# Grave Finds: Mortuary derived antiquities from England

Historic England Project 8102

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# Summary

The 'Grave Finds' project was undertaken between July and September 2020. The aim of the project was to improve the care of mortuary contexts in England through a better understanding of the unique threats posed by the private ownership of grave goods. Research was undertaken to establish broad trends in the public discovery of grave goods and to understand the scale and implications of their subsequent sale on the antiquities market. Naturally, these data touched on a wider range of ethical and practical issues in public archaeology.

Information was collated on the frequency and character of in-situ grave goods (i.e. when found in association with human remains) and unstratified grave goods (i.e. when found in plough soil) reported to the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS). Further information was gained through a three-month monitoring exercise of internet auction houses.

The Grave Finds project found that around four instances of in-situ grave goods are reported to PAS every year. These are almost always found through metal detecting, and in most cases the finder stops digging as soon as contact is made with the burial. By far the largest proportion of mortuary contexts belong to the furnished burial tradition of the early Anglo-Saxon period. A minority are late Iron Age or Roman in date and usually are found in the southern counties. Prehistoric, medieval, and post-medieval burials containing grave goods are very infrequently found. According to respondents, only five burials reported in the last five years contained items that fall under the stipulations of the Treasure Act 1996.

The survey found a range of responses to the public discovery of in-situ grave goods, from full excavation funded by the Local Authority or Historic England, to excavation funded by the finders. In a minority of cases no further work was carried out owing to lack of resources.

The survey found a range of outcomes for grave goods from in-situ contexts; some are retained by the landowner or finder where they do not fall under the Treasure Act; some are donated or bought by museums; and some are sold on the antiquities market. The survey also found that in-situ graves infrequently contain items that fall under the Treasure Act, but that where they do, the museum often has to undertake substantial fundraising to prevent the human remains being divorced from the associated artefacts.

The survey found that much larger volumes of unstratified material of probable mortuary origin are reported each year to PAS. At least 155 finds or assemblages of possible grave goods were recorded by Finds Liaison Officers in the last five years, of which 75% were of Anglo-Saxon date. In most cases these relate to ploughdamaged Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Accurate recording of these finds with PAS can have many beneficial archaeological outcomes; however, the ongoing searching of these sites also increases the potential of discovering in-situ burials. In other words, mortuary contexts do not appear to be targets in themselves, but rather are often the by-product of ongoing searching of known Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries. In such cases, the discovery is avoidable; further education of metal detectorists on the issue surrounding ancient cemeteries and plough-zone archaeology is key. Turning to the antiquities trade, the three-month online monitoring of auction houses identified 69 artefacts that *probably* came from inhumations, though rarely did the seller's description give any indication of context. Indeed, provenance was usually at the county-level at best. These artefacts totalled at least £53,596 and mostly dated to the Anglo-Saxon period. No instances were found where the item(s) offered for sale had previously been recorded with the Portable Antiquities Scheme. Similarly, information on when the item(s) were found was usually lacking. In one instance, information on provenance was conflicting. Where present, the description usually indicated the objects were discovered in the 1970s. A cursory survey of grave goods from England sold since 2000 raises the total to at least £382,696.

The survey revealed that while grave goods can be found for sale, the trade appears neither to be extensive nor targeted. This may in part be an indication that Historic England's Heritage Crime initiatives are proving successful. Furthermore, the survey revealed that the trade in potential grave goods is usually one of constant low attrition from the plough zone and sold through low-level dealers or online marketplaces. On occasion, however, it can be financially significant and usually sold through major auction houses. In summary, the findings of the auction house survey indicate that mortuary contexts in England are not routinely being targeted by metal detectorists to obtain antiquities to sell; the threat appears to be low, and current crime prevention initiatives seem to be having a positive effect.

The Grave Finds project indicates that the ongoing work of the Portable Antiquities Scheme and Historic England are helping to protect the archaeological record through reporting and recording, while at the same time facilitating pragmatic responses to the public discovery of in-situ grave goods. The Grave Finds project also emphasises the need for further education of metal detectorists on the importance of not digging below the plough zone.

The findings do suggest, however, that there is room for some reflection upon the current procedures around what happens to grave assemblages after initial discovery. The separation of body and associated artefacts into public and private ownership raises several logistical and ethical considerations which are offered little assistance through current legislation, licences, and codes of practice.

# Introduction

Every year, archaeological grave goods are discovered by members of the public. Some are found during building works or agricultural activities, but most are found by hobbyist metal detectorists. Grave goods can be found in association with human remains, for instance when the finder digs to retrieve a signal from what later turns out to be an in-situ burial, or they can be found apart from human remains within the plough zone, for instance when ploughing has partially or completely destroyed a burial site.

In England, archaeological human remains have legal protection through both secular and canon law, but this is not usually the case with associated material culture. Grave goods are normally the property of the landowner unless they fall under the stipulations of the Treasure Act 1996 (see further below). Regardless of whether an archaeological burial site is professionally excavated in response to a planning application or in response to a chance find by a metal detectorist, there is always the possibility that any or all of the associated grave goods can end up in private ownership.

The situation is further complicated by the many hundreds of unstratified grave goods that are also found each year by metal detectorists searching ploughed land, particularly in the North East, East, and South of England where early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries are frequently encountered. Here, grave goods are often found in the plough soil, having been disturbed from their original place of deposition through agricultural activity. Although lacking vertical context, these finds are nonetheless archaeologically important because of their potential to inform us about the character, state, and preservation of the mortuary environments from which they derive. Indeed, on occasion, further episodes of searching by metal detectorists on sites producing unstratified grave goods results in the discovery of in-situ burials. These are either professionally excavated or left alone depending on what resources are available to respond to the discovery and what the cooperation of the landowner and finder is like.

Again, these finds are normally the property of the landowner, though in practice most unstratified grave goods become property of the finder through verbal or written agreement with the landowner. Some are donated to local museums; some remain in private possession; and some are sold through antiquities dealers. Accordingly, there is an important intersection between the profession of archaeology and the public discovery of archaeological mortuary sites, where grave goods become a contested area. Regardless of whether grave goods are found in-situ or unstratified, their discovery by members of the public raises several practical, legal, and ethical issues, both from the point of view of the *body*, the *associated artefacts*, and the mortuary context as a whole. The Grave Finds project attempts to draw the available evidence together for the public discovery of grave goods and provide a platform for future discussion of the issues.

The aims of the Grave Finds project are addressed through four key questions, as set out in the Project Design:

- 1. How extensive is the trade in mortuary-derived antiquities in England, and what proportion of these finds have been recorded with the Portable Antiquities Scheme?
- 2. What do these trends imply about the archaeological resource?
- 3. Are there chronological and object-specific trends within the trade?
- 4. How can the evidence be used to stimulate behavioural change among finders, thereby better protecting mortuary environments from harm?

# Aim and objectives of the project

#### Aim

The aim of the survey, as defined by the project brief, was to improve the care of mortuary contexts in England through a better understanding of the unique threats posed by the private ownership of grave goods. The project recognises there is a diversity of stakeholders who interact with antiquities, and that a pragmatic response to portable antiquities has so far proved successful (Bland 2005, 2009, Lewis 2016, Daubney 2017). The Grave Finds project seeks to build on these successes and explore how partnerships across stakeholders can help mitigate threats that are identified through the project. The project will, therefore, help with the development of a strategic understanding of our shared historic environment, and the development of innovative ways to protect it from harm.

### Objectives

The grave finds project links closely with several of Historic England's Strategic objectives, as follows:

1. Protect historic places and keep them alive for current and future generations.

The Grave Finds Project aims to sustain the significance of mortuary environments, which in turn will inform policy and best practice. This also touches on Historic England's second Strategic Objective:

- 2. Ensure our advice and evidence result in well-informed decisions that serve people, places and the economy well.
- 3. Give people the skills, knowledge, confidence and motivation to fight for, look after and make the most of their historic environment.

The Grave Finds project aims to empower and motivate the full range of stakeholders in the protection of mortuary environments. It seeks to do this though an advocational and educational approach. The project seeks to empower the Heritage Sector through the development of best practice guidance, while at the same time educating the public (including metal detecting organisations) over the issues surrounding the discovery of mortuary derived antiquities, thus stimulating greater care and appreciation of the archaeological resource.

# Background

This section sets out the overarching legal considerations concerning grave goods found in England. It also sets out broad understandings on the scientific potential of unstratified grave goods. The discussion presented below aims to provide a backdrop against which the implications of the online trade in grave goods can be considered.

# Grave Goods: overarching legal considerations

The term 'grave goods' is used widely by archaeologists to signify a range of material culture found with the deceased. While the term 'grave goods' suggests a homogenous group of material, in reality it presents a wide range of interpretative possibilities, including personal possessions of the deceased, ritual objects made for the burial ceremony, and gifts to the deceased by living communities (Ekengren 2013, 174). For the purposes of this research, the term 'grave good' is simply used to identify an object that may have been part of an archaeological mortuary environment. As such, it includes objects of personal adornment as well as objects such as coffin nails and fittings.

The practice of placing objects into the ground to accompany the deceased is visible in England from as early as the Mesolithic, though did not form a continuous or homogenous tradition (Historic England 2018a). Nor is the evidence for the practice of depositing grave goods equally visible in the archaeological record; much variation exists across both time and place.

Although funerary remains have featured in the literature of early antiquarians from at least the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it was not until the nineteenth century that grave goods were given serious thought as elements of the mortuary environment that could illuminate aspects such as economy, identity, social status, gender, religion and ritual (Ekengren 2013, 173-4). Nonetheless, by the time that the discipline of archaeology emerged more fully in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, legislation was already in place to protect human remains in general, in addition to specific types of ancient precious metal artefacts. In essence, legislation exists to regulate the treatment of human remains in the UK, though all were formed without the archaeological significance of human remains as a priority (Marquez-Grant and Fibiger 2011; White 2013). For this reason, the law is largely silent on grave goods.

Current legislation and best practice regarding the treatment of archaeological human remains has recently been discussed by APABE and BABAO (Mays 2017; Historic England 2018a; 2018b). In essence: archaeological human remains are primarily protected through the Burial Act (1857) and the Disused Burial Grounds Act (1884). The 1857 Burial Act makes the removal of buried human remains a criminal offence unless (a) a licence has been authorised by the Secretary of State or (b) in relation to consecrated ground, a faculty has been issued by the consistory court or (c) in relation to a cathedral church or precinct, a relevant consent has been granted under the Care of Cathedrals Measure 2011 (Mays 2017, 13).

The disused burial grounds Act 1884 extends the definition of the burial ground as 'any churchyard, cemetery or other ground, whether consecrated or not, which has

been at any time set apart for the purpose of interment'. The Act defines a disused burial ground as any burial ground which is no longer used for interments. It is only applied to sites that are still recognisable on the ground as burial grounds, for example, disused nonconformist burial grounds.

Grave goods are protected where they are contained within a site designated by the Secretary of State as a Scheduled Monument under the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979. Designation protects grave goods regardless of whether they are unstratified or still associated with the body (Historic England 2018a). However, scheduling requires the presence of extant archaeological features ("works"), and therefore does not include sites where grave goods or human remains survive only as unstratified deposits. The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979 requires all people undertaking archaeological work to have Scheduled Monument Consent. It is important to note that designation does not affect property; however, which still rests with the landowner.

In a limited number of instances, grave goods are protected where they meet the stipulations of the Treasure Act 1996. The following categories of object are treasure under section 1 of the Act and the Treasure (Designation) Order 2002:

- Any object other than a coin provided that at least 10 per cent by weight of metal is precious metal (that is, gold or silver) and that it is at least 300 years old when found.
- Two or more prehistoric metallic objects from the same find
- Any prehistoric metallic object containing precious metal
- all coins that contain at least 10 per cent of gold or silver by weight of metal and that come from the same find, provided a find consists of at least two coins with a gold or silver content of at least 10 per cent, and that they are over 300 years old at the time of discovery.
- Ten or more coins containing less than 10 per cent precious metal and which come from the same find
- any object, of whatever composition, that is found in the same place as, or that had previously been together with, another object that is treasure.
- any object that would previously have been treasure trove but does not fall within the specific categories given above.

The Treasure Act therefore allows for the entire material contents of a grave to qualify as 'treasure' only when it is found in association with an item that qualifies under one of the definitions above. Once an object or assemblage has been declared 'treasure' as a result of a Coroner's inquest, the material can be acquired by a museum. Normally, a financial reward is paid to the finder and landowner. In some cases, no museum wishes to acquire the material, in which case the Crown disclaims its interest in the find, and the material is transferred back to the landowner or finder depending on their agreement. Accordingly, the Treasure Act 1996 only protects grave goods when a museum is both willing to acquire the objects and has the financial capacity to do so.

The Act does not protect all grave goods, even if a museum acquires the assemblage. The Act states that *unworked natural objects* cannot be treasure. This implies, therefore, that an unworked cowrie shell found within an Anglo-Saxon grave would not be treasure, even though it can clearly be demonstrated to be an item intentionally placed into the grave.

The Act also sets out a commitment to the Church of England that it will bring forward an order under section 2 of the Act exempting objects found in association with human burials in a consecrated place (DCMS, p.13, section 18).

# In-situ grave goods: overarching guidance and codes of ethics

The review of overarching legal frameworks presented above demonstrates that none were written with the archaeological significance of human remains as a priority. Accordingly, Guidance and Codes of Ethics have been developed to ensure that archaeologists adhere to high ethical and professional standards when excavating archaeological human remains (McKinley and Roberts 1993; Mays 1991; Mays et al 2002; Brickley and McKinley 2004; Swain et al 2005; BABAO 2010; Mays et al 2015; Mays 2017). While none of these touch on the issue of the public discovery of grave goods, there are principals that are applicable to the issues.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, ethical considerations are not only relevant to human remains, but also any artefacts associated with the mortuary context.

All guidelines and codes of practice agree two key principles. First, that 'human remains and the archaeological evidence for the rites which accompanied their burial are important sources of scientific information' (HE 2018a, 20). Second, that human remains should always be treated with dignity and respect (Mays 2017, 1).

The emotional connection to human remains is one widely shared by the general public and archaeologists alike: 'The bones and artifacts found within [graves] often evoke an emotional connection to the people of the past in a way few other archaeological remains do.' (Ekengren 2013, 173)

APABE recognises that the 'treatment of human remains is one of the most emotive and complex areas of archaeological activity' (Mays 2017, 1). While this specific guidance focusses on archaeological burials encountered in Christian burial grounds, it has a wider applicability to human burials excavated from English sites. The key aspects of the document which are of wider relevance to the public discovery of grave goods are:

- That human remains should always be treated with dignity and respect.
- That burials should not be disturbed without good reason.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Discussions of grave goods are also absent from almost all recent edited volumes that touch on archaeological ethics in funerary archaeology (see for example, Tarlow and Stutz 2013; Campbell, White and Thomas 2019; Squires, Erickson and Marquez-Grant 2019).

- That human remains, and the archaeological evidence for the rites which accompanied and commemorate their burial, are important sources of scientific information.
- That there is a need for decisions to be made in the public interest, and in an accountable way.

CifA (2004) guidance gives a succinct view on the scientific benefits of burial archaeology: 'Excavated human remains, and their context (including monuments, coffins and grave goods) are an important source of direct evidence about the past (AnnexS1), providing a range of information including evidence for: Demography and health; Diet, growth and activity patterns; Genetic relationships; Burial practice, and thus of related beliefs and attitudes.'

Human remains and associated material are what has been termed 'ritualised remains' – these allow us to 'get a glimpse into a more abstract world of ideas and beliefs about life and death and about how people viewed their place in the world' (Stutz and Tarlow 2013, 5).

Yet, for all that our understanding of the scientific benefits of burial archaeology is well developed, there is no guidance and little legislation that directly concerns the public discovery of grave goods.

# Unstratified grave goods: overarching understandings

Grave goods are one aspect of the range of in-situ archaeological remains likely to be encountered by metal detectorists while carrying out their searches (Daubney 2018). Education on the importance of recording small finds and avoiding in-situ archaeology is provided by the Portable Antiquities Scheme through its widely endorsed 'Code of Practice for Responsible Metal Detecting in England and Wales' (2017). The scheme's network of Finds Liaison Officers also promotes this message through their ongoing and extensive engagement with metal detectorists. Further education on metal detecting and archaeology is in development through the proposed Institute of Detectorists (HE Project 7851).

Although the archaeological potential of grave goods is reduced when dislodged from the body, they are nonetheless important evidence of past human funerary activity in any given place.

Ploughing and other arable activities have the potential to disturb intact graves, either through partial or total damage through ploughing below the maximum depth of topsoil. Vertical displacement of human bone and grave goods then subjects the assemblage to horizontal displacement through ongoing arable cultivation. Naturally, unstratified grave goods (i.e. artefacts dislodged from mortuary contexts into the ploughzone) have a reduced potential as sources of direct evidence; nonetheless, unstratified assemblages remain archaeologically important if they have been recovered from the plough zone carefully and methodically.

A key interpretative issue of all ploughzone assemblages is the degree to which the process of arable cultivation has spread the mother population (Ammerman 1985;

Spandl *et al.* 2010). Several studies have shown that while horizontal displacement frequently occurs on arable sites, it is not something that renders the assemblage to be of no archaeological value (Reynolds 1988; Steinberg 1996). While the degree of horizontal disturbance depends on local factors, ploughing results in a halo of decreasing artefact density from the parent population (Yorston et al 1990; Dickson et al 2005; Timms and Hopkinson 2006). This halo becomes increasingly confused as ploughing moves objects in different directions, with some artificial concentrations occurring where machinery reaches boundaries such as hedges or ditches (Kaptijn 2009: 56; Diez-Martin 2009). Nonetheless, the signature that is left can often be used to infer – and in many cases locate – in situ archaeological contexts (Schofield 1991).

These post-depositional transformative processes are clearly *ongoing* forms of disturbance, stemming from an *initial* instance of disturbance. Damage, on the other hand, to the mortuary assemblage occurs through exposure to oxygen, chemical fertilisers, and from farm machinery, all of which hold potential to destroy elements of the original burial material.

Systematic surface collection of grave material as part of a professional archaeological survey can help to pause the ongoing process of disturbance. Removal of the objects from the plough zone halts the process of disturbance, while subsequent actions such as high-level recording, conservation, and deposition of material into an accredited museum can help to preserve the informational potential of archaeological material, thus mitigating damage and ultimately destruction.

Recovery through hobbyist metal detecting can also halt the process of disturbance to individual objects, though only where they are recorded accurately with the Portable Antiquities Scheme.

#### Conclusions

This discussion of overarching legal frameworks has determined that all archaeological human remains are legally protected on initial discovery, and that whatever the circumstance of discovery, appropriate legal permission is required for exhumation. This applies regardless of whether archaeological human remains are found during professional excavation, or as a chance find during hobbyist metal detecting.

The review has also demonstrated that associated grave goods are normally property of the landowner. Where treasure is involved, ownership may rest with the Crown unless interest is disclaimed, at which point ownership returns to the landowner.

The differential statuses given to human remains and associated grave goods can result in a situation where the body and the associated objects become divorced and dispersed when found by members of the public on land owned neither by the church nor recognised as a burial ground. The different stages and outcomes are conceptualised in figure 1.

It is clear that all archaeological mortuary-derived antiquities are scientifically important. Likewise, it is clear that the public discovery of grave goods – particularly those found in-situ – raises a number of ethical and practical issues.

While the public ownership of grave goods in England rarely causes public controversy, there is a growing awareness among the public of the issues surrounding mortuary archaeology, particularly when early modern burials are involved (de Tienda Palop and Currás 2019, 27; Loe and Clough 2019, 158; Tarlow 2015). Less frequently do medieval or earlier cemeteries arouse conflict or public controversy, though this may change in time.

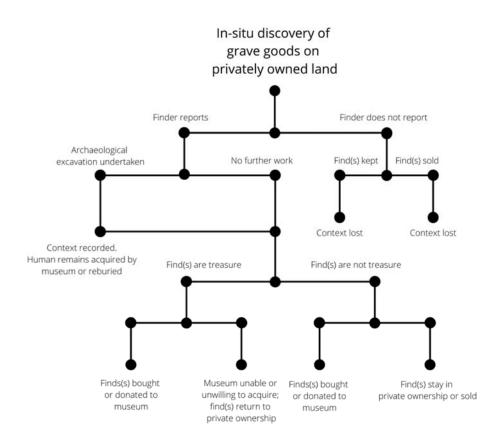


Figure 1. Stages of activity following the in-situ discovery of grave goods on privately owned land.

# Methodology

The Grave Finds project took an evidence-based approach to better understand the public discovery of mortuary-derived antiquities in England. Information on the scale and nature of the public discovery of mortuary-derived antiquities was gathered from two key sources: the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) and online auction houses.

Information from the Portable Antiquities Scheme was obtained through a systematic trawl of PAS Annual Reports, Treasure Annual Reports, and through their online database.<sup>2</sup> Additional information was obtained from the scheme's network of Finds Liaison Officers through an online survey. This survey gathered basic data on the frequency and nature of the discovery of grave goods between July 2015-July 2020.

Information on the scale and nature of the public discovery of mortuary-derived antiquities was also gleaned through a three-month monitoring exercise of online antiquities dealers. The methodology for the monitoring of opensource auction houses was as follows: 1. Monitoring of selected opensource auction sites over a three-month period. 2. Construction of a database detailing all possible, probable, and certain grave goods offered for sale. 3. Comparison of selected object types against the PAS database to determine whether underreporting is potentially occurring with grave goods. 4. Data fields to include Period, Refined Dates, Object Type, Provenance (if known), Date of Discovery (if known), Description keywords. 5. Multi-faceted analysis of data.

Additional data spanning a greater length of time was gleaned from back catalogues of a small number of larger auction houses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> www.finds.org.uk/database

# Public Discovery of Grave Goods

To better understand the implications of the online trade in grave goods (Section 6), preliminary research was undertaken to estimate the scale at which grave goods are being discovered. This was achieved through a trawl of PAS Annual Reports, Treasure Annual Reports, and a trawl of the PAS database for assemblages recovered from insitu graves. Further information was gained through an online survey of FLOs, which focussed on unstratified and stratified grave goods reported in the last five years (2015-2020).

# In-situ burials containing grave goods

The FLO survey and the literature trawl was successful in revealing general trends (see further below), though precise information on the national picture was more difficult to achieve. First, only 21 of 41 Finds Liaison Officers responded to the survey, and several of those who had been in post less than 5 years were not able to identify all cases dealt with by their predecessors. Second, it was not always apparent from the PAS database record if an object or assemblage had been recovered from a grave. In several cases, database records had not been updated with information following subsequent professional excavation. Likewise, database keywords that could identify context such as 'grave' 'inhumation' or 'cremation' were sometimes absent even when present in descriptions within PAS Annual Reports. Accordingly, this section provides a general view on the public discovery of grave goods.

General information on the discovery of grave goods in the last five years (2015-2020) was gleaned from an online questionnaire was sent to all 41 Finds Liaison Officers, to which 21 responded. The FLO survey revealed 22 instances where insitu grave goods were found by a member of the public using a metal detecting (figure 2, appendix 1). These were spread across England demonstrate that the public discovery of in-situ grave goods in any one area is a rare occurrence. 14 were Early Medieval (64%), 5 were Roman (23%), two were late Iron Age (9%), and one was Bronze Age (4%).

Low rates of discovery were also noted during a cursory trawl of PAS annual reports and the PAS database recorded since 2003 (table 1, appendix 2). At least 18 grave assemblages were noted (excluding those declared treasure); however, given that not all database descriptions include information on context, the true number is undoubtedly higher. Again, the trawl revealed that most discoveries belong to the early Anglo-Saxon period.

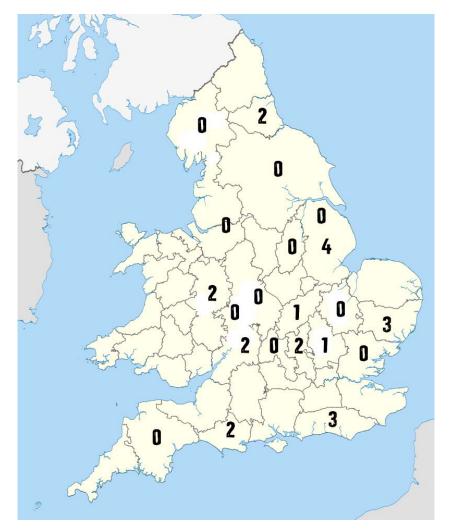


Figure 2. Number of in-situ grave goods reported to FLOs 2015-2020. Blank areas indicate no response to survey.

	No further action	Professional excavation	Not known	Total
Iron Age	0	1	0	1
Roman	0	2	0	2
Early Medieval	0	12	3	15
Total	0	15	3	18

Table 1. In-situ burials containing non-treasure grave goods, as gleaned from a cursory trawl of PAS Annual Reports and the PAS database (appendix 2).

# Method of discovery

According to the FLO survey, of the 22 instances where human remains were discovered through metal detecting, ten (45%) were reported without any finds being lifted by the finder from the mortuary context. Ten (45%) were reported after the finder removed one or more objects and subsequently discovered it was a mortuary context. In two instances (10%) the finder excavated all or most of the finds from the mortuary context, though in both cases the burial consisted of just one or two objects. Although the total number of instances is too few to be reliable, provisionally it seems that in most cases the finder acts promptly and responsibly once a mortuary context has been identified (at least 90% of instances).

### Subsequent action

Of the 22 cases reported to FLOs in the last five years, professional excavation was undertaken on 10 cases (45%). Five further cases were awaiting excavation at the time of the survey. No further information was available on the remaining seven cases.

Information gleaned from PAS Annual Reports indicates that at least 15 of the 18 discoveries noted were followed up with professional excavation (appendix 2). As is illustrated in the case studies further below, subsequent excavation is undertaken by a range of partners and organisations; in some cases, funding for emergency excavation has been provided by Historic England or the local County Council, while in other instances assistance and funding has come through professional archaeological units or University archaeology departments.

The information available through PAS Annual Reports and the PAS database infrequently indicate what happens to grave goods that *do not* fall under the Treasure Act (1996) following excavation. Detailed enquiries would need to be made to gain an accurate picture across England, which is out of scope of this present project. Nonetheless, where data are available, they show a range of outcomes: some non-treasure assemblages are donated, while others are retained by the landowner or finder (appendix 2).

This range of outcomes presents several archaeological and ethical challenges, much of which underlines the importance of having a signed written finds agreement in place prior to excavation. At present, some excavations are undertaken with a robust signed agreement in place between the landowner and the excavating authority. Others are undertaken with a verbal agreement in place. A few appear to have been undertaken with no agreement discussed at all, especially when the time between discovery and emergency excavation is short. While it would seem logical to assert that best practice dictates that a signed written finds agreement is in place prior to excavation, the reality is more complicated. In some cases where a burial is found in-situ, a proportion of the grave goods may have already been 'found' or excavated by the finder. Others are then found during professional excavation. This presents archaeologists with an ethical dilemma: should they excavate the partially damaged/disturbed burial, or should they refuse on account that some or all of the finds may end up in private ownership and potentially then be disposed of via the antiquities trade or private sale?

#### Case Studies of in-situ non-treasure assemblages

Early Medieval grave goods from near Marlowe, Maidenhead (PAS ref. BUC-A84150). In 2018 an assemblage of Early Medieval grave goods comprising two copper alloy vessels and two iron spearheads were found in association with small shards of bone and a single human toe bone. The finder stopped digging on contact with the metal vessels and reported the discovery to the FLO. Professional excavation was subsequently arranged. The finder and landowner donated the finds to the museum.

Anglo-Saxon grave goods from West Sussex (SUSS-C60AAB). In 2016 a pair of saucer brooches were found, along with beads dating to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century. Professional excavation was arranged by the FLO. The finds were donated to the museum.

Anglo-Saxon graves in East Sussex (PAS Annual Report 2008, p. 9, 18). In October 2008 metal detectorists were searching in a field they had searched several times before. One of them discovered part of a metal bowl, and on lifting it he found a skull underneath. Suspecting it was Anglo-Saxon they stopped digging and contacted Laura Burnett (Sussex FLO) and the police. Excavation was arranged by the East Sussex County Archaeologists. The graves of one man and two women were excavated. The artefacts were taken to English Heritage (now Historic England) Fort Cumberland conservation laboratories in Portsmouth for cleaning and conservation to prevent deterioration.

Roman child's coffin from Leicestershire. In 2013, metal detectorists searching a cultivated field in Leicestershire discovered a Roman lead coffin buried some four feet deep. The detectorists excavated down onto the top of the coffin and cleared an area to expose the lid. The find was then reported to Leicestershire County Council. The finders were able to raise private funds to employ Warwickshire Archaeology to professionally excavate the find.

# Treasure within in-situ burials

The trawl of the PAS database and annual reports identified 28 instances where treasure was found within a grave since 1997 [table 2; appendix 3]. Seven of these were found through metal detecting; the rest were found through professional archaeological excavation. Similar to the trends seen for non-treasure grave goods, the peak is in the Early Anglo-Saxon period.

	Metal detecting	Professional archaeological excavation	Total
Bronze Age	2	1	3
Iron Age	2	3	5
Roman	1	1	2
Early Medieval	2	16	18
Total	7	21	28

Table 2. Period and circumstances of discovery of treasure within graves, as noted through a trawl of the PAS database and PAS/TAR reports.

In these instances, museums can acquire the assemblage if they meet the value set by the Treasure Valuation Committee, or if the assemblages are donated.

# Case Studies of in-situ treasure assemblages

#### Long Compton, Warwickshire (PAS ref. BERK-5105C9).

A copper-alloy long handled pan, silver mounts, box hinges and other mounts were discovered by a metal detecting user on 28th March 2015. The detectorist stopped exploration and over the following few days a controlled archaeological excavation was carried out. The grave of an adult female was exposed, and several other artefacts were found and recorded in situ. The assemblage was acquired by the Ashmolean Museum after being declared treasure.

#### Roman burial north of Whitchurch, Buckinghamshire (PAS Annual Report 2014, 16).

In October 2014 metal detectorists unearthed a complex Roman burial group, which was reported to Ros Tyrrell (Buckinghamshire FLO). Buckinghamshire County Council commissioned Oxford Archaeology to excavate the find. Several pottery and bronze vessels were discovered within a wooden box, along with an iron lamp holder. The excavation also revealed an urned cremation, which included a fine jasper intaglio among the bones. The finder (who helped with the dig) and landowner kindly donated the objects to Buckinghamshire County Museum Trust.

#### Anglo-Saxon bed burial from Trumpington, Cambridgeshire (PAS ref. CAM-A04EF7).

In 2011 the grave of an Anglo-Saxon teenage girl dating to the seventh century was discovered during excavations undertaken by Cambridge Archaeology Unit. The burial included a gold cross pendant in addition to an array of other artefacts. The assemblage was generously donated by the landowner to Cambridge University's Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

# Anglo-Saxon child's grave in the Cotswolds, Gloucestershire (PAS ref. GLO-67083F).

In 2016, a metal-detectorist found a silver-gilt 6th-century sword hilt, together with fragments of the blade, which he reported to Kurt Adams (Gloucestershire & Avon FLO). Subsequent excavation revealed an Anglo-Saxon grave of a child buried with high status items and suggested the presence of a larger cemetery which was subsequently corroborated through geophysics on the site. Further excavation was undertaken by Cotswold Archaeology and Breaking Ground Heritage.

# Anglo-Saxon burial at West Hanney, Oxfordshire (PAS ref. BERK-545C74).

A female burial dating to the seventh century was discovered in 2009 at West Hanney, Oxfordshire. Among the grave goods was a gilded copper alloy brooch set with garnets (Hamerow et al 2015). The brooch was declared treasure and bought by the Oxfordshire Museum for £2750 with assistance of the V&A Purchase Grant Fund, the Headley Trust, and the Friends of the Oxfordshire Museum.

### An Anglo-Saxon grave from Winfarthing, Norfolk (PAS ref. NMS-E95041).

In 2014, metal detectorists discovered the seventh century grave of an Anglo-Saxon woman at Winfarthing, Norfolk.<sup>3</sup> The grave was subsequently professionally excavated. The grave assemblage, which includes a gold pendant, a bronze bowl, an imported pottery jar, a knife, and a belt hanger of bronze rings. The grave assemblage was purchased by Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery for £145,050. Funds were obtained from the National Heritage Memorial Fund, the Art Fund and the Friends of Norwich Museums. The human remains were also acquired by the museum.

# Unstratified potential grave goods that do not qualify under the Treasure Act (1996)

Respondents to the FLO survey further indicated that they collectively recorded around 155 single finds or assemblages of unstratified material in the last five years which they suspected could derive from mortuary contexts. 75% of these belonged to early Anglo-Saxon cremation or inhumation cemeteries (figure 3).

A systematic trawl of PAS annual reports and Treasure Annual Reports supports this picture. At least 35 new mortuary environments have been discovered through metal detecting since PAS began as a national scheme in 2003 (Appendix 4). 29 of these belong to the early Anglo-Saxon period and may relate to previously unrecorded inhumation cemeteries. Two are of Bronze Age date, one is late Iron Age or Roman, while the remaining three are Roman.

There appears to be a correlation between the high number of unstratified Anglo-Saxon grave goods and the peak in in-situ discoveries of graves belong to the Anglo-Saxon period. At a basic level it illuminates the abundance of furnished inhumation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> https://www.eveningnews24.co.uk/news/appeal-launched-to-raise-145-000-so-norfolk-anglo-saxon-treasure-can-go-on-show-at-norwich-castle-1-5308869

cemeteries in the England, but it does also suggest that the ongoing searching of plough damaged inhumation cemeteries significantly increases the chance of a finder eventually discovering a signal below the plough zone and which leads to an in-situ burial.

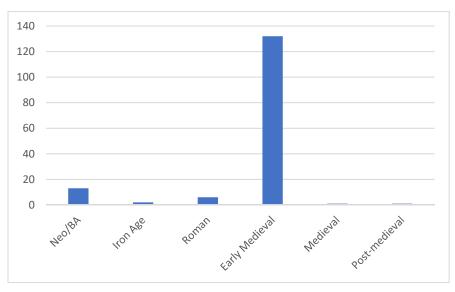


Figure 3. Number of assemblages of possible mortuary-derived antiquities recorded through FLO respondents in the last five years.

# Case Studies of unstratified non-treasure assemblages

# Lackford, Suffolk.

The early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery at Lackford, Suffolk is one of the largest in the region. The site was first excavated in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, but ongoing ploughing has resulted in the disturbance of further urns. In 2015 and 2016, the Suffolk Archaeological Service excavated further disturbed urns, after they were exposed by ploughing. Historic England funded the publication and analysis of this important site.

# Scremby, Lincolnshire.

In the summer of 2017, metal detecting on a cultivated field at Scremby, Lincolnshire resulted in the discovery of several unstratified large early Anglo-Saxon brooches in addition to several iron weapons. Three seasons of excavation were subsequently undertaken by Dr Hugh Willmott of the University of Sheffield. The excavations included students, military veterans and currently serving RAF personnel from nearby stations. The excavation is currently being prepared for publication.

#### Cammeringham, Lincolnshire.

In 2019, metal detecting on a cultivated field at Cammeringham, Lincolnshire resulted in the discovery of several items of personal adornment of early Anglo-Saxon date. A community project was arranged by Dr Lisa Brundle (Lincolnshire

FLO) with funding from Lincolnshire County Council and West Lindsey District Council. Network Archaeology was commissioned to carry out the excavation.

# Unstratified potential grave goods that qualify under the Treasure Act (1996)

Unstratified artefacts which are likely to have derived from mortuary contexts are also reported as potential treasure each year by metal detectorists. A trawl of the PAS database and annual reports reveals at least 34 instances where the object description mentions possible mortuary associations (appendix 5).

Following the chronological trends already established, most discoveries relate to the early Anglo-Saxon period. 22 belong to this period, 9 are Bronze Age, and three are Late Iron Age.

Nonetheless, like the public discovery of in-situ grave goods, mortuary-derived antiquities make up a very small proportion of the overall number of cases of treasure each year (usually over 1000 cases per annum). Assemblages of unstratified grave goods are rarely declared Treasure under the Act owing to the difficulties in determining whether they constitute the 'same find' under section 14 of the Treasure Act Code of Practice, though this has occurred at the West Wight cemetery, Isle of Wight. (PAS 2008, p. 105). The Treasure Act (1996) provides museum the opportunity to acquire the object if it can meet the value set by the Treasure Valuation Committee, or if the assemblages are donated.

# Conclusions

Data from the FLO survey and the trawl of PAS annual reports suggest that in-situ grave goods are found approximately four times a year by metal detectorists in England. However, it must be remembered that the FLO survey had a low response, and that true figure is undoubtedly higher than reported. Nonetheless, the trawl of annual reports and the PAS database indicate that most cases belong to the early Anglo-Saxon period while a small number are of late Iron Age or Roman date.

In most cases the public discovery of in-situ grave goods is avoidable. While there are some circumstances that lead to the chance discovery of a grave, such as pond digging or minor building works, in all instances where a grave is discovered through metal detecting the finder has chosen to dig below the plough zone and into the mortuary context. While this scenario occurs infrequently across England, when it does it usually results in the exposure of complex archaeological deposits that require significant resources to deal with properly. In addition, it requires decisions to be made over ownership and long-term curation.

At present, professional excavation occurs for the majority of discoveries. This is undertaken by a range of people and institutions, including Finds Liaison Officers, local archaeological units, Historic England, universities, and local archaeological societies. Owing to private property laws in England, grave goods have an afterlife of their own: in some cases, they are retained by the finder, while in others by the landowner. Some are acquired by a museum along with the human remains they were buried with; others are acquired apart from the human remains.

Possible ethical issues emerge where professional archaeological investigation of a grave found through metal detecting results in the discovery of further grave goods that are then sold privately or to a museum. Data on the subsequent treatment of the human remains is not immediately apparent in most cases; further research is needed to identify trends.

Nonetheless, the archaeological evidence is clear that the burial and the assemblage have maximum research potential when seen as a whole, and therefore best practice would dictate that where possible they be curated together for public benefit where possible.

Unstratified grave goods are more frequently encountered each year through metal detecting. Most belong to plough damaged early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries. Finds from these sites have high potential to inform us of the character and chronology of the site, as well as temporal and spatial patterning within it. Ongoing searching of these sites also increases the likelihood of in-situ discovery of grave goods.

The general pattern regarding the public discovery of grave goods presented in this section gives us a backdrop against which we can better understand the trade in mortuary-derived antiquities from England (presented in Section 6).

# Public sale of mortuary-derived antiquities

The core element of the Grave Finds Project was to estimate and characterise the antiquities market in grave goods sourced from England. While the general nature of the antiquities market is known, hitherto no studies had explored grave goods as a specific form of saleable commodity. Accordingly, it was not known whether mortuary contexts were being targeted.

The Grave Finds project approached this problem through a three-month monitoring exercise of a wide selection of online UK antiquities dealers. Artefacts of probable mortuary association were entered into a bespoke database which recorded information on the object type, material, date, provenance, and any other relevant information. The project included major established international auction houses, as well as middle sized companies and individuals selling through online marketplace.

To better understand the potential motivations of finders, sellers, and buyers, the descriptions of each sale were analysed for whether information about the mortuary context was explicit, implicit, or absent. *Explicit* is where a mortuary context was a fundamental part of the object's description (e.g., 'this was found on a body/cemetery'). *Implicit* is where a mortuary context was implied in the description (e.g., 'similar objects have been found in graves'). *Absent* is where all potential associations with mortuary environments are missing from the sale description. For example, an Anglo-Saxon shield boss (a type of object rarely found outside the grave context), which is sold with no reference to the grave.

The monitoring exercise was designed to help answer three key questions, as set out in the Project Design: first, how extensive is the trade in mortuary-derived antiquities in England, and what proportion of these finds have been recorded with the Portable Antiquities Scheme; second, what do these trends imply about the archaeological resource; and third, are there chronological and object-specific trends within the trade?

Two challenges were encountered during this survey. First, although grave goods were noted in the survey, it was difficult to determine what proportion of the larger trade in antiquities they made up. For the most part, this is because the overall size of the antiquities market in the UK is difficult to determine. In 2009 there was estimated to be around 20 large antiquities dealers in the UK and a further 100 or so smaller dealers (Mackenzie and Green 2009, 147). Included in this number are smaller dealers who predominantly deal in antiques, and who may occasionally sell antiquities. Indeed, two sellers included in the survey describe themselves on their websites as foremostly 'collectors', not dealers. Their websites and online shops demonstrate a low volume of turnover and suggest there is a category of seller who has the organisational structure of an online shop, but which has low and infrequent turnover of goods. Likewise, the ready availability of online marketplaces such as eBay means there are now many private individuals who, among a wide range of commodities, occasionally include antiquities in their sales. Some of these sellers may sell antiquities just once or twice a year, while others include detectorists who have many dozens of listings available at any one time. Similarly, no data is

available for what might be termed the 'invisible' market: this is where transactions take place face to face, or at trade stalls at rallies or markets.

Facebook marketplace, Etsy, and Gumtree were also monitored, but no items were found.

The second challenge was over what objects to include in the database. Unless the seller was explicit about the objects' provenance and context it was rarely possible to be confident that a particular artefact has derived from a grave. Accordingly, where an artefact was of a type commonly found in graves (such as an Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooch), the decision to include the artefact in the database was made by examining a range of other features such as object type, textile impressions, condition, and related sales. Indeed, in some cases it was possible to see probable grave assemblages being divided up by an auctioneer and sold in individual lots; at the individual level it would be difficult to determine it was a grave good, but this became clearer when viewing the wider 'stock' held by the dealer. Likewise, associations with mortuary environments were thought likely where pairs of matching brooches were being sold. For example, pairs of annular, small, long, and cruciform brooches are commonly found on early Anglo-Saxon female inhumations and were sometimes seen for sale with no reference to their original context. Given these difficulties, and the fact that many of the aforementioned objects also turn up on settlements, the Grave Finds Project took a conservative approach to adding finds to the database; the results should be regarded as a minimum case scenario.

Probable fakes and forgeries were encountered on several auction houses and in particular among the listings of online marketplace sellers. Many were in the form of Roman or Anglo-Saxon objects of personal adornment. In one instance a direct association with a mortuary environment was made; a pair of Roman bracelets described as being from a 'mother and child' were claimed to have been found 'near a graveyard by metal detectorists'. The bracelets – offered for sale at £210 – were clearly fakes. These too were discounted from the survey.

# Results

Sixty-nine lots of probable mortuary-derived antiquities were noted for sale by eighteen sellers during the three-month monitoring exercise (appendix 6). The total value of these lots was £53,596, though the sale price for 20 items was not visible online. This gives an average figure of at least £1,093 per lot, which anecdotally indicates that the grave goods that make it into the online antiquities trade have a far higher value than that of the average British antiquity. Twelve lots from seven sellers were listed on eBay; the rest were listed on company-specific websites.

# Date of discovery

The date of discovery was mentioned in just 21 of 69 lots. Two objects were found prior to 2013, one was prior to 2008, and one was prior to 2001. The other 17 were noted as being found prior to 1980. While almost all finds have no ownership history

available online reaching back to the date of discovery, provenance was available for the earliest discovery among the lots – an Anglo-Saxon square-headed brooch found at Wigston Magna, Leicestershire, in 1795 and published in 1810 (Nichols 1810, pl IV, fig. 8; Liddle and Middleton 1994). Artefacts from the Wigston Magna cemetery have surfaced at auction several times since discovery, and so there is a sense in which grave goods (as with other types of archaeological artefacts) are 'recycled' for investment purposes.

# Provenance

The place of discovery was mentioned in 42 of 69 lots, though only 13 had additional information on the parish. Apart from the brooch from Wigston Magna, no lots held information beyond the parish level. No Lots were identified as having been previously recorded with the Portable Antiquities Scheme.

One object – a complete Anglo-Saxon brooch – had conflicting provenances. On the front cover of the June 2020 issue of Treasure Hunting magazine is a large, gilt copper alloy Great Square headed brooch. A short article within the same magazine, placed by antiquities, stated that it was found in Leicestershire 'some time ago'. The article pointed readers to its upcoming online auction in June 2020, at which it subsequently sold for £11,250. The magazine article stated that the brooch was found in Leicestershire, though the sale catalogue and online description stated that it was found in Lincolnshire. Provenance is further confused by the style of headplate, which appears to be uncommon north of Cambridgeshire.

# Period

Of the 69 Lots, one was Bronze Age, twelve were Roman, and 56 were Anglo-Saxon. All Anglo-Saxon items dated to the late fifth or sixth century when the furnished burial tradition was common.

# Object type

The range and quantity of grave goods by period are given in table 3. The Bronze Age Lot was a ceramic accessory vessel (see further below), while the Roman grave goods were necklaces, brooches, bracelets, in addition to a box and a mirror of probably mortuary association. Early Anglo-Saxon grave goods were commonly dress accessories of types commonly found in inhumation cemeteries. Iron weapons were also occasionally noted. Objects include brooches, sleeve clasps, beads, girdle hangers and pottery. Many of the brooches were in fine condition and had possible evidence of mineralised fabric on the pin lug. No items were noted that would fall under the stipulations of the Treasure Act 1996.

	Amulet	Assemblag	Beads	Box	Bracelet	Brooch	Girdle	Mirror	Mount	Necklace	Pottery	Sleeve	Spear	Sword	Total
Bron ze Age											1				1
Rom an		2		1	3	3		1		1	1				12
Early Angl o- Saxo n	1	4	1		1	34	2		1	3	5	1	2	1	56
Tota I	1	6	1	1	4	37	2	1	1	4	7	1	2	1	69

Table 3. Range and quantity of potential grave goods seen for sale during the three-month monitoring exercise.

# Sale description

Information on mortuary associations were explicit in nine lots, implied in four lots, and absent in 56 lots (table 4).

	Implied	Explicit	Absent	Total
Bronze Age	1	0	0	1
Roman	1	1	10	12
Early Medieval	2	8	46	56
Total	4	9	56	69

Table 4. Descriptive language used in sale lots.

#### Explicit

Five lots comprised sherds from Anglo-Saxon cremation urns. The lots were offered by a private seller who noted they were 'from cinerary urns' and from 'Lackford, Suffolk'. The description noted they were from a 'known early Anglo-Saxon site'. While the Lackford finds are entirely plausible, two assemblages offered for sale by another dealer appear less so. The sixth Lot with explicit reference to a mortuary context was an assemblage described as the belongings of a male Anglo-Saxon. However, this assemblage included amber beads, a radiate headed brooch, saucer brooches, a Middle Saxon pin, and a late Saxon strap end. While some of the artefacts may have come from a female grave, the assemblage has clearly been concocted from several chronologically disparate sources. The seventh Lot - also from the same seller – was similarly described as being from an 'Anglo-Saxon burial set'. The assemblage was similarly mixed. The sale prices - £10,500 and £2,950 respectively - may reflect a premium added on account of the mortuary 'provenance'. The eight lot which contained an explicit reference to a mortuary context was an iron spear 'from a Saxon chief's grave along Rt-1-M- between St Albans and London'. The lot description noted that it was 'purchased in March 1977 from Arthur H. Gilham, West Lake, Ohio, who obtained it at the site in England'. The spear was being sold by a seller in the United States. The final lot with an explicit reference to a mortuary context was a Roman copper alloy bracelet 'probably from the grave of a small child and found in Dorset'. No further information was provided, and the attribution to the mortuary context is dubious. In summary, there is little, if any, evidence to show that archaeological mortuary contexts are targeted sources for sellable antiquities.

#### Implied

All four lots in which a mortuary association was implied had information on the wider use of a particular artefact type, or the wider use of the site. One Roman 'child's bracelet', which is described as having come from the mount area of York, also noted the area was a 'huge Roman cemetery'. Similarly, one listing of a florid cruciform brooch knop noted that this form of artefact is 'often encountered as elements of grave furniture'.

#### Absent

Almost all probable grave goods seen for sale had no information on potential mortuary associations, even if the association seemed likely. One Lot of Roman artefacts, for example, included 'two Roman ladies bronze cloak brooches and blue glass bead necklace found Lincolnshire excavations in the early 1970s'. It is difficult to suggest a context other than a grave for this assemblage. Two further similar assemblages were also noted from the same seller, both of which were 'from excavations in Lincolnshire in the early 1970s'. Several other Lots of Anglo-Saxon material came from 'excavations in Norfolk in the 1970s'. Lots include two amber bead necklaces and a girdle hanger and are suggestive of an early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery as their source. The seller also offered further objects of early Anglo-Saxon date from 'East Anglia excavations' also undertaken in the 1970s. These include a pair of saucer brooches and a complete copper alloy cruciform brooch with iron concretion and possible mineral impressions around the pin lug. Again, while these strongly appear to derive from graves, no efforts were made to explain this in the Lot description. Another assemblage of early Anglo-Saxon metalwork was also noted for sale, being offered by a metal detectorist who was downsizing his collection. According to the seller's website, the artefacts for sale included both items he had found, and items he had acquired in the past from other metal detectorists. One particular lot included 18 brooches dating circa AD450-550, including annular brooches, small long brooches, and cruciform brooches. The listing stated that the group came from a site in North Yorkshire. The character of the assemblage strongly suggests a plough-damaged cemetery, though unfortunately the descriptions are silent on whether the finds have been recorded with PAS.

#### Historic sales

Superficial research was undertaken to see whether records of significant sales of grave goods could be found prior to June 2020. A selection of these are listed in the case studies below. These case studies do not represent a definitive list of sales prior to the commencement of the Grave Finds Survey, but they do demonstrate the financial potential of grave assemblages and the range of circumstances leading to their discovery and sale. Inclusion of this material increases the corpus of known sold grave goods to at least £382,696.

# Conclusions

The three-month monitoring exercise of auction houses and marketplaces resulted in positive hits but was hampered by the limits of the data and the methodology used. The results should be viewed cautiously; nonetheless they indicate that:

In-situ archaeological mortuary environments do not appear to be targeted as sources for saleable antiquities (unless, of course, larger volumes are being dispersed through the 'invisible market').

Potential associations with mortuary contexts do not appear to be important to the sale of the item. The fact that an artefact *might* have come from a grave is rarely used as a method of increasing the price or desirability of the object. Four possibilities arise: first, that the seller is unaware of potential mortuary associations; second, that the seller is simply interested in the artefact and not the archaeology associated with it; third, that it simply isn't an aspect of the objects biography that makes it appealing to purchasers and is therefore omitted from the sale description; or fourth, that the possible association with a mortuary context is thought of as potentially distasteful and therefore is omitted from the sale description for fear of the object not selling. The evidence from online auction houses suggests that grave goods are desirable primarily owing to their aesthetic qualities rather than their historical value. Similarly, it seems likely that auction houses are more aware, and more susceptible than other vendors to negative publicity arising from the ethics of selling grave goods. There appears to be little awareness among sellers of the ethical and archaeological issues raised by the sale of grave goods. This is, of course, an issue that has been raised previously for feature of the antiquities trade more generally (Brodie 2015; Dundler 2019).

Assemblages of grave goods tend to come from 'old collections'. It is not known where in Lincolnshire or Norfolk the excavations undertaken in the 1970s took place. Lack of provenance should always raise concerns; however, there are genuine assemblages recovered from old excavations on the market, such as that from Welbeck Hill, Lincolnshire, and Wigston Magna, Leicestershire.

# **Case Studies**

A series of short case studies are given below which help to illustrate some of the statistics and trends discussed above.

### Iron Age mirror from Didcot area, Oxfordshire (£33,000).

A complete Iron Age copper alloy mirror was discovered by a metal detector user sometime before 2007. It was reported by the finder to the Finds Liaison Officer for Hertfordshire shortly after its discovery. No further information about its context is known, but elsewhere in Southern England mirrors of late Iron Age date are usually found in cremation burials (Megaw 2007; Joy 2010). The Oxfordshire Museum commenced a fundraiser to purchase the mirror, and successfully raised £33,000 to purchase the mirror from a private collector, who purchased the mirror from the finder, in 2007.

# An Anglo-Saxon bronze and amber funerary group from Bennett's Hill Cemetery, Offenham, Worcestershire (£10,575).

On the 12<sup>th</sup> April 2000 a large assemblage of 6<sup>th</sup> century finds were sold by Christies for £10,575 (London, South Kensington, Lot 121).<sup>4</sup> The assemblage included 'two burial groups of a warrior and a woman, together with related artefacts found nearby' (Christies 2000). Few details were publicly listed regarding the provenance and circumstances of discovery, apart from 'found at Bennett's Hill, Offenham, Worcestershire, November 1996. The assemblage was in excellent condition and included a large gilded copper alloy florid cruciform brooch, eight gilded copper alloy saucer brooches, a girdle hanger, three amber bead necklaces, one amber bead bracelet, two iron shield bosses, and three iron spearheads, among many other items. Salvage recording of the site was undertaken in 1998 (Dalwood and Ratkai 1998). The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Bennett's Hill was designated a Scheduled Monument on the 6<sup>th</sup> October 2003 (List Entry Number 1020258).

#### Anglo-Saxon glass from the cemetery at Ozengell. Kent (£157,000, £11,875).

Two Anglo-Saxon pouch bottles were sold by Christie's for £11,875 on the 14<sup>th</sup> April 2011.<sup>5</sup> The bottles were 'found together in a high status inhumation burial (grave 110) during excavations of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Ozengell, Kent, in 1980-1982'. A third glass vessel – a 'claw beaker' from grave ?149 found circa 1970 – was also sold in a separate lot for £157,250.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/an-anglo-saxon-bronze-and-amber-funerary-group-1758927-details.aspx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> <u>https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/ancient-art-antiquities/two-anglo-saxon-greenish-blue-glass-pouch-bottles-circa-5425358-details.aspx?from=salesummery&intObjectID=5425358</u>. Lot 188, 14<sup>th</sup> April 2011, London, South Kensington.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> <u>https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/ancient-art-antiquities/an-anglo-saxon-amber-glass-claw-beaker-circa-5425359-details.aspx?from=salesummery&intObjectID=5425359</u>. Lot 189, 14<sup>th</sup> April 2011. London, South Kensington.

#### An Anglo-Saxon pale green glass bucket from Bury St Edmunds (£116,650).

On the 14<sup>th</sup> July 2004 an Anglo-Saxon glass bucket was sold by Bonhams for £116,650. The bucket was 'discovered in a grave in 1972 during building work at Westgarth Gardens on the western edge of Bury St Edmunds'.<sup>7</sup> Sixty-eight graves were excavated (Webster and Cherry 1973, 149), and a few of the objects were retained by the developers.

#### Anglo-Saxon burial group from Barrington, Cambridgeshire.

An Anglo-Saxon iron shield boss and burial group dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD was sold by Timeline Auctions Ltd on the 5<sup>th</sup> February 2014 (Lot 1055). No more information beyond 'found Barrington, Cambridgeshire' was given in the sale description. Anglo-Saxon funerary activity at Barrington is well documented (Malim and Hines 1998), and at least two cemeteries are known. The first cemetery was first discovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century after drainage works and coprolite digging uncovered inhumations (Malim and Hines 1998, xviii). The cemetery was initially investigated at the time of discovery, and then more extensively between 1989 and 1991 by Cambridgeshire County Council's Archaeological Field Unit (Malim and Hines 1998, xviii).

#### Anglo-Saxon cremation urn (£600).

On the 26<sup>th</sup> April 2007 an Anglo-Saxon cremation urn was sold by Bonhams (London, New Bond Street, Lot 314). The provenance is not known beyond 'UK private collection'. The urn was first sold in 1994 (Sotheby's, February 17, 1994, lot 158).

#### Anglo-Saxon grave assemblage from Cabourne, Lincolnshire (£4000-6000).

In 2005, metal detectorists searching a field 'near Cabourne', Lincolnshire, discovered a furnished grave dating to the seventh century AD. The grave presumably, that of a wealthy female – included a glass palm bowl, a copper alloy Coptic bowl, a cowrie shell, iron latchlifters, and an iron weaving sword. The finders lifted several grave goods and subsequently reported the find to the Lincolnshire FLO who took initial photographs of the material and made draft records on the PAS database.<sup>8</sup> Resources for emergency professional excavation were identified but the finders were subsequently unwilling to disclose the exact find spot. The assemblage was sold by Bonhams in 2006 with a guide price of £4000-6000. The sale description noted that the assemblage had been 'examined by the Finds Liaison Officer at Lincolnshire County Council and is accompanied by a letter from him to the finder.' The 'examined' part refers to the hour or so the FLO spent examining the finds, and the letter expresses disappointment that the find was not recorded. Nonetheless, in the sale description it gives a sense of authentication. Between 2006 and 2014 the assemblage had become divided, and parts of it were auctioned by Timeline Auctions Limited.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> <u>https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/11380/lot/19/</u>. 14<sup>th</sup> July 2004, Lot 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> PAS database numbers LIN-E8F0C7, LIN-E82622, LIN-E7FAA6, LIN-E7A961, LIN-E73311

#### Anglo-Saxon cemetery group from Welbeck Hill, Lincolnshire.

A large assemblage of grave goods excavated in the 1960s was put up for auction in 2019 by the family of the excavator. The assemblage came from around 72 graves excavated by a local teacher/amateur archaeologist at Welbeck Hill, Lincolnshire.<sup>9</sup> The assemblage was eventually removed from auction and acquired by North Lincolnshire Museum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> https://hansonsauctioneers.co.uk/blog/2019/02/hundreds-of-anglo-saxon-antiquities-to-be-sold

# Discussion and recommendations

The Grave Finds project has collated evidence on the public discovery of grave goods and their subsequent sale. The evidence appears to indicate that in-situ grave goods are found infrequently through metal detecting, but when it does occur it raises significant questions over best practice, ownership, and ethics. This finding does, however, need to be treated with some caution given that low response from the FLO survey, and given that not all finds will be reported via the PAS. Indeed, it is known that those indulging in illegal activity in particular are more likely to sell via the 'invisible market' (Montalbano 2007; Thomas 2016, 146).

The evidence shows that professional excavation is usually undertaken in response to public discoveries of grave goods. This occurs through a range of partners who usually also take on the financial burden. Partners include local authorities, local universities, or local archaeological societies, and Historic England.

The evidence also shows that unstratified artefacts and assemblages potentially deriving from mortuary contexts are frequently found each year through metal detecting. Continued searching of these sites increases the chance of discovering insitu archaeology.

Turning to the antiquities trade, the evidence shows that grave goods are infrequently seen on the antiquities market, but when they are, they are often financially significant. Some assemblages are clearly from old collections, though most lots are sold with little information on provenance, date of discovery, or circumstance of discovery. It appears that very few lots are recorded with PAS prior to sale. It also appears that higher value assemblages are usually sold via established, larger auction houses, whereas single items and lower value assemblages are sold via private sellers using online marketplaces. Potential associations with mortuary contexts are not significant factors in the narratives of the objects being sold.

The low numbers of financially significant grave goods appearing on the market seems to suggest that current Heritage Crime prevention measures are successful. Little is known, however, about the invisible market, such as face to face transactions.

In summary, the evidence indicates that mortuary contexts in England are not currently being threatened or targeted as sources for antiquities for sale. The evidence suggests, however, there are three areas for further thought: these focus on prevention, a written finds agreement, and protection. Successful development one or all these areas should help to reduce the potential harm done to the archaeological record through the private ownership and sale of grave goods. The following recommendations are therefore being made:

# Recommendations

#### Advocate prevention

All discoveries of in-situ burials made through metal detecting are avoidable. Indeed, this is the case with all in-situ archaeology such as hoards. The current Code of Practice for Responsible Metal Detecting states that metal detectorists should work 'only within the depth of ploughing', and that they should 'avoid damaging stratified archaeological deposits'. Furthermore, the Code of Practice for Responsible Metal Detecting in England and Wales states that metal detectorists should 'stop any digging and make the landowner aware that you are seeking expert help if you discover something below the ploughsoil'. The Code of Practice is, therefore, clear on the matter of not disturbing in-situ archaeology. There may, however, be scope to simplify the guidance to state that metal detectorists should not dig any signal that takes them below the plough zone. Similarly, it might be prudent for a revised Code of Practice to clearly state that the act of disturbing human remains during the course of recovering grave goods is a criminal offence (Mays 2017). The extant guidance on burial law (Mays 2017) could be highlighted within a revised Code of Practice, especially Paragraph 95, which explicitly states that 'the 1857 Act makes the removal of buried human remains a criminal offence unless (a) a licence has been authorised by the Secretary of State or (b) in relation to consecrated ground, a faculty has been issued by the consistory court or (c) in relation to a cathedral church or precinct, a relevant consent has been granted under the Care of Cathedrals Measure 2011' (Mays 2017, para. 95).

Clearly, public education is a major aspect of prevention. Toolkits could be developed to help metal detectorists carry out their searches in more professional ways and with greater potential to yield quality data that could illuminate aspects of the site without disturbing any in-situ archaeology present. This could be an important aspect of the proposed Institute of Detectorists. Education is also an important aspect of the PAS 2020 Strategy, including the following aims:

- Promoting the maximum public interest and benefit from the recovery, recording and research of portable antiquities.
- Promoting best practice by finders/landowners and archaeologists/museums in the discovery, recording and conservation of finds made by the public.

#### Devise and make accessible a clear and robust finds agreement.

The second area for further development concerns the written finds agreement between the excavating authority and the landowner/finder. All efforts should be made to ensure that a robust written agreement is signed prior to excavation taking place. Given the speed at which activities need to occur following discovery, it could be that a proforma is devised and made accessible via an archaeological institution website. The proforma could set out the standard terms and conditions, while also allowing room for localised variations to be made depending on context and circumstances. Monetary value of archaeological objects is clearly a difficult area to negotiate, especially given that the case studies show several thousands of pounds are often involved.

#### Explore avenues to increase protection of in-situ grave goods.

Many of the issues outlined in this report could be overcome through the full protection of in-situ mortuary contexts. As has been discussed in Section 2, only human remains are protected at present, though the archaeological and ethical arguments suggest that *all* the material from a mortuary environment should be treated as a whole. Two avenues have potential: first, a change in the definition of Treasure under the Treasure Act 1996; and second, the addition of a condition to the Burial Act licence. At the time of writing, the DCMS is considering a revision of the Treasure Act 1996, which may include a significance-based definition of treasure. This new definition could plausibly include grave goods. Consideration would need to be given, however, as to whether this would have the adverse effect of further monetising antiquities, including those from mortuary environments. A second avenue for exploration is whether a condition could be added to the Burials Act licenses to ensure the appropriate archaeological treatment and archiving of finds found in direct or close spatial association with human remains. This might help overcome the after-sale or private retention of grave finds from archaeological work.



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## Appendices

County	Burials reported	No. including grave goods	No. including treasure
Suffolk	Circa 20	3	0
Gloucestershire	2	2	1
Sussex	3	3	0
West Staffordshire and South West Midlands	0	0	0
Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire	1	1	1
Lincolnshire	9	4	1
East Staffordshire and North West Midlands	0	0	0
Durham, Darlington and Teeside	2	2	0
Dorset	2	2	2
Lancashire and Cumbria	0	0	0
Essex	0	0	0
Devon	0	0	0
South and West Yorkshire	0	0	0
Shropshire and Herefordshire	5	2	0
Oxfordshire	0	0	0
Cambridgeshire and Peterborough	2	0	0
Cheshire, Greater Manchester and Merseyside	0	0	0
North Lincolnshire & North-East Lincolnshire	0	0	0
Northamptonshire	3	1	0
Buckinghamshire	2	2	0
Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire	0	0	0
Total	51	22	5

Appendix 1. Results of the FLO survey: burials and associated grave goods reported 2015-2020.

County	Parish	Period	Notes	Subsequent action	References
Gloucestershire	Cotswolds	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Professional excavation undertaken.	Portable Antiquities Scheme Annual Report 2018, p.11.
Hampshire		Anglo-Saxon	Bronze bucket found in situ during metal detecting. Finder ceased digging, ceased searching, and reported to FLO. FLO wrote project design for small scale excavation, which was funded by Hampshire County Council and undertaken by Berkshire Archaeological Services.	Professional excavation.	PAS Annual Report 2000-2001, p.65.
Hampshire	Bishop's Waltham area	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Assemblage found in same hole together with burnt bone.	PAS ref. HAMP- ED5A4D.
Kent	Eastry	Anglo-Saxon	Reported by landowner after tree stump exposed human remains	Professional excavation	PAS Annual Report 2005/6, p.64.
Kent	Eastry	Anglo-Saxon	Discovered by landowner when laying a patio	Professional excavation	PAS Annual Report 2005/06, p.64.

Kent	Eastry	Anglo-Saxon	Discovered by landowner when digging a soakaway. Archive donated to museum.	Professional excavation	PAS Annual Report 2003/04, p. 54.
London	Keston	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Professional excavation arranged by FLO, funded by Historic England	PAS Annual Report 2016, p.11.
N/A	N/A	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting		PAS ref. DUR-75B54D
Sussex	East Sussex	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Finder lifted copper bowl and discovered skull beneath it. Finder stopped digging and called FLO and Police. Professional excavation followed.	PAS Annual Report 2008, p. 9, 18.
Sussex	Alfriston area	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting		PAS ref. SUSS- D62DD7.
Warwickshire	Long Compton	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Professional excavation undertaken by FLO.	PAS Annual Report 2015, p.2. Treasure ref. 2015 T270. PAS ref. BERK-5105C9
Windsor and Maidenhead	Near Marlowe	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Professional excavation undertaken. Finds donated to museum.	PAS ref. BUC-A84150

Sussex	West Sussex	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Professional excavation undertaken. Finds donated to museum.	PAS ref. SUSS-C60AAB
Oxfordshire	West Hanney	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Professional excavation undertaken. Finds acquired museum.	PAS ref. BERK-545C74
Cumbria	Cumwhitton	Early Medieval, 10 <sup>th</sup> century	Metal detecting	Professional excavation undertaken.	PAS Annual Report 2004, no.103.
Kent	Canterbury	Late Iron Age	Metal detecting	Excavated by finder. Human bone recovered later from backfill. Professional excavation undertaken.	PAS Annual Report 2012, p. 20. PAS ref. KENT-FA8E56.
Buckinghamshire	Whitchurch	Roman	Metal detecting	Professional excavation arranged by FLO, undertaken by Oxford Archaeology.	PAS Annual Report 2014, p. 16.

Kent Chislet	Roman	Found by metal detecting. Discovered copper alloy signal in context then stopped digging and reported to FLO. Context turned out to be cremation burial of first- second centuries AD.	Professional excavation	PAS Annual Report 2003/04, p. 49.
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Appendix 2. Public discovery of in-situ non-treasure grave goods, as gleaned from a trawl of PAS Annual Reports and the PAS database.

County	Parish	Period	Circumstances	References
Buckinghamshire	Wolverton	Anglo-Saxon	Found during controlled archaeological excavation.	Treasure: 2008 T57; PAS: BUC- 330014, 337D72, 3395A5 & 33B493
Redcar and Cleveland	Loftus	Anglo-Saxon	Found during professional archaeological excavation	PAS and Treasure Annual Report 2007, p.103, no.184. PAS ref. NCL- A09134; Treasure ref. 2007 T498.
Cambridgeshire	Ely	Anglo-Saxon	Found during professional archaeological excavation	PAS and Treasure Annual Report 2007, p.103, no. 185. PAS ref. CAMHER-9C4BA8; Treasure ref. 2007 T349.
Kent	Ringlemere	Anglo-Saxon	Found during professional archaeological excavation	PAS and Treasure Annual Report 2007, p.93, no.157. Treasure refs. 2005 T395, 2006 T390, 2005 T452, 2006 T30, 2006 T31, 2006, T32.
Norfolk	Beetley	Anglo-Saxon	Found during professional excavation	TAR 2017, p.37. Treasure ref. 2017 T0071. PAS ref. NMS-B1BD3C.
Norfolk	Burnham Market	Anglo-Saxon	Found during professional excavation	TAR 2017, p.37. Treasure ref. 2017 T0070. PAS ref. NMS-B1A9FA.
Cambridgeshire	Soham	Anglo-Saxon	Found during professional excavation	TAR 2017, p.27. Treasure ref. 2016 T0497. PAS ref. CAM-FF8A6D.
Suffolk	Exning	Anglo-Saxon	Found during professional excavation	TA 2016, p.65. Treasure ref. 2015 T071. PAS ref. SF-B723CD.
Kent	Longport area	Anglo-Saxon	Found during professional excavation	PAS ref. KENT-B74EDA

Hartlepool	Hart area	Anglo-Saxon	Found during professional excavation	DUR-662C1F; DUR-66276D; DUR- 6624BF; DUR-65B325
Yorkshire	Grindale	Anglo-Saxon	Found during professional excavation	YORYM-9560D6; Treasure ref. 2018 T864
Lincolnshire	Scremby	Anglo-Saxon	Found during professional excavation	LIN-FC6988; LIN-FC5F6E; LIN- 47DBDE; LIN-47CDC8
Yorkshire	Halsham	Anglo-Saxon	Found during professional excavation	PAS ref. YORYM-B4FC9A; Treasure ref. 2017 T887
Wiltshire	Figheldean	Anglo-Saxon	Found during professional excavation	PAS ref. BM-11BCC0; Treasure ref. 2012 T625
Cambridgeshire	Trumpington	Anglo-Saxon	Found during professional excavation	PAS ref. CAM-A04EF7. Treasure ref. 2012 T52
London	Covent Garden	Anglo-Saxon	Found during professional excavation	PAS ref. LON-BAF907. Treasure ref. 2007 T358
Gloucestershire	Cotswolds	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	PAS ref. GLO-67083F; Treasure ref. 2016 T860
Norfolk	Winfarthing area	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	TAR 2016, p.65. Treasure ref. 2015 T037. PAS ref. NMS-E95041.
Windsor and Maidenhead	Horton	Bronze Age	Found during controlled archaeological excavation.	PAS ref. PAS-FCAE32. Treasure ref. 2011 T763.
West Yorkshire	Stanbury	Bronze Age	Found while digging garden features; reported to FLO; excavation undertaken by West Yorkshire Archaeological Service	Portable Antiquities Scheme and Treasure Annual Report 2007, p.41, no.19. PAS ref. SWYOR- C4F166; Treasure ref. 2007 T388.
Ringlemere	Kent	Bronze Age	Metal detecting	

East Riding of Yorkshire		Iron Age	Found during professional excavation	TAR 2017, p.26. Treasure ref. 2017 T0887. PAS ref. YORYM-B4FC9A.
Hampshire	Oakley	Late Iron Age	Metal detecting	TAR 2017, p.26. Treasure ref. 2017 T0125; PAS ref. HAMP-B37694.
Yorkshire	Halsham	Late Iron Age	Found during professional excavation	PAS ref. YORYM-E3C632; Treasure ref. 2018 T401
Hampshire	Basingstoke area	Late Iron Age	Metal detecting. Professional excavation undertaken.	PAS ref. HAMP-B37694; Treasure ref. 2017 T125
Sussex	North Bersted	Late Iron Age	Found during professional excavation	PAS ref. SUSS-22FC67. Treasure ref. 2008 T449.
Hertfordshire	Royston Area	Roman	Metal detecting	TAR 2016, p.64. Treasure ref. 2015 T909. PAS ref. BH-84CCFA.
Kent	St Nicholas at Wade	Roman	Professional excavation	PAS ref. KENT-81F9F8

Appendix 3. Catalogue of in-situ grave goods declared treasure under the Treasure Act 1996, gleaned from a trawl of PAS database, PAS annual reports, and Treasure Annual Reports.

County	Parish/Area	Period	Notes	Subsequent action	References
Bedfordshire	Sandy	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2006, p.78
Derbyshire	Barrow-upon- Trent	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2006, p.77
East Yorkshire	N/A	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2016, p.4.
Hampshire	N/A	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2012, p. 5.
Isle of Wight	West of island	Anglo-Saxon	Found by metal detecting. Rally. Each find recorded by GPS.	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2003/04, p.55.
Kent	Hollingbourne	Anglo-Saxon	Found by metal detecting.	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2001/2-2002/3, p. 10.
Kent	'West of Dover'	Anglo-Saxon	Found by metal detecting.	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2001/2-2002/3, p. 10.
Kent	Thurnham	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	FLO arranged professional excavation.	PAS Annual Report 2004-05, p.56, no.91. PAS ref. KENT-96A123, KENT- 966793, and KENT-969156.
Kent	Herne and Broomfield	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Eroded from cliff. No further work	PAS ref. GLO-D1CF77.
Leicestershire	Barrow-upon- Soar	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2006, p.72
Leicestershire	Osbaston	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2004-05, p.53, no.85. PAS ref. LEIC-AC4A46.

Lincolnshire	Scremby	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Professional excavation	PAS Annual Report 2017, p.11.
Lincolnshire	Spilsby area	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Unknown	PAS/TAR 2008, p.109, no. 169. PAS ref. LIN-9738C0.
Norfolk		Anglo-Saxon	Found by metal detecting. Rally	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2005/6, p.63.
Norfolk	North-West	Anglo-Saxon	Found by metal detecting. Finds indicate inhuman and cremation rites.	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2003/04, p.53.
Norfolk	Gimingham	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2013, p.28.
North Lincolnshire	Bonby	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2004-05, p.53, no.84. PAS ref. NLM-029B23.
Northamptonshire	Corby district	Anglo-Saxon	Three possible cemeteries Found by metal detecting.	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2001/2-2002/3, p. 25.
Northumberland	N/A	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2009-10, p. 4.
Nottinghamshire	Rempstone	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Unknown	PAS ref. PAS-925F06.
Suffolk	Dove Valley	Anglo-Saxon	A 'number of possible or probable' cemeteries have been discovered	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2003/04, p. 53.

			through metal detecting.		
Suffolk	Wickham Skeith	Anglo-Saxon	Found by metal detecting.	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2001/2-2002/3, p. 26.
Warwickshire	Near Rugby	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2006, p.83.
Warwickshire	Minks Kirby	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2004-05, p.53, no.85. PAS ref. LEIC-F79EA1.
Yorkshire	Kilham	Anglo-Saxon	Found by metal detecting.	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2001/2-2002/3, p. 26.
Oxfordshire	Watlington area	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Unknown	PAS ref. BERK-6E8DEA
Withersfield	Suffolk	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Unknown	PAS ref. SF-731C54.
Worcestershire	N/A	Anglo-Saxon	Unknown	Unknown	PAS ref. WAW-DB4534
North Yorkshire	Catterick	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Unknown	PAS ref. NCL-2809C7
Oxfordshire	Cherwell district	Bronze Age	Metal detecting	Unknown. Dagger found within 100m of two (now destroyed) burial mounds suggests that the dagger deposition is related to the	PAS Annual Report 2014, p. 20.

				surrounding burial complex.	
East Yorkshire	Bewholme	Early Bronze Age	Metal detecting	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2016, p.16.
Hampshire	Deane	Late Iron Age/Roman	Metal detecting	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2017, 18.
Cambridgeshire	Snailwell	Roman	Field walking; early second century Samian cremation bowl	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2006, p.52.
Cumbria	Beckfoot	Roman	Casual finds	Unknown	PAS Annual Report 2006, p.47. PAS refs. LANCUM-BA9242, LANCUM- BAD3B8, LANCUM-BB0018, and LANCUM-BAEE35.
Oxfordshire	Chalgrove	Roman	Metal detecting	No further work	PAS ref. OXON-E714D3

Appendix 4. Unstratified probable mortuary-derived antiquities (non-treasure), as gleaned from a trawl of PAS Annual Reports.

County	Parish	Period	Circumstances	References
Dorset	Charminster	Anglo-Saxon	Chance find while digging a path. Professional excavation udnertaken.	TAR 2016, p.65. Treasure ref. 2015 T195. PAS ref. DOR-1B7E81.
Isle of Wight	West Wight	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Treasure: 2008 T321; PAS: IOW-44CEA3.
Isle of Wight	West Wight	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	TAR 2004: no. 88 (2004 T187)
Isle of Wight	West Wight	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	TAR 2006: no. 221 (2006 T62)
Isle of Wight	West Wight	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	TAR 2007: no. 158 (2007 T203)
Kent	North Downs	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	TAR 2003, no. 95, 72-73, fig. 94.3-5.
Kent	Lyminge	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Treasure: 2008 T100; PAS: KENT-344345. PAS/TAR 2008, no. 171, p. 109.
Kent	North Downs	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Treasure Annual Report 2003, no. 94, 72-73, fig. 94.3-5.
Kent	Thurnham	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting. FLO arranged professional excavation; excavation confirmed mortuary contexts present.	PAS Annual Report 2004- 05, p.56, no.91. PAS ref. KENT-965884 and KENT- 963135. TAR 2003, no.94.

Kent	Elham	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	TAR 2016, p.29. Treasure ref. 2016 T0607. PAS ref. KENT-0AF0AE.
Kent	Stowting	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	TAR 2016, p.29. Treasure ref. 2016 T0448. PAS ref. KENT-71F749.
Lincolnshire	Low Santon	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Treasure: 2008 T397; PAS: SWYOR-72ABC5. PAS/TAR 2008, p.114, no.183.
Lincolnshire	Maltby le Marsh	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting. Professional excavation	Treasure reference number 2016 T838. PAS ref. LIN- 9FF479
Norfolk	Snetterton	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Treasure: 2008 T14 & T479; PAS: NMS-750C07. PAS/TAR Annual Report 2008, no. 166, p. 107.
Northamptonshire	Overstone	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	PAS ref. NARC-1774C5; Treasure ref. 2019 T684
Oxfordshire	Bicester	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	TAR 2016, p.31. Treasure ref. 2016 T0428. PAS ref. BERK-EABAD8.
Suffolk	North Ipswich	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Treasure Annual Report 2003, p.58. Treasure ref. 2003 T375. PAS ref. SF- 0C2447

Yorkshire	Skirpenbeck	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	Treasure ref. 2019 T784. PAS ref. YORYM-7AB971
Yorkshire	Acomb	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	PAS ref. YORYM-48DACA; Treasure ref. 2016 T392
Kent	Near Maidstone	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting; subsequent professional excavation	PAS ref. KENT-21ED60. Treasure ref. 2014 T90
North Yorkshire	Middleham	Anglo-Saxon	Metal detecting	PAS ref. BM-7C4457; Treasure ref. 2011 T300
Kent	Alkham	Anglo-Saxon	Chance find.	PAS ref. KENT-5A8891. Treasure ref. 2012 T351
Bedfordshire	Marston Moretaine	Bronze Age	Metal detecting	Treasure ref.2019 T495. PAS ref. BH-956274.
Berkshire	Whitchurch	Bronze Age	Metal detecting	Treasure Annual Report 2015, p.16. Treasure ref. BERK-F548E6.
Gloucestershire	Cotswolds	Bronze Age	Metal detecting	Treasure ref.2019 T537. PAS ref. GLO-92912E.
Isle of Wight	Calbourne	Bronze Age	Metal detecting	Treasure ref.2005 T113. PAS ref. IOW-B16625.
Oxfordshire	Cholsey area	Bronze Age	Metal detecting	Treasure ref.2012 T774. PAS ref. BERK-0D1A05.

				PAS Annual Report 2012, p.18.
Oxfordshire	Harpsden	Bronze Age	Metal detecting	Treasure ref.2015 T460. PAS ref. BERK-BBC489.
Shropshire	Much Wenlock	Bronze Age	Metal detecting	Treasure reference 2017 T42. PAS ref. LVPL- 25FCB6
Staffordshire	Hamstall Redware	Bronze Age	Metal detecting	Treasure ref. 2018 T904. PAS ref. LEIC-ABB990.
Wiltshire	Urchfont	Bronze Age	Metal detecting	Treasure ref. 2014 T527. PAS ref. DENO-8DE07C.
Bedfordshire	Kensworth	Late Iron Age	Metal detecting	PAS ref. BH-72C17B; Treasure ref. 2020 T30
Kent	'North East Kent'	Late Iron Age	Metal detecting. Professional excavation	PAS ref. KENT-33C787; Treasure ref. 2020 T239
Bedfordshire	Shillington	Late Iron Age	Metal detecting	PAS ref. PAS-38F120. Treasure ref. 2000 T79.

Appendix 5. Unstratified potential mortuary-derived antiquities reported under the Treasure Act 1996, as gleaned from a trawl of Treasure Annual Reports and the PAS database.

Object name	Classifica tion	Materi al	Description	Sale language classificati on	Perio d	Sub- perio d	Date from	Date to	County	Parish	Date foun d	Auctio n	Sale price (£)
Amulet	Wolf tooth	Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Yorkshire	Rudst on	N/A	Auctio n	
Assembl age		Copp er alloy	Two Roman ladies bronze cloak brooches and blue glass bead necklace found Lincolnshire excavations in the early 1970s.	Absent	Roma n	Earl y	100	150	Lincolnshir e	N/A	1970 s	Buy it now	140
Assembl age		Copp er alloy	Four hooked tags and one sleeve clasp	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	North Yorkshire		N/A	Buy it now	SOLD
Assembl age		Copp er alloy	18 brooches	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	North Yorkshire		N/A	Buy it now	SOLD
Assembl age	Disc brooch, pin, necklace, bracelet	Copp er alloy		Explicit	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Buy it now	2950

Assembl age	Disc brooches, pins, tweezers, silver brooch, hooked tag, strap end, beads	Copp er alloy; silver; glass		Explicit	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Buy it now	10500
Assembl age	Metalwor k	Copp er alloy		Absent	Roma n	Earl y	43	200	N/A	N/A	N/A	Buy it now	270
Beads		Glass		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Suffolk	Rendl esha m		Buy it now	75
Box		Copp er alloy	Bronze fittings from a large Roman military wooden casket, found Lincolnshire excavations in the 1970s.	Absent	Roma n	Earl y	43	199	Lincolnshir e	N/A	1970 s	Buy it now	595
Bracelet		Copp er alloy	A very good quality Roman ladies cloak brooch and accompanying bracelet found in excavations	Absent	Roma n	Late	300	410	Lincolnshir e	N/A	1973	Buy it now	140

			in Lincolnshire in 1973										
Bracelet		Copp er alloy	Probably from the grave of a small child and found in Dorset'	Explicit	Roma n	Earl y	43	199	Dorset	N/A	N/A	Buy it now	80
Bracelet	and beads	Silver, ambe r		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Auctio n	200
Bracelet		Copp er alloy		Implied	Roma n		43	410	Yorkshire	York	N/A	Buy it now	48
Brooch	Saucer	Copp er alloy	Two Anglo- Saxon bronze saucer brooches found topgether	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	East Anglia	N/A	1969	Buy it now	795
Brooch	Crossbow	Copp er alloy	From Lincolnshire excavations in 1974	Absent	Roma n	Late	300	410	Lincolnshir e	N/A	1974	Buy it now	120
Brooch	Cruciform	Copp er alloy	Complete brooch with iron concretion around pin lug	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	East Anglia	N/A	1969	Buy it now	295

Brooch	Crossbow	Copp er alloy	A very good quality Roman ladies cloak brooch and accompanying bracelet	Absent	Roma n	Late	300	410	Lincolnshir e	N/A	1973	Buy it now	140
Brooch	Umbonat e	Copp er alloy	Brooch and chain with pendant found Lincolnshire excavations 1975	Absent	Roma n	Earl y	43	199	Lincolnshir e	N/A	1975	Buy it now	275
Brooch	Small Long	Copp er alloy	Found in North Yorkshire many years back	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	North Yorkshire	N/A	N/A	Buy it now	35
Brooch	Cruciform	Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Yorkshire		N/A	Buy it now	SOLD
Brooch	Cruciform	Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Yorkshire		N/A	Buy it now	SOLD
Brooch	Annular	Copp er alloy	Iron corrosion present	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	North Yorkshire		N/A	Buy it now	SOLD
Brooch	Small Long	Copp er alloy	Iron corrosion present; concreation	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	North Yorkshire		N/A	Buy it now	SOLD
Brooch	Annular	Copp er alloy	Annular brooch with iron corrosion	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	North Yorkshire		N/A	Buy it now	SOLD

Brooch	Small Long	Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	North Yorkshire		N/A	Buy it now	SOLD
Brooch	Cruciform	Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	North Yorkshire		N/A	Buy it now	SOLD
Brooch	Cruciform	Copp er alloy	Three Anglo- Saxon brooches found near Northampton	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Nortampto n		N/A	Buy it now	SOLD
Brooch	Small Long	Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Nortampto n		N/A	Buy it now	SOLD
Brooch	Radiate headed	Copp er alloy		Implied	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Buy it now	7500
Brooch	Cruciform	Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Buy it now	8500
Brooch	Small Long	Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Buy it now	85
Brooch	Small Long	Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Buy it now	120
Brooch	Small Long	Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Buy it now	95

Brooch	Florid Cruciform	Copp er alloy	Implied	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Auctio n	28
Brooch	Button	Copp er alloy	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Auctio n	60
Brooch	Cruciform	Copp er alloy	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Auctio n	40
Brooch	Great Square Headed	Copp er alloy	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Buy it now	275
Brooch	Saucer	Copp er alloy	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	buy it now	275
Brooch	Square headed	Copp er alloy	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Buy it now	275
Brooch	Radiate headed	Copp er alloy	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Auctio n	
Brooch	Saucer	Copp er alloy	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Auctio n	250
Brooch	Great Square Headed	Copp er alloy	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Sussex	Oving ton	2001	Auctio n	3000

Brooch	Radiate headed	Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Leicesters hire	Melto n Mowb ray	N/A	Auctio n	1500
Brooch	Cruciform	Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Suffolk	N/A	pre 2013	Auctio n	400
Brooch	Cruciform	Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Cambridg eshire	N/A	pre 2013	Auctio n	300
Brooch	Plate	Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Buy it now	150
Brooch	Cruciform	Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Yorkshire	N/A	N/A	Buy it now	110
Brooch	Square headed	Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Buy it now	165
Brooch	Square headed	Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Leicesters hire	Wigst on Magn a	1795	Buy it now	8000
Buckle		Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Auctio n	20
Girdle Hanger		Copp er alloy	Complete, found Norfolk	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Norfolk	N/A	1970 s	Buy it now	275

			excavations in the 1970s										
Girdle Hanger		Copp er alloy	originally excavated in two'	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	North Yorkshire		N/A	Buy it now	SOLD
Mirror		Copp er alloy	Small bronze hand mirror	Absent	Roma n	Earl y	43	199	Lincolnshir e	N/A	1970 s	Buy it now	140
Mount	shield	Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	East Yorkshire	Driffiel d	pre 2008	Auctio n	120
Necklace	Amber and coin	Ambe r; Copp er alloy	Amber bead necklace with Roman coins found as 'part of a small group excavated in Norfolk in the 1970s	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Norfolk	N/A	1970 s	Buy it now	80
Necklace		Ambe r; Copp er alloy	Roman' necklace found in excavations in Norfolk in the 1970s	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Norfolk	N/A	1970 s	Buy it now	70
Necklace		Glass		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Buy it now	50

Necklace		Glass		Absent	Roma n		43	410	N/A	N/A	N/A	Buy it now	165
Pottery		Cera mic	from cinerary urns'	Explicit	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Suffolk	Lackf ord	N/A	Buy it now	SOLD
Pottery		Cera mic	from cinerary urns'	Explicit	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Suffolk	Lackf ord	N/A	Buy it now	SOLD
Pottery		Cera mic	from cinerary urns'	Explicit	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Suffolk	Lackf ord	N/A	Buy it now	25
Pottery		Cera mic	Assorted pottery sherds	Explicit	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Suffolk	Lackf ord	N/A	Buy it now	SOLD
Pottery		Cera mic	Assorted pottery sherds	Explicit	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Suffolk	Lackf ord	N/A	Buy it now	SOLD
Pottery		Cera mic		Absent	Roma n		43	410	Cumbria	Carlisl e	1863	Buy it now	SOLD
Pottery	Accessor y cup	Cera mic		Implied	Bronz e Age		2100 BC	1500 BC	Hampshir e	Ower	1910	Buy it now	Not know n
Sleeve Clasp		Copp er alloy		Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Auctio n	50
Spear		Iron		Explicit	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	1977	Buy it now	575

Spear		Iron	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	Norfolk	N/A	1972	Buy it now	240
Sword	pommel	Copp er alloy and silver	Absent	Anglo - Saxon	Earl y	450	550	N/A	N/A	N/A	Auctio n	4000

Appendix 6. Catalogue of potential mortuary-derived antiquities resulting from the three-month monitoring exercise.