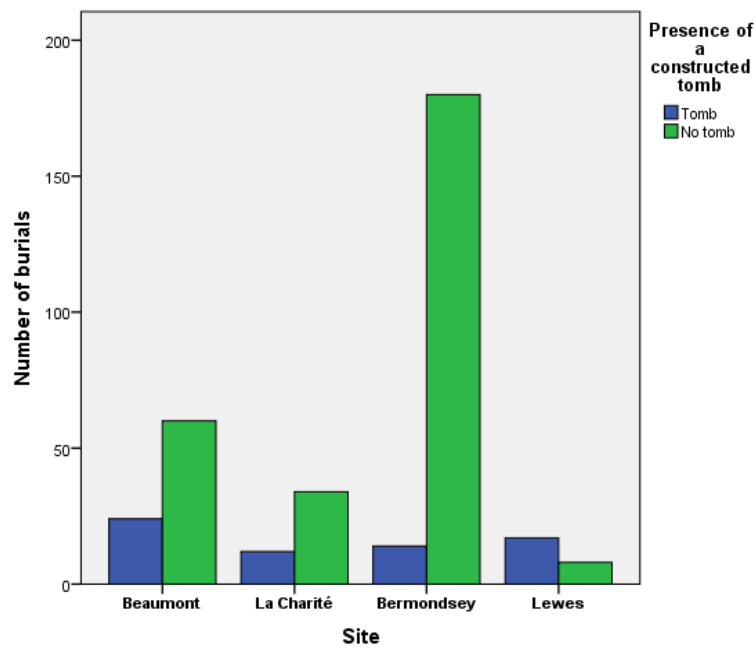
Figure 7.32: Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period individuals buried within a tomb (all phase, age and sex category data included).
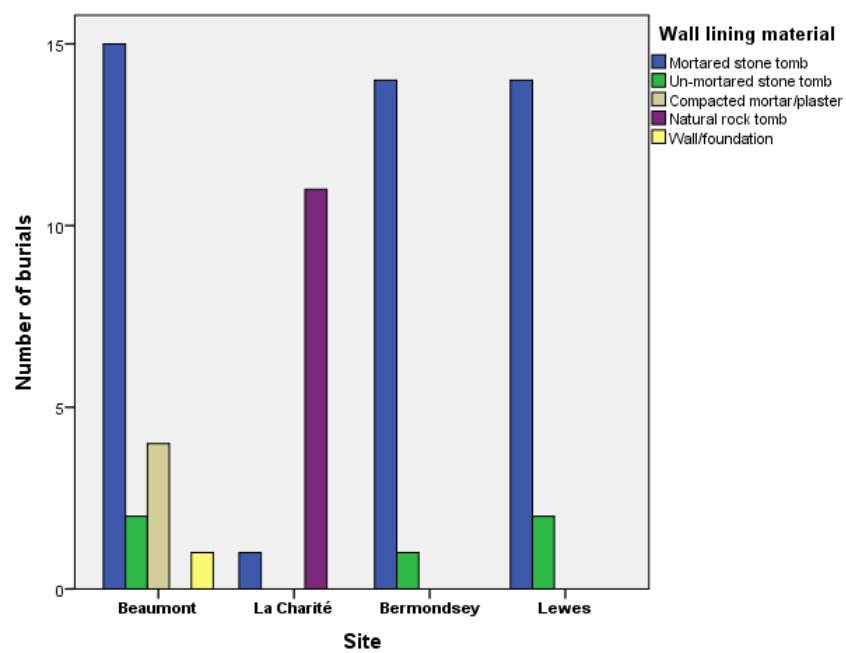
Figure 7.33: Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period individuals buried in a tomb of one of the five different types (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Site	Beaumont		La Charité		Bermondsey		Lewes	
	n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Beaumont	-	-	130	0.839	278	**<0.001**	108	**0.001**
La Charité	-	-	-	-	240	**0.001**	70	**0.002**
Bermondsey					-	-	218	**<0.001**

Table 7.34: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Cluniac period individuals buried within a tomb of any of the five types (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Site	Beaumont		La Charité		Bermondsey		Lewes	
	n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Beaumont	-	-	34	**<0.001**	37	0.231	38	0.258
La Charité	-	-	-	-	27	**<0.001**	28	**<0.001**
Bermondsey					-	-	31	1.000

Table 7.35: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Cluniac period individuals buried within a tomb of one the five different types (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Figure 7.32 and Table 7.34 show that Bermondsey and Lewes exhibited the greatest difference in the total number of individuals buried within tombs (compared to each of the other sites). Use was rare at Bermondsey, where only 7% (n=14) of interments were buried within a tomb. Only one (burial 146) was from within the chapel. Ninety-three per cent (n=14) were within mortared stone tombs and only one individual (7%) was within an unmortared stone tomb (Fig.7.33). The latter was later Cluniac period burial 147, where a mortared tomb had been disturbed and the rocks used to create an impromptu semi-construction (a head-niche). However, it must be stressed that Bermondsey's cemetery underwent land-use changes in the fifteenth century (Section 5.3), and it is conceivable that tombs may have been removed for their materials. These results should therefore be taken with caution.

In contrast, 67% (n=16) of Lewes' interments were within tombs. Of these, 87.5% (n=14) were within fully mortared stone tombs and 12.5% (n=2) were in un-mortared semi-constructed tombs (burials 9 and 16). 25% (n=12) of interments from La Charité were buried within tombs. However, the material used is significantly different from each of the other sites (Fig.7.33; Table 7.35). Only one burial (8%) was interred within a mortared stone tomb (burial 215) and was in a prominent position just outside the entrance to the annex church of Saint Laurent. Ninety-eight per cent (n=11) of tomb burials were cut out of the natural limestone rock. For burial 294, a head-niche had also been carved out of the rock and for burial 328, un-mortared stone slabs had

also been positioned around the body. Constructing these rock burials would have required significant time and energy, particularly given their dimensions (Appendix 5; Section 7.4.9).

For Beaumont, 29% (n=24) of Cluniac phase burials were interred within tombs and this site recorded the greatest diversity of materials used when compared to the other three sites (see below).

Intra-site analysis by phase

La Charité, Lewes and Bermondsey

Fisher's Exact tests indicate that no significant inter-phase differences for the presence of tombs for La Charité [n=46, p=0.406] or Lewes [n=23, p=0.193]. However, for Bermondsey, this was on the border of significance [n=185, p=0.051]. For La Charité, only one burial in the later Cluniac (gallery) phase (burial 206) was interred in a tomb. This again indicates that burial within this internal, possibly elite zone did not necessarily result in a more elaborate grave construction. For Lewes, although 83% (n=10) of early Cluniac phase interments were within tombs, this had dropped to 55% (n=6) in the later phase. For Bermondsey, whilst 13% (n=9) of burials included a tomb in the earlier Cluniac phase, this had dropped to 4% (n=5) in the later period.

No significant inter-phase differences existed in the type of wall materials used for La Charité [n=16, p=0.500], Lewes [n=12, p=0.670] or Bermondsey [n=15, p=0.400]. However, sample sizes are small, possibly affecting the reliability of these particular results.

Beaumont

A Fisher's Exact test recorded no significant inter-phase differences in the number of individuals buried within tombs [n=151, p=1.000] (including all age and sex category data) (Fig.7.34). For the materials used [n=40, p=0.057], trends may still be suggested (Fig.7.35).
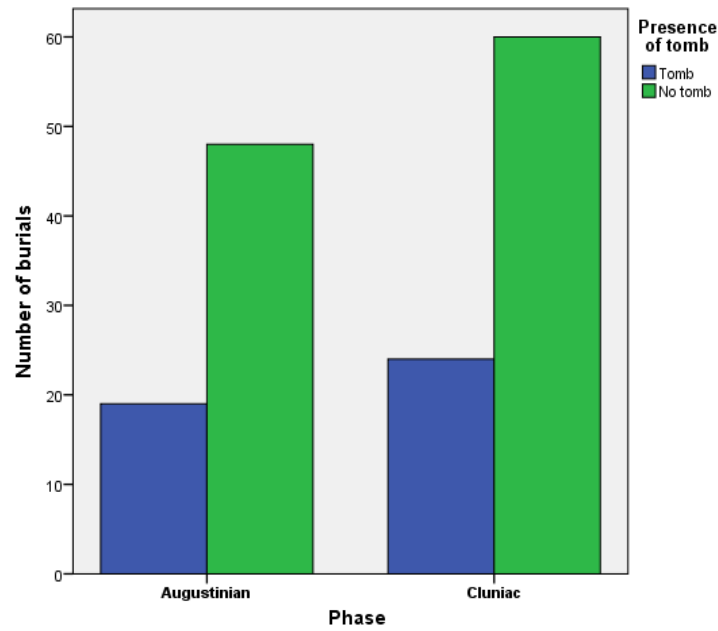
Figure 7.34: Number of Augustinian and Cluniac period individuals buried within a tomb (all age and sex category data included).
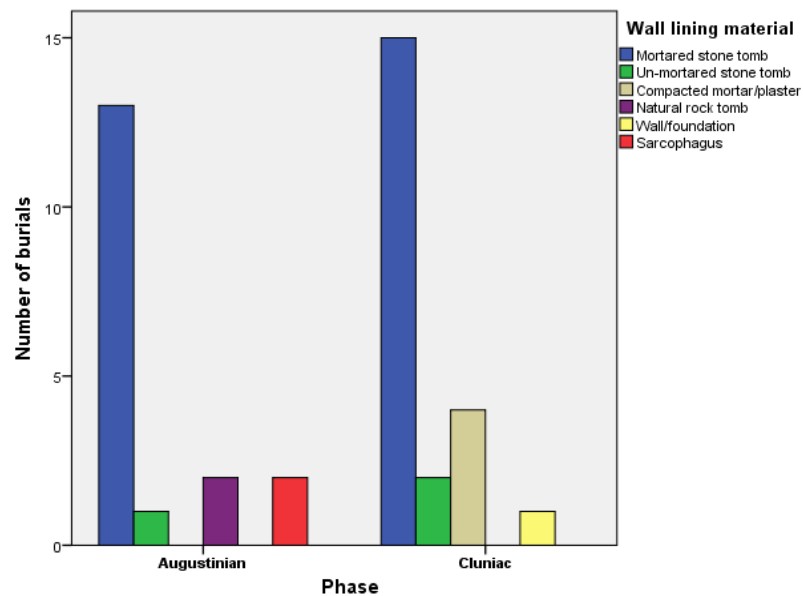
Figure 7.35: Number of Augustinian and Cluniac period individuals buried in a tomb of one the five different material types (all age and sex category data included).

Twenty-eight per cent (n=19) of Augustinian and 29% (n=24) of Cluniac individuals were buried within tombs. Mortared stone tombs were the most abundant in both phases. Seventy-two per cent (n=13) and 68% (n=15) of tombs recorded for the earlier and later phases respectively were of mortared stone. Aside from the 4 (18%) Cluniac period interments buried within tombs made of compacted mortar/plaster (burials 4, 36, 37 and 90), the remainder from both phases were of

less formal designs. Augustinian burials 109 and 119 had been cut out of the underlying rock and Cluniac burial 7 was cut out of the south wall of the church. Finally, 11% (n=2) of the Augustinian sample (burials 70 and 158) was within re-used sarcophagi. A range of designs thus existed within and between the two periods, indicating various possibilities for mode of burial.

For the Augustinian period, no significant differences existed between the number of males and females buried in a tomb [n=37, p=1.000] or the material used [n=12, p=1.000]: 30% (n=7) of males and 36% (n=5) of females were buried in tombs. Seventy-one per cent (n=5) of males and 80% (n=4) of females were in mortared stone tombs. One individual of each sex was in a re-used sarcophagus. Similarly for the Cluniac period, no significant differences existed between the number of males and females buried in a tomb [n=48, p=0.513] or the material used [n=13, p=1.000]: 23% (n=7) of males and 33% (n=6) of females were buried in tombs. 71% (n=5) of these males and 67% (n=4) of females were interred within mortared stone tombs. The two individuals interred within rock tombs were both female. Comparing Augustinian and Cluniac period adults (including all of unknown sex), a Fisher's Exact test did show a significant inter-phase difference in the materials used [n=34, p=0.038]; only in the Augustinian phase were tombs cut out of the natural rock and sarcophagi reused.

Comparing Augustinian adults and non-adults (all non-adult age category data pooled), a Fisher's Exact test did not show a significant difference in the presence of tombs [n=67, p=0.230] or the material used [n=18, p=0.276]. 15% (n=3) of non-adults were also afforded tombs. Similarly, no significant differences were recorded between Cluniac period adults and non-adults for the presence of a tomb [n=83, p=0.643]; 33% (n=4) of non-adults were buried in a tomb. However, there was a significant difference in the material used [n=21, p=0.014]. Unlike the Augustinian non-adults and Cluniac adults, no Cluniac non-adult was buried in a mortared stone tomb. One carefully cut un-mortared stone tomb was identified (infant burial 126) and infant burial 7 was interred within a tomb cut out of the south wall of the church

7.3.2.7 Presence and nature of base-linings

Overall comparison between sites for the Cluniac period

In total, 336 (96% of the sample) Cluniac period burials could be assessed for the presence of a base-lining and 16 burials could be further assessed for the nature of the lining. A Fisher's Exact test indicated a significant difference between sites for the presence of a base-lining [n=336,

p=<0.001] (Fig.7.36) but not for their nature [n=16, p=0.293] (Fig.7.37), potentially owing to the small sample sizes. Lewes was the only site to record significant differences for the presence of a base-lining with each of the other sites (Table 7.36).
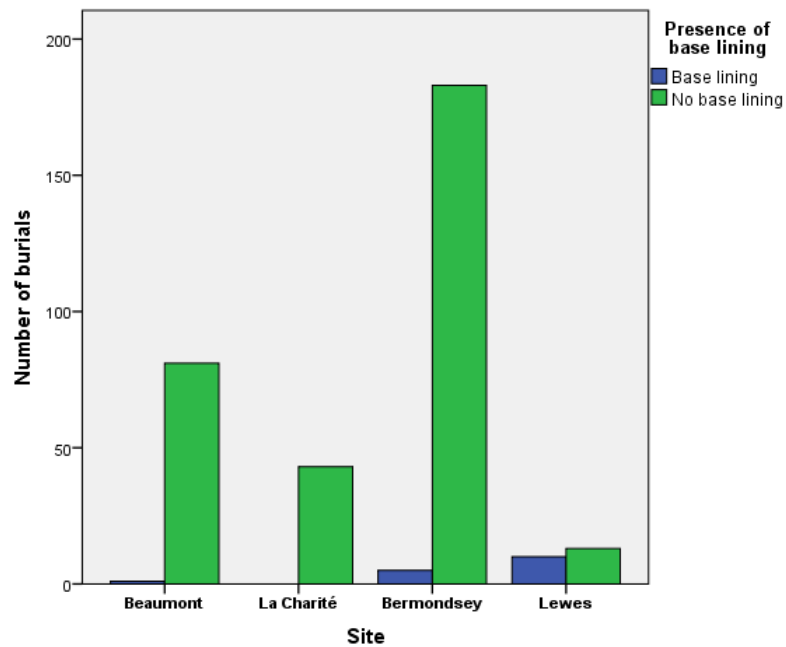
Figure 7.36: Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period burials including a base-lining of any of the five types (all phase, age and sex category data included)
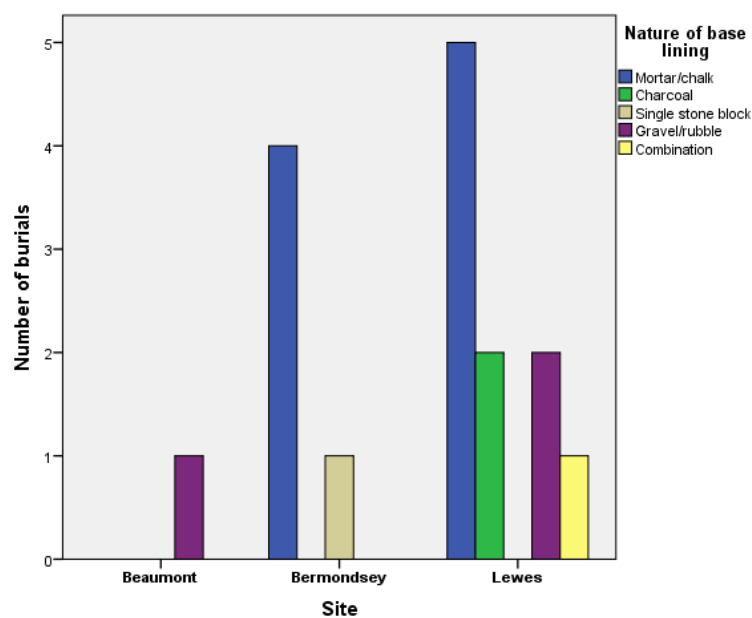
Figure 7.37: Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period burials including base-linings of one of the five types (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Site	Beaumont		La Charité		Bermondsey		Lewes	
	n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Beaumont	-	-	125	1.000	270	0.671	105	**<0.001**
La Charité	-	-	-	-	231	0.587	66	**<0.001**
Bermondsey					-	-	211	**<0.001**

Table 7.36: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Cluniac period burials including a base-lining of any of the five types (all phase, age and sex category data included).

No burials from La Charité included a base-lining beyond the natural soil or the underlying rock, onto which some graves cut. For Cluniac period Beaumont, only one burial recorded a base-lining (1.2%). Here, an immature individual (burial 59) from within the nave was interred on a rubble base. However, whether this was a purposeful addition is unclear. Conversely, both English sites exhibited evidence for the purposeful inclusion of base-linings. For Bermondsey, they were recorded in five burials (2.7% of the examinable sample for this site). Four cemetery burials were interred on a crushed chalk/mortar film base, one from the earlier phase (burial 202) and three from the later (burials 126, 132 and 182) and one (burial 130) was buried on a single slab of chalk. Both 130 and 132 were closed portable container burials and burials 182 and 202 were within tombs.

Prevalence was notably high at Lewes; 43.5% (n=10) of the sample included some form of base-lining. Mortar was used in 50% (n=5) of the burials including base-linings (4, 13, 22, 30 and 17A), 20% (n=2) included charcoal (burials 12 and 16) and 20% (n=2) included gravel (burials 21 and 28). Ten per cent (n=1) used both gravel and mortar (burial 26), where crushed mortar was positioned over the eastern end of the grave followed by a charcoal covering over the entire floor.

Intra-site analysis by phase

La Charité, Lewes and Bermondsey

No base-linings were recorded for La Charité. For Lewes, no significant inter-phase difference was recorded for presence [n=22, p=0.691]: 50% (n=6) and 40% (n=4) were scored for the early and later periods, respectively. This was also the case when comparing the types of base-linings [n=10, p=0.803]; sample sizes are however small. The use of gravel was only recorded in the earlier phase; both mortar and charcoal were used within both. Considering Bermondsey, Fisher's Exact tests did not indicate a significant inter-phase difference for presence [n=180,

p=0.650] or nature [n=5, p=1.000]. A prevalence of only 1.4% (n=1) and 3.7% (n=4) were recorded in the earlier and later phases, respectively.

Beaumont

No base-linings were recorded for the Augustinian period and only a tentative example derived from the later period.

7.3.2.8 Presence of head-niches

Overall comparison between sites for the Cluniac period

A total of 181 (52% of the total sample) Cluniac period burials could be examined for the presence of a head-niche. Including all phase, age and sex category data and considering both tombs and grave cuts combined, a Fisher's Exact test recorded a significant difference between sites [n=181, p=0.002] (Fig.7.38). Comparing presence between each site, significant differences were discernible between Beaumont and the two English sites (Table 7.37), where presence in the former was particularly rare (n=3 or 5.7% of the sample). All three burials (22, 58 and 141) were associated with tombs, with the tomb for burial 22 having been re-used. Overall, it appears that incorporation of a head-niche was a more common occurrence in the Cluniac period for the two English sites.
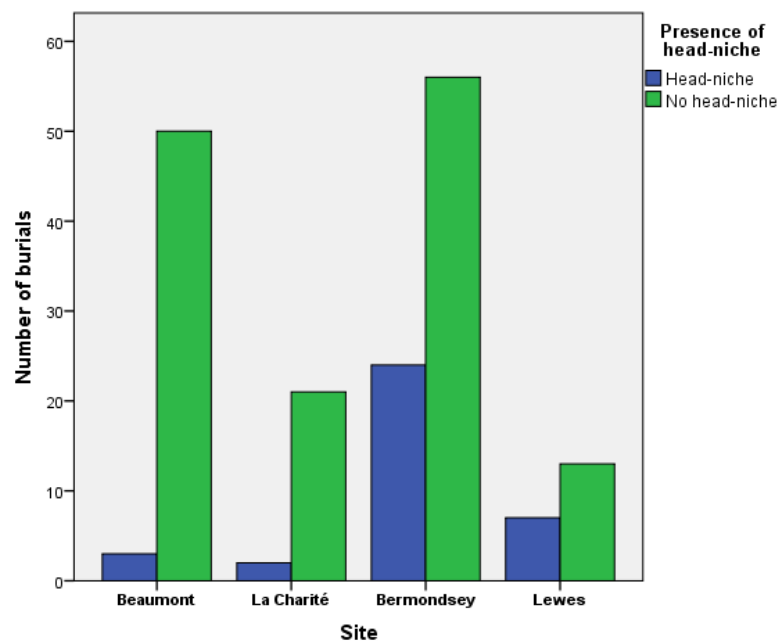
Figure 7.38: Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period burials including a head-niche either in a cut grave or tomb (all age and sex category data included).

Site	Beaumont		La Charité		Bermondsey		Lewes	
	n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Beaumont	-	-	76	0.635	136	**0.001**	74	**0.004**
La Charité	-	-	-	-	106	0.093	44	0.064
Bermondsey					-	-	104	0.600

Table 7.37: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Cluniac period burials including a head-niche (includes cut graves and tombs and all phase, age and sex category data).

Intra-site analysis by phase

La Charité, Lewes and Bermondsey

The inclusion of a head-niche in either the cut of the grave or the design of the tomb was particularly rare for La Charité, where they were recorded in only 8.7% (n=2) of recordable burials. Cemetery burials 215 and 294 were associated with more elaborately constructed tombs in the form of a mortared stone and a rock-cut tomb, respectively. Both date to the earlier Cluniac phase. Of the eight burials from the later gallery phase that could be assessed for this factor (89% of the total sample), no head-niches were identified.

Head-niches were more prevalent at Bermondsey and Lewes, where they were recorded in 28% (n=23) and 31.8% (n=7) of burials, respectively. There were no significant differences by phase for either Bermondsey [n=79, p=0.326] or Lewes [n=21, p=0.174]. However, whereas for Bermondsey, 35.3% (n=12) were recorded in the earlier phase and 24.4% (n=11) in the later, for Lewes, 46% (n=6) of burials included a head-niche in the earlier phase, but only one (12.5%) was recorded in the later. All head-niches at Lewes were associated with tombs. For Bermondsey, eight were associated with tombs but 15 were head-niches cut directly into the soil.

Beaumont

Comparing Beaumont's Augustinian and Cluniac period burials (all age and sex category data included), a Fisher's Exact test shows a significant difference in the presence of head-niches [n=105, p=<0.001] (Fig. 7.39), being more common in a statistically significant proportion in the Augustinian phase.
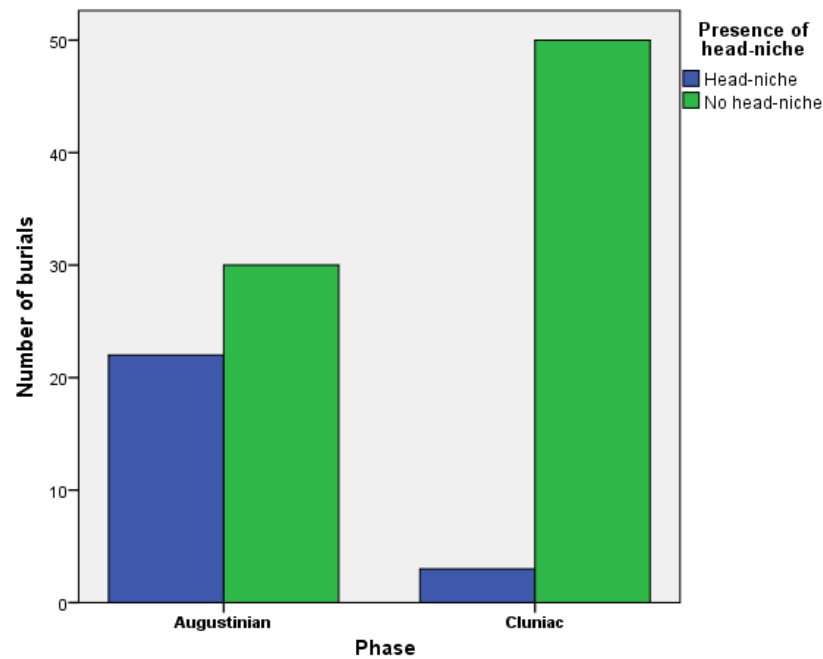
Figure 7.39: Number of Augustinian and Cluniac period burials incorporating a head-niche (all age and sex category data included).

Forty-two per cent (n=22) of burials in the earlier phase incorporated a head-niche, versus just 5.7% (n=3) from the later phase. Fisher's Exact tests did not show a highly significant difference when comparing Augustinian males and females [n=29, p=0.064] (Fig.7.40, left) or Cluniac males and females [n=36, p=0.525] (Fig.7.40, right). However, overall, it was more frequently associated with males, which could suggest that its use was more connected with the religious community. For Augustinian male and female burials, 68.4% (n=13) and 30% (n=3) included head-niches, respectively. The only two Cluniac period burials to incorporate head-niches were male; none were recorded for the 13 female burials.
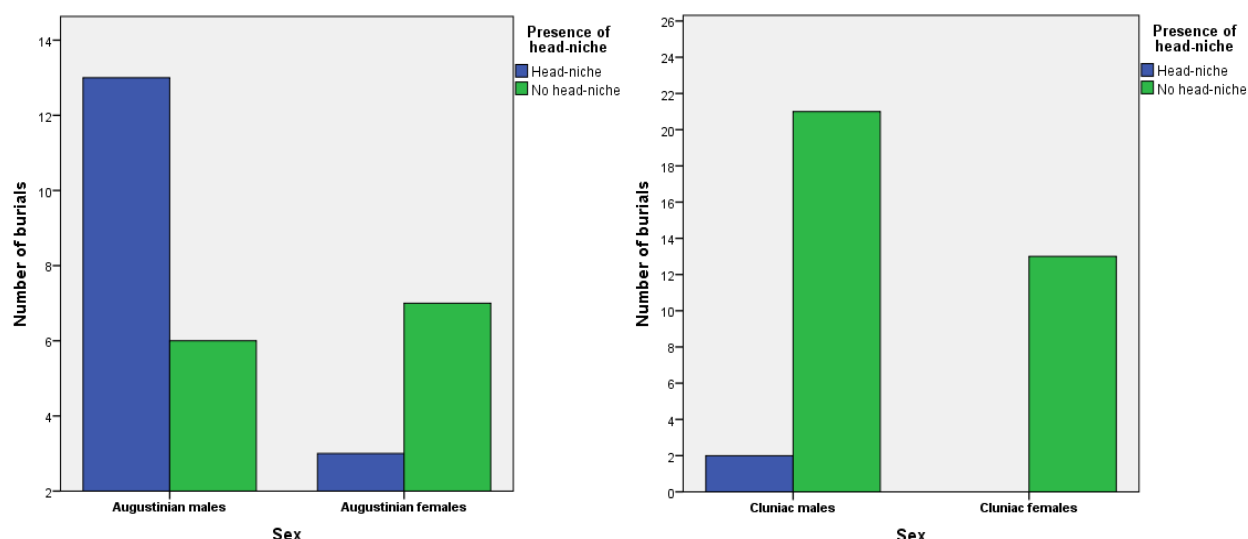
Figure 7.40: (left) Number of Augustinian and **(right)** Cluniac males and female burials incorporating a head-niche in either a tomb or cut grave.

Comparing presence by sex and period, Augustinian males exhibited significant differences between both Cluniac males and females (Table 7.38); head-niches were particularly rare for the Cluniac period.

Period/ sex	Cluniac males		Cluniac females	
	n	**p**	**n**	**p**
Augustinian males	42	**<0.001**	32	**<0.001**
Augustinian females	33	0.149	23	0.068

Table 7.38: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Augustinian and Cluniac period burials incorporating a head-niche by sex.

A comparison of adult and non-adult burials from the Augustinian period produced a significant difference [n=52, p=0.017]. Only 17.6% (n=3) of non-adult burials incorporated head-niches, compared to 54% (n=19) of adult burials. Infant burials 148 and 149 were buried in close proximity to one another against the outer wall of the Carolingian church and juvenile burial 195 was from within the nave. Overall, six of the burials were within tombs and 16 were anthropomorphic grave cuts. Of the seven Cluniac period non-adult burials that could be examined, no head-niches were recorded.

7.3.2.9 Pillows: presence and materials used

Overall comparison between sites for the Cluniac period

A total of 175 (50% of the total) Cluniac period individuals could be assessed for the presence of a pillow. A Fisher's Exact test recorded a significant inter-site difference [n=175, p=<0.001] (Fig.7.41). This was also the case for the type of pillow [n=20, p=<0.001] (Fig.7.42). Lewes Priory was the only site to record significant differences in the presence and nature of pillows with each of the other sites (Tables 7.39 and 7.40). The non-significant result between Lewes and La Charité for 'type of pillow' may be a result of the small sample size.
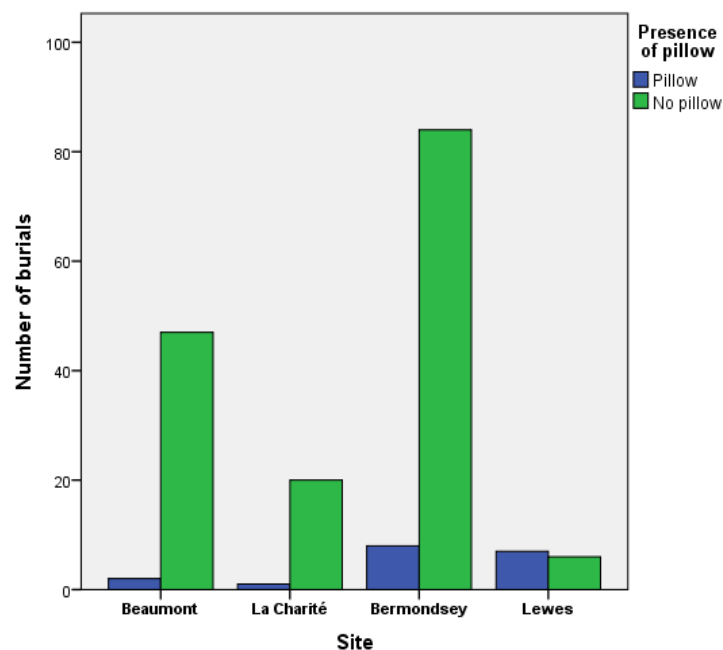
Figure 7.41: Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period burials including a pillow of any of the three types (all phase, age and sex categories included).
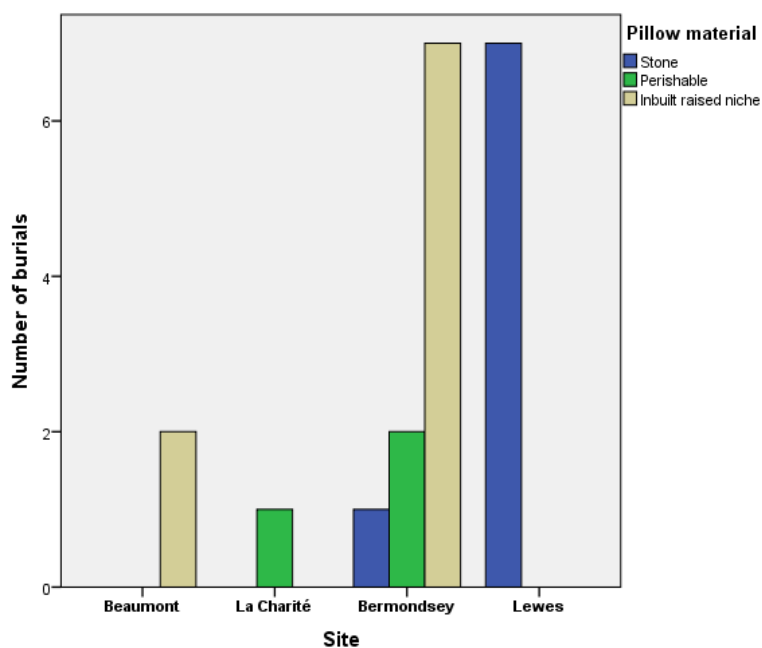
Figure 7.42: Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period burials including a pillow of the three types (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Site	Beaumont		La Charité		Bermondsey		Lewes	
	n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Beaumont	-	-	70	1.000	141	1.000	62	**<0.001**
La Charité	-	-	-	-	113	1.000	34	**0.002**
Bermondsey					-	-	104	**<0.001**

Table 7.39: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Cluniac period burials including pillows of any of the three types (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Site	Beaumont		La Charité		Bermondsey		Lewes	
	n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Beaumont	-	-	3	0.333	12	1.000	9	**0.028**
La Charité	-	-	-	-	11	0.361	7	0.125
Bermondsey					-	-	16	**<0.001**

Table 7.40: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Cluniac period burials including a pillow of one of the three types (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Presence of a pillow was rare in both French sites for the Cluniac period as only burial 294 from La Charité (4.8% of the examinable sample) recorded one. Only two burials (22 and 141) from Cluniac period Beaumont included built-in, raised head-niches. Only 8.7% (n=8) of burials from Bermondsey included pillows, the majority of which (n=7 or 70%) were raised head-niches

either built into the tomb (burials 30 and 128) or cut out of the ground (88, 120, 125, 152 and 188). Two perishable pillows were possibly included within the tomb burials 20 and 32, and burial 1 included a large greensand stone pillow. Lewes was notably different as 54% (n=7) of examinable burials included a pillow, although the sample is small. All were stone pillows; three of chalk (burials 8, 9 and 16), two of flint (burials 13 and 22), one of limestone (burial 17A) and one of unspecified type (burial 18). The pillow in burial 16 also had a creamy-white lime wash added to the upper surface only, which might have been used to draw particular attention to the head region.

Intra-site analysis by phase

La Charité, Lewes and Bermondsey

No pillows were recorded in the later gallery burials from La Charité. This is again in accordance with their overall material simplicity demonstrated thus far. For Lewes, there was no significant inter-phase difference in presence [n=13, p=0.592]. For the earlier phase, 62.5% (n=5) of burials included pillows, compared with 40% (n=2) in the later. For Bermondsey, no inter-phase significant differences in the presence [n=86, p=0.457] or the type [n=10, p=0.125] of pillows were identified. The numbers are small, although three times as many pillows were recorded in the later (n=6 or 12%) than the earlier (n=2 or 5%) phase and the only stone pillow was recorded in this later phase.

Beaumont

Comparing Augustinian and Cluniac period burials, a Fisher's Exact test exhibited a significant inter-site difference for the presence [n=92, p=0.005] but not for the type [n=14, 0.256] (all age and sex category data included) of the pillows (Figs.7.43 and 7.44).
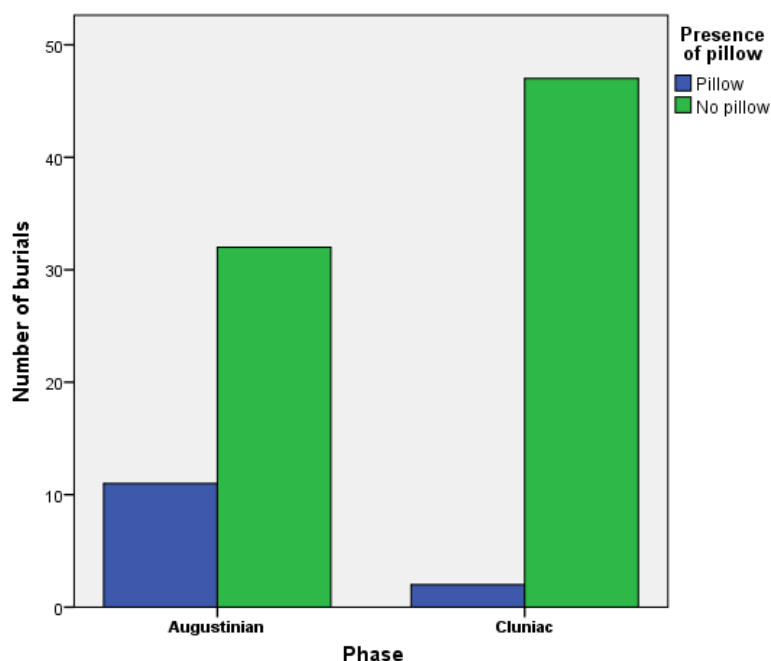
Figure 7.43: Number of Augustinian and Cluniac period burials incorporating a pillow of any of the three types (all age and sex category data included).
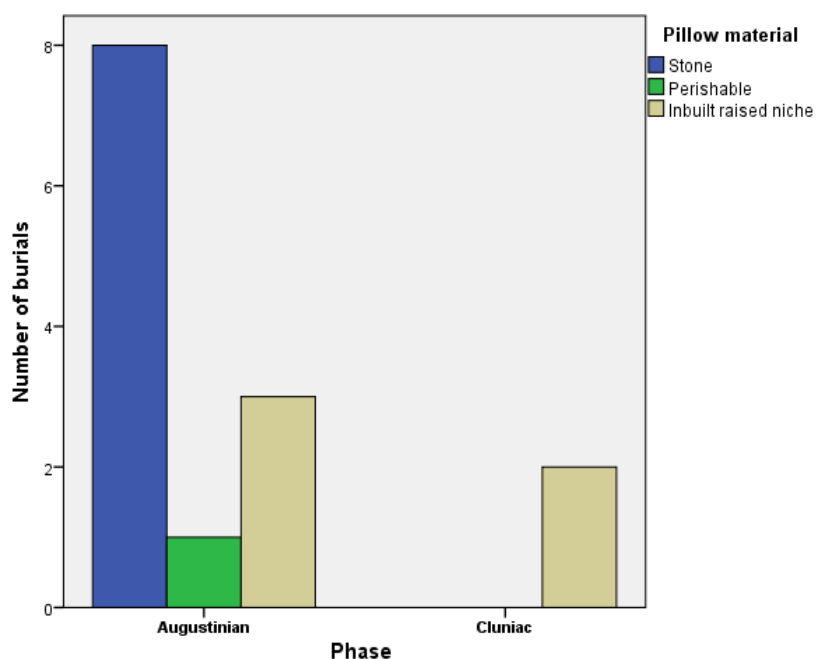
Figure 7.44: Number of Augustinian and Cluniac period burials including a pillow of one of the three types (all age and sex category data included).

For the examinable burials from the earlier phase, 25.6% (n=11) included pillows, versus only 4.2% (n=2) for the later. In comparison to the Cluniac phase where both were in-built, raised head-niches, eight burials for the earlier phase were stone pillows (burials 70, 123, 138, 144, 145, 151, 153 and 155), one was perishable (burial 189) and three were raised head-niches cut out of

the ground (burials 143 and 173) or built into a tomb (burial 166). Comparing Augustinian males and females, no significant differences were found for either the presence [n=26, p=1.000] or nature [n=8, p=1.000] of pillows, although small sample sizes must be noted. Twenty-five per cent (n=4) of male and 30% (n=3) of female burials included pillows, with the presence of a perishable pillow in one female grave constituting the only major difference in material used. Augustinian non-adults were also afforded pillow burials and a Fisher's Exact test did not show a significant difference for presence [n=43, p=1.000] or type [n=12, p=0.611] between non-adults and adults. Twenty-three per cent (n=3) of non-adult burials (juvenile 138 and infants 153 and 155) included pillows, all of which were stone. The three Cluniac period burials with pillows were all adults, one of which could be identified as male. Of the five non-adult burials which could be examined for this period, none contained a pillow.

7.3.2.10 'Head supports': presence and materials used

Overall comparison between sites for the Cluniac period

In total, 196 (56% of the total) Cluniac period burials could be examined for this variable. A Fisher's Exact test exhibited a significant inter-site difference between the number of burials including head-supports (stone, tile or bone) [n=196, p=0.020] (Fig.7.45). An inter-site comparison indicated that the only significant difference existed between Bermondsey and Lewes [n=118, p=0.024] (Table 7.41). Proportionally, the number of burials including head supports was considerably lower at Bermondsey.
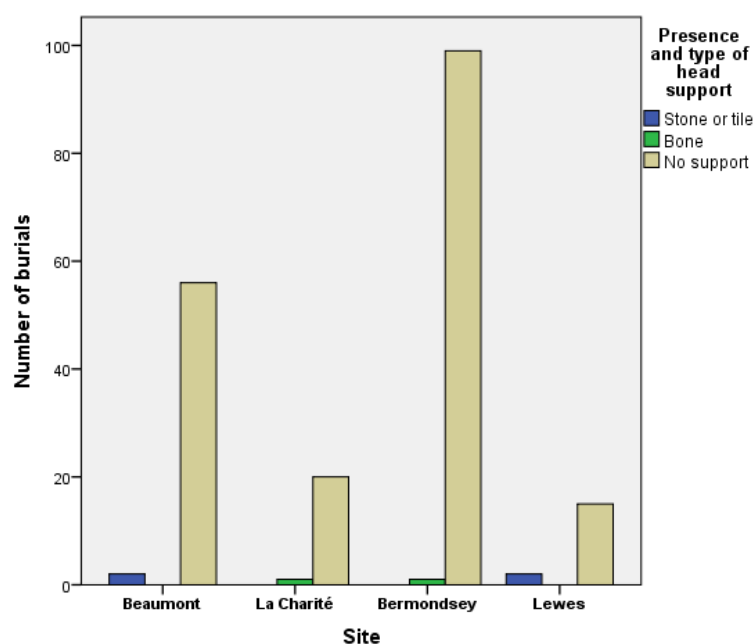
Figure 7.45: Number of Cluniac period burials including head supports of the different types (all phase, age and sex category data included).

Site	Beaumont		La Charité		Bermondsey		Lewes	
	n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Beaumont	-	-	79	0.315	158	0.136	75	0.219
La Charité	-	-	-	-	121	0.318	38	0.196
Bermondsey					-	-	117	**0.023**

Table 7.41: Fisher's Exact tests comparing the number of Cluniac period burials including head supports (all age and sex category data included).

The only head supports recorded from Bermondsey and La Charité consisted of bone. For the former, a cranium was included in the earlier phase cemetery burial 43 and a cranium and an *os coxae* flanked the head of the interment in the later phase gallery burial 177 from La Charité (Section 7.4.7). Lewes burials 6 and 16 recorded the inclusion of stone head supports; both derived from the earlier phase (pre-1200). Two female burials from Cluniac Beaumont (3.4% of the sample from this phase) included multiple small rocks packed around the head region (burial 52) or a single large rock against which the head was possibly positioned (burial 88). No Cluniac period males included head supports.

A Fisher's Exact test indicated a significant inter-phase difference in the inclusion of head support stones at Beaumont [n=113, p=0.014] (all age and sex category data included). Ten Augustinian burials (18.2% of the sample for this phase) included supports versus two (3.4%) from the Cluniac phase. Both Augustinian male (n=3 or 15.8%) and female (n=1 or 8.3%) burials

included them. Six Augustinians with 'head supports' were of unknown sex. No age-related significant differences were recorded, although numbers are small (n=55, p=1.000): 16.7% (n=3) of non-adults and 18.9% (n=7) of adults included them. Whereas stones/rocks were used for the older non-adult (burial 78) and adult interments (burials 158, 170, 174, 181, 184, 187 and 201), pieces of tile were packed around the heads of the two infants (burials 148 and 149).

Considering all of the sites, not all of the individuals buried with head supports were interred within voids, suggesting that movement of the head during decomposition may not always have been the primary motivation behind their use. Lateral movement of the head under the weight of soil during backfilling may, however, have been a concern. The osteological and archaeological evidence suggests that both the Lewes Priory (see above) and all of the Augustinian adults including 'supports' were initially interred under long-lasting or potentially partial/non-durable covers but this is not necessarily the case for the infants in Augustinian burials 148 and 149. The interments in Cluniac Beaumont burial 52, La Charité burial 177 and Bermondsey burial 43 all exhibited evidence for burial in a filled space. These head supports may therefore have been primarily symbolic additions in some cases. The interment in Beaumont burial 52 was also interred with a bed of gravel deposited under the head and trunk regions. A desire to draw particular attention to this region of the body could be one possibility; the packing of rocks about the head may, therefore, not have been primarily intended as a physical support.

7.3.2.11 Further inclusions: religious and personal items and deposits from graveside rituals.

Religious and personal items

The inclusion of religious items within the graves was scarce at each of the sites. None were recorded in burials from La Charité or Bermondsey. For Lewes Priory, 12% (n=3) of the sample were buried with items of this nature: burial 30 included a chalice and paten; fragments from an amphora, which could be related to some form of pilgrim token (Lyne 1997: 141), was found in burial 11; burial 12 included a possible papal bull. All date to the later Cluniac period and both burials 11 and 12 were males. For Cluniac period Beaumont, two adult males were buried with a metallic (burial 36) and ceramic bowl (burial 89); both were placed over the body in roughly the same location (abdominal/pelvic region) and could have been initially positioned in the hands. Both these individuals were recorded as 'clothed' burials and were located in opposing

side aisles in the priory church. No individuals from Augustinian period Beaumont were buried with religious items, which is also the case for females across the four sites.

Personal items were equally rare. No firm evidence was recorded from Bermondsey or Lewes. One individual from both La Charité and Cluniac period Beaumont were interred with jewellery items. An adult male (burial 151) from La Charité's later gallery phase was potentially interred with a pendant, which was recovered from between the clavicles. A Cluniac period adult female (burial 88) was found with a finger ring associated with the right hand. No individuals from Augustinian period Beaumont were buried with personal items. Furthermore, no non-adult burials included personal items.

Deposits from graveside practices

A total of 351 Cluniac period burials were examined for the inclusion of remains from specific graveside practices. These inclusions consisted of deposits of charcoal and/or vessels. The latter were arguably used to carry holy water or charcoal, or for use as incense burners (Chapter 8). A Fisher's Exact test recorded a significant inter-site difference in the number of Cluniac period burials incorporating evidence for graveside practices [n=351, p=<0.001] (all age and sex category data included). No evidence was found from either of the two English sites. Only one burial (2.2% of the examinable sample) from La Charité included evidence; burial 314, a cemetery burial dating to the earlier Cluniac phase, included a deposit of clay and charcoal by the feet of the adult male. The grave was also afforded a great deal of attention. It was cut out of the natural rock and included a perishable structure underneath the body and a wooden covering. No burials from within the later gallery produced any evidence for graveside rituals.

Beaumont is markedly different from the other three sites, where burials incorporated remains of a range of graveside practices. Following its re-foundation as a Cluniac establishment, they seemingly become more diverse (as far as the surviving burial evidence signals). A Fisher's Exact test recorded a significant inter-phase difference between the types of inclusion deposited within graves [n=152, p=<0.001].

Table 7.42 presents a summary by period, location, age and sex of the different types of inclusion potentially associated with graveside practices (charcoal OR ceramics, or ceramics AND charcoal) (see Fig.7.46). Figure 7.47 presents this information graphically. It should be noted that the following is based on available information from the original context sheets and photographs, and may be an under-representation. At each of these sites, also unknown is the extent to which certain elements such as charcoal may have been deposited in graves as part of

the funerary process, but for which no material evidence has survived. Remains may also have gone undetected during excavation. It is not unreasonable to suppose that across all sites we could be seeing an under-representation of graveside practices, which ultimately resulted in the inclusion of materials within the grave.

Burial	Period	Location	Sex	Age	Nature of deposit	Comments
136	Augustinian	-	UNK	Newborn	Charcoal	
139	Augustinian	External cemetery	UNK	0.5-1 yr	Charcoal	Against wall of grave
148	Augustinian	External cemetery	UNK	2-3 yrs	Charcoal	
149	Augustinian	External cemetery	UNK	2-3 yrs	Charcoal	
154	Augustinian	External cemetery	UNK	2-3 yrs	Charcoal	In hand region
173	Augustinian	-	M	Adult	Charcoal	In fill
174	Augustinian	-	UNK	Adult	Charcoal	In fill
175	Augustinian	External cemetery	UNK	Adult	Charcoal	In fill
184	Augustinian	External cemetery	F	Adult	Charcoal	In fill
186	Augustinian	External cemetery	UNK	Adult	Charcoal	Pocket of charcoal in fill
187	Augustinian	External cemetery	M	Adult	Charcoal	In fill. Abundant in relation to the organic remains
190	Augustinian	Nave	M	Adult	Charcoal	Fragments in fill, just above coffin cover
156	Cluniac	Choir	UNK	Adult	Charcoal	In fill
38	Cluniac	Nave	M	Adult	Several ceramic vessels	In fill
67	Cluniac	North side aisle	M	Adult	Ceramics	Under coffin and between coffin and wall
74	Cluniac	Nave	M	Adult	Ceramics	5 vessels in fill
75	Cluniac	North side aisle	M	Adult	1 ceramic vessel	To the left of the left foot
86	Cluniac	North side aisle	F	Adult	Ceramic	On top of tomb wall
87	Cluniac	North side aisle	M	Adult	Ceramics; pierced	Around and over body
90	Cluniac	North side aisle	F	Adult	Ceramics; pierced – evidence for burning?	Around body and alongside coffin
91	Cluniac	North side aisle	UNK	Adult	Ceramic	1 vessel in fill
93	Cluniac	Nave	M	Adult	Ceramics	Above and around body
24	Cluniac	Nave	M	Adult	Perforated ceramics and charcoal	In fill above coffin
6	Cluniac	Nave	F	Adult	Ceramics and charcoal	Against tomb walls
11	Cluniac	North side aisle	F	Adult	Frequent ceramics and charcoal	Between coffin and tomb wall
13	Cluniac	Choir	M	Adult	Ceramics	Under coffin
16	Cluniac	Nave	F	Adult	Ceramics; burning	By the head region
17	Cluniac	Choir	M	Adult	Ceramics; evidence for burning	7 broken in situ along edge of grave and in fill
19	Cluniac	Choir	UNK	Adult	Ceramics (pierced?); evidence for burning	In fill and foot of grave (4 in total).
20	Cluniac	Choir	M	Adult	Ceramics and charcoal	2 vessels alongside body. 1 by head with charcoal
27	Cluniac	Nave	F	Adult	Ceramics and evidence for burning	Pierced(?) ceramics bordering a ?coffin
52	Cluniac	North side aisle	F	Adult	Ceramics and Charcoal	5 vessels, 3 with charcoal
72	Cluniac	North side aisle	M	Adult	Ceramic and charcoal	Vessel on tomb wall, under the cover
102	Cluniac	North side aisle	F	Adult	Ceramic and charcoal	Many vessels around body
120	Cluniac	Side aisle	F	Adult	Several ceramic vessels and charcoal	Between coffin and cut edge

Table 7.42: Summary of the different types of graveside practices, remains of which were deposited within the graves of Augustinian and Cluniac period individuals.

Key: UNK = unknown sex; M = male; F = female; yr = year; yrs = years

Figure 7.46: Examples of funerary vessels and charcoal from Beaumont deposited within graves. **From left to right:** Cluniac burials 87, 90 and 120.

There is a distinct shift from the complete absence of funerary vessels deposited within the graves for the Augustinian period to the inclusion of ceramics (with or without evidence for burning/charcoal) in the Cluniac graves.
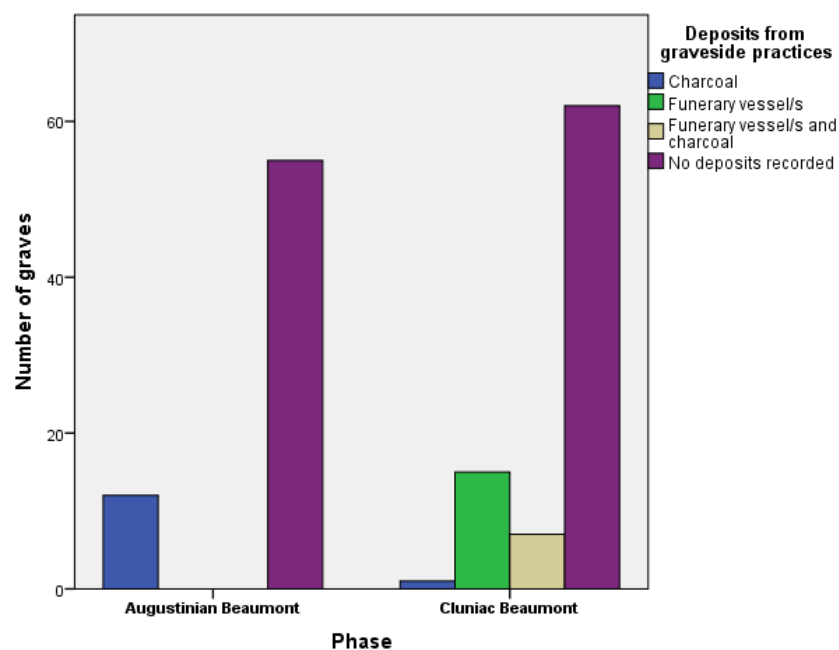
Figure 7.47: Number of Augustinian and Cluniac graves from Beaumont containing one of the different types of deposits from graveside practices (all age and sex category data included).

The remains of charcoal from the earlier burials (Table 7.42, first section) could be related to the emptying of vessels into the grave after ritual burning or censing the grave/body; spillage from vessels placed directly into the grave and later removed is also possible. Five of the 12 (42%) burials from the earlier period were those of individuals under the age of three. Burials 139, 148,

149 and 154 were closely grouped in an area with a high concentration of non-adults, exterior but close to the wall of the Carolingian building. Four of the adult burials (175, 184, 186 and 187) were also in the external cemetery, one was within the nave (burial 190) and three were from unknown locations. Six of the adult Augustinian period burials contained charcoal fragments in the fill and, as such, it was not possible to ascertain with confidence if they represent the remains of graveside practices or contamination from another source. Burial 187, however, provided more extensive evidence. This individual clearly decomposed in a filled space and a closed perishable container was discounted. There was, however, evidence for a localised void and ledges on which organic remains were recorded. The charcoal remains were recorded in the excavation documentation as becoming more abundant in proximity to the organic remains. This could represent a partial covering or a support over the burial on which burners were placed during the funeral. Burial 190 also provided evidence of charcoal, just above the container cover.

For the Cluniac period, ceramic vessels (including pierced vessels, which could have been used for sprinkling holy water) and those containing charcoal were deposited in a total of 23 graves (20% of the total for this period). Only burial 156 contained just charcoal in the fill. In contrast to the Augustinian period, all burials containing deposits from graveside practices were adults, comprising 48% males (n=11), 39% females (n=9) and 13% of unknown sex (n=3). Similarly to the Augustinian period, discrimination by sex is not evident, indicating that this was not a practice reserved exclusively for the monastic community. Such burials also derived from all areas of the internally excavated zones (Table 7.42). In the case of burials 67 and 13, ceramic vessels were recovered from underneath the burial container, possibly suggesting that the grave had been in some way treated (possibly with holy water) prior to the interment. In two cases (burials 86 and 72), the vessels had not been included within the actual grave context but instead had been placed on the top of the tomb walls, with the latter having been sealed by the cover.

Considering both the Augustinian and Cluniac periods, there could be a relationship between those buried either within a closed portable container or under a perishable cover and the inclusion of deposits from graveside practices. Of the 12 burials recorded for the earlier period, 67% (n=8) included evidence of a perishable structure. Three (burials 154, 186 and 190) were buried in closed portable containers (50% of the total number of such burials for this period). A further five (173, 174, 175, 184 and 187) exhibited evidence for covers or partial covers. For the Cluniac period, 13 of the 23 burials (57%) containing remains of graveside practices also

exhibited evidence for burial within a closed portable container. Of the 20 container burials in total recorded for this phase, 65% also included ceramic and/or charcoal deposits. Seven of the 23 burials (30%) containing remains from graveside practices were in tombs, with three including stone covers.

7.3.3 Summary

Significant inter- and intra-site differences were identified for the majority of variables related to burial construction. Orientation and body attitude were the two variables exhibiting the most uniformity and this was the case for all Cluniac and pre-Cluniac burials. All were west-east orientated and only three of the individuals that could be examined were not positioned supine. The individual buried prone from Bermondsey and the side burial from Cluniac Beaumont demonstrates that in rare cases, deviations could occur.

In contrast to 'body preparation', La Charité and Bermondsey show the greatest degree of similarity for many variables. Overall, mode of burial was relatively simple at both these sites. The space of decomposition analysis indicated that the vast majority of individuals were interred in the ground and covered directly by soil. Burial in tombs, closed portable containers, under a cover or on a perishable structure was not common and no significant inter-phase differences existed for either site. For La Charité, where cases of closed portable containers, covers (stone or wood) or biers/perishable structures under the body were recorded, all derived from the early Cluniac phase and the majority were associated with the very early, possible foundation period, rock-cut tombs. The vast majority of burials in the later gallery phase recorded no evidence for grave structures; the only recorded cover for this phase consisted of charcoal and lime. Only one mortared tomb was recorded and the remainder were those carefully cut out of the rock; all were from the earlier period, except for gallery burial 206. Only two head-niches, one perishable pillow and one example of a burnt deposit within the grave were recorded for this site; all were from the early cemetery phase and predominantly associated with the early rock tombs. No base-linings or religious items were recorded and only one individual from the later gallery was interred with a possible jewellery item. The only possible example of an additional head support was a later gallery burial, where bones were positioned flanking the head. Overall, the burials from La Charité are exceptionally simple and notably more so in the later gallery phase; a distinct temporal shift is discernible, where grave elaboration becomes less marked over time, particularly in comparison to the earliest Cluniac burials on site.

Overall, Bermondsey's burials are equally simple in their construction and inclusions. The rare examples of closed portable containers, covers and other forms of perishable structure occurred in both phases and the majority of perishable covers were associated with tombs. These were rarely included with earth graves. Not all individuals within the chapel decomposed in a void, showing that, similarly to La Charité, a more prestigious burial location did not necessarily equate to a more elaborate burial structure. Stone tomb burials were also uncommon, but were more prevalent in the earlier phase; the vast majority were burials directly in the ground. In contrast to La Charité and Cluniac Beaumont (see below), base-linings, head-niches and pillows were more common. This is comparable to Lewes. Mortar added to the base of the grave was recorded in four burials and could be associated with closed portable containers and tomb burials. Head-niches were either built into tombs or cut into the earth. They appear to have been slightly more prevalent in the earlier phase, although numbers are small. Pillows of varying material were infrequently included and were found in both periods. No burials from Bermondsey recorded evidence for personal or religious items or remains from graveside practices. Overall, burial was simple with few examples of elaboration; this was the case for both periods, where no significant changes in practices were discernible.

Lewes Priory and Beaumont (both phases) are notably different to the above two sites for many of the variables and overall reflect more of a concern for the material construction and elaboration of the grave contexts. At Lewes, mode of burial across the sample was notably elaborate, particularly more so than for La Charité and Bermondsey. Decomposition in a void and burial within a tomb (predominantly of mortared stone) and either in a closed portable container or under a cover (perishable or stone) were common; no significant inter-phase differences were recorded. Burial on a bier or some form of perishable structure was uncommon; only two possible cases were identified, both from the earlier period. Base-linings, head-niches and pillows were prevalent. Head-niches were more common in the earlier phase, as were head support stones but stone pillows were used fairly equally in both phases. Base-linings, which were present in both early and late phases, were observed in half the recordable burials and varying materials (gravel, mortar and charcoal) were used. Whether these were symbolic or practical (e.g. to soak up liquids) can be debated (Section 8.1). Similarly to Bermondsey, no personal items or remains of graveside practices (e.g. incense burning) were detected but three burials from the later period included religious items. Overall, burials from Lewes and Beaumont exhibit evidence within both phases for containment of the body, together with a greater range of grave elaborations, when compared to La Charité and Bermondsey.

A distinct shift in practice for many burial variables was recorded between Augustinian and Cluniac period Beaumont and important inter-site differences were noted between Cluniac Beaumont and the other three sites. In contrast to La Charité and Bermondsey, the frequency of decomposition in a void was significantly higher at Cluniac Beaumont. Burial in a void was also notably common in the earlier phase; for both phases, no significant differences existed by sex or age. The use of closed portable containers for the Cluniac period was comparatively high compared to La Charité and Bermondsey but not to Lewes. There appears to have been an increased use in the later period of closed portable containers; presence was less common for the Augustinian period. This could potentially reflect an increase in the number of individuals being transported over longer distances for burial in the Cluniac monastery. Conversely, the use of covers, particularly of perishable material, was greater in the earlier period. No significant differences were observed between use of closed portable containers or covers by age and sex for either period; overall, no one group was treated significantly differently on burial. For both periods, burial in a tomb was relatively common, particularly compared to Bermondsey and post-foundation period La Charité. Again, no significant inter- or intra phase differences existed by age or sex. A broad range of materials for tomb construction were used in both phases indicating a degree of choice. However, in contrast to the two English sites, additional base-linings were not recorded.

As at La Charité and in contrast to the English sites, head-niches were uncommon in Beaumont's Cluniac phase and were entirely absent for the females and non-adults. A significantly greater number were recorded in the Augustinian phase, particularly for male burials, but female and non-adults were also afforded them. Pillows and head-support stones were not that common for the Cluniac phase, similarly to La Charité and Bermondsey. As with head-niches, their inclusion was significantly higher in the Augustinian phase, but no significant differences were recorded by sex or age. Stone was the most commonly used material for head supports.

Finally, remains of graveside practices deposited with the interment were significantly more common at Beaumont (both phases) compared to the other three sites. A distinct shift is, however, notable between phases, as vessels used for burning were incorporated in the Cluniac period graves. This appears to have been reserved for adults, a number of whom were also buried in a closed portable container. This could support the argument that this phase sees a rise in the number of individuals being brought for burial from further afield, where the censing

could have been used to disguise odours. A symbolic element to their inclusion must also be considered and will be discussed in Section 8.1.2 in relation to the prescriptions outlined in the customaries.

The following section goes beyond the burial practices afforded solely to the newly deceased to consider treatment of disturbed remains in relation to new interments.

7.4 Post-liminal rites: post-burial skeletal manipulations

Strategies for managing disturbed remains are assessed in this section, focusing on the degree and nature of organisation of the previous deceased *in relation* to the new interment. A general assessment of grave intercutting and skeletal disturbance by site and phase is followed by an examination of the strategies used to reincorporate disturbed remains within individual grave contexts. The customaries prescribe how the soul of the deceased should be practically and spiritually provided for but they omit the long-term care and management of the physical body (Chapter 3). This section examines the various responses prompted by their discovery.

Lewes Priory is excluded from the majority of the following discussion given the lack of recorded disturbance. This raises questions surrounding relative demands on space within certain burial zones and the extent to which the location of intra-mural graves may have been more clearly marked within certain locations.

7.4.1 Overall burial disturbance: grave intercutting

Intercutting of graves frequently occurred in medieval cemeteries but the skeletal remains of previous interments were not always affected. The following considers intercutting that resulted in disturbance to buried bodies. It should be noted that the degree of grave intercutting summarised here is undoubtedly an underestimation given that, in some cases, it was not evident from the excavation records where a grave cut a previous interment. Furthermore, it is likely that some burials were obliterated during grave digging and the remains deposited elsewhere (see also Cherryson 2007). The following presents a broad summary of the principal findings.

A Fisher's Exact test indicated that there was a significant difference between sites in the number of Cluniac period graves cutting the body of a previous interment [n=348, p=<0.001] (Fig.7.48); a comparison of Beaumont and Bermondsey recorded the only non-significant difference [n=277, p=0.188]. In contrast to Lewes, where only one burial visibly cut the body of a previous deceased, the funerary space examined at La Charité was heavily used and re-used; 63% (n=21) of examinable Cluniac period burials cut a previous interment. Disturbance appears less frequent at Beaumont and Bermondsey, with 24.7% (n=21) and 17.2% (n=33), respectively, visibly cutting remains.
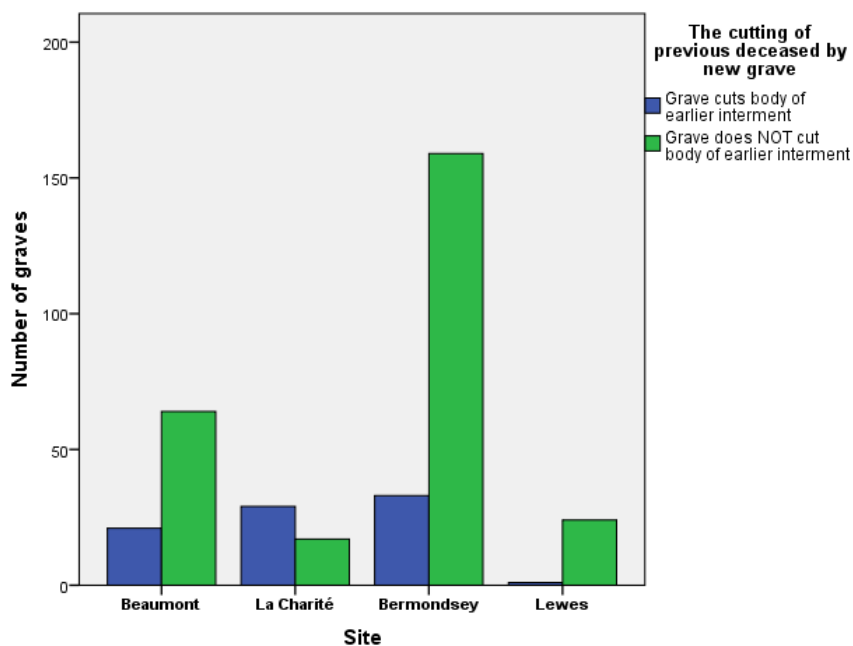
Figure 7.48: Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period burials cutting the physical remains of previous interments.

There were no significant differences between phases for Bermondsey Abbey [n=183, p=0.508]. Tomb burial 32 disturbed human remains, despite having been made in roughly the first fifty years of the monastery's foundation, when pressure for cemetery space cannot have been high. At least four burials were also disturbed by charnel pits. Given that La Charité's thirteenth-century gallery was built directly over an already intensively used cemetery, all burials (n=9) from within this later Cluniac period structure disturbed remains, versus 54.1% (n=20) from the earlier period.

There were no significant differences in intercutting between Augustinian and Cluniac period Beaumont [n=152, p=0.159], where 14.9% (n=10) of Augustinian burials and 24.7% (n=21) of Cluniac burials cut previous interments. At least ten of the Cluniac burials, all of which were intra-mural, cut those from within the same phase.

7.4.2 Disturbed remains 'in fill' versus 'in association' with the new deceased

For Beaumont, La Charité and Bermondsey, where a burial cut a previous interment, the contexts were examined to determine whether disturbed remains were placed in the fill, or deposited in association with the newly deceased (Section 6.2.4), in both of these, or possibly deposited elsewhere. Table 7.43 provides a breakdown of the findings.

Site	Period	No. of burials cutting previous interment	Bones in fill	%	Bones in association with new body	%	Both	%	Deposited elsewhere ?	%
Beaumont	August'n	14	6	**43**	1	**7**	1	**7**	6	**43**
	Cluniac	25	15	**60**	0	**0**	1	**4**	9	**36**
La Charité	Cluniac	30	8	**27**	2	**7**	18	**60**	2	**7**
Bermondsey	Cluniac	31	5	**16**	5	**16**	5	**16**	16	**52**

Table 7.43: Breakdown of overall treatment of the disturbed remains by site for each burial which visibly cut a previous interment (excludes pre-Cluniac burials from La Charité and includes burials recorded as 'maybe cuts previous interment').

The inter-site differences are striking. For Beaumont's Cluniac period, despite recording a similar prevalence of burial inter-cutting to La Charité and Bermondsey, only burial 38 (4% of the examinable sample) exhibited evidence for arranging the bones in association with the newly deceased. In this case, however, only a single long-bone was identified, haphazardly positioned over the body of the new interment. Sixty per cent (n=15) of burials recorded the disturbed remains in the fill above and 36% (n=9) possibly had their remains positioned elsewhere, such as in charnel pits. Beaumont's Augustinian period also exhibited a small percentage of bones being deposited in association with the new body (n=1 or 7%). Although 43% (n=6) of burials included human remains, this was exclusively in the fill above. Closed portable container use, which was more prevalent at Beaumont (Section 7.3.2.2), is an important factor to consider. However, 19 Augustinian and Cluniac burials with human remains in the fill were not buried in any form of container, versus ten in a container. Overall, for this site, there appears to have been less of a willingness to physically associate the old with the new, even in the case of those individuals not interred within a container.

La Charité is markedly different. Here, 30 burials cut a previous deceased individual but only 7% (n=2) exhibited potential evidence for remains being placed elsewhere; 27% (n=8) of burials included remains deposited only in the fill above, 7% (n=2) had only the remains positioned in association with the new interment, and 60% (n=18) recorded both. For Bermondsey, although 52% (n=16) were potentially deposited elsewhere, 16% (n=5) were positioned in association with the new interment and a further five were positioned in association and in the fill above. It should be noted that compared to Cluniac period La Charité and Beaumont, Bermondsey had the poorest degree of skeletal completeness (Table 7.12), due to a high frequency of grave truncation. The results should thus be taken with caution given that truncation may have removed evidence for bone re-deposition. However, in contrast to Beaumont, the evidence from

these two sites implies more of a willingness to physically associate the old with the new bodies. Although expediency, or a lack of an alternative method of disposal can also be considered, the results presented below demonstrate in many cases a handling and re-arrangement beyond that required by simple necessity.

Numerous burials, even where evidence for grave disturbance was not present, included disarticulated remains in both the fill and in association with the newly deceased. These could have come from disturbed grave fills, charnel or from obliterated burials. Incorporating this data with those presented in Table 7.43 produces the following results (Table 7.44):

Site	Period	Total no. of burials containing disturbed remains	% of total no. of burials	No. of burials with bones in association with new body	Bones in association as a % of total no. of graves containing disturbed remains	No. of graves with bones in fill	Bones in fill as a % of total no. containing disturbed remains
Beaumont	August'n	15	22	5	33	13	87
	Cluniac	24	28	2	8	23	96
La Charité	Cluniac	28	61	20	71	26	93
Berm'sey	Cluniac	32	17	19	59	22	69

Table 7.44: Breakdown of overall treatment of the disturbed remains by site for each burial containing disturbed remains (excludes pre-Cluniac burials from La Charité).

Again, a different strategy for managing disturbed remains is discernible. Sixty-one per cent (n=28) of burials from La Charité included disturbed remains in the grave (either in the fill or in association with the body), versus only 17% (n=32) from Bermondsey, and 28% (n=24) and 22% (n=15) from Cluniac and Augustinian period Beaumont, respectively. A Fisher's Exact test indicates that there is no significant inter-phase difference at Beaumont for the inclusion of remains in association with the new interment [n=153, p=0.243]. There was, however, a highly significant difference when comparing the three sites (pooling individuals for both Beaumont's phases) [n=320, p=<0.001]. Seventy-one per cent (n=20) of burials containing disturbed remains from La Charité included the bones in association with the new interment, compared to 59% (n=19) from Bermondsey and just 8% (n=2) from Cluniac period Beaumont. Burials were fairly intact and discernible for Beaumont; the relatively low percentage of graves incorporating disturbed remains in association with the newly deceased cannot therefore be attributed to a poor overall level of grave completeness.

7.4.3 Elements represented

Where bones were arranged in association with the new interment, analysis was undertaken to assess which category of skeletal remains was the most prevalent and whether there was a discernible strategy of selecting certain elements. A Fisher's Exact test showed that for the Cluniac period, there was no significant difference between sites [n=42, p=0.692]. There were also no inter-phase differences for elements represented for La Charité [n=20, p=0.519] or Bermondsey [n=19, p=0.542].
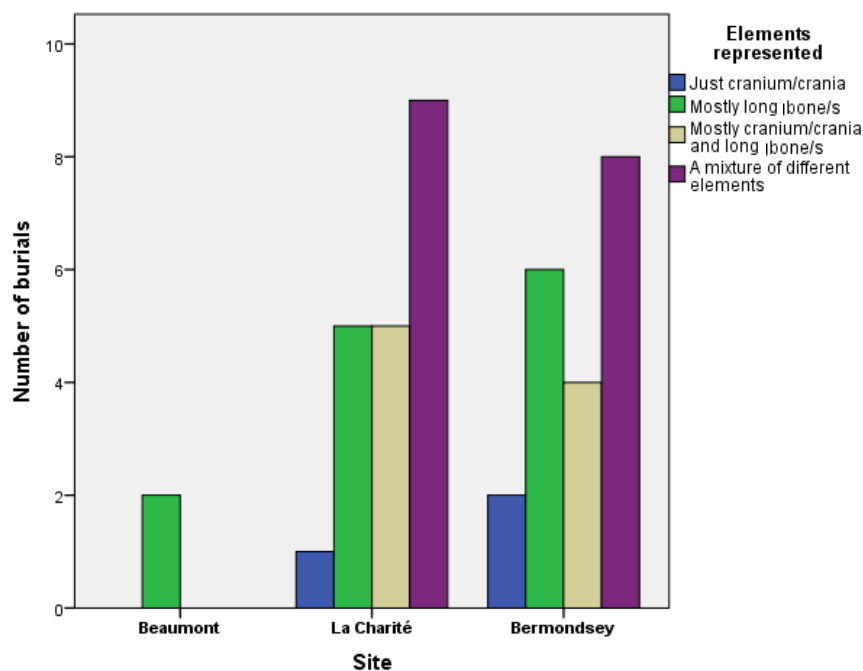
Figure 7.49:   Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period burials containing one of the four classes of skeletal elements (includes all phase categories).

Figure 7.49 indicates that overall, there was not one clear strategy for selecting or arranging certain types of bones. Forty-five per cent (n=9) and 40% (n=8) of graves from La Charité and Bermondsey, respectively, included a mixture of disturbed remains within the grave context. At both these sites, reduced burials were recorded in which there was re-organising of most, or all, of the bones from an individual/s in the same space where decomposition took place. La Charité gallery burials 177, 195, 203, 206 and cemetery burials 180, 185-212, 258 and 304 included multiple reduced individuals in physical association with the new interment. Cemetery burials 7, 50 and 55 from Bermondsey also recorded reduced burials, where the majority of the disturbed individual was left and re-arranged in place. Thus, at these two sites in a number of cases, no attempt had been made to physically separate the old from the new; the previous deceased were also afforded a prominent position within the grave. Fifty per cent (n=10) of

burials from both La Charité and Bermondsey included just crania and/or long bones. Burials 310 (La Charité) and 43, 187 (Bermondsey) included only crania, carefully positioned. In the case of burials 310 and 43, mixed bone was also recorded in the fill, suggesting that these crania had been specifically selected for different treatment. For Bermondsey burial 187, only the cephalic extremity from the individual in burial 192 had been inadvertently removed and re-deposited and no other bone was recorded in the fill. Where 'mostly long-bone/s' was recorded, burials 144 and 277 (La Charité) and burials 18, 48, 77 and 95 (Bermondsey) included isolated bones, which although located in association with the new interment, may have been inadvertently included; their positioning appears more haphazard. Many of the remaining burials where 'mostly long bone/s' or 'mostly cranium/crania and long bone/s', exhibited possible evidence for deliberate selection of the larger bones for different treatment. Burials 164, 203 and 244 (La Charité) included carefully positioned crania and long bones in association with the deceased but frequent mixed bone was also recorded in the fill. This suggests a possible selection of these larger elements for handling and arranging. For burial 203, the bones 'bundled up' and positioned over the head of the interment were primarily the larger long bones and crania. This suggests either a selective arrangement of this class of material, possibly due to ease of collection, or a selection of those bones considered most important and in need of special treatment. Gallery burial 206 is a unique case. The new interment was predominantly surrounded by many complete long-bones, arguably deliberately arranged around him, and a layer of charcoal and lime had been deposited above (Fig.7.50).

Figure 7.50: Gallery burial 206 (La Charité) showing the arrangement of long-bones encircling the body, and the charcoal and lime layer above.

The larger long bones may simply have been moved to the perimeter of the grave at the time of burial, whilst the smaller ones were more easily shoveled out and deposited elsewhere. The covering of charcoal and lime could indicate the need for a prophylactic measure (Billoin 2005: 77), potentially suggesting that at the time of death the individual suffered from an infectious disease; an urgent burial where the fastest and simplest strategy was employed could be proposed. Alternatively, a deliberate selection and handling of this class of bone is feasible. It should be noted that some of the long bones were positioned over the lower limbs of burial 206's interment, suggesting a reincorporation after inhumation, whilst other mixed remains were deposited in the fill above.

Bermondsey burials 16, 32, 49 and 50 are comparable with one another in that a large number of long-bones from multiple individuals (burial 16) or crania and long bones (burials 32, 49 and 50) had been re-grouped or arranged in association with the new interment. No other bones were recorded in the fill. These may have been specifically chosen for re-incorporation, whilst other bones were deposited elsewhere. Burial 119 included a cranium, mandible and long-bones possibly arranged with the new interment, but other mixed remains were also recorded in the fill. These particular elements may have been selected for special treatment and afforded a more prominent and visible position in the grave context.

No significant difference existed between Augustinian and Cluniac period Beaumont [n=7, p=0.574], although small sample sizes may have influenced this result. For Cluniac Beaumont, burial 59 included an isolated long bone but its intentional inclusion is unclear. Two long-bones were aligned on the grave floor of burial 38 (Section 7.4.4). For the Augustinian period, burials 109 and 193 included an isolated frontal region and long bones, respectively, which again may or may not have been deliberately included with the deceased. Adult male burials 181 and 196 incorporated mixed remains deriving from two disturbed infants (Section 7.4.4).

7.4.4 Overall arrangement of disturbed remains

Where disturbed remains were placed in association with the new interment, they were assessed to examine the extent to which they may have been more deliberately and carefully arranged, or scattered/disorganised, following strategies outlined in Appendix 4. Forty-one Cluniac period burials could be assessed for this variable.

Fisher's Exact tests indicated that there were no significant differences between sites in the overall arrangement of skeletal elements when comparing Cluniac period Beaumont, La Charité and Bermondsey [n=41, p=0.233] or between just La Charité and Bermondsey [n=39, p=0.173]. For the latter two sites, some important differences are still discernible (Fig.7.51; see below).
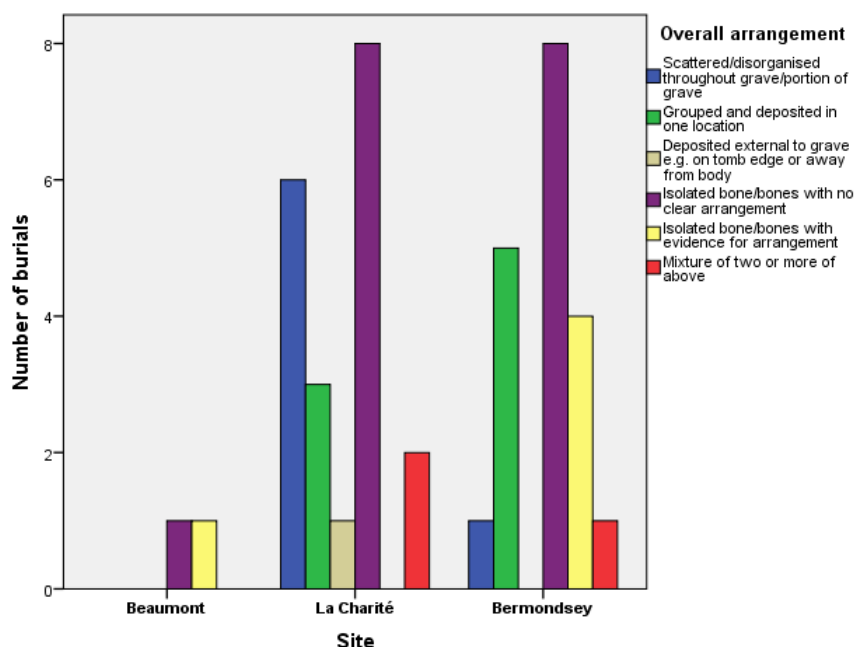
Figure 7.51: Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period burials exhibiting one of the seven strategies for overall arrangement of disturbed remains.

For Cluniac period Beaumont, both of the two cases involved only isolated bones. One (burial 38 from within the nave) included two long-bones aligned and placed horizontally on the grave floor prior to the inclusion of the deceased in a closed portable container. They would have been hidden from view to onlookers following interment.   For both La Charité and Bermondsey, 40% (n=8) and 42% (n=8) of burials, respectively, included isolated bones, which may or may not have been deliberately arranged. Sixteen per cent of burials (n=3) from Bermondsey included isolated bone/s with clear evidence for arrangement. In particular, cemetery burials 43 and 187 included individual or multiple crania positioned in prominent and highly visible locations on top of or against the new body (Fig.7.52).

Figure 7.52: Examples of deliberately arranged crania in burials 43 and 187, Bermondsey Abbey.

La Charité recorded a much higher percentage of burials with remains scattered/disorganised within the grave (n=6 or 30%) compared to just one (5.3%) (burial 7) from Bermondsey. This could be related to the sheer number of disturbed interments at La Charité, with the simplest and least time-consuming strategy being to re-incorporate all of the remains without an organised arrangement. Both cemetery and later gallery burials included this strategy and in most cases (burials 180, 195, 185-212 and 304), the disturbed remains were haphazardly positioned over portions or the majority of the interment, obscuring part of the body from view. Only gallery burial 206 included frequent long-bones mostly under and surrounding the body. Purposeful grouping of remains and deposition in one main location was evident in 15% (n=3) of burials from La Charité and 26% (n=5) of burials from Bermondsey.

La Charité gallery and cemetery burials 177 and 258, respectively, included multiple reduced burials, which, for the most part, were piled up over the lower limb region (Fig.7.53), thereby leaving the upper body visible. Gallery burial 203 was unusual given that the remains of two individuals were grouped and deposited over the head of the new interment, partly obscuring this region from view (Fig.7.53); at least at the point of grave closure, the focus of the living does not seem to have been entirely on the newly deceased.

Figure 7.53: Examples of arranged disturbed remains. **From left to right:** burials 177, 258 and 203, La Charité.

Finally, possible element matching was identified for one burial (5% of the sample) from La Charité. Gallery burial 164 included a still articulated tibia and fibula possibly deliberately placed over the lower limb of the new interment. Burial 49 from Bermondsey (5.3% of the sample) included two crania flanking the head region, long bones were placed alongside the limbs and an *os coxae* was positioned over the equivalent region of the new body. Tomb burial 32 from within the cemetery recorded a 'mixed' strategy. A cranium was positioned by the cephalic extremity, a radius crossed over the abdominal region and a fibula was aligned alongside the lower limb, all potentially suggestive of element matching. However, two long bones were not included within the grave but were instead positioned carefully aligned on top of the tomb wall. This case is arguably comparable to burial 181 from Augustinian period Beaumont, where infant bones were regrouped on the tomb wall and sealed under the cover. However, in the case of the latter, a desire for a complete physical separation of disturbed remains from the new interment can be proposed, whereas the former could imply a selective process of inclusion and exclusion.

Fisher's Exact tests indicated that no significant inter-phase differences existed for either La Charité [n=20, p=0.197] or Bermondsey [n=18, p=0.061] for the arrangement of disturbed remains. This was also the case for Augustinian and Cluniac phase Beaumont [n=7, p=0.713], but small sample sizes must be considered.

7.4.5 Proximity of new interment in relation to disturbed remains

In total, 42 burials could be assessed for this variable. A Fisher's Exact test indicated that no significant differences existed between sites [n=42, p=0.249] when comparing Cluniac period Beaumont, La Charité and Bermondsey (although sample sizes for Beaumont are small) or between the latter two [n=40, p=0.273] (Fig.7.54).
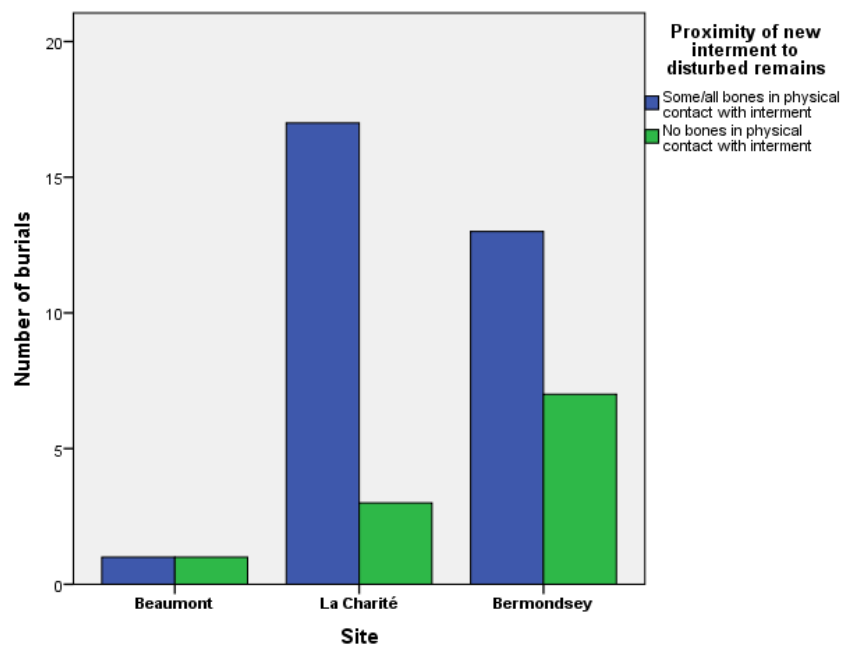
Figure 7.54: Inter-site comparison of the number of Cluniac period burials including disturbed remains either in physical contact with the new interment or positioned separately.

Only burial 59 from Cluniac period Beaumont recorded disturbed remains in direct physical contact with the new interment. However, given that this was a single bone, haphazardly positioned, intentionality is not clear, particularly as movement of soil into the body cavities during decomposition could have brought this bone into proximity with the body. Conversely, 85% (n=17) and 65% (n=13) of burials from La Charité and Bermondsey, respectively, included the remains in direct physical contact with the new interment. No significant differences were recorded between phases for La Charité [n=20, p=0.521] or Bermondsey [n=19, p=0.377]; this strategy of physically integrating old and new existed throughout the history of both sites. All recordable burials from La Charité's later gallery phase (n=7) included re-deposited remains in direct physical contact with the new interment. Therefore, even for these arguably more prestigious internal burials, the same strategy was employed. This is comparable to tomb burials from Bermondsey where, as burial 32 demonstrates, the arguably higher status interments within tombs were not necessarily afforded a different treatment to those interred

directly in the ground; disturbed remains were still positioned in direct physical contact and in prominent positions in relation to the newly deceased.

For Augustinian and Cluniac Beaumont, only one burial from each period physically associated bones of the previous deceased with the new interment. In Augustinian burial 196, the remains of an infant were seemingly arranged over the arm of the deceased. This is in contrast to other disturbed non-adult burials from this same period, where the remains were simply included haphazardly within the fill.

7.4.6 Positions of re-deposited crania

Nineteen burials were assessed for this variable. For the Cluniac period, only La Charité and Bermondsey recorded evidence for the deliberate arrangement of crania in relation to the new interment. At Beaumont, Cluniac period burials 11 and 57 were recorded as containing multiple crania in the fill, but none were deposited in relation to the new body. In the case of burial 11, ceramic vessels were deposited directly surrounding the coffin, whereas the human remains themselves were restricted to the fill. Burial 109 from the Augustinian period included the frontal region of a non-adult by the feet of the new interment, but given the degree of completeness, it is unknown whether this is likely to have been a deliberate placement or an accidental inclusion. Ten burials from La Charité and nine from Bermondsey included crania in association with the new interment. A Fisher's Exact test indicated no significant inter-site differences between the varying arrangements [n=19, p=0.108]. However, the small numbers across each category are potentially a factor. Some differences are, however, discernible (Fig.7.55).
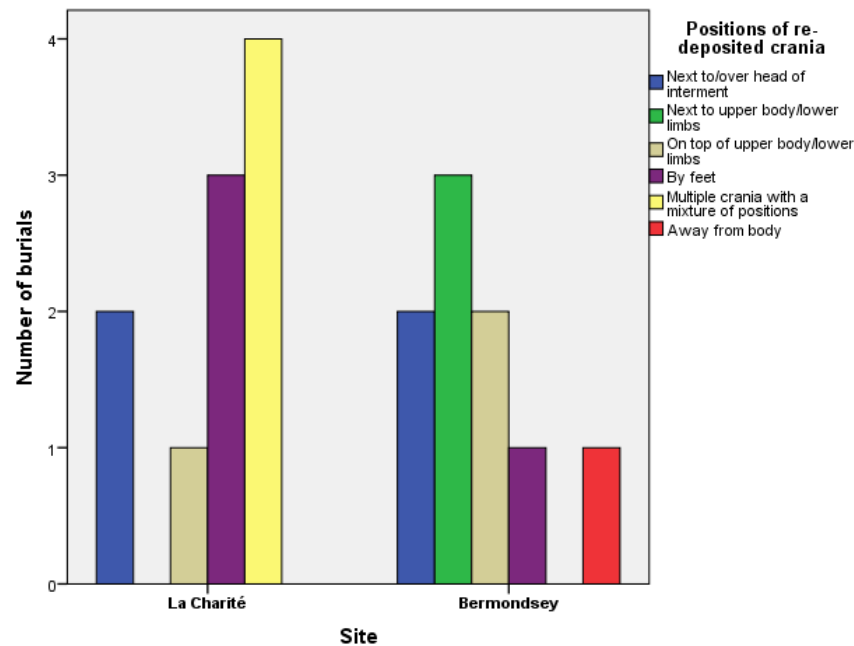
Figure 7.55: Number of crania deposited within the different categories of arrangement in Cluniac period burials from Bermondsey and La Charité.

Figure 7.55 demonstrates that no one position for arranging disturbed crania dominated at either site. For La Charité, although re-deposited crania have clearly been positioned in 10 cases in relation to the new interment, overall there does not appear to have been a strong regard for their treatment. Gallery and cemetery burials 177 and 180, and double burial 185-212, for instance, incorporated multiple crania together with mixed remains, with no evidence for careful placement (apart from one cranium from gallery burial 177). For those viewing the burial, many of the crania would have been partly concealed by disorganised post-cranial elements. Cemetery burials 244 and 258 included crania placed at the feet, with the former showing its inferior aspect and the latter being inter-mingled with scattered, disorganised mixed elements. Burials 128 and 177 recorded more carefully positioned crania in highly visible locations, with the cranium from 177 potentially having been used as a head support (Fig.7.53, left). Finally, although the crania in gallery burial 203 were placed in a highly visible location, over the head of the interment, they were intermingled with long-bones and their positioning appears haphazard (Fig.7.53, right).

Overall, the treatment of crania from Bermondsey is markedly different to those from La Charité. For burials 32, 43, 49, 55, 199 and 187, the crania were positioned in highly visible places, either next to the head or body of the interment (burials 32 and 43) or carefully positioned on top of the body itself (burials 49, 55, 119 and 187). Although burial 7 included

frequent disorganised remains throughout the grave, the cranium was the only element to have been more carefully placed alongside the lower limbs. Despite the physical separation of the disturbed cranium and long bones from the interment of burial 50, the cranium was nonetheless carefully deposited and aligned. Burial 32 is an unusual case where the taphonomic evidence indicates that at the time of burial the upper body of the new interment was moved towards the south of the tomb to accommodate re-deposition of the cranium (Fig.7.56; Appendix 5 for a more detailed discussion).

Figure 7.56: Example of an interment where at the time of burial, the upper body was moved over to accommodate a disturbed cranium (burial 32, Bermondsey Abbey). Note the misalignment between the thoracic cage and the pelvis and the position of the proximal left humerus, which has been forced tightly into the body.

Similarly to burial 49, however, the cranium does not appear carefully aligned in relation to the body (contra Bermondsey burial 187) and instead is facing away from the body and resting on its right parietal; movement following decomposition of the interment's upper arm tissues cannot be discounted. Despite the re-deposited cranium from burial 43 occupying a prominent and highly visible location in the grave, it is resting on the frontal bone, obscuring the facial region (Fig.7.52, left). It can be questioned therefore whether it was viewed and used purely as a functional object, such as to support the head of the interment in a forward facing position.

Fisher's Exact tests indicate that no significant inter-phase differences exist for either Bermondsey [n=9, p=1.000] or La Charité [n=10, p=0.132], although the reliability of this result must be questioned given the small sample sizes.

7.4.7 Function (?) of disturbed remains

For 48 burials where the possible function of deliberately arranged disturbed remains could be assessed, only two exhibited potential evidence for the bones having been incorporated as functional objects. Burial 177 from La Charité, containing an adult male from within the later gallery, included a cranium and an *os coxae* flanking the head of the interment (Fig.7.53, left). The vast majority of the other disturbed remains were piled up in the eastern end of the grave (including at least two other crania), suggesting that these two elements had been selected for particular treatment. This could have been to draw attention to the cephalic extremity, or to maintain a forward facing position, as could also be suggested for the re-deposited cranium in burial 43, Bermondsey.

7.4.8 Connection of disturbed remains

La Charité exhibited evidence for disturbance prior to the full disarticulation of skeletal elements. Three burials (14.3% of the sample) contained remains which would have been articulated at the time of disturbance: cemetery burial 119 from the earlier Cluniac phase contained re-deposited aligned metatarsals; gallery burials 164 and 177 included an articulated tibia and fibula and parts of a thoracic cage, respectively (Fig.7.57).

Figure 7.57: Examples of burials from La Charité containing skeletal remains disturbed prior to their full disarticulation. **From left to right:** burials 119, 164 and 177.

In each case these remains were not separated from the new interment but instead were deposited over or alongside the body. There was no evidence from either Bermondsey or Beaumont for bodies being disturbed and then re-incorporated within the graves prior to full disarticulation. However, the identification of surviving skeletal articulations in re-deposited

remains require good preservation and detailed archaeological recording. It could be that in a number of cases, examples went undetected at these sites.

7.4.9 Summary

The recycling of space for burial through the disturbance of graves and associated skeletal remains occurred throughout the histories of the different sites; the practice was clearly accepted for purposes of practicality. It was associated with the cutting of new graves in heavily used cemetery areas (Bermondsey and La Charité), the construction of buildings and thus the creation of new burial plots over pre-existing cemetery spaces (La Charité and Beaumont) and the desire to be buried within highly prized internal locations (La Charité, Beaumont).

Re-deposited remains were abundant in the examined burial spaces of Beaumont, La Charité and Bermondsey. From each of these sites, disturbed remains were recovered from a range of contexts, including varying sized charnel pits, grave fill, in arrangement or in association with the new interment or even from the top of tomb walls. Unfortunately, the information acquired in the present study did not permit an examination of separate charnel pits, an aspect of skeletal management which could contribute valuable information to the study of attitudes to the dead and the dead body.

Different strategies were clearly in place to manage disturbed remains at each of the sites. The evidence from La Charité and Bermondsey exhibits an entirely different approach and overall attitude to the treatment of disturbed remains to Beaumont. Skeletal remains were frequently arranged in direct physical association with the new interment and were thus afforded a prominent and highly visible position within the grave context, as is particularly notable for La Charité burials 177, 203, 206 and 258 and Bermondsey burials 32, 43, 49, 55 and 187. Reduced burials were re-incorporated directly over or alongside the new interment, often obscuring parts or most of the recently deceased from view. In many cases, crania and long-bones were placed in prominent positions directly over or around the new body, where evidence for mixed remains in the fill could support the argument that these bones could have been deliberately selected for special treatment. The disturbed crania from Bermondsey Abbey, more so than La Charité, were treated with particular care and attention. The movement of the interment's upper body (burial 32) to make room for a cranium could indicate that the burial context was not purely an arena for staging the body of the newly deceased. This raises questions as to the role of the former dead in the context of the funerary proceedings.

The graves of La Charité cemetery burial 258 and later gallery burials 151 and 177, for instance, were exceptionally large in length and width. They averaged nearly 2.5m in length and 0.68m in width. With such a heavily used burial zone, it is curious that such extensive graves were dug with the knowledge that it would involve the necessary disturbance and management of large quantities of human remains. It can therefore be questioned whether or not cutting such sizeable graves was a strategy employed to limit damage to the physical integrity of the bones, rather than simply cutting vertically down through them. The graves could potentially have been constructed in this way to allow for a maximum handling of human remains and to enable their re-incorporation with the new interment. It should also be noted that burial within the gallery would have required cutting through a tile floor. Digging graves to these dimensions would not therefore have been a straightforward task, potentially indicating that the recovery and re-integration of disturbed remains were desired elements of the funerary process, thus influencing the way the grave was constructed.

The evidence from La Charité and Bermondsey indicates that a range of different strategies were in place to manage disturbed remains, but common to both is clearly a desire to handle, arrange, re-incorporate and physically link the old bones with the new interments (whether fully decomposed or not). This was the case whether the bones were re-integrated for their own sake or whether they served possible functional purposes. Although a certain degree of necessity (due to expediency or space constraints) could account in part for some of the patterns noted (e.g. mass re-deposition of skeletal remains haphazardly over a new interment), it should also be emphasised that many burials (particularly from Bermondsey and La Charité) demonstrate a degree of handling and arranging beyond that required for pragmatic management.

For both the Augustinian and Cluniac periods, Beaumont was notably different from La Charité and Bermondsey. It was more common to re-deposit skeletal remains in the grave fill, physically separated from the new interment, whether this was the remains of men, women, or non-adults. This was generally the case regardless of whether the body was buried directly in the ground, in a perishable container, or in a tomb. At Beaumont, a direct physical association between the newly deceased and the previous dead was not practised; here, the newly deceased appears to have been the primary focus of the grave. The only clear case was the Augustinian period burial 196 where the fragmented remains of a newborn were re-grouped over the

forearm of the deceased, but this case was unique. The infant remains deposited on the wall of tomb burial 181 imply the opposite – a desire for physical disassociation between old and new.

8. BETWEEN CLUNIAC TEXT AND PRACTICE

This research has not simply mapped degree of adherence to the prescriptions outlined in the Cluniac customaries for the 'correct' treatment of the dead. Instead, an osteological 'body-focused' approach, aimed at high-resolution reconstruction of individual actions performed to and for the body throughout the death-course, has permitted a study into the extent to which these various houses adopted, adapted and were influenced (directly or indirectly) by these so-called 'highly theoretical' (Gazeau 2004: 15) texts. Following Moreland (2001), this study advocates that historical texts be considered as material culture, where their meaning and perception is highly context specific. The role of regulatory texts in variably promoting responses in practice is critical here, where the spatial and temporal contexts in which they were adopted and used are paramount (see McClain 2012: 135-6). Abbot Hugh's declaration, 'for since we are one congregation and order, we should conform in all things' (Constable 2010: 91) required balancing against geographical, political and foundational diversities: no two houses were the same and their relationship to Cluny could change. In order to explore these diversities, this thesis has focused on two types of establishments: the larger, original and higher status foundations (Bermondsey, Lewes and La Charité) and the smaller reformed house of Beaumont.

As the customaries, statutes, necrologies and architectural developments reveal, Cluny emphasised physical and spiritual care of the dead and their memories. However, Section 3.2 highlighted the complex and changeable nature of Christian beliefs surrounding the dead. Cluny's desires for conformity had to be negotiated alongside official doctrine (e.g. the formalisation of the concept of Purgatory as a place), non-official beliefs (e.g. folkloric concerns over the threat of the newly dead), pre-existence of local traditions and customaries, and reform pressures from 'competing' orders (Section 3.1.1). The practical realities of managing the emergence of a 'biologically dynamic' cadaver must also be considered. In relation to this, O'Sullivan's (2013: 260) question of the extent to which dead bodies actually mattered and how much significance is encoded in the burial record requires attention. In addressing this, Cluniac attitudes towards the dead body from pre-interment preparation through to their frequent re-engagement in various states of decomposition and fragmentation were considered. Van Gennep's tripartite model of the 'rites of passage' - following Gilchrist and Sloane's (2005) schema - was broadly adopted in this thesis to help envisage and approach these various inter-related stages in the Cluniac death-course.

The Cluniac customaries and the official doctrine seemingly prioritised the soul over the long-term care of the physical body, the recently deceased over the material remains of the long dead. However, as O'Sullivan (2013: 260) stresses, there is a danger with texts because knowledge from them may be used unreflectively without properly engaging with the evidence. The archaeological evidence has permitted an examination of the Cluniac 'reality', providing insights into the treatment and relative status of the dead after the process of dying was complete.

Drawing on Chapter 7's findings, the extent to which these houses were united in common practice, together with deviations from this, will now be discussed. Section 8.1 will explore the extent to which certain prescriptions in the customaries were adhered to for the liminal (pre-burial and burial) stage of the funeral. It assesses Cluny's success in using these texts to promote uniformity in funerary practice. In exploring management of disturbed remains, Section 8.2 builds on these enquiries. For the post-liminal stage, elements of the funerary process examined in Section 8.1 will also be drawn upon to explore the role and status of the previous dead (materially) *in relation* to the newly deceased. The Cluniac attitude to the body as it progressed from cadaver to skeletal matter is thus considered. The discussion will further integrate considerations regarding how approaches to the dead relate to the 'type' of house, to the religious and political developments taking place within the Cluniac order, and more broadly, in later medieval Christian belief systems.

It should be noted that analysis within Chapter 7 revealed a range of burial constructions and elaborations. It is, however, beyond the scope of this study to provide broad regional surveys and comparisons of their presence and development. Nor is it the intention here to discuss all the wide-ranging interpretations surrounding the use and meanings of such material culture. [55] Instead, specific factors influencing adherence to the Cluniac customaries at the four sites considered herein, and the varied uptake of practices are discussed.

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[55] For more detailed discussions on specific later medieval grave constructions and inclusions, including their geographical spread, see in particular Daniell (1997) and Gilchrist and Sloane (2005) for England; see also papers presented within Alexandre-Bidon and Treffort (1993a).

8.1 The liminal rites: preparation of the body and the burial

8.1.1 Preparation of the body

Section 3.1.5 summarised the *Ulr* and *Bern's* prescriptions for pre-interment body preparation, which if adhered to, should produce a distinct skeletal patterning, with the hands folded over the chest (with the earlier *LT* specifying 'arms'), the night slippers united at the ends and the cowl sewn so that no part is loose. The body was then to be wrapped in a shroud. Despite the complexities in examining this factor taphonomically (Section 4.2.3), the *anthropologie de terrain* assessment proved effective in demonstrating significant intra- and inter-site variability in adherence to these prescriptions.

Section 7.2 has shown that overall, La Charité exhibited the most uniformity in upper (forearm), lower limb (knee, ankle and foot) and foot positioning, and the overall nature of body preparation. Significant differences were recorded with the two English sites (Sections 7.2.1, 7.2.2; Tables 7.20, 7.22-7.23, 7.26), and with Cluniac Beaumont for body preparation type (Table 7.26). At La Charité, the forearms were fairly consistently folded tightly together at right angles over the abdominal region (exhibiting a strong symmetry) (Figs.7.2-7.3; Appendix 5); no individual recorded one or both positioned alongside the body (*contra* the other sites). The lower limbs were predominantly in close proximity (≤5cm apart), with the feet positioned together or close (Figs. 7.8-7.9). Occurring in both the earlier and later Cluniac periods, constrictions along the body (particularly at the feet), possibly denoting some form of wrapping were most prevalent at this site (Figs.7.15-7.16). Slight phase differences were noted, however. The earlier (*c.*1059-1200), and, in particular, those from the possible foundation period (level 2), demonstrated a greater prevalence of clothing/loose wrappings (more 'relaxed' skeletal profiles); tighter wrappings were more prevalent in the later gallery burials (*c.*1200-*c.*1400) (Fig.7.18).

Between the 'foundation period' and the later Cluniac phase, a shift in customary practice could be proposed. The *LT* (which does not specify a shroud, and prescribes shoes rather than sewn slippers) could conceivably still have been a structuring agent for body preparation in this earliest period. In 1059, the first prior, Gérard, was sent from Cluny to La Charité (de Lespinasse 1887: 427), arguably transmitting the mother-house's current customs to the new community. La Charité's desire to mirror Cluny's splendour is evident in its architectural developments (see Barnoud 2010: 2), and given its hierarchical position (Section 2.1) and role in monitoring conformity of practice in other houses (see Duckett 1890), it is reasonable to propose

that La Charité's superiors would also have wanted to adopt Cluny's current customs. Cochelin (2000a: 28) notes that throughout the eleventh century, the customaries became increasingly elaborate and important, probably testifying to the growing desire of the Cluniacs to bring perfection to the tiniest details of their daily life. An increased use of the shroud could reflect this growing liturgical elaboration, where (considering the *Ulr* and *Bern* in comparison to the *LT*) spiritual and physical treatment of the dead body is afforded greater attention (Section 3.1). The more uniform use of the shroud in La Charité's undoubtedly elite religious and/or lay gallery burials can be contrasted with those individuals from Lewes and Beaumont's internal zones. Ariès (1981: 168) has argued that from the thirteenth century, a denial of the physical reality of death developed with a shift towards body concealment; the shroud could be considered a form of container to mask the body. However, although Alexandre-Bidon (1993a: 203) has argued that the face was concealed from the ninth century, on an individual basis we cannot know in reality to what extent this was the case.[56] Furthermore, as sections 8.1.2.2 and 8.2 will argue, denial of the physical reality of death was not strongly in evidence at this site, particularly in this later period; the contrary could instead be supported.

It can also be proposed that a greater prevalence of wrappings amongst the gallery burials could, in part, reflect the growing emphasis on the cadaver and associated material provisioning (e.g. shrouds) as loci for sanctity and commemoration. The shroud was not simply a practical tool; it too was imbued with religious significance (Alexandre-Bidon and Treffort 1993b: 10; Section 3.1.6). Cluny's custom that monks each add one stitch to the shroud (de Valous 1970: 296) could conceivably have been active at La Charité too. This act, which symbolically forged a link between the deceased monk, his memory and the living community, could have found particular favour amongst the gallery's elite (religious or lay), eager to secure maximum attention and assistance for their souls. As Section 3.1.1 has discussed, laypersons were often desirous of incorporation within the sacred sphere of the monastery either at the point of or following death (see Lebecq 1996: 9), where demands were even made to receive all commemorative rites 'as for a monk' of Cluny (Iogna-Prat 2002b: 223). With the increasing emphasis on Purgatory and concerns over the dead's liminality in the late twelfth/early thirteenth century, prayers for the dead acquired a deeper significance and commemorative rites became essential for the soul (Section 3.2). The rites prescribed in the *Ulr* and *Bern* for the preparation of a brother afforded the corpse a prolonged and intimate treatment, attention

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[56] See for example Paxton's (1993a: 23) discussion on a method for body wrapping (as possibly suggested by Bernard) where the lower half of the face was left exposed; a sculpture of a burger of Cluny also demonstrates this technique.

beyond that evident in the previous customaries (Section 3.1.6). This process would have provided greater spiritual care, a privilege of particular significance for this period. The Cluniac customaries prescribed invocations for freeing the soul on death and by the graveside (Paxton 1993a: 22, 32-33; Section 3.1.5), demonstrating the deceased's acute vulnerability during this initial liminal stage (see also Paxton 1993a: 17-18; Moore 2003). More intimate and protracted preparatory rites could thus have been considered beneficial, with the censed and religiously embodied shroud providing an additional degree of protection.[57]

Burial location could also have provoked specific responses to body preparation. La Charité's gallery possibly served an important role in structuring processions during the commemorations for the dead (Section 5.1.1); it was undoubtedly a highly spiritual place, accessible for burial to a privileged few. La Charité's relative proximity to its mother-house may have occasioned the presence of Cluny's prominent monastics at the funeral of its most important daughter-house's religious elite. Funerals and formal commemorations may therefore have provided La Charité with occasions to stage or 'showcase' its ceremonial rigour to those beyond its walls. A simple shroud, often associated with the poor or the 'ordinary dead' (Alexandre-Bidon 1993a: 197; Daniell 1997: 40), could also have been viewed as a sign of humility; thus, specific bodily treatment in this highly public and sacred locale could also have been a visible response to twelfth-century Cluniac reforms restricting the material splendour of ceremonies (Section 3.1.1).[58]

The two English sites demonstrated greater intra-site variability in body preparation. In contrast to La Charité, a broader range of forearm positions (including more asymmetry) (Fig.7.2) and a significantly lower percentage of lower limbs in close proximity (Fig.7.8) were recorded. The latter seemingly negates systematic sewing of slippers together and tight wrapping of the body so that no part was loose. A much higher percentage of clothed and/or loosely wrapped interments (Figs.7.15-7.16) were also in evidence. Few phase differences were noted (Sections 7.2.1, 7.2.2; see below). In contrast to La Charité, the 21 individuals (19.6%) from Bermondsey with one or both forearms positioned alongside the body testify to a different method of body preparation to that prescribed within the Cluniac customaries. The *anthropologie de terrain* assessment was effective in demonstrating that many of those individuals

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[57] See also Ariès' (1977) consideration of a fourteenth-century illustration in a psalter, where the devil is depicted claiming the soul of the dead figure still lying on the bed.

[58] Gilchrist and Sloane (2005: 82) report on the considerable sum of money required to obtain the necessary burial regalia for Abbot Thomas de Henley of Westminster.

decomposed in a 'filled space', thus possibly refuting arguments for significant bodily movement during decomposition (Section 4.2.2).

Given that Bermondsey's sample has been argued to derive from the 'monastic' cemetery (Section 7.1; Sloane 2002: 391), the apparent lack of uniformity in body preparation is noteworthy. If this sample does represent the monastic cemetery, it could be proposed that the Cluniac customaries were not strong regulating texts for this part of the funeral at least. Pre-existing traditions may have persisted. The tenth-century *Regularis Concordia* (*RC*) was intended to apply to every house in the English Kingdom (Pfaff 2009: 78); it could have remained a powerful force within English monasteries, influencing specific practices in 'foreign' houses. The *RC* is less detailed on body preparation in comparison to the *LT, Ulr* and *Bern*; no mention is made of upper limb positioning for instance (Appendix 2; Section 3.1.5). It thus potentially afforded greater flexibility and room for adaptation. The *RC* required the monk to be buried in a shirt, cowl, stockings and shoes, no matter what his rank (Symons 1953: 65). This would certainly fit more with the osteological evidence. Paxton (2005: 298) argues that the *RC* may have influenced the *LT*, which was composed around 60-70 years later. This supports its continued importance and endurance. Examples exist for other Cluniac houses, such as Much Wenlock, adopting pre-existing religious traditions as a way to legitimise their incumbency (Section 2.1.1). It is thus conceivable that Bermondsey, founded by the Englishman Alwin Child, could also have adopted and maintained some established English monastic practices. The example of Farfa, Italy, demonstrates how Cluniac texts could be altered to fulfil the needs or pre-existing traditions of the adopting community (see Boynton 2006: 118-126). Farfa's manuscript of the *LT* displays many subsequent liturgical annotations attesting to its continual adaptation (Boynton 2006: 122); this could also have been extended to wider regional traditions.

The results from Lewes could also be evidence of persisting non-Cluniac monastic customs. However, in this case, they could also be indicative of the more elite social identity of those interred. The *Bern* for instance specifies that an abbot should be dressed in all his priestly garments; no shroud is thus prescribed. A pastoral staff was also to be placed with him (Section 3.1.6), further indicating a desire for his specific religious identity to be visibly marked following death, and perhaps also as a way to prepare the individual for the Last Judgement (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 80). If the shroud was used to fully, or for the most part, conceal the body from view, and thus potentially the identity of the deceased, a general lack of evidence for its use across the sample from Lewes could imply elite desires to express the opposite. Individualisation of commemoration is argued to have developed in the eleventh century

(Racinet 2007: 178), where the dead's individual identities also became fixed in the form of necrologies; recitation of the names of the dead afforded them a very public, individual remembrance (Section 3.1.1). Visibly emphasising social identity through specific forms of differentiated burial dress (i.e. not adopting a potentially more uniform wrapping) could thus be connected to the development of these ideas. Gilchrist and Sloane (2005: 80) have argued that clothed burial was adopted, among other things, to provide a rich noble with a visual spectacle at their funeral. This could have been particularly important for Lewes' elite (some of whom were possibly benefactors), desirous of creating a lasting visual connection (for persisting commemoration) between their identity and the specific place of burial. In this respect, these 'technologies of remembrance', including the material culture, the corpse, and the spatial structuring of the funeral itself, were employed to create memorable experiences, thus influencing the perception of the past and the future through the present (Williams 2004; 2006).

As at Bermondsey, one or both forearms positioned at right angles over the abdominal region (position '5') were relatively rare at Lewes. Crossed or uncrossed forearms over the pelvic region (codes '2' and '3') was, however, particularly prevalent in both periods (Fig.7.2). If the customaries' prescriptions were respected at the different sites, variation in forearm positions could also have arisen from different understandings of the texts. The prescriptions are at once both detailed and ambiguous, leaving room for diverse interpretations. The *LT* required the arms to be joined over the body and the *Ulr* and *Bern*, the hands. According to Ortenberg (1992: 237), Bernard's customs served as the model for Lanfranc's Constitutions. However, the latter prescribed covering the hands with the sleeves of the cowl, which were then to be sewn from arm-to-arm (Knowles and Brooke 2002: 185; Appendix 2). These examples demonstrate how these texts could be adapted over relatively short time periods, and when transferred to a new community. In writing his customary, Bernard had privileged access to the process of body preparation, particularly if, as Paxton (2005: 304-305) has argued, he was an *armarius*.[59] Few individuals were present in the infirmary to witness Cluny's procedures for body preparation (see Paxton 1993a: 83; Section 3.1.5); only through the texts or via second- or third-hand accounts may knowledge of the desired techniques for preparing the body have come to a new house. The relative proximity of La Charité to Cluny could have facilitated a more direct (and potentially monitored) transfer of practical knowledge, which may partly account for the overall strong degree of uniformity recorded in the examined sample. For houses in England,

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[59] The liturgical director or *armarius* was always to accompany the body washers to ensure that they performed the same office as the community (Paxton 1993a: 28).

however, procedures in their continental mother-houses may not have been witnessed first-hand. English priors were only required to visit Cluny once in every two years (Graham 1926: 165-7) and visitations were infrequent (see Duckett 1890). Conformity in practice in accordance with Cluny's requirements was thus unlikely to have been stringently monitored. Fearing poor discipline, Abbot Hugh of Cluny (1024-1109) was openly anxious over the great distances of dependencies from the mother-house (*VCH* 1973: 64; Section 5.2.1). Visitations were introduced to inspect and reinforce conformity of practice but this would clearly have been more viable for aspects of everyday practice than for the relatively more irregular monastic funerals. Heads of monasteries could also change frequently, thus potentially prompting transmission of new interpretations on customary practice acquired from previous houses (Cluniac or non-Cluniac) or based on personal readings of the texts. Individual responses to these documents should therefore not be under-emphasised.[60]

For Bermondsey, a lack of uniformity in body preparation could also be indicative of the 'monastic' cemetery incorporating various lay individuals, as the presence of possible females could support. In 1097, Cluny's dependencies were given the right to bury in the lay cemetery (*populare cimeterium*) (Iogna-Prat 1996: 82). Although this demonstrates desires for a monastic-lay separation - as demanded for internal spaces (Harris 2005: 136) - in reality, necessity, such as financial pressures, may have led to its frequent disregard. Legislation could be disobeyed, such as the prohibition on burial within churches (Tardieu 1993; see also Aries 1981: 46-47). Evidence from the early middle ages indicates that frequent efforts to end this practice failed (Harding 2002: 121). Monasteries received substantial gifts in return for services, constituting a significant part of a house's income (Section 3.1). This afforded the laity significant power over their funerary provisions. Just as the Cistercians had the right to bury two lay 'friends' within the cemetery (Section 6.2.1), Bermondsey's superiors may have informally permitted non-Cluniacs access to this 'monastic' cemetery. The Cluniac visitation records document the heavy financial pressures plaguing Bermondsey in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to the extent that Bermondsey was referred to in the 1279 Visitation Records as 'simply deplorable' (Duckett 1890: 22; Section 5.3). 'Gifts' for interment satisfying the benefactors' demands could have helped alleviate this burden. According to the *LT*, burial of the poor was at the prior's discretion (Iogna-Prat 1996: 85); the 'monastic' cemetery could thus also have incorporated those of a

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[60] See Knowles *et al.* (2001) and Smith and London (2001) for summaries of the heads of Cluniac houses for the time period examined within this thesis. These valuable lists demonstrate how frequently priors were transferred between houses, both in England and France. They also document various priors who had formerly been heads of non-Cluniac houses; for a consideration of the frequent movement of priors in the twelfth century, see also Constable (2010: 339-356).

lower social status, further increasing the likelihood of variability in body preparation according to means. Peter the Venerable's twelfth-century *de miraculis* demonstrates concerns for the death of the ordinary lay (Iogna-Prat 1996: 86), where ideas of monastic pastoral responsibility could also have influenced dependencies. With concerns at this time for the 'exploitation system of death', which led to a reduction in funerary costs (Section 3.1.1), access to Cluniac houses for burial could thus have widened to include a broader social spectrum of society.[61]

A statistically significant inter-phase difference was identified in overall body preparation at Bermondsey; greater variability was noted in the later period with a higher prevalence of both wrapped and clothed burials (Fig.7.17). This later period also revealed a greater prevalence of uncrossed, asymmetrically placed forearms, and one or both positioned alongside the body (Fig.7.5). Together, these findings could support an opening up of this 'monastic' cemetery to increasing numbers of lay interments; a less rigid and ceremonial funerary procedure to that outlined in the customaries may possibly have been adopted for some. In contrast to La Charité where forearms (and lower limbs) for the most part appear carefully and symmetrically positioned, a number of those from Bermondsey in this later phase do not. For instance, little attention was afforded the body positioning of interment 123 (Appendix 5b) and could perhaps be suggestive of a lower ranking layperson who received less care. It should also be noted that in the thirteenth century, as well as enduring sustained periods of severe debt, Bermondsey suffered from repeated flooding and resource shortages (Duckett 1890; Dyson *et al.* 2011; Steele 1998: 266). These issues prompted a rapid fall in the number of monks (Section 5.3). Significantly less focus overall may thus have been placed on exacting Cluny's exalted liturgy on a day-to-day basis or for more formal, extended ceremonies. Certain funerary duties (e.g. body preparation and interment) assigned by the *LT, Ulr* and *Bern* to brothers of the same rank (Section 3.1.5), for instance, may have been curtailed or were instead undertaken by non-monastics. A consequence may have been a gradual breakdown of the close familial relationship between the living monastic community and their dead. The majority of burials exhibiting the clearest evidence for carefully incorporated and arranged disturbed remains derive from the period pre-1250 (e.g. 32, 43, 119 and 187). Here, parts of the former dead (particularly the crania) were also afforded prominent positions in the grave, potentially

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[61] Note that the frequent resort of the poor and the infirm to Bermondsey was referred to in 1308 (*Reg Woodlock,* 1305-15, 229-30, cited in Dyson *et al.* 2011: 66).

indicating a greater appreciation in this earlier period for the community of the dead in the context of a shared Cluniac present and past.

Relations between Bermondsey and Cluny deteriorated in the fourteenth century (Section 5.3). Destruction of parts of the 'monastic' cemetery for use as rubbish pits (see Dyson *et al.* 2011: 96) could be considered the final outcome of this gradual distancing between the monastery's living and dead. Heale (2009: 36) writes that in the Later Middle Ages contact between English houses and the continent weakened. During the Hundred Years War (1337-1453), for instance, Bermondsey was in the hands of the king as an enemy, and many foreign monastics were expelled (Section 2.1.2). A lack of uniformity in body preparation for those in the 'monastic' cemetery, particularly in the later period, could thus also demonstrate concerted efforts to disassociate from Cluniac practice; the Abbot of Bermondsey's refusal to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Vicar-General of the order in 1432-4 demonstrates clear desires *not* to be dictated to by a foreign authority (Section 5.3). Arguably, the strict conformity in customary practice desired by Cluny was intended to impose and reinforce a shared community memory through repeated actions, thus strengthening Cluniac bonds. As Williams (2003b: 231) has argued, preparing bodies in a prescribed way evoked memories of earlier funerals, thus encouraging particular ways of remembering. A significant break from this prescribed continuum could thus have been endorsed with the aim of encouraging new ways of remembering and thus distancing Bermondsey's present community from that of the past. The overarching political context must therefore also be considered as a potentially key element structuring practice and in particular, responses to the body.

In line with Beaumont's demographically 'mixed' intra- and extra-mural population (Section 7.1.), considerable variability was recorded in forearm and lower limb positioning and overall body preparation; this applied to both the Augustinian and Cluniac periods. One clear finding, however, was that for each of these variables, few significant differences existed between Augustinian and Cluniac period males and females (Sections 7.2.1-7.2.2; Tables 7.21, 7.24-7.25); certain bodily arrangements were therefore not exclusive to one group. Significant differences between intra-site phases and the other Cluniac sites were, however, recorded. In comparison to the Augustinian, the Cluniac phase included a higher prevalence of adults exhibiting forearms crossed or together and one or both positioned at right angles across the upper body (code '5') (Figs.7.6-7.7) and a tendency for the lower limbs and feet to be positioned together or close for both sexes (*contra* the earlier phase) (Fig.7.11-7.12). Tightly wrapped burials marginally

increased in frequency in the later phase but a greater number of clothed burials were also recorded (Figs. 7.19-7.20); no significant differences were recorded between Cluniac Beaumont and the two English sites for this variable (unlike La Charité), where a general lack of uniformity was also recorded (Table 7.26). The results for Beaumont's Cluniac period could demonstrate some degree of adherence towards the customaries following the reform, but this is not strongly marked, possibly due to a relatively small number of interred monastics compared to those of the larger sites. The fact that females exhibited similar patterns to the males for both periods could indicate some monastic influence on the wider population; as discussed above, the laity were often desirous of funerary treatment comparable to the religious on death.

The overall lack of uniformity in limb positioning and body preparation type throughout Beaumont's use could also, in part, relate to the precedent set during the Augustinian period. The *Rule of Saint Augustine* was not a detailed and systematic prescription for the monastic day but a brief document giving general spiritual advice (Mays 2006: 180), resulting in significant variation in observance between houses (Dickinson 1961: 77). The customaries of the Augustinian canons at Barnwell, for example, specify varied procedures based on rank. For a brother the limbs were to be extended, the body was then washed and sewn up in the habit. A lay brother was to be clad in a shirt, drawers, tunic, scapular, gaiter and sandals (Clark 1897: 227). How these customaries relate to practice at Beaumont is unknown, but as with the *RC*, their general lack of specificity could have left significant room for interpretation and adaptation. Compared to the specific prescriptions in the *Ulr* and *Bern*, the preparatory rites from Barnwell were afforded limited attention textually (see Clark 1897), potentially signifying that the Augustinians placed relatively less importance on the ceremonial activities surrounding death and burial; greater individuality and variability in responses to the treatment of the dead were thus arguably more likely. The Augustinian Canons were known as 'clerical monks' (Burton 1994: 44) and, in contrast to the Cluniacs, were undoubtedly less occupied with performing and perfecting liturgies, possibly further increasing scope for variability. Although the church was expanded in the thirteenth century to allow the reforming monks to meet Cluny's liturgical demands (see Toupet and Blondeau 2013: 77), the extent to which the small community could meet them can be questioned. It is therefore possible that on the death of a monk, certain funerary duties may have been delegated to non-monastics or particular elements, such as the full process for pre-interment body preparation, adapted. The *Bern* was composed based on Cluny's exceptionally large community, where a complete

disruption to the daily routine for an unspecified and potentially lengthy period of time (Section 3.1.4) could have been sustained with the help of lay brothers and servants. This degree of disruption may not always have been feasible for the smaller houses.

No significant differences were recorded between Cluniac Beaumont and La Charité for forearm positions (Table 7.20); code '55' (forearms placed at right angles over the abdomen) was highly prevalent at both sites. This study has not conducted a systematic comparison of forearm positions with other sites. However, the same pattern was recorded for adult burials from the Cluniac site of Saint-Nicolas d'Acy (see Bourry *et al*. 1991). It would therefore be interesting to examine whether the significantly different positions between the French and English sites could have been partly influenced by regional trends, potentially deriving, in part, from popular representations of the dead body in circulation within the respective countries.

Finally, significant differences in forearm positions were identified between Cluniac and Augustinian adults and non-adults (Section 7.2.1; Fig.7.7). Overall, for both phases, infants and juveniles (up to age ten) were predominantly interred with their forearms positioned alongside the body; this was exclusively the case for the Cluniac period. At Saint-Nicholas d'Acy, of the 33 recorded individuals, the only two with their forearms positioned alongside the body (code '11') were aged six and ten and derived from the cemetery and church, respectively (Bourry *et al*. 1991: Fig.70). No evidence for constrictive wrappings was identified for the Cluniac phase non-adults (Fig.7.20). With the strict hierarchical ordering impressed upon the Cluniac communities, it is tempting to equate these findings with distinct Cluniac attitudes towards children. The Cluniac *vitae* indicate that the monks looked down upon childhood, as they saw no quality in this age (Cochelin 2000a: 24). Children were considered 'other', particularly due to their spiritual and intellectual inferiority. They may thus have been afforded different rites for certain elements of the funeral based on such notions. How far ideas of inferiority and possible denial or adaptation of particular funerary rites permeated the surrounding lay community can be questioned. Cochelin (2000a: 22-23) further notes that it was with the visible onset of puberty that children had to make their profession and join the ranks of Cluny's adult monks.[62] The Cluniac period immature individuals (aged 11-15) demonstrated markedly different forearm positions to the infants and juveniles and were strongly comparable to the adults. Sample sizes have not permitted this study to focus in detail on the treatment of non-adults in Cluniac establishments and it is unknown what proportion of the excavated sample was actually part of

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[62] See also Alexandre-Bidon's (1993b) discussion of medieval children being denied the extreme unction until they had reached the age of reason (from ages 10-12).

the Cluniac community itself. However, these findings demonstrate strong potential for further research into the varying treatments of non-adults within specific monastic contexts, particularly in relation to documentary sources.

Bernard strove to provide a 'truthful' repository of Cluniac observances (Saurette 2005: 85) from records, reports of knowledgeable people and from his own experience and observation (Melville 2005: 70). However, his 'reference manual' for novices inevitably documented the ideal situation. For example, Bernard repeatedly stressed that death should not come unexpectedly (Paxton 1993a: 17). The biological reality of the human body, however, may not always have provided the ideal circumstances for preparing the body in line with the *Bern*, which necessitated close and prolonged contact with the deceased. Cause of death, such as an acute infectious disease, may have required rapid burial with limited bodily interaction, which could also potentially explain the abnormally haphazard body positioning of individual 123, Bermondsey Abbey.[63] Clothed burial, as Gilchrist and Sloane (2005: 80) note, could therefore take place in times of catastrophe, such as during epidemics. The cadaver posed a threat to survivors for its role in spreading disease (Westerhof 2008: 22); plague was particularly feared (especially following the Black Death) and those residing within monasteries were certainly not immune.[64] La Charité burial 206 potentially demonstrates the necessary measures taken to contain the spread of infection following interment, and interestingly this individual exhibited a markedly different lower limb positioning to the other gallery burials; a tight wrapping was not in evidence (Appendix 5b).

The onset of *rigor mortis* is generally around 2-4 hours (DiMaio and DiMaio 2001: 26), which could in part account for the seemingly short interval between death and body preparation prescribed in the customaries. However, this can vary. It can be fairly instantaneous and has been reported to remain in the body for up to 36 hours through to six days in temperate climates (DiMaio and DiMaio 2001: 27; Nilsson Stutz 2003: 143). Manipulation of the limbs may thus not always have been straightforward, particularly given that the stiffening process

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[63] Harvey (1993: 113) notes the example of a monk from Christ Church cathedral priory, Canterbury who having died of the plague was buried immediately and during the night; see also Hatcher's (1986: 29) study of the same site, where obituary records demonstrate that funeral rites of plague victims had to be curtailed and bodies were speedily interred for fear of infection.

[64] See Hatcher's (1986) study of mortality in the fifteenth century, which documents the relatively high percentages of monks from Christ Church cathedral priory, Canterbury, who died between 1485 and 1507 from infectious diseases such as plague or tuberculosis; see also Daniell (1997) and Gilchrist and Sloane (2005) for discussions on the Black Death and, in particular, its relationship to the appearance and development of certain forms of material culture.

involves all of the muscles simultaneously (DiMaio and DiMaio 2001: 27).[65] The unusual 'stiffened' appearance of the limbs in prone burial 15, Bermondsey Abbey (Appendix 5b) could conceivably signify that *rigor mortis* was active at the time of burial. Instantaneous *rigor* or 'cadaveric spasm' can be seen in situations such as violent deaths (Guharaj and Chandran 2003: 65; see also Knüsel *et al.* 1996) and the degree of stiffness is comparatively strong compared to *rigor mortis* (Bardale 2011: 151). Although it must remain entirely speculative, we cannot rule out a possible relationship here between the individual's manner of death (e.g. died in a 'non-Christian' way such as suicide or drowning) and their prone burial position. Although no evidence for scorch marks was identified on the skeletal elements of Bermondsey burial 15, the positioning of the upper limbs and right hand (indicating a contraction of the flexor muscles) could be indicative that he had died in a fire (see Knüsel *et al.* 1996: 121-122).

The customaries stipulated a relatively rapid burial and at precise times (Section 3.1.5). Given the degree of disruption to the daily monastic routine, the timing of the burial may have taken precedence over a full performance of the preparatory rites, should *rigor mortis* still have been active. Intra-site variation must therefore also consider the influence of biological factors in governing the extent to which and in what ways a cadaver was handled and prepared pre-interment.

8.1.2 The interment

In contrast to the attention the customaries afford the pre-liminal rites and body preparation, the *LT*, *Ulr* and *Bern* prescribe a simple interment: the body of the monk was to be placed directly in the ground, with the *Ulr* and *Bern* further noting the inclusion of a wooden cover (Section 3.1.5; Appendix 2). The absence of a cover from the *LT* does not necessarily imply, however, that the provision of a cover had not been customary practice in the early eleventh century, rather it may not have been considered important enough to record in the customaries at the time.

Binski (1996: 32-3) has claimed that monasteries disseminated uniform practice in medieval burial rites. However, Cluniac and non-Cluniac customaries demonstrate considerable variation

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[65] Note that *rigor* involving joints with larger amounts of muscles (e.g. the elbow and shoulder) can be difficult to overcome. Large muscles can even become so resistant to moving that efforts of more than one person may be required and occasionally the bone may break before *rigor mortis* is overcome (Dix and Graham 2000: 2).

(Section 3.1; Appendix 2). The *anthropologie de terrain* analysis was effective in showing that also in practice, significant inter- and intra-site differences in overall body positioning and grave construction existed. For this funerary stage, adherence to the Cluniac customaries was highly variable. As will be discussed, many of the diverse factors influencing conformity in practice discussed for body preparation are reinforced within this section in relation to interment, with further evidence for the maintenance and development of established local traditions.

One aspect not explicitly defined within the customaries was the location and spatial arrangement of monastic burials. The almost complete absence of non-adult remains from La Charité's and Bermondsey's excavated zones has been one argument in support of their monastic character (Section 7.1). Indeed, if they do represent monastic burial zones, exclusion could mirror the strict hierarchical ordering impressed upon the community in life (see Cochelin 2000b: 5, 11). Children, as Cochelin (2000a) has demonstrated from the customaries, were considered inferior, and were overtly treated as such, often being segregated in daily activities (Section 3.1.6). They may not have been considered 'spiritually fit' for burial alongside certain adult monks. No arguably monastic burial zone was identified at Beaumont. Overall, however, the Cluniac phase exhibited a close spatial integration of adults and non-adults, where the latter (of all age categories) were permitted interment within the majority of zones (Section 5.4.1). Here, customary practice established by the Augustinians may have influenced later Cluniac behaviour. The Augustinians arguably saw it their duty to assist wider society and emphasised inclusivity. Augustine remarked in his *De cura gerenda pro mortuis* that the church took care of all deceased Christians:

She gathers them up, without even knowing their names, in her general commemoration. And when parents, children, relatives, and friends forget their duty, like a pious mother, she assumes it, and, alone, provides for all (Combés 1948: 477).

By contrast, hierarchy was paramount at Cluny and the same could be argued for the houses with large communities consisting of a greater number of inmates of varying ranks. For Beaumont's smaller community, strict imposition of hierarchical ordering may have been less marked for certain aspects of practice; children may thus have been viewed and approached differently, both in life and death. Beaumont's Cluniacs replaced a long-standing Augustinian community who had been financially supported by the aristocracy and catering to the local population for over two centuries (Section 5.4). Support for their incumbency may have necessitated a degree of conformity with established practice and also flexibility towards local

lay demands, such as relative freedom regarding burial location for non-adults. To avoid conflicts on minor (or non-essential) issues, houses were explicitly permitted to carry out changes to make the new customs conform to particular local traditions (Krüger 2005: 194). This may have been particularly applicable to the smaller houses lacking the weight of a large community and a potentially powerful and influential prior.

8.1.2.1 Overall body positioning

A west-east orientated burial is explicitly stipulated within the *Bern* (Paxton 1993a: 36), despite the fact that by AD 800, burial with the head orientated east was commonly observed throughout the Christian West (Yorke 2006: 212). It was a well-established norm, which had gained unquestionable validity through on-going repetition (see Melville 2005: 86). Including all pre-Cluniac burials examined within this thesis, supine burial with the head to the west was the norm (Section 7.3.1), demonstrating the importance of the correct bodily position for rebirth (see Alexandre-Bidon 1993a: 193). Only at Bermondsey and Cluniac period Beaumont were deviations in overall body positioning recorded, in the form of one prone and two side burials. The *anthropologie de terrain* analysis was effective in identifying that these individuals were likely buried in filled spaces; movement during transportation in a closed portable container was thus an unlikely contributory factor.

The prone burial from Bermondsey's later cemetery phase was against the norm across the sites and may demonstrate how elements of burial within a monastic setting could be adapted if deemed necessary. Gilchrist and Sloane (2005: 154) note that penitence or punishment could have prompted burial prone (with the former also being a possible reason behind the carefully positioned female side burial 102, Beaumont). This position could be related to prostration, a posture privileged by the saints (Alexandre-Bidon 1993a: 193). Chapter 71 of *The Rule of Saint Benedict* states that a monk who has caused dissatisfaction must prostrate himself on the ground at the feet of the superior (Barry 1990). Various studies demonstrate how poor discipline or even slight errors in liturgical practice could regularly result in severe publicly enacted corporal punishment (Boynton 2000; Cochelin 2000a; Smith 2009). These 'disciplinary rituals' (Smith 2009) were fundamental in ensuring correct behaviour and reaffirming order. Similarly to the possible reinforcement of hierarchy through grave location (Section 8.1.2), these everyday ritual punishments could also have been woven into the funerary rituals themselves. Cassidy Welch (2001: 230) cites a case in the Cistercian *Statua* (1228, 20t.2), where a lay brother was ordered to

be buried in non-consecrated ground for not confessing to having money in his possession and for not making confession before receiving communion. Mother-houses would receive disreputable monks for correction, as the 1279 Cluniac visitation records document (Duckett 1890: 30). Here, a monk from the cell of St. James of Derby was expelled and sent to Bermondsey to do penance. Burial prone or in non-consecrated ground could be strong public statements of religious authority, where following death, the fate of an individual's soul or successful rebirth were controlled by a minority of monastic elite. If the case of Bermondsey burial 15 does represent punitive action of some description, it demonstrates how the norm in burial practice could be adapted to serve specific non-funerary purposes, in this case, to reaffirm and reinforce order and shared community knowledge of correct behaviour in daily monastic life. In this respect, Finucane's (1981: 40) argument that in the Middle Ages the death ritual was not so much a question of dealing with a corpse as about reaffirming the secular and spiritual order by means of a corpse, can also be applied to this Cluniac context. As discussed below (Section 8.2), the funeral's emphasis was not solely on providing for the body and soul of the newly deceased, but rather the dead body also provided a malleable 'tool', which could be physically manipulated to very publicly promulgate and reaffirm specific Cluniac ideals. Williams (2007b: 5) has proposed that some objects and materials deployed in burials may have had complex biographies prior to their disposal with the dead: histories that may have informed their role in the funeral. This is equally applicable to the dead's personal biography. Individual histories could have directly impacted upon the way and extent to which monastic customary practice was followed and/or adapted. The manner of one's treatment, and in death, could therefore be a very individual experience, despite Cluny's attempted dissemination of a uniform funerary procedure.

8.1.2.2 Grave construction

Section 3.1 revealed the significantly greater emphasis which the customaries placed on the ritual actions and spoken/sung words performed and recited around the grave for the benefit of the soul than on the material aspects of the grave and interment process itself. Just like the *RC*, the *LT*, *Ulr* and *Bern* largely dismiss the practicalities of the burial procedure. It can therefore be questioned how much significance was encoded in the material construction and provisioning of the grave and what factors influenced variation or uniformity.

Bermondsey and post-foundation period La Charité were most in-line with the customaries in exhibiting, overall, the simplest grave constructions (Section 7.3.2.). Regardless of whether the

interments were intra- or extra-mural, 'mode of burial' exhibited limited elaboration (e.g. containers for transport and/or burial, tombs, covers, head supports/pillows and religious or personal items) beyond simple direct interment in the ground. Thus, the archaeological data did not always support visible elaboration of burial contexts for the supposed elite buried within the chapel (Bermondsey) or gallery (La Charité).

No significant difference in the space of decomposition was recorded between Bermondsey and La Charité (Table 7.27) or infra-site phases (Section 7.3.2.1). Although a roughly equal number of individuals decomposed in a void from Bermondsey's earlier and later phases, the majority of those from La Charité possibly derived from the earliest or 'foundation' period of the site's use. Considering all archaeological and osteological evidence, it could be proposed that overall, burial at La Charité became materially simpler with time, which appears inversely related to the strong ceremonial elaboration manifest in the *Ulr* and *Bern*. In contrast to the earlier phase (*c.*1059-1200) and, in particular, those from the foundation period, no evidence for burial in closed portable containers or with grave covers, biers or religious or personal items were recorded in the later gallery. Tombs were also particularly rare. Tardieu (1993: 228) has argued that burial in the ground is for the poor, but it can also be a sign of humility (see also Alexandre-Bidon 2011: 136). Arguably, in line with the body preparation evidence (Section 8.1.1), La Charité's later gallery burials (which most likely do not represent the poor), along with the majority of those interred post-foundation period, could have been partly a response to a wider shift in thinking and thus practice following pressure from 'competing' orders. Peter the Venerable's twelfth-century reforms to restrict the material splendour of funerals (Chapter 3.1.1) could have been of some influence here. The *Bern* speaks of the 'humbling of bones' (Paxton 2002: 17), which arguably infers a degree of equality, as all are reduced to a simple material entity on death. Bruce's (2006) translation of a twelfth-century poem possibly written by Bernard of Cluny reinforces this. This meditative tool, Bruce (2006: 96) explains, was popular with monastic communities and makes it clear that without exception, all will eventually succumb to the embrace of death, irrespective of the greatness of their deeds, the loftiness of their thoughts, or their station in life. Directed at a monastic audience, the poem encouraged the defeat of pride and the cultivation of humility (Bruce 2006: 96, 99). Notions such as these may have been highly influential in the monastic settings in which the texts circulated.

Importance may also not have been placed on the material construction of the grave context itself (implied also by the customaries), but rather the general location of burial. Places of

circulation (side-aisles, thresholds and galleries) were highly desirable (Bourry *et al.* 1991: 124); the act of the living walking over the graves could have been considered beneficial to the dead as a commemorative aid. Those in the gallery would have been daily processed over by the whole community during the commemorations for the dead, thus continually physically and spiritually connecting them with the memorial liturgy.

Hervieu *et al.* (2008: 55) have noted that above-ground burial vaults can be interpreted (among other things) as burials of exclusion or privilege. This can also be applied to the below-ground tombs. For these privileged gallery burials, an absence of tombs, as well as covers, could thus denote a lack of desire to be further materially contained and excluded from the communities of the dead and the living, and the above activities of the monks. As Moore (2003: 493) notes, the spirituality of Cluny placed the fate of the individual soul in an eschatological framework, emphasising the commonality of the dead with the living. As section 8.2 will further support, notions of commonality were clearly a key driving force behind the funerary treatment evident within this zone. As will now be discussed, the gallery burials thus stand in direct contrast to those from the earliest 'foundation' period of use.

The earliest Cluniac period burials at La Charité included evidence for one closed portable container, infrequent covers, a bier, tombs elaborately cut out of the rock with or without head-niches, a mortared tomb and evidence for a burnt deposit within a grave (Sections 7.3.2.2, 7.2.2.3, 7.3.2.5, 7.3.2.6 and 7.3.2.11). Each of these burials exhibited a strong degree of individuality in their construction, which is more in line with those from Beaumont and Lewes. These earliest cemetery burials could represent high-ranking monks or laypersons for whom the customaries did not include specific prescriptions on burial mode, thus providing more scope for individual expression. This could also explain the lack of tight wrappings evident in these burials (Section 8.1.1). Gilchrist and Sloane (2005: 230) note that from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, major social transformations accompanied a move toward the clerics wanting to stress their status; the considerable time and effort needed to construct rock tombs of these dimensions would have conveyed considerable prestige to the mourners, regardless of their extra-mural location. Although broadly speaking, we can say that the rich were interred within the church, whilst the poor were confined to the cemetery, the boundaries in a Cluniac context at least were more fluid. In the cemetery, the internal structuring of the church was reformed around the grave, implying a symbolic widening of the physical body of the church to include the cemetery within the walls of the choir (Paxton 1993a: 35; Section 3.1.6); the elite may thus not always have

considered intra-mural burial to be necessarily more privileged or indeed beneficial. Actions of the community within the cemetery further imbued it with an enhanced sanctity as the processions during the 'Feast of All Souls' demonstrate (Moore 2003: 495).

Gilchrist and Sloane's (2005: 230) study found that, although individual expression through burial rites was largely in evidence from at least *c.*1200, the emergence of private/individual aspirations did not wholly replace public/communitarian values. This thesis shows that in the four Cluniac houses examined here, these contrasting values were variably negotiated and expressed. From the late eleventh century, La Charité's burials appear to become materially simpler and more homogeneous, corresponding also to the more uniform use of the shroud through time. This could relate to a shift towards a growing significance being afforded the monastic community and their role in liturgically aiding the dead. From the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century, ghost tales multiplied (Schmitt 1998: 67; Treffort 2001:155), and it was believed that the dead could physically rise for a period after their death (Section 3.2). Moore's (2003) study of the biography of Abbot Odilo's death (*c.*1048) has shown that fears were also being directly transmitted from Cluny surrounding the corruptible threat of demonic forces on the dying and deceased (Section 3.2). Although, as Lauwers (2005: 158) writes, the sacred character conferred on cemeteries protected these places from demons, those buried in the cemetery were nonetheless thought to be at particular risk (see Treffort 2001: 155-157). La Charité's 'foundation period' burials could thus partly be a material response to individual concerns over such threats; further containment of the body in deeply cut rock or mortared tombs and/or under covers could have been seen to afford added protection to both the living and the dead.[66] The monks placed great faith in the power of communal prayer, where spiritual death was held at bay by their combined prayers (Paxton 1993a: 17, 28). As La Charité's community grew from the mid-eleventh century and as greater liturgical emphasis was placed on commemorating the dead (evident in the *Ulr* and *Bern*) (Section 3.1.1), concerns for the materiality of the individual grave may have given way to growing interest in the power of community intercession. Hilberry (1955: 1) has estimated that La Charité's community grew to around 200; for those interred in the later gallery, the daily processions and combined prayers of such a community afforded them the necessary spiritual protection. Just as the shroud could have provided some degree of anonymity (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 107) these simple burials, rather than marking the dead out as 'other' or privileged, could also have served to visibly

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[66] Joynes (2001: 79) reports on the case of a woman fearful that her corpse would rise from the grave asking that she be buried within a stone sarcophagus with the lid sealed with iron and lead.

(during interment) and symbolically integrate them with the shared identity and commonality of the living monastic community.

Similarly to La Charité, evidence for grave covers was rare at Bermondsey (*contra* Augustinian Beaumont and Lewes) (Section 7.3.2; Fig.7.2.6). For Bermondsey's 16 recorded perishable covers, over half were associated with mortared tombs. These covers were possibly in part used as a projection of social status, rather than being adopted for the interment of ordinary monks as the *Ulr* and *Bern* prescribe. The customaries were written at a time when Cluny's wealth had grown drastically under Abbots Odilo and Hugh (994-1109) (Constable 2010: 180). The supply of resources and labour for the fabrication of covers would undoubtedly have been more viable for a monastery of this size. This may not have been the case for comparatively smaller houses such as Bermondsey, which years of debt had left financially crippled. Multiple deaths over a short period may have been particularly problematic. The purpose of these covers for the ordinary monks can be questioned. They may not have been purely practical, to protect the dead from grave disturbance or demonic forces, or to shield the living from the polluting or haunting threats of the newly deceased. The Cluniac customaries accentuated the spectacle of the body's committal to the ground and the grave's closure; as the priest left the graveside, the bells ceased and after the final prayer for the departed soul, the candles were extinguished (Section 3.1.5). The sudden cessation of the bells and extinguishing of candles, Paxton (1993a: 33) writes, must have been extremely moving, with the prayer for the commendation of the departed soul, left until the end, intended to intensify further the sense of the body and soul's final separation. The covers may therefore have been primarily a symbolic gesture or a 'prop' in what Gougard (1930: 84) has described as Cluny's theatrical rites. They may have served to further explicitly signal the finality of death and separation of the living from the dead. As symbolic 'props' rather than practical requirements, these 'non-essentials' may have been omitted if a lack of resources necessitated it. Other customaries, such as Aelfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham, demonstrate awareness for practical difficulties, where in prescribing the inclusion of a stole in the grave of a priest, it states 'if resources permit' (Jones 1998: 143). Bernard's proviso that the custom of burial may be changed if required by some reasonable cause in accordance with time and place (Constable 2010: 136) could demonstrate some awareness of these issues. Concurrent with Bernard compiling his customary, many hundreds of Cluniac establishments of varying sizes were being established across France and beyond (Section 2.1); based at Cluny, Bernard may have been strongly cognisant of the diversity that

existed and thus the inherent challenges faced in attempting to impose such strict conformity. Beaumont's Cluniac period also demonstrated limited evidence for the use of wooden covers. As a twelfth-century reformed house, not necessarily as strictly required to adopt the customaries in full or even at all (see Constable 1998: 173), 'non-essential' materials such as these may have been disregarded from the outset.

Closed portable containers, other forms of perishable structure (e.g. biers) and tombs were also infrequent in Bermondsey's earlier and later periods (Sections 7.3.2.2, 7.3.2.5, 7.3.2.6; Figs.7.24, 7.30, 7.32). *Contra* Ariès' (1981) arguments (Section 3.2.1), these relatively homogeneous burials directly in the ground do not imply (at least materially) a dramatic shift in mentalities surrounding attitudes towards the body, particularly from the thirteenth century. Similarly to La Charité, a desire to conceal the body or possibly to contain and isolate it from the surrounding interments (within or under a more durable structure) was not largely in evidence. The customaries structured practice so as to create and foster intimate familial relationships, a shared community identity, and commonality in death (Sections 3.1 and 8.2); uncontained burials directly in the ground, not isolated from the surrounding dead, may have served to reinforce these values.[67] Although prescribed in the customaries, physically and symbolically isolating the body via the inclusion of covers may in practice have been considered at odds with these ideals, as well as appearing relatively less humble than interment directly under earth.

Complete concealment of the body within a container was also contrary to Cluny's ethos. Following Saint Benedict's demand to reflect daily on death, constant meditation on one's mortality was strongly encouraged (Sections 3.1 and 8.2). The highly visible death, transport and burial of a monk provided the ultimate occasion for prolonged communal reflection; complete containment would have diminished the efficacy of such procedures. For Bermondsey and La Charité's arguably predominantly monastic interments, these concerns could have directly influenced funerary practice. Different motivations, however, seemingly governed practice within Lewes and Beaumont's potentially more lay elite funerary spaces. Furthermore, as Bermondsey's extra-mural and La Charité's post-foundation period burials also support, the dead buried in the cemeteries of these larger houses may not necessarily have required further physical containment. The power of a relatively sizable community's prayers may have minimised anxieties surrounding the liminality of the body, in terms of demonic threats and the

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[67] The prayer recited at the end of the ceremony for all those resting in cemeteries (see Paxton 1993a: 32; Section 3.1.5) could be considered a very public statement of shared community identity.

potential for the recently deceased to physically rise and torment the living (Section 3.2). Bermondsey's seven burials within closed portable containers (Section 7.3.2.2) could arguably be laypersons, further supporting an opening up of this 'monastic' cemetery to interments other than of the immediate community (Section 8.2; see below). The *Bern* states that those monks who die in another monastery should be afforded 30 masses; no provision is made for their return for burial (see Paxton 1993a: 109). With the rapid expansion of the order in the eleventh century, and regular movement of brethren between houses, Bernard had to be realistic; transportation of the monastic dead over potentially significant distances would have been impractical in many cases.

Both early and later period Lewes and Beaumont were comparable in exhibiting greater variability in mode of burial and grave provisioning in comparison to the relative material simplicity of those graves from post-foundation period La Charité and Bermondsey. It is proposed that for the examined interments from Lewes and Beaumont, different concerns were being expressed on death. Their examined samples possibly included a number of lay, probably elite, burials; visibly expressing individual identity and status, together with a greater concern for materially managing anxieties over the fate of the deceased's body and soul, were arguably more manifest. Conversely, for La Charité and Bermondsey's predominantly religious interments, emphasis was generally not placed on the material construction of the grave; the actions of the monastic community (and the deceased's continued place within it) were instead afforded greater significance.

Lewes exhibited highly significant differences with each of the other sites, with the exception of Cluniac Beaumont, for space of decomposition (Section 7.3.2.1; Fig.7.22; Table 7.27) and presence of closed portable containers (Section 7.3.2.2; Fig. 7.24; Table 7.29), covers (Section 7.3.2.3; Fig.7.26), tombs (Section 7.3.2.6; Fig.7.32; Table 7.34), base-linings (section 7.3.2.7; Fig. 7.36) and pillows (Section 7.3.2.9; Fig.7.41; Table 7.39). All were more prevalent at Lewes. Many burials in both periods exhibited a careful, elaborate and strongly individual tomb construction. The interment procedure for religious superiors was not explicitly prescribed within the Cluniac customaries (Section 3.1.5) and as with the lay elite, considerable choice and flexibility clearly existed.[68] Elite (religious or lay) desires to communicate identity and status on death could, in part, explain these highly visible and individualistic burial constructions. However,

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[68] See, in particular, examples cited in Daniell (1997) for the varied requests for funerary treatment made by the religious and secular elite within their wills.

when compared to La Charité's materially simple internal burials, the situation appears more complex.

The Cluniac customaries convey that the monk's body and soul were to be afforded significant liturgical support and protection (Sections 3.1.4-3.1.5). Corruptive forces were still feared by the monks (see Treffort 2001; Moore 2003) but the community's combined intercessions from the deathbed until a significant period of time afterwards, assuaged those fears. For the laity, potentially denied this full sacred assistance, greater anxiety may have existed over their souls; the explicit morbidity of the material culture circulating within secular society (Section 3.2) undoubtedly heightened those fears. The simple interment process prescribed within the customaries may therefore have been insufficient; for much of the laity, additional material management of those anxieties may have been deemed necessary.

Highly visible and individualistic display (predominantly in elaborate mortared tombs) would have helped perpetuate the deceased's memory; for more effective prayers, it was considered better to be remembered as an individual than as one of a mass (Section 3.2). This factor was of particular importance with growing concerns surrounding Purgatory, where the spotlight turned on the individual (Horrox 1999: 110), the sins of the individual soul (Bynum and Freedman 2000: 6) and the need to be remembered. Many practices in evidence at Lewes could have served to create an enduring *memoria* through 'staging' the corpse, thus creating a lasting visual impact on the mourners (see Gilchrist and Sloane 2005; Hallam and Hockney 2001; Williams 2006). Although Hadley (2001: 227) has proposed that Christianity may have focussed less attention on funerary display and more on the need to secure post-mortem prayers and remembrance for the soul, the two were not necessarily mutually exclusive. Some forms of burial display could have been intended as explicit signs of piety, aimed at maximising and prolonging prayers for the deceased's soul. Whereas individuals from La Charité's gallery may have expressed piety through being wrapped as a simple monk and interred in a materially modest manner (perhaps influenced by the customaries), Lewes' elite arguably favoured other strategies. The frequent inclusion of stone pillows, as a possible mark of discomfort, could have provided a visible sign of piety or even penance (Daniell 1997: 160; Roffey 2007: 15). The two infants and one juvenile buried with stone pillows from Augustinian period Beaumont (Section 7.3.2.10), for instance, could have been considered in particular need of spiritual assistance, where overtly signalling piety may have aided their journey's in the afterlife. Penitence or piety could also be proposed for the use of gravel (evident at Lewes) and charcoal base-linings

(Section 7.3.2.7) (see Thompson 2004: 118-22). Henriet (1996: 102) has argued that charcoal burials could have been a lay response to the monks lying down on ashes, which was an act of penitence decreed by Sulpire-Severe in the fifth century. Persistence of local traditions may have influenced these responses; charcoal, chalk and ashes, as Daniell (1997: 160) writes, had been common in ninth-century England. No base-linings were recorded in the two French sites, and no cases were reported by Durand (1988) in his extensive assessment of funerary practices from the Oise region. The elite's individual capacity to adopt and adapt certain funerary practices and traditions is clearly a key factor to consider here. This is applicable not just to the laity whose wealth bought them considerable choice, but to the Cluniac religious elite, whose seniority arguably provided them greater potential to dictate the manner of their own death and burial. On expecting death, Lewes's first prior Lanzo, for instance, insisted on standing to receive the last embrace of his monks (Knowles 1963: 152), thus breaking entirely from the procedure prescribed within the customaries.

Again, location was possibly a key factor structuring behaviour. It could be proposed that following construction of Lewes's twelfth-century church (Section 5.2), the monastic community's liturgical focus also shifted. Commemorations for the dead were possibly re-focused from the 'downgraded' First Monastic Church to the new grander construction.[69] Subsequent interments in the new Infirmary Chapel may not have gained the full spiritual force experienced in former years from Lewes' proximate monastic community. This may have provoked further material responses from those demanding maximum assistance for their souls. Three later period burials included religious items (a chalice and paten, amphorae fragments or maybe 'pilgrim tokens' and a possible papal bull) (Section 7.3.2.11). Objects of piety such as these might have provided some solace in Purgatory (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 216). They may have provided additional protection against demonic forces, a necessary aid for those denied the constant processional commemorations enjoyed by persons interred within potentially more sanctified and heavily used locations, such as within La Charité's gallery.[70]

Similarly to Lewes, the greater variability and elaboration demonstrated in burial practices from Beaumont's Augustinian and Cluniac phases could partly reflect the more individualistic

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[69] Note that the founder, William de Warenne and his wife were removed from the original Monastic Church and re-interred within the chapter house of this new grander church (see Horsfield and Mantell 1824: 240).

[70] For a more detailed consideration on specific types of grave goods from later medieval monastic contexts see Daniell (1997); Gilchrist and Sloane (2005); Gilchrist (2008); see papers within Treffort and Alexandre-Bidon and Treffort (1993a).

concerns of the laity (a number of whom were undoubtedly local aristocracy) for expressing their identity and social status. If spiritual death was held at bay by the combined prayers of monks (Paxton 1993a: 28), having one's soul managed by the clerical canons or by the small community of later Cluniacs, may have been considered insufficient, prompting further material management of their vulnerable bodies and souls. This is potentially demonstrated by the large percentage of individuals from earlier and later period Beaumont buried in closed portable containers and within a variety of tomb constructions.

Overall, a general lack of significant differences in interment practices between Augustinian and Cluniac males, females and non-adults implies that no group was treated drastically differently in death; the laity clearly exercised significant freedom and flexibility in materially managing their burials. The range of elaborately constructed tombs (Section 7.3.2.6; Figs.7.32-7.33), frequently covered (often with stone) (Sections 7.3.2.3-7.3.2.4; Figs.7.26, 7.28), could demonstrate elite desires to explicitly mark their elevated statuses; these constructions denote exclusion (Hervieu *et al*. 2008: 55) and thus concern for their individual, personal journeys. Following Tardieu (1993), if burial directly in the ground did in part signal humility, then it could be proposed that for many of these interments, other motivations structured behaviour in both periods. In opposition to the concerns conveyed within the Cluniac customaries, individual aspirations did seemingly outweigh community values and considerations (*contra* La Charité and Bermondsey).

A marked change in grave preparation between the Augustinian and Cluniac period was discerned, where the former demonstrated a higher prevalence and greater elaboration of certain grave constructions and inclusions including various covers (Section 7.3.2.3; Fig.7.29), head-niches (Section 7.3.2.8; Fig.7.39), pillows (Section 7.3.2.9; Fig.7.43) and head supports (Section 7.3.2.10). This could be the result of both a shift in wider theological thinking, combined with the new Cluniac community's influence. Daniell (1997: 181) has argued that with a shift in emphasis from the Day of Judgement to Purgatory, burial practices changed. For both Augustinian period males and females, adults and non-adults, head-niches and support stones/tiles and pillows were significantly more prevalent (Fig.7.39). The late-seventh or early-eighth-century *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* emphasised the importance of the head as the point where the other body parts would be assembled (Wasserschleben 1885, 206-7 xlix 10, in O'Brien 1996: 163). It was also considered potentially important that the head retained a position enabling the individual to witness Christ rising on Judgement Day (see Daniell 1997:

178). These grave provisions, possibly also including certain forms of pillows, could have served to protect and maintain the head in an upright, forward-facing position.

A relatively higher prevalence of covers in the Augustinian period (Section 7.3.2.3, Fig.7.27), together with a predominance of well-constructed tombs (versus semi-constructions) (Section 7.3.2.6; Fig.7.35), aside from emphasising status, could also reflect desires to protect the integrity of the body from subsequent disturbance ready for resurrection. Although monastic and scholastic teachings stressed that bodily fragmentation would not impede bodily resurrection (Section 3.2), the impact of official doctrine on the lay population should be questioned; on an individual level, concerns for bodily integrity may have persisted. As Bynum (1995: 268) points out, normal Christians conformed to a literal belief in the resurrection; the doctrine thus did not prevent the ordinary Christian from fearing being devoured by animals or fantasising about rebirth of the body at the Last Judgement (Alexandre-Bidon 1993a: 183). The importance of personal agency in the enrichment of medieval belief, Gilchrist (2012: 171) stresses, should not be under-emphasised. The Cluniac customaries seemingly re-directed significant attention away from the grave itself to the rituals enacted by the community to, from, and in the vicinity of the grave. For some laymen and women, however, complex personal belief systems may have promoted a continued emphasis on the grave itself and its materiality. For example, although a greater focus on Purgatory arguably realigned concerns away from bodily integrity and funerary display towards the provisioning of the soul through prayer and commemoration (Hadley 2001: 227), grave elaborations in the form of head-niches, head supports and pillows did, however, continue to be variably adopted within each site in the later period, as did charcoal and mortar base-linings in the English samples (discussed further below). This is *contra* Daniell's (1997: viii) claim that burials were almost entirely uniform by the thirteenth century; complex personal beliefs were clearly being materially negotiated.

The *anthropologie de terrain* analysis revealed that not all individuals accompanied by head supports were interred in voids (Section 7.3.2.10). This may indicate, therefore, that rather than purely serving practical purposes, the head was being framed as part of the funerary 'spectacle'. As Section 8.2 discusses, La Charité burial 177 for instance, may demonstrate evidence for carefully orchestrated display, directing attention towards specific aspects of the body and grave composition in part as mnemonic aids (see Williams 2006), and possibly to reinforce notions of monastic commonality (Section 8.2). The two Augustinian period infants interred with tiles flanking their crania (Section 7.3.2.10) may represent symbolic gestures on the part of

the laity to manage their grief. Scott and Bland (1929: 32) cite Guillaume Durandus who described the tiles of the roof as the 'soldiers of Christ'; similar connotations may have been in existence earlier. Individual concerns were clearly being materially expressed. For the lay burials at least, a 'Cluniac way' of managing the dead within their funerary landscapes was not being consistently imposed. This also raises further questions as to how much involvement Beaumont's monastic community had; this small community may not have participated directly in many, or any, of the lay interments taking place within their precinct.

One key trend was the increase in closed portable containers in Beaumont's Cluniac period (section 7.3.2.2; Fig.7.25). Durand (1988: 170) has argued that between the ninth and twelfth centuries, wooden coffins were used for transport but not for burial and that they only start to appear in graves during the following century. However, these containers were variably recorded before the thirteenth century in each site examined within this thesis (see also Gilchrist and Sloane 2005: 111-115), and cannot therefore be simply equated with a widespread move towards bodily concealment through fear or disgust (Section 3.2). On an individual basis, however, this could have been the case. They may have been used to prevent decay (Gilchrist 2012: 204); a rotting cadaver signified considerable disorder (Section 3.2), fears which may have been particularly prominent with the laity. The soul, Binski argues (1996: 139), was possibly considered particularly unstable whilst the corpse was in a liminal decompositional state; 30 days of continual prayers by the monastic community provided the monks with necessary protection, but not all laypersons would have been afforded such spiritual privileges.[71]

Burials within these containers may in most instances, however, relate to practical necessity for transporting the body over long distances or to contain disease and odours. With the expansion of Beaumont's house from the twelfth century, the precinct may have become more accessible to the wider population for burial; a move from the more clerical Augustinians to the Cluniacs, famed for their exalted liturgy, may have encouraged interment requests from further away. Beaumont exhibited a similarly high prevalence of such containers as Lewes. The latter was one of the most prominent Cluniac establishments in Europe and included many prestigious interments.[72] A number of these would undoubtedly have come from relatively far. Gundrada,

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[71] Note, however, the case reported by Iogna-Prat (2002b: 223) of one layman requesting that he be afforded a due of Masses, prayers and alms, by all, as for a monk of Cluny; these services were clearly highly valued (Section 3.1.6).

[72] See Horsfield and Mantell (1824: 240-242) for a summary of some of the more notable interments at Lewes Priory.

wife of William de Warenne, for instance, died in Castle Acre (Norfolk) (Green 1997: 185) but was buried in Lewes Priory (see Lyne 1997). Bodily decomposition begins almost instantaneously after death (Chapter 4) and strong odours can start to be emitted from around 12-18 hours (Bardale 2011: 154). Transportation over significant distances may have required durable containment.

The Cluniac customaries prescribed that the grave should be sprinkled with holy water (Paxton 1993a: 31). The twelfth-century liturgists Jean Beleth and William Durandus state that water helped ward off demons and the inclusion of charcoal in the grave marked the place as sacred (Schweitz 1981: 29). Charcoal deposits without vessels were infrequently identified in Augustinian graves. Vessels, many of which were pierced and/or exhibited evidence for burning, with frequent charcoal inclusions, were recorded from the Cluniac phase (Section 7.3.2.11; Table 7.42; Fig.Figs.7.46-7.47). Schweitz (1981: 34) cites a twelfth-century text which specifies that to disguise the bad odours of a noble's body, as soon as it was placed in the tomb, a fire should be lit near to it, drowning it in perfume and incense (see also Alexandre-Bidon 2011: 145). Symbolic or functional purposes can both be suggested. However, the *anthropologie de terrain* analysis identified a possible relationship between those buried within a closed portable container or under a cover and evidence for these practices, as was also the case for La Charité burial 314. Many of the vessels appeared haphazardly discarded, potentially thrown into the grave both before and after completion of the ceremony; similar practices have also been identified at Saint-Nicholas d'Acy (Bourry *et al*. 1991: 121; Poree 1993; see also Schweitz 1981). The evidence did not always suggest a careful placement (Table 7.42; Appendix 5b). These burials could represent individuals who had been transported over significant distances, where decomposition was in a relatively advanced state. Alternatively, they could represent those who had died of an infectious disease, where containment and charcoal burning was thought to reduce the body's propensity to pollute. Gilchrist and Sloane's (2005: 114) study noted that London's Black Death cemetery had on average 50% coffin use, demonstrating that their adoption cannot simply be equated with social status, but rather they may relate to attitudes towards the body, including disease. Two individuals (burials 12 and 16) from Lewes with evidence for burial in a closed portable container were interred on charcoal and, although the sample was small, a possible connection was identified at Bermondsey between those in such containers and mortar base-linings (Section 7.3.2.7). Chalk and charcoal, Dawes and Magilton (1980: 16) have argued, could have been used to soak up bodily fluids. As with the evidence for burning presented for Beaumont, these practices may reflect different regional

responses towards managing the biological reality of death - the odorous liquids and the polluting threat of a decomposing, possibly diseased body. The Cluniac customaries do not provide guidance on how to physically manage those who had died of acute infectious diseases and in possible need of containment. These texts were theoretical and idealistic in assuming that all would die a 'good death', where the monk could be kissed, washed, dressed, carried and lowered into the grave in his shroud. Disease, on the other hand, was to be denied and hidden from view (Section 9.1). Explicitly regulating in the customaries for the untimely deaths of diseased monks would be a public admission that Cluny's greatly admired funerary rites could be less than perfect. If any of the sites' container burials do represent those of the Cluniac monastic community, they could, therefore, demonstrate a very necessary break from customary practice.

Finally, although Schweitz (1981: 27) has proposed that the limited value of the ceramic vessels meant that as a commodity, they could just have been thrown into the grave once their purpose had been served, their incorporation could also have been imbued with significance beyond pure practicality, one linked to an increased concern with Purgatory as a threatening and unfamiliar place. The vessels from Cluniac Beaumont could have been re-used domestic ware, as evident at further sites from the Oise, and other regions of France (see Durand 1988; Poree 1993; Schweitz 1981). Gilchrist (2012: 171) has noted that the material culture of the church and cemetery stretched beyond the orthodoxy of the clergy; it overlapped with the domestic sphere of the home. The deliberate inclusion of these domestic vessels as part of the funeral could also have been a symbolic gesture aimed at 'taming' the grave, through bringing the familiar home into the unfamiliar grave and beyond. This argument could also be proposed for the potential chest burial and possibly even the inclusion of perishable pillows.[73] The Cluniacs could thus be highly tolerant of various practices permeating their funerary landscapes. A degree of flexibility towards individual and local practice was clearly required of the 'foreign' monks establishing themselves within new countries and regions, or for those supplanting long-standing and possibly highly respected religious communities.

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[73] Gilchrist and Sloane (2005: 146) note that in comparison to the hard pillows, those made from textiles, plants or sand might have approximated more closely to the pillows used in life. Their use could possibly be evidence for the reproduction of domestic comforts in the grave.

8.2 Cluniac attitudes to the dead: the liminal and post-liminal body

The Cluniac customaries, statutes and official Catholic doctrine emphasised the long-term care of the deceased's soul. Commemorations perpetuating the dead's memory heavily punctuated the daily Cluniac routine (Section 3.1). The long-term care of the physical body is, however, absent from these texts, potentially implying that during and post-interment, care for the newly deceased was prioritised (see Naji 2005:186). In particular, it can be suggested that the soul's fate was the primary consideration, eclipsing concerns over the long-term fate (and integrity) of the physical body. This would correspond with the over-arching theological teachings which emphasised a physical reconstruction of fragmentary remains at death (Section 3.2). The place of burial itself was also potentially seen as the more important factor. Proximity to the body of the saints was highly valued, perhaps more so than the actual fate of the corpse, or bones, themselves (see Naji 2005: 181); as long as burial took place on consecrated ground (and the body remained there), the long-term physical integrity of the deceased was possibly of limited concern. This could be supported by the potentially translated and incomplete remains of individual 4, Lewes Priory (Appendix 5b), and the abundant charnel material recorded at La Charité, Bermondsey and Beaumont. The results of this study, however, strongly challenge the assertion that care of the newly deceased's body and soul was always prioritised or that 'bone disturbed by the digging of new graves or other activities were certainly not treated with reverence, but were unceremoniously tossed aside' (Mays n.d: 24). The osteological assessment has demonstrated that disturbed remains (both fleshed and dry) were not always simply treated pragmatically (Section 7.4). Rather, through their exhumation, handling and re-interment, they could acquire a new significance and role within the Cluniac funeral. An absence of written directive, therefore, should not necessarily imply a lack of concern on the part of the religious authorities, or indeed those performing the burial. The customaries were repositories of established norms (Melville 2005: 83) and outlined everything considered worthy of admiration in Cluny's activities (Cochelin 2000a: 22). The digging of a grave could be unpredictable, encompassing a number of potentially unknown variables including the amount and density of skeletal (or putrefying) matter, the extent of decomposition and the individuals' reactions stimulated by the encounter. Behavioural norms in their management through on-going repetition were thus less likely to have been established when compared with other aspects of more governable Cluniac practice. Disturbance of remains, although tolerated, was also undoubtedly not considered 'worthy of admiration', thus further diminishing their suitability for formal written directive. As Constable (1998: 173) has proposed, the customaries

could also have been intended as a public declaration of how Cluny did things and a monument to collective pride; in this respect, they were likely to have been highly selective documents, often purporting a desired image. The potential lack of formal instruction on the management of these remains thus left the door open for a range of responses on the part of the gravediggers and mourners. Senior monastics were regularly moved between houses within the order, thus introducing another key factor – the preferences of the individual officials, potentially influenced by experiences in other monasteries.

Hadley (2001: 119) has claimed that there is some evidence to suggest that little care was taken to avoid disturbing earlier burials, as demonstrated by Bermondsey burial 32. Grave disturbance for the burial of a new interment became an increasingly common occurrence throughout the medieval period (see Cherryson 2007; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005). The sites examined here are no exception; overall, maintaining the physical integrity of the deceased was clearly not prioritised in many instances. Lewes Priory was the only example exhibiting limited evidence for grave intercutting; the burials were well spaced (Section 5.2), suggesting that above ground markers within these internal zones may have more clearly demarcated previous interments. It could also be suggested that with construction of the Great Monastic Church (*c*.1150), pressure for burial plots in this zone may have dwindled and the necessity to recycle space, and disturb burials, was thus reduced.

Bermondsey, Beaumont and La Charité's funerary spaces were markedly different, exhibiting more extensive disturbance and re-use of burial spaces throughout the considered time periods (Section 7.4.1; Fig.7.48). Political motivations may have contributed to disturbance in certain instances; the pre-Dissolution destruction of part of Bermondsey's 'monastic' cemetery following the break from Cluny (Section 5.3) could represent a deliberate act of disassociation between the new 'English-led' community and their French predecessors. The 'monastic' cemetery may thus have lost its significance through time as a symbolic connection between a Cluniac present and past, an argument possibly supported by the evidence presented for body preparation (Section 8.1.1).

These three sites included disturbed remains in individual grave contexts or in separate charnel pits. Unfortunately, the excavation documentation did not permit assessment of the latter (Section 6.2.4). Within individual graves, three broad categories of deposition were discernible: 1) bones were positioned in direct physical association with the deceased, or more or less organised within the grave; 2) re-deposited only (generally haphazardly) in the fill or; 3) both.

Where the documentation permitted assessment, 17% (n=32), 28 % (n=24) and 61% (n=28) of graves from Bermondsey, Beaumont and La Charité, respectively, included disturbed remains with clear differences recorded in the number of graves containing bones deposited within each of the above three categories (Table 7.44). Where graves included bones in category 1, they were examined to assess: the elements represented, their overall arrangement, proximity to the interment, the positions of crania, their possible function, and their degree of connection (Sections 6.2.4, 7.4.3-7.4.8; Appendix 4). For the positions of crania, Gleize (2010: 53) has noted that in medieval re-used tombs, disturbed crania were often positioned next to the cephalic extremity of the new interment. It is examined here whether skulls/crania were afforded particular treatment within these Cluniac contexts and, following Gleize (2010: 53), whether certain bones were selected, potentially to retain the deceased, or at least part of the deceased's body, in memory. The other roles or meanings fulfilled and acquired by these bones are also questioned, along with an overall assessment of attitudes towards the newly deceased in *relation* to the former dead.

The approaches of those constructing the grave or performing the burial towards disturbed remains at Bermondsey and La Charité were the most comparable. However, Section 7.4 has demonstrated that, overall, no single management strategy dominated by site or phase. Discovery of skeletal remains promoted considerable variability in treatment; the identity of the deceased, onlookers and those conducting the funeral may all have contributed to the varied management strategies, together with practicalities, motivations and emotional responses. In contrast to the evidence from Beaumont (see below), however, one clear finding was that the remains were not consistently placed in the overlying fill or deposited elsewhere and thus separated from the new interment (Table 7.43). Where burials from Bermondsey and La Charité did contain disturbed remains, a much higher percentage included bones positioned in physical association with the new deceased and/or purposefully arranged within the grave (Table 7.43). Cherryson (2007: 135-6) has proposed that the ultimate fate of those human remains disturbed by later activities was largely governed by the ease and convenience of disposal. However, in the present study, numerous burials demonstrated evidence for arrangement beyond pure expediency, as Williams (2006: 112) has argued for examples from Raunds Furnells, Northamptonshire.

In both Bermondsey's and La Charité's intra- and extra-mural burial zones, re-arrangement and re-incorporation of disturbed remains into new grave contexts reflects a desire to engage with

the previous deceased and to physically associate them with the recent dead. Crubézy (2007: 19) has stated that for the Middle Ages, individuality was respected during inhumation. However, within these 'monastic' spaces, community concerns arguably took priority over those of individuals, as was also evident from the grave construction evidence (Section 8.1.2.2), where even within La Charité's elite gallery, the bodies were not isolated and excluded. Particularly at La Charité and Bermondsey, grave contexts were often emptied prior to interring the new body, with the disturbed remains frequently re-incorporated over the deceased in highly visible locations to those encircling the grave (see below). Although this appears haphazard in certain instances, particularly for La Charité (possibly due to the sheer quantity of material) (Section 7.4.4; Fig.7.51), various arrangement strategies denote greater complexity.

Reduced bodies, meaning a handling and re-organising of the bones in the same space where initial decomposition took place (Duday and Sellier 1990: 13), were observed at La Charité and Bermondsey. In some instances, large parts of the newly deceased were probably concealed from view to onlookers, at least at the point the grave was filled (Fig.7.53). These bones, as Boddington (1996: 50) notes, would, in many cases, have been for mourners the last and most visible remains of the dead before the grave's closure. The re-deposited remains within La Charité's gallery burial 203 were bundled up and placed (arguably unnecessarily) directly over the head of the new interment, almost entirely obscuring this region from view (Section 7.4.4; Fig.7.53, right). There was some evidence for deliberate selection of crania and the larger long bones for re-incorporation within the grave in association with the newly deceased. A spatial assessment of Bermondsey individual 32's skeletal elements demonstrates that at the time of burial, the upper body was moved over to make space for the re-interred cranium (Fig.7.56). Burials 43 (Bermondsey) and 310 (La Charité) very visibly incorporated carefully positioned crania in association with the new body whilst further mixed remains were deposited in the fill. In these instances at least, the crania were arguably selected for particular treatment. Burial 206, La Charité, included predominantly long-bones lying under, over and around the body, sometimes touching it. Selective inclusion and exclusion, where the larger bones were chosen for particular arrangement to 'frame' the body, could be suggested (Section 7.4.3; Fig.7.50). This could further indicate desires to physically associate old and new, with a particular attention being afforded the larger more distinctive bones. Referring to Gleize's (2010: 53) theory that certain bones were selected, potentially to retain the death or at least part of the deceased's body in memory, this could certainly be one possibility. However, it can also be proposed that

for La Charité and Bermondsey's arguably predominantly monastic burials, other motivations were at play, possibly indirectly influenced by the customaries.

In line with the *Rule of Saint Benedict's* instruction for daily reflection on death, the customaries prescribed actions that sought to emphasise the inevitability of death and encouraged the monks to reflect and meditate on it. Through handling of bones and their re-interment in highly visible locations in association with the still fleshed, inanimate corpse, the grave became a stage. Improvised 'mortuary scenes' (see Williams 2007a) were thus being created as part of the Cluniac 'theatre', for displaying the biological reality of death - a reminder to onlookers of the ultimate fate of the body as it progressed from fresh cadaver to skeletal matter. La Charité burial 177 could demonstrate this (Fig.7.53). The newly deceased's lower body was overlain with fully disarticulated and still decomposing remains, whilst a cranium and an *os coxae* were positioned possibly framing the head. This arrangement perfectly staged the cadaver as one phase in a long process of decomposition and decay, and the individual as one within a wider community of the dead. The sheer size of the grave cut (2.70m by 0.70m) does not seem to imply that arranging the bones directly over the cadaver was a necessary act (as could be argued for the potential cases of 'element matching'). Those digging the grave within this heavily used burial location must have known that a cut of these dimensions would entail managing significant quantities of human remains. However, the disturbed remains in burial 177 exhibited little evidence for damage, possibly suggesting that a careful disinterment and 'staged' re-interment of these remains in the grave was the intention from the start. As with the handling of the dead monk's body by those of the same rank and the wearing of his clothes (Section 3.1.6), the bones could have served as powerful and emotive meditative 'tools', the handling and manipulation of which brought the monks intimately close to the inescapable reality of death. The deliberate selection and different treatment of crania and long-bones (the larger more recognisable elements), could have served to further emphasise this reality. In response to Ariès's (1981: 161) assertion that by the thirteenth century a denial of the physical reality of death and a desire for concealment developed, this is highly individual and context specific. Particularly at La Charité, emphasis appears to have been on highlighting the biological reality of death, not on denying it. This can be seen in other contexts. For instance, many of the larger Cluniac houses displayed relics, a necessary asset to attract pilgrims (Johnston 2011: 609). Constable (2010: 31) writes that Cluny's collection was sufficiently rich for Peter the Venerable to send relics of a great martyr to La Charité. Relics would often have consisted of human remains and regular exposure to them could have promoted greater

familiarity with the dead body and thus potentially assuaged the monks' anxieties. The gruesome reality of death was explicitly depicted in Cluniac texts (see Bruce 2006) but as demonstrated by the *LT* where it states that death is sweet and must be accepted (Henriet 1996: 95), monks were also encouraged not to fear it.

The customaries in part directed practice surrounding the dying and dead body towards creating and maintaining community bonds (Sections 3.1.4-3.1.6). The fact that re-interred bones do not always appear carefully positioned, even haphazardly co-mingled (Section 7.4.4; Fig.7.51, 7.53), could demonstrate that honouring or respecting the disturbed body as an individual was not necessarily always the primary concern. Rather, interest lay in what the bones represented - a shared community past and present, together with the biological reality of death. The customaries could thus have been influential in effecting these responses to disturbed remains, where, as with the prescriptions outlining treatment of the dead monk's body and material possessions (Sections 3.1.5-3.1.6), they sought to structure and maintain monastic relationships and emphasise the need for constant reflection on one's own mortality. The disturbed fragmented remains examined from La Charité and Bermondsey suggests that their re-interment and arrangement in direct physical contact with the monk's body, physically and symbolically united the community of the dead with the newly deceased and through their intervention, the living monastic community. This funerary stage was thus concerned with providing for the body and soul of the deceased monk, but also with reinforcing Cluniac connections, past and present; a concern of particular importance for two of the larger establishments, which enjoyed considerable status and responsibility within the order. Considering Carmarthen Greyfriars, Williams (2003b: 246) has proposed that the process of disturbance through grave-digging and the discovery of older graves had a mnemonic dimension; it could have been one of the ways that history and the dead were incorporated into the friary's history. Material culture is key to this process. As McClain (2912: 143) has argued, material culture is capable of dynamic interaction with people, and is active in creating and reaffirming individual and a shared community memory. This is equally applicable to the dead body itself. Cochelin (2000a: 30) demonstrates how the bodies of sick monks could be both despised and also possible loci for the sacred. In all stages of decomposition, the dead may also have incited some degree of disgust and anxiety. However, through their handling and re-incorporation within these sacred landscapes, they could have been imbued with a renewed sanctity, as loci for promulgating and reinforcing a shared spirituality and commonality both in

life and death. If the whole monastic community did encircle the grave as the customaries state (Section 3.1.5), it must have been a greatly evocative public moment.

Alongside monastic commonality, the Cluniac customaries and meditative literature (see Bruce 2006) strongly emphasised humility. The relatively simple grave constructions evident in both Bermondsey and La Charité's samples, along with the evidence for body preparation from La Charité's gallery burials, could, overall, demonstrate humility on the part of the brethren. The inclusion of disturbed remains could also have signified the humbling, equalising and communitarian nature of death. Those in La Charité's elite gallery were not treated differently from many of the interments within the earlier cemetery phase; the previous and newly deceased were both afforded a significant place within the grave. As discussed below, individual concerns were certainly not being explicitly expressed here in the way the burial was constructed. The 'faithful', as Iogna-Prat (1998: 354) notes, were individually named in the necrology, or collectively in the customs; the monk was thus both individual and one of a community, in life and death. In death, the idea of community seems (archaeologically and osteologically) to have been explicitly marked, particularly within La Charité's 'post-foundation' burials, as the community and a notion of a Cluniac *familia* grew.

Augustinian and Cluniac Beaumont were notably different to Bermondsey and La Charité. Thirty-nine burials contained disturbed remains, but only seven demonstrated evidence for arrangement of remains in relation to the new deceased (Table 7.44) – note that for four of these (burials 59, 107, 109 and 193), intention to arrange or physically associate old and new was ambiguous. Thirty-six graves contained re-deposited bones (of males, females and non-adults) solely in the fill, physically separated from the new interment. Limited evidence thus existed for a desire to construct or stage (at least at the time of grave closure) a visible connection between the newly deceased and the fragmentary remains of the previous dead. Crania were not afforded particular regard and were simply included in the fill with the rest of the elements (Section 7.4.6); handling of the remains could thus have been kept to a minimum. The Cluniac period appears to have continued the strategies in place for the Augustinian phase; graves seem, for the most part, to have been fully emptied prior to interment of the new body with bones either being re-interred haphazardly within the fill or potentially deposited in charnel pits. The only clear case from both periods of deliberate arrangement of remains in direct physical association with the newly deceased was Augustinian burial 196, where the fragmented remains of a newborn were re-grouped over the forearm of the deceased. However, on the other

extreme, for Augustinian burial 181, disturbed infant remains were placed on the tomb wall and sealed under the cover, possibly implying a desire for physical disassociation between old and new. Overall, the focus at the time of burial was arguably more on emphasising the identity and possibly the status of the newly deceased, together with the primary importance of materially and spiritually providing for their individual body and soul. The evidence for body preparation and interment supports this. Grave elaboration and provisioning were more prevalent and variable; many exhibited evidence for exclusion and containment (Sections 7.3.2, 8.1.2.2). Arguably for the laity, relatively more anxiety existed over the fresh, decomposing and disarticulated body (Section 8.1.2.2); those witnessing the burial may have been purposefully shielded from such explicit displays of death's biological reality.

Beaumont's burial spaces examined herein were clearly accessible to the laity, where the funerary proceedings would not have focused upon perpetuating and affirming a shared Cluniac monastic memory and community bond. The customaries required brothers of the same rank to prepare, carry and bury the monk (Section 3.1.6). However, it is possible that Beaumont's small community did not regularly perform the burial rites themselves, or curtailed them out of necessity. As a result, they may not have been as spiritually or physically connected with the recent or long dead (both lay or monastic). Furthermore, a large number of interments at Beaumont pre-dated the Cluniac foundation. The Augustinian and Cluniac dead shared the same funerary landscape and, as such, monastic notions of a 'Cluniac community of the dead' may not have been so marked. Disturbed remains may therefore not have been imbued with the same significance and potency in the context of a shared monastic history as could be proposed for La Charité and Bermondsey, the two larger and more established houses.

Despite the increasing use of writing and the spoken word in church rituals of remembrance, Williams (2003b: 230) has argued that material culture remained central to later medieval social relations and strategies of remembrance, including portable objects, architecture, church space, and the dead bodies themselves. As this study has demonstrated, although these elements were undoubtedly imbued with considerable significance, each could be afforded varying roles on an individual and site basis. Overall, whereas the material construction and provisioning of the grave for the physical and spiritual care of the newly deceased's body and soul were evidently prioritised at Beaumont and Lewes, La Charité and Bermondsey's 'monastic' burials more demonstrably went beyond individual concerns. Dead bodies did matter. As is particularly evident at La Charité and Bermondsey, whether in cadaveric, decomposing or skeletal form,

they could provide loci for visibly structuring and affirming order, hierarchy, and community relations, whilst also acting as 'tools' for commemoration and meditation. In this regard, within two of the order's most prominent houses, Cluny, was indeed successful in promoting some degree of conformity in effecting responses that fitted with its spiritual and communitarian desires and values. Although certain actions in the customaries were evidently adapted 'in accordance with time and place' (Constable 2010: 136), the overall attitude towards the dying, the dead body and community relations, so clearly structured within these documents, had both direct and indirect influences on the way in which funerary practice was conducted. The way in which many of the individuals from La Charité and Bermondsey were treated in death appears the most 'Cluniac' in this respect.

9. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Cluny's persistent desire for conformity is strongly apparent from the creation and diffusion of its customaries, statutes and the later implementation of visitations. Abbot Hugh V's statement in 1200, 'for since we are one congregation and order, we should conform in all things' (Constable 2010: 140) was arguably in response to fears that with the continually expanding *familia*, conformity in practice was growing ever-harder to control; an echo of Bernard's fear documented within his customary (Section 3.1). Distance posed a challenge; it was the mother-house's responsibility to bring ill-disciplined monasteries back into line but they were often far away and more independent than the order's founders intended (Wilkinson 2006: 35). Although Duby (1991: 93) has claimed that the best-regulated monks were members of the Cluniac foundations, absolute conformity in all practice was idealistic.

This study has applied the taphonomic approach of *anthropologie de terrain* to explore the extent to which conformity in practice was achievable for one aspect of Cluniac practice: the funerary treatment. In questioning the relationship between Cluniac text and practice, the degree to which the prescriptions within the customaries were adhered to was examined, assessing how they may have been adapted and why. This thesis has also explored Cluniac attitudes to the dead and their bodies throughout the death-course as they were liminally and post-liminally 'managed'. The concept of the 'death-course' has facilitated these enquiries in directing focus towards the continual inter-related biological and cultural processes negotiated by the living in response to the death of a community member and the appearance of a 'dynamic cadaver' (Nilsson 1998).

In answer to the question posed as to how theoretical were the customaries, in terms of the death and burial rites, the simple answer is highly. Without further evidence, this cannot be maintained for Cluny itself, but for the dependencies examined herein, significant procedural adaptations were identified. Lauwers (1997: 103) has argued that the division between doctrine and its uses, and the relative tolerance of the religious authorities regarding local customs, led to a diversity of funerary practices in the Middle Ages. The customaries were not binding and they could be adapted according to local traditions. Although on one hand Cluny ardently strove to enforce uniformity, as Abbot Hugh's statute and the visitations indicate, as the order grew, a degree of tolerance was inevitably required. In specifying that the custom of burial could be changed if deemed necessary, Bernard's customary was realistic in this regard.

However, the customaries could also have been intended, at least in part, as a monument to collective pride, where they selected and promulgated the Cluniac ideal. They prescribed the best possible death, where the full liturgical programme could be realised. However, death's inherent unpredictability and the biological reality of the resultant cadaver must frequently have required practical measures beyond the customaries' provisions.

In contrast to the *Bern's* explicit proviso that the custom of burial may be changed, thus authorising a degree of flexibility in funerary practice, the Cluniac visitation records detail the severe measures imposed for incorrect practice related to daily life. The Prior of Horton, for example, was given strict injunctions never to ride without leggings or a crupper for his saddle, or for brothers to eat meat in the presence of secular persons (Duckett 1890: 16). These publicly observable activities were clearly of particular concern; Cluny was intent on promulgating an image of perfection to monastics and laity alike. During the funeral of a monk, however, the Cluniac monastery was to be closed off from the outside world; the brethren were not permitted to leave (Paxton 1993a: 24). Access to the monastery may also have been restricted to the laity; behind closed doors, practice not in accordance with the customaries could thus possibly have been more readily tolerated. The degree and nature of 'publicness' of monastic activity could thus have influenced how and to what extent certain prescribed actions were performed; observation, and by whom, was thus key in structuring practice.

This study has highlighted a number of inter-related factors influencing the degree to which houses realistically could be united in common practice. Influence from pre-existing monastic customs and local traditions, developments in Cluniac customary practice, pressures to reform the structure and cost of funerals, economic and resource considerations and broader political changes variously promoted uptake and adherence to the customaries' prescriptions. Varied emphasis on doctrinal versus folkloric teachings and beliefs, together with death's inherent unpredictability, also converged to stimulate diverse responses to death and burial. Underlying these factors, the 'type' of house played an important role, where geographical location, foundational circumstances, status within the network, and the size of the community were shown to be of particular significance. On a smaller scale, burial location in the context of the individual precincts was also crucial.

An overarching finding was that whilst the burials from Beaumont and Lewes exhibited evidence for an overall concern with materially providing for their individual bodies and souls,

community concerns were more highly prioritised at La Charité and Bermondsey. It has been proposed that the examined burial zones from Beaumont and Lewes possibly included a greater proportion of (probably elite) laypersons. At both these sites, significant variability was recorded in grave structure, where more emphasis was placed on containment (within a tomb, closed portable container or under a cover). Cluny's intense liturgical programme offered the monks significant spiritual protection and provision for their souls. For seculars, greater anxieties surrounding demonic threats and the dead body's potential to haunt, corrupt and 'pollute' the living during its decompositional 'liminal' phase may have prompted such material measures. This was generally the same for Beaumont's men, women and non-adults alike, where overall, no one group was demonstrably treated significantly differently in death. More elaborate burial constructions, which visibly staged the body and likely conveyed a higher social status, could have been considered particularly beneficial; for the mourners encircling the grave, it created a striking image of a notable, 'worthy' individual, thus prolonging their memory and maximising commemorations. Variability in body preparation (e.g. not consistently wrapped as a concealed, more undifferentiated cadaver) and greater inclusion of items such as stone pillows and religious objects may also, in part, reflect desires for the deceased to be remembered as an individual, with a visible emphasis on piety to further stimulate prayers. For those from Beaumont who were spiritually provided for by the 'clerical' canons or the small Cluniac community, as well as many of those within Lewes's downgraded chapel, these concerns may have been particularly strong. Fairly consistent separation of Beaumont's disturbed remains from the newly deceased again supports the argument that concern was for providing for the dead's individual body and soul. Incorporation of fragmented remains in association with their bodies could have been seen to detract attention from their individual needs on burial and thus from their longer-term spiritual wellbeing. Without the liturgical support of a large monastic community, human remains may also have incited more fear amongst the laity, perhaps partly a result of a stronger emphasis on folkloric beliefs.

The importance of personal agency in the enrichment of medieval belief must thus be stressed (Gilchrist 2012:171). Despite the official doctrine, some laypersons may still have taken bodily resurrection literally (see Bynum 1995: 268), possibly in part prompting the relatively high number of well-constructed tombs and head-niches/support stones in evidence from Augustinian Beaumont and Lewes. These may have been lay responses to fears surrounding body disturbance and in the case of Augustinian period Beaumont, greater focus at this time on

the Last Judgement and the need to maintain the correct bodily position - as could also be proposed for the 'foundation' period burials from La Charité. Although Purgatory arguably shifted concerns more towards catering for the soul over the physical body, these grave designs did occur infrequently in the later period within each site. Personal concerns therefore continued to promote varied responses to death and burial, for which a degree of tolerance or perhaps indifference was exercised by the monastic communities responsible for these funerary spaces.

Overall, La Charité and Bermondsey stood in contrast to Lewes and Beaumont and were notably similar for the interment and post-interment treatment of the dead. Nonetheless, for those buried within these arguably predominantly 'monastic' zones, the customaries' precise prescriptions could also be disregarded, variably adopted or adapted. Even between a mother and daughter-house, therefore, responses to the dead and the body could differ.

This study has demonstrated an overall material simplicity in burials from La Charité and Bermondsey. Body preparation was the most striking difference between these two sites and it has been tentatively proposed that for Bermondsey, pre-existing monastic customs such as those presented within the *Regularis Concordia* may have been influential, suggesting a degree of adaptability on the part of Bermondsey's monastic community. As the prescriptions of the Cluniac customaries were simultaneously precise and vague, and monastic officials were regularly moved between houses, significant room was left for varied interpretations and impartation of new approaches towards funerary treatment.

Greater uniformity in body preparation recorded in La Charité's 'post-foundation' sample could reflect a more direct and possibly monitored impartation of practical knowledge from Cluny. This could have been, in part, a response to the growing importance afforded the customaries throughout the eleventh century. On a practical level, distance from the centre of Cluniac power could thus have been a significant factor influencing conformity; it inevitably posed a challenge for regulation, especially for communities in England who experienced few visitations.

Economic circumstances also varied by house and they could rapidly change. For Cluny's extensive community, the provision of necessary materials and the potentially lengthy funerary procedure could be afforded both financially and in terms of required brethren. However, for a

relatively smaller house such as Bermondsey, factors such as debt and dramatic fluctuations in inmates could at times have prompted omission of 'non-essentials' or curtailment of certain procedures, such as that required for body preparation. Bernard, compiling his text at a time of rapid expansion and growing diversity in houses, was arguably aware of such difficulties. Formally permitting adaptation ensured greater spread and uptake of, at the very least, some elements of practice prescribed within the customaries.

Adaptations to specific practices aside, the burials examined from La Charité and Bermondsey exhibited the greatest conformity to Cluny's overarching ideals for spirituality and monastic relations. The customaries could thus have played an important role in both directly and indirectly effecting responses to the dead. These texts structured practice to promote humility and to construct and re-inforce community bonds. The vast majority of burials were shown to be materially modest, having been directly interred in the ground and covered by soil. Even within La Charité's undoubtedly elite gallery, containment and isolation within or under structures was not in evidence and in contrast to Lewes' elite internal burials, those from the gallery were fairly consistently interred within the possibly more humble shroud. Together with the findings for the treatment of disturbed remains, where bones were often visibly incorporated and arranged in direct physical contact with the newly deceased, it could be argued that community over individual concerns were being expressed. As far as the evidence implies, the dead were not being materially singled out as special or different. Physically and symbolically, the newly deceased were associated with those of the entire community of the dead. Whilst solace for the laity in Purgatory and relief for the mourners may partly have been sought through incorporating religious or domestic objects with the dead, this may have been achieved for the monks through interment and integration of the body physically integrated with the remains of the community. Community relations could, however, change, particularly amidst political upheavals. Growing hostilities between England and France, and therefore between Bermondsey and Cluny from the fourteenth century, could have provoked an active disassociation from much of what had been considered 'Cluniac'. Deliberate destruction of parts of Bermondsey's 'monastic' cemetery in the fifteenth century could be seen as an explicit break between a Cluniac past and present.

Aries's (1981) arguments that by the thirteenth century the physical reality of death was denied and bodily concealment was sought, was not supported by La Charité and Bermondsey. The customaries structured practice to encourage the monks to reflect constantly on death. From

fresh corpse to dry bones, the dead were handled and displayed; even within La Charité's highly spiritual and privileged gallery zone, decomposing remains were manipulated and even possibly 'staged' within the grave directly over the uncontained deceased. In response to Naji's (2005: 186) argument that priority was for the newly deceased, this study has shown that within these two monastic contexts, the previous dead mattered greatly; they were often afforded a significant role and position in the creation and structuring of grave contexts. They could serve as powerful and emotive meditative agents or 'tools', the handling and manipulation of which brought the monks intimately close to the inescapable reality of death, whilst also providing loci around which bonds between the living community and the recent and long dead could be created and maintained. In this respect, their treatment was both influenced by but also reinforcing of those values so explicitly promulgated from Cluny through its customaries. The 'type' of house has again been shown to be significant here. These two establishments of prominent standing within the order were likely encouraged to set more of an example of proper practice and to transmit a message in concurrence with Cluny's over-arching ethos.

Finally, this study has demonstrated that the biological reality of death must be a prime consideration in approaching medieval funerary research. The Cluniac customaries provided for the ideal death. In reality this would frequently have been unobtainable. Full and timely body preparation and the mode of burial could often have been influenced by such factors as *rigor mortis,* cause of death and the natural products of decomposition emitted from the body should interment be delayed. Out of necessity, handling of the cadaver may have been kept to a minimum, or, against customary practice, the body may have required full containment immediately following death. Burial within a closed portable container was identified within each site and it has been proposed that as well as possibly serving a role in containing disease, their use could in part reflect lay demands for interment some distance from their place of death. From the twelfth century Cluny was under pressure to reduce the cost of funerals, thus possibly prompting a greater 'opening up' of the Cluniac funerary sphere to non-monastics. The inclusion of ceramic incense burners within burials from Cluniac Beaumont and charcoal and mortar base-linings in the two English sites firstly shows the role of local and regional practices in the enrichment of Cluniac funerary landscapes. It secondly demonstrates that no matter how fervently conformity was desired and 'correct' practice promulgated, the dead body's biological reality could not be so easily regulated. Further spiritual and practical measures were inevitably required to manage the long and dynamic processes as the body progressed from fresh cadaver to skeletal matter.

9.1 Further research

In applying the approach of *anthropologie de terrain*, this study has demonstrated the potential for high-resolution studies into later medieval funerary practices, working primarily from excavation documentation. Although the medieval period is characterised by abundant material remains and documentary sources, there is still considerable scope to explore the complex inter-relationships between the archaeological and historical records, together with methodological and theoretical approaches specific or applicable to both. In reviewing previous research into medieval and Cluniac funerary treatment (Section 2.2 and Chapter 3), and in conducting the taphonomic and quantitative analyses (Appendix 5; Chapter 7), the following research directions deserving further attention have been highlighted.

Maureille and Sellier (1996: 324) have observed that we still have much to learn about the different spaces of decomposition, the flow of sediment and diverse burial practices. The example of Bermondsey burial 113, and a number of those from Beaumont exhibiting evidence for undefinable perishable structures, also demonstrates the variety and complexity of burial strategies. Both Nilsson Stutz (2003) and Blaizot (2011) propose some form of perishable support to explain the skeletal patterning of the vertebrae and ribs similar to that recorded for Bermondsey burial 113, but further osteological, archaeological and documentary-based research needs to be undertaken to build on these enquiries further, particularly in a later medieval context. Medieval iconography and texts, along with archaeological remains from well-preserved burials, demonstrate that significant diversity existed in body preparation and burial construction for the period examined here. However, our comprehension of the myriad ways in which these funerary treatments directly influence the decomposition of the body and spatial patterning of skeletal elements remains minimal, particularly for the period examined herein. Working from well-recorded historic period burial contexts with excellent preservation of archaeological remains, Blaizot (2008) examined the taphonomic impact of specific burial modes on skeletal elements. Studies of this nature are invaluable (yet rare) for refining our methods in the field but also for acquiring a solid corpus of culturally specific references, which can be consulted before, during and after excavation. Following the approach of Nilsson Stutz (2003) and Willis and Tayles (2009), this thesis has shown the potential for conducting such taphonomic studies post-excavation. Further research could expand the enquiry by selecting a range of well-excavated and documented medieval burial contexts, from both sides of the Channel, with excellent archaeological preservation of perishable and non-perishable grave structures and burial dress (see also Bizot and Signoli 2009; Bonnabel and Carré 1996; Gallien

and Langlois 1998). The direct relationship between mode of burial and the spatial patterning of skeletal elements could thus be rigorously explored. Taphonomic studies of this nature are needed to help refine our understanding of the complex relationship between natural and cultural agents and their impact on historic period burial contexts.

The inaccessibility of certain excavation documentation at the time of this research did not permit detailed taphonomic analysis of burials from other Cluniac sites. However, there is potential to expand the present study into Cluniac funerary treatment. The contemporary sites of Saint-Nicholas d'Acy and Nanteuil-le-Haudouin (Picardy) represent two further types of Cluniac house and were in use from the eleventh century to the Revolution. The former was founded within a pre-existing village community (see Bourry *et al.* 1991) and, unusually also functioned as a parish church (Racinet 1993: 315). The church, priory zones and the external parish cemetery produced around one hundred burials. Cluny's daughter-house, Nanteuil-le-Haudouin, was situated adjacent to a castle and similarly to Beaumont, played a significant role in catering for the aristocracy. Numerous burials were excavated from zones comparable to Saint-Nicholas d'Acy. A direct comparison of funerary treatment between Saint-Nicholas d'Acy, Beaumont and La Charité has been proposed (Bourry *et al*. 1991: 108) and could expand the study to examine the Cluniac role (depending on 'type' of house) in catering for the respective populations.

Although time constraints did not permit their inclusion within this thesis, further burials have been excavated from La Charité (Section 5.1.1) and Bermondsey (Section 5.3.1). These could be incorporated to further maximise the potential of these sites. The 20 burials from PCA's relatively recent excavations of parts of Bermondsey's church, cloister and south transept offer a sample of intra-mural burials for comparison with those from its chapel, and the internal zones from the other sites examined here. Disturbed remains were also recorded and could form part of a wider study into the treatment of later medieval skeletons in secondary contexts.

This study has demonstrated the value of comparing literary and archaeological sources. One aspect not examined here but of interest is the treatment of the diseased, elderly or physically impaired in death. Cristiani (2005: 287) notes that the Cluniac customaries contain obsessively precise regulations for the care of the sick, as well as for their relations with the healthy. His examination of the sick, including here the 'limping and elderly monks who dishonour the community' (*LT*: cap. XXXII, p.269), has demonstrated a distinct view of those considered

infirm. They were sent to the infirmary and thus isolated and concealed, for as the *LT* makes clear, some monks troubled or embarrassed the community because of their appearance; those with a physical disability were to be hidden from view (Cristiani 2005: 294-295).   Those attending a funeral who were so weak that they had been freed from fasting were to stand in a group to one side with their hoods on their heads (Paxton 1993a: 31). How the elderly, physically impaired or those with evidence of active disease were treated on death in a Cluniac context would be a worthwhile question for archaeology. It can be examined whether they were marginalised in death as in life (e.g. segregated within the funerary landscape) or whether certain elements of the funeral were adapted, such as pre-interment body preparation or mode of burial (e.g. more concealed). Fay's (2006: 196) work, among others, has demonstrated the potential for examining how those marked out by disease were or were not treated differently in death. This would offer the potential to closely integrate the archaeological and documentary resources to further examine the relationship between Cluniac text and practice. Unfortunately, more refined age estimates and detailed information on pathology were not obtainable for Beaumont during the course of this thesis and the skeletons from Lewes could not be further examined for these variables. Individuals from La Charité and Bermondsey could, however, form part of a comparative study of this nature. The skeletal remains from Beaumont could be re-assessed and data from sites such as Saint-Nicholas d'Acy and Nanteuil-le-Haudouin could be incorporated.

Various authors have considered formal commemorations (e.g. tombs and memorials), to gauge changing attitudes to death and the body through time (e.g. Ariès 1981; Tarlow 1999). A review of the less formal – the treatment of disturbed remains – is now required. This study has highlighted the complexity surrounding the management of these remains and the paucity of structured archaeological research focused on them, particularly with regards to charnel pits. This 'invisible' population should contribute more to studies of medieval funerary practices beyond simply providing demographic data. The varying ways in which remains were re-incorporated (or not) within discrete grave contexts has generally been under-theorised in a later medieval archaeological context; broad assumptions surrounding their treatment and importance have inevitably persisted (Sections 2.2 and 3.2). Following the example set for the early medieval period (e.g. Aspöck 2011; Blaizot 1997; Cherryson 2007; Gleize 2007, 2010), a valuable study would be to systematically examine treatment of disturbed remains in discrete grave contexts and charnel pits from well-recorded and documented sites. A temporal quantitative examination using the criteria presented in this study (Chapter 6 and Section 7.4),

across a broad range of monastic and non-monastic (including parish) sites, would provide greater contextual insight into the medieval perception of the body through time and the varying motivations structuring treatment (e.g. symbolic intentions versus practicality). Incorporating different types of site would also open up questions surrounding how social memory may have been variously constructed between religious and lay communities. For this, a closer engagement with the growing corpus of literature on the body and the construction of memory (Section 2.2) could expand the research further.

Through closely integrating the archaeological and historical records and in taking a 'body-focused', taphonomic approach to Cluniac treatment of the dead, this thesis has demonstrated the potential for such interdisciplinary research in furthering our understanding of how death and the dead body were managed in the past. This applies not just to the specific medieval monastic order examined herein but to funerary contexts from throughout the historic period. Through uniting these different strands of evidence and focusing on one aspect of Cluniac practice, this thesis has offered new insights into the dynamic social, economic, religious and political relationships being negotiated both within and between houses of this order, and between their communities and the dead in their charge.

APPENDIX 1

- Timeline of key historical events for the examined sites -

The timeline below presents the principal historical events relating to the foundation, development and demise of the monastic houses examined within this thesis. The dates of creation for the main Cluniac customaries have also been included.
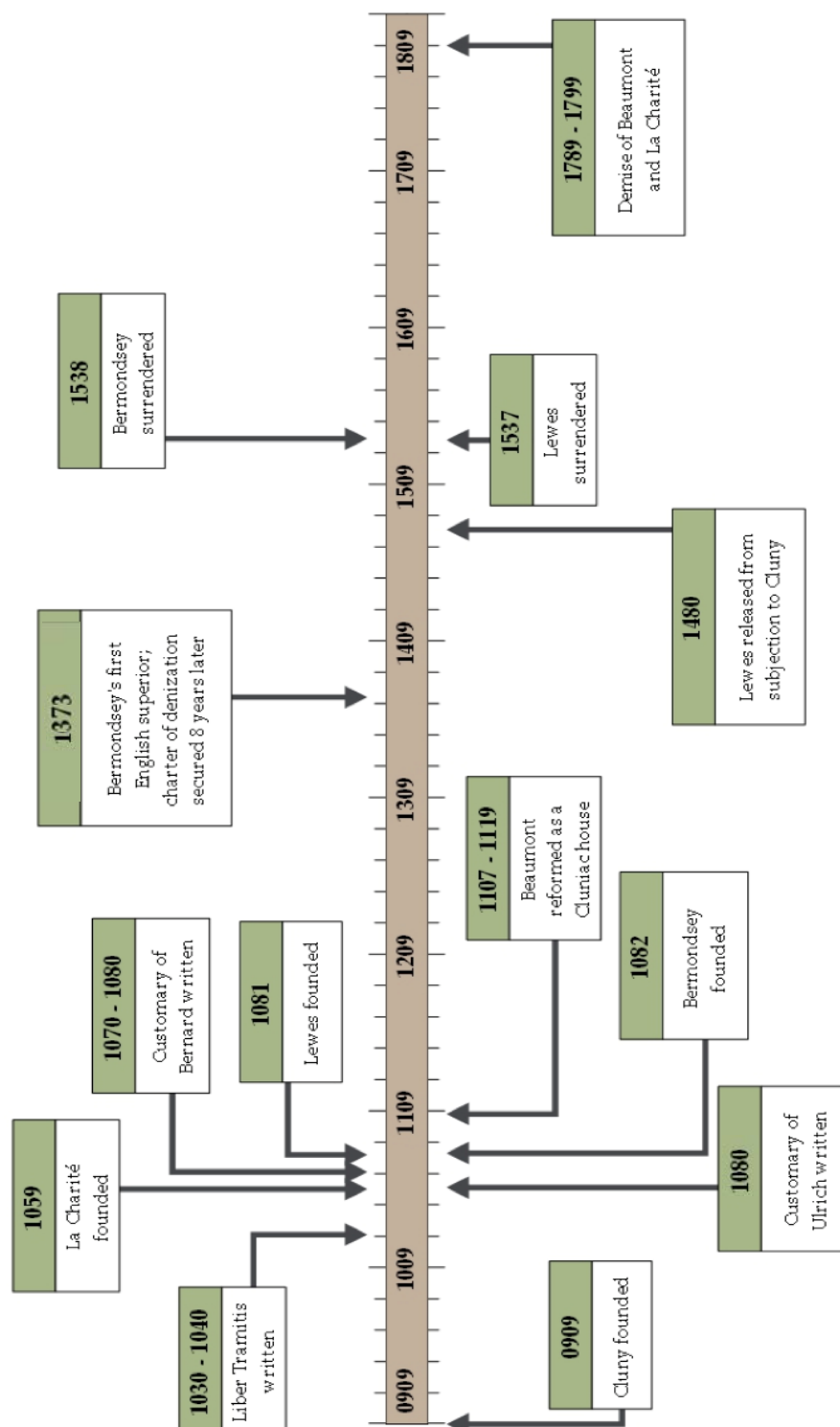
APPENDIX 2

- Customaries: key passages in Latin -

The following presents the key passages referred to in the main body of text from the *Regularis Concordia*, the *Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc, the Liber Tramitis*, the *Customary of Ulrich* and the *Customary of Bernard* for preparation of the body and burial.

1) *Regularis Concordia c.970*
(Caput. XII, p. 65)

a) Preparation of the body

Exempto autem homine lauetur corpus a quibus iussum fuerit; lotum induitur mundis uestimentis, id est interula, cuculla, caligis, calceis, cuiuscumque sit ordinis; [nisi si uero] sacerdos fuerit circumdatur ei stola super cucullam si ita ratio dictauerit.

b) The burial

Specifics of burial are not discussed within the RC

2) *Liber Tramitis c.1030*
(Caput. XXXIII, pp. 273-275)

a) Preparation of the body

Cum omnia quae ad lauandum corpus necessaria sunt praeparantur, tunc separentur in unam partem fratres cum infantibus praeter illos qui corpus lauare debent et in feretro mittere. Cum fuerit lauatum, induatur ei staminia, dein sudarium et cuculla. Et super crura eius induantur calciamenta, femoralia nequicquam. Brachia eius super pectus collocentur. Dein linteum sternatur et pallium superponatur.

b) The burial

Cum ad sepulturam uenerint, fratribus in circuitu stantibus sicut in choro et in medio collocatis infantibus sicut mos est stare ad processionem ante ianuam aecclesie sacerdos cum incensu et aquam benedicta uel omni processione super fossam debet stare. Psalmos fratribus canentibus ipse debet collectas dicere. Cum uero post canticum Benedictus antiphona fuerit dicta, sacerdos pronuntiet omnibus audientibus Pater noster.

3) *Customary of Ulrich c.1080* (based on practice in the 1060s)
(Caput. XXIX, pp. 773-774)

a) Preparation of the body

Sedeum nec portant, nec lavant, nee in sepulcrum ponunt alii fratres quam qui ejus sunt similes vel in ordine vel sine ordine.

Vestitur stamineo, cuculla, caligis nocturnalibus, et sudario quod est de eodem panno de quo est stamineum, sicut et caligae, quae et longiores sunt quam aliae caligae, nec in extremitate patulae sunt consutae. Capellum cucullae desuper faciem ex utraque parte consuitur contra pectus, super quod etiam manus supra cucullam complicantur, ipsaque cuculla per loca consuendo ita constringitur, ut in nulla parte sit laxa. Item nocturnalia consuuntur ad invice…Postquam vestitus fuerit incensum, quod interim semper erat continuum, mittitur super eum, et aspersus aqua benedicta ponitur in feretrum, et desuper opertorium levatur, portatur usque ad ostium contra conventum: qui cum venerit ad finem alicujus psalmi, hoc prior observat, et percutit tabulam semel tantum.

b) The burial

Sepulcrum et prius et postcaquam defunctum receperit, incensatur, et aqua benedicta aspergitur. Collocatur operculum ligneum super defunctum, et sacerdos primum pala mittens aliquantulum terrae super illum.

4) *Customary of Bernard c. 1080* (based on practice *c.*1070s and 1080s)
(Caput. XXIV, pp. 194-199)

a) Preparation of the body

Sciendum autem quoniam neque lavant neque portant nec in sepulchrum ponut defunctum alii Fratres quam qui et sunt similes in Ordine.

Lavatus vestitur staminea, vestitur cuculla, caligis nocturnalibus & sudario, quod est de eodem panno de quo est staminea, & caligis quae in extremitate non sunt patulae, sed confutae; paratis autem a Camerario acubus cum filo, capellum cucullae desuper sudarium, & ad faciem ex utraque parte consuitur: super pectus manus extra cucullam complicantur, ipsaque cuculla per loca consuta, tota ita constringitur, ut in nulla sui parte fit laxa; mocturnales quoque calcei ad invicem consuuntur.

b) The burial

...aquam benedictam spargit in fossam, atque incensat eam; quo facto statim sine quolibet intervallo ponitur corpus in terram, ita ut pedes sint versus Orientem, & caput versus Occidentem; iterumque aqua benedicta spargitur & incensatur, tunc operculo ligneo cooperitur.

5) *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc c. 1070*
(Knowles 1951: 123-130).

a) Preparation of the body

Quo dicto incipient commendationem animae, dictaque prima collecta Tibi, Domine, commendamus, sacerdote et conuentu prosequente caetera, portetur corpus ad lauandumab iis de quorum ordine fuit, id est, sacerdos a sacerdotibus, diaconus a diaconis, et sic in reliquis ordinibus, consuersus a consuersis; infans tamen non ab infantibus, sed a conuersis.

Lotus autem uestiatur staminia noua, uel nouiter lota, et cuculla, et in capite eius ponatur sudarium in modum capitii de staminia factum ; huic superducatur capitium cucullae, et cum filo in tribus locis annectatur. Calcietur caligis de supra dicto panno factis, usque ad genua attingentibus, et nocturnalibus. Manus cuculla sint coopertae. Cuculla hinc et inde consuatur, et circa crura similiter; nocturnales alter alteri filo connectatur. Taliter paratum corpus feretro imponatur, et pallio cooperiatur.

b) The burial

Dicta collecta Piae recordationis affectu, accedat sacredos, et aspergat sepulchrum aqua benedicta, et imposito thure tribuat thuribulum uni eorum, qui albis induti illuc descenderant, et incensetur sepulchrum. Dehinc dicta collecta Obsecramus misericordiam tuam, duo ex fratribus qui foris sunt pallium desuper/extendant, alii duo, corpus de feretro accipientes, illis tribuant, qui in tumulum descenderant. Illi diligenter illud in sepulchre component, et absolutionem scriptam, et a fratribus lectam, super pectus eius ponant; et operiant, et statim exeuntes, et ad monasterium reuertentes, exuti albis, et induti uestibus suis, ad conuentum redeant.

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APPENDIX 3

- Anatomical and orientational terms -

The following presents the key anatomical terms, and those of orientation, employed within the *anthropologie de terrain* catalogue and applied throughout the thesis.

a) Anatomical terms

The names for the bones of the human body are presented in the below diagram. The terminology for the different regions of the body commonly discussed within the *anthropologie de terrain* catalogue is explained below.
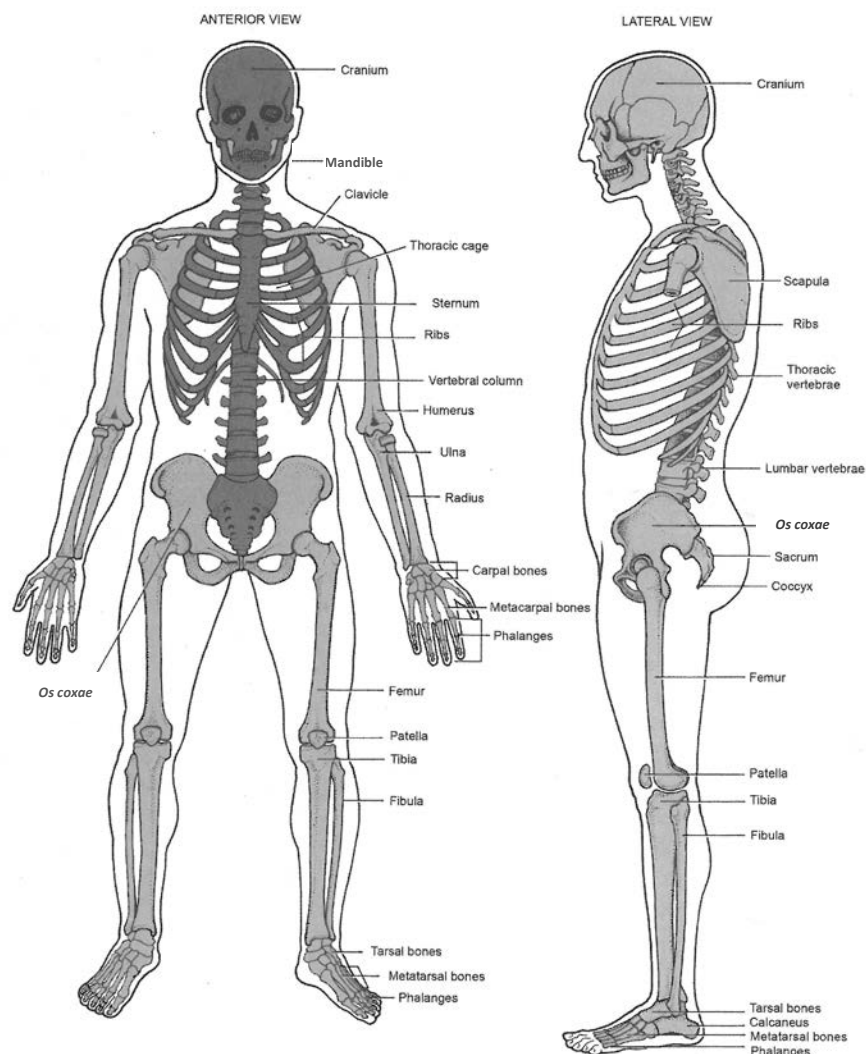
Parts of the skeleton (adapted from Roberts 2009b: 108).

The **skull** comprises the cranium AND the mandible and articulates with the upper most cervical vertebrae**.** The **thoracic cage** includes the thoracic vertebrae, ribs, costal cartilages and the sternum. Each half of the thorax is known as a **hemi-thorax**. The **pelvis** is made up of three parts: the right and left *ossa coxae*, the sacrum and coccyx. The ***ossa coxae*** (hip bones) are formed of three elements: the ilium, ischium and pubis. The two *ossa coxae* most closely meet at the **pubic symphysis**. The **sacroiliac joint** is the joint between the sacrum and the *ilia*. **Arm** denotes only the region from the shoulder to the elbow (humerus), whereas **upper limb** refers to the region from the shoulder to the hand. The **forearm** comprises only the radius and ulna. **Lower limb** includes the pelvic bones, thigh region, leg and foot. **Leg** refers to the part of the lower limb from the knee joint to the ankle. The **ankle** consists of three bones: the tibia, fibula and talus.

b) Terms of orientation

Anatomic position is defined as the placement of the body when standing with the upper limbs by the sides of the body, palms forward and fingers pointing downwards and feet together with toes pointing forwards (Steele and Bramblett 1988: 4).

For positioning, the body is divided by the midline into two symmetrical left and right halves.

Superior: Toward the head of the body

Inferior: Away from the head

Anterior: Toward the front of the body

Posterior: Toward the back of the body

Medial: Toward the midline

Lateral: Away from the midline

Proximal: Nearest to the axial skeleton

Distal: Furthest away from axial skeleton

Palmar: Palm side of the hand

Plantar: Sole of the foot

Dorsal: Back of the hand or top of the foot

c) Further terms

Plantarflexion: Flexing of the foot towards the ground (inferiorly) at the ankle.

Dorsiflexion: Flexion of the foot away from the ground.
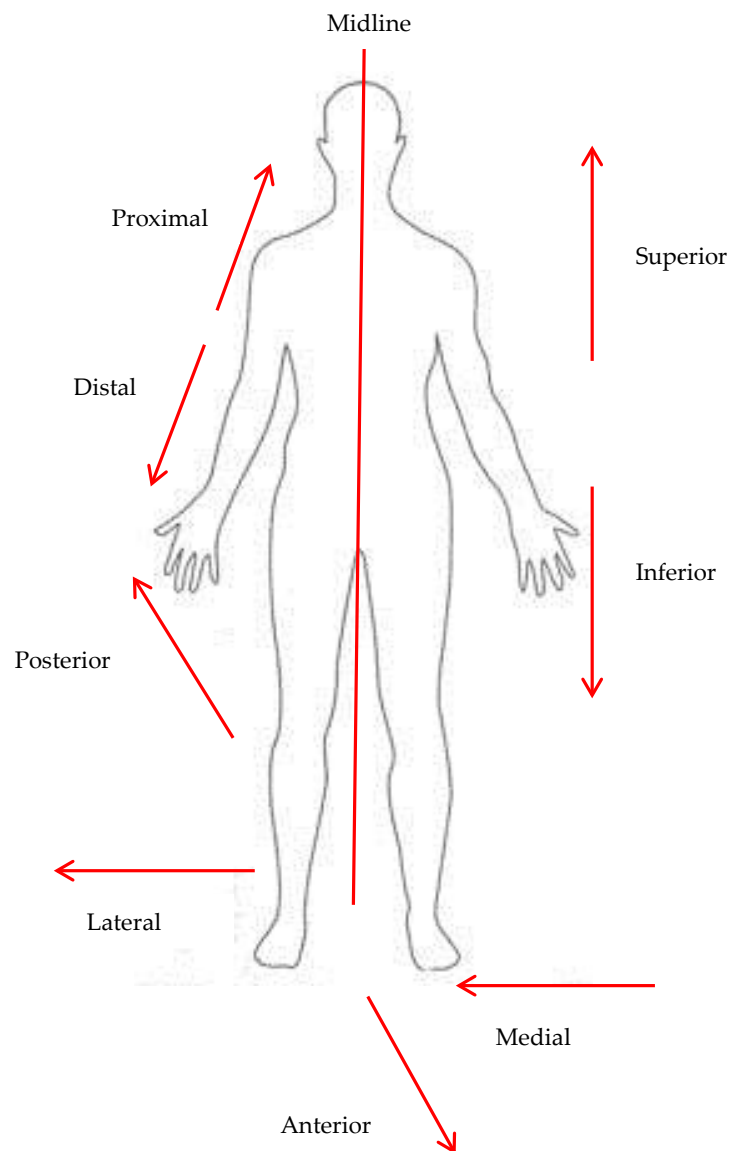
Diagram of the main directional terms for the human body

APPENDIX 4

- Coding of funerary variables for analysis -

The following table presents the specific coding for funerary variables, which were created from the *anthropologie de terrain* catalogue. These were used as the basis for comparative analysis (primarily using SPSS) into intra- and inter-site variability in funerary treatment. The first section of the table provides codes for the spatial, chronological and demographic variables. The following sections address the three stages of the death-course examined within this thesis: pre-burial body preparation and burial (liminal rites) and the post-burial treatment of the body (post-liminal rites).

SITE; PERIOD; LOCATION; AGE; SEX; SKELETAL COMPLETENESS	
Site	1 = Beaumont 2 = La Charité 3 = Bermondsey 4 = Lewes
Period	1 = Pre-Cluniac (including Augustinian) 2 = Early Cluniac (mid-late 11th - early 13th century) 3 = Later Cluniac (early 13th – early 15th/16th century). 4 = General Cluniac
Location	1 = Church 2 = Separate chapel 3 = Gallery 4 = Cemetery
Sex	1 = Male 2 = Male? 3 = Unknown 4 = Female? 5 = Female
Age	1 = Foetal 2 = Infant (0-5yrs) 3 = Juvenile (6-10yrs) 4 = Immature (11-15yrs) 5 = Young adult (16-25yrs) 6 = Adult (26-45yrs) 7 = Old adult (46yrs+) 8 = General adult (16-46yrs+) 9 = No age established 10 = General immature (6-15yrs)
Skeletal completeness	1 = < 25% 2 = 25-50% 3 = 50-75% 4 = >75% 0 = Unknown
PREPARATION OF THE BODY	
Forearm positioning	11 = Alongside the body 22 = Resting over the pelvic region uncrossed 33 = Resting over the pelvic region crossed 44 = Resting over the pelvic region crossing unknown 55 = Resting parallel at right angles over the abdomen 66 = Resting over the chest region uncrossed (<90 degree angle) 77 = Resting over the chest region crossed

	88 = Resting over the chest region crossing unknown 99 = Touching each respective shoulder 1010 = Other e.g. behind head 00 = Denotes a missing forearm or too ambiguous to code (poor preservation/initial position unclear/evidence for extensive movement during decomposition).
Lower limb positions	1 = Knees, ankles and toes in contact (≤5cm apart) 2 = Knees, ankles and toes apart but roughly parallel (>5cm) 3 = Knees and ankles in contact (≤5cm), toes apart (out-turned). 4 = Knees together (≤5cm), ankles apart (>5cm) and toes together (turned in; plantarflexed) 5 = Knees together but ankles, toes apart (>5cm). 6 = Knees and ankles apart (>5cm) but toes together (turned in). 7 = knees apart (>5cm), ankles and toes together (≤5cm). 8 = Staggered (not straight/aligned) 0 = Missing/uncertain
Foot positions	1 = Feet together/comingled 2 = Feet close (≤5cm apart) but distinct 3 = Feet apart/evolved distinctly (>5cm) 4 = Mainly ends of toes touching (plantarflexed) 0 = Foot bones missing/unclear.
Nature of body preparation	1 = Clothed 2 = Possible clothed 3 = Clothed and/or loosely wrapped 4 = Possible clothed and/or loosely wrapped 5 = Clothed AND wrapped 6 = Possible clothed AND wrapped. 7 = Tight wrapping 8 = Possible tight wrapping 9 = Loose wrapping 10 = Possible loose wrapping 11 = Wrapping 12 = Possible wrapping 0 = Unknown
THE BURIAL	
Burial orientation	1 = W-E 2 = Other 0 = Unknown
Overall attitude of body	1 = Supine (face up) 2 = Prone (face down) 3 = Side 4 = Purposefully disarticulated 0 = Unknown
Space of decomposition	1 = Decomposition in a filled space 2 = Possible decomposition in a filled space 3 = Decomposition in a void 4 = Possible decomposition in void 0 = Unknown
Closed portable containers	1 = Burial within a closed portable container 2 = Possible burial within a closed portable container 3 = Burial in a closed container portable unlikely 4 = No burial within a closed portable container 0 = Unknown
Presence of cover	1 = Yes 2 = No 3 = Possible covering 4 = Covering unlikely 0 = Unknown
Type of cover	1 = Stone slab/s 2 = Perishable material e.g. wood 3 = Possible perishable covering

	4 = Covering of charcoal/lime 5 = Combination of coverings 6 = Perishable covering evident but partial? Non sealing? 0 = Unknown
Other perishable structures	1 = Burial on a perishable structure e.g. bier 2 = Perishable structure (non-sealing container) – form unknown 3 = Perishable structure but form unknown 4 = No evidence for perishable structure 0 = Unknown
Presence of tomb	1 = Yes 2 = No 0 = Unknown
Wall lining material	1 = Mortared stone tomb 2 = Unmortared stone tomb 3 = Compacted mortar/plaster cast 4 = Natural rock (rock-cut tomb) 5 = Wall/foundation 6 = Sarcophagus
Presence of base-lining (other than soil)	1 = Yes 2 = No 0 = Unknown
Nature of base-lining	1 = Chalk/mortar 2 = Charcoal 3 = Single stone block 4 = Gravel/rubble 5 = Combination
Presence of head-niche (cut or tomb)	1 = Yes 2 = No 0 = Unknown
Presence of pillow	1 = Yes 2 = No 0 = Unknown
Pillow: materials used	1 = Stone 2 = Perishable 3 = Inbuilt niche pillow (raised above base surface) 0 = Unknown/head-region missing
Head support: presence and materials used	1 = Stone of tile supports 2 = Possible bone support 0 = Unknown/head region missing
Religious items	1 = Pilgrim badge/token 2 = Chalice/paten 3 = Metal/ceramic bowl 4 = Papal bull 0 = None recorded
Personal items	1 = Jewellery item 0 = None recorded
Deposits from graveside practices	1 = Charcoal 2 = Funerary vessel/s 3 = Funerary vessel/s and charcoal 0 = None recorded
POST-BURIAL SKELETAL MANIPULATIONS	
Relationship of grave to earlier <u>recorded</u> burials	1 = Grave cuts body of earlier burial 2= Grave does not cut body of earlier burial 0 = Unknown
Human bone in fill above skeleton	1 = Yes 2 = No 0 = Unknown
Human bone in association with new interment/organized in grave (not above in fill)	1 = Yes 2 = No 0 = Unknown

Elements represented	1 = Just cranium/crania
	2 = Mostly long-bone/s
	3 = Mostly cranium/crania and long-bone/s
	4 = Mixture of different elements
	0 = No extra elements/unknown
Overall arrangement	1 = Scattered/seemingly disorganised throughout grave or portion of grave
	2 = Grouped together and deposited in one location
	3 = Deposited external to grave/on grave (away from body)
	4 = Possible element matching (e.g. skull by skull, long-bones by long bones)
	5 = Isolated bone/bones with no clear arrangement
	6 = Isolated bone/bones with evidence for arrangement
	7 = Mixture of two of the above
	0 = No extra elements/unknown
Proximity of new interment to disturbed remains	1 = Some/all of bones in direct physical contact with the interment
	2 = No bones in direct physical contact with the interment
	0 = No extra elements/unknown
Position of re-deposited crania	1 = Next to/over the head of interment
	2 = Next to upper body/lower limbs
	3 = On top of body/lower limbs
	4 = By feet
	5 = Multiple crania – mixture of positions
	7 = Positioned away from body
	0 = No extra crania/unknown
Function (?) of disturbed remains	1 = Disturbed remains are functional (?) e.g. head support
	2 = No Use
	0 = No extra elements/unknown
Connection of disturbed remains	1 = Some bones still in connection
	2 = Fully disarticulated
	0 = No extra bones/unknown

APPENDIX 5a

- Introduction to the *Anthropologie de Terrain* Catalogue -

Appendix 5 presents the *anthropologie de terrain* catalogue (attached CD). For 439 burials from La Charité, Lewes Priory, Bermondsey Abbey and Beaumont-sur-Oise, information from the excavation archives (photographs, drawings and field notes), as well as from the site reports, has been compiled. This includes information on the archaeological funerary elements (non-perishable remains of burial dress, grave structures, personal and religious items and deposits from graveside practices), the size and shape of the grave cut, the nature of the fill, and the presence and degree of organisation of re-deposited skeletal remains in the grave. Based on this information, the *anthropologie de terrain* analysis was undertaken, for which the burial photographs formed the primary data for assessment (Chapter 6). This high-resolution taphonomic approach refines the study of Cluniac funerary practices by permitting a reconstruction, even in the absence of *direct* archaeological indictors, of the ways in which the bodies were prepared pre-burial, interred, and if the remains were manipulated in any way post-interment. Through a spatial analysis of an individual's skeletal remains, in relation to all other elements of the grave, the former presence of perishable elements of dress and burial mode can be identified. The *anthropologie de terrain* catalogue presented herein thus provides an assessment of how each individual was prepared pre-burial, whether they decomposed in a filled space or a void, and the likely mode of burial (directly in the ground and covered by soil, within a closed portable container or under a cover).

Based on this catalogue, a list of variables related to funerary practice has been created (Chapter 6; Appendix 4), which form the basis of analysis for Chapter 7. The findings are considered in relation to the prescriptions for funerary treatment outlined within the Cluniac customaries.

With the exception of 14 cases, all grave contexts discussed within the catalogue are accompanied by a photograph and/or drawing of the burial. This is to provide the reader with a visual accompaniment to the taphonomic analysis, and to more clearly demonstrate the reasoning behind the various interpretations.

For concordance, all burial numbers referred to in the catalogue were those assigned on excavation and cited within this thesis.

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