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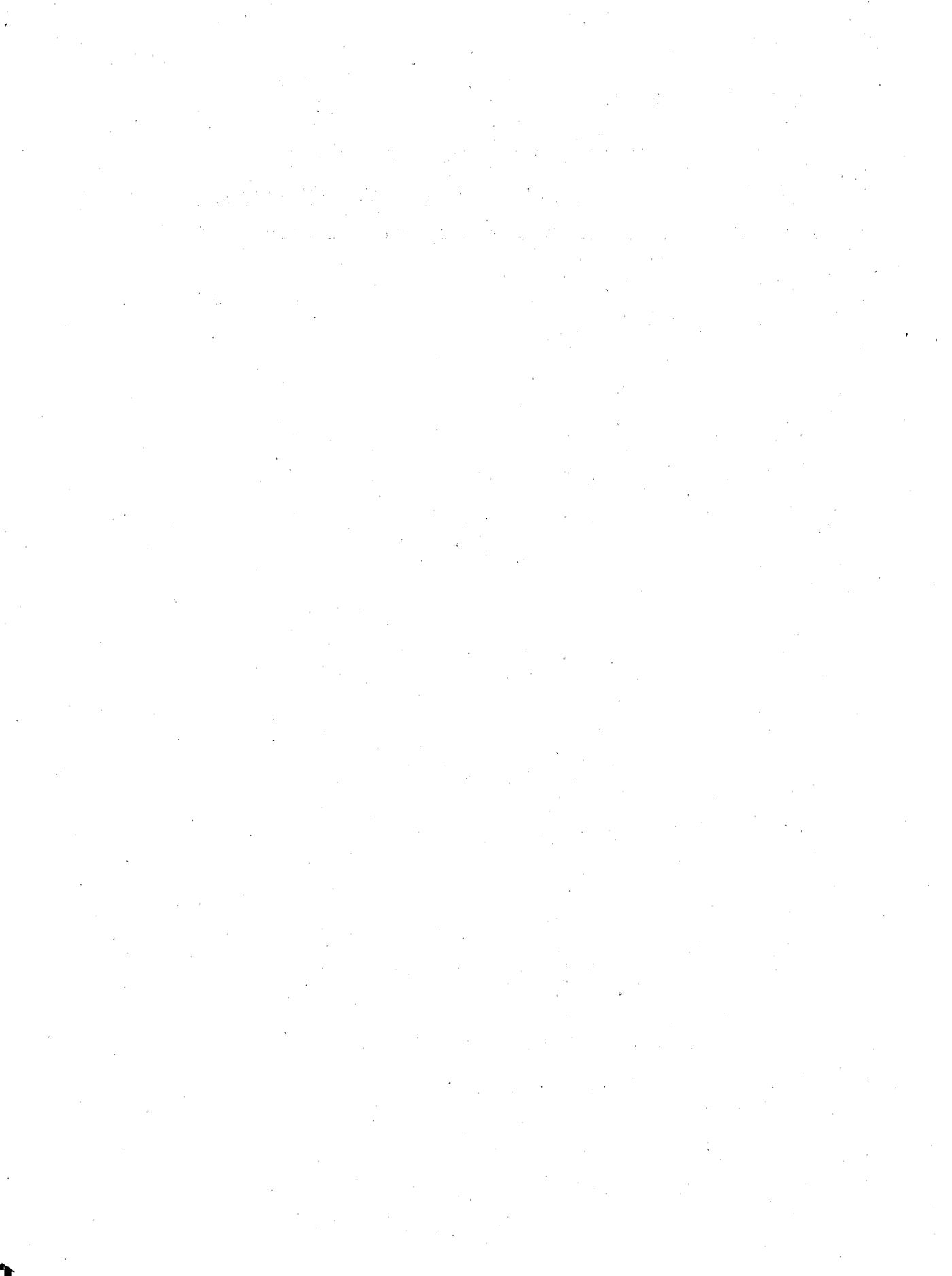
VOLUME LXIII

JANUARY 1971 TO DECEMBER 1971

IMRAY LAURIE NORIE AND WILSON

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# GRAVES WITH SWORDS AT LITTLE WILBRAHAM AND LINTON HEATH

DAVID H. KENNETT

## SUMMARY

THE republication of graves with swords from Little Wilbraham and Linton Heath affords an opportunity to discuss scabbard fittings from Anglo-Saxon graves. A type with ridged design and raised dots as ornament, 'the Linton Heath type' is defined. Drinking horns from England are reviewed. The triangular-eared cauldron is late Roman in origin and it is suggested that local development in more than one centre is probable for Anglo-Saxon examples. A revised map of cauldrons from England, showing horns, is included.

## INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

*Saxon Obsequies Illustrated*, the report by Richard Cornwallis Neville, later the fourth Lord Braybrooke, on the excavations he conducted at the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, in November 1851, is a volume well known to students of Anglo-Saxon archaeology. The republication of those excavations, in modern fashion, is a task to daunt even the bravest spirits, and one that would not be lightly undertaken. Perhaps, in view of the excellence of Neville's account and the still extant grave groups in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, the task is not as urgent as the republication of cemeteries whose original treatment in the nineteenth century was less fortunate.

There is, however, I believe, some purpose to be served by the selective republication of a part of the Little Wilbraham cemetery. This paper seeks to republish one important group of graves from Little Wilbraham, namely those graves with swords, of which there are four.

Neville also excavated another cemetery, at Linton Heath, and this cemetery is much less well known. It is not as lavishly published as Little Wilbraham, for in his report on the Linton Heath cemetery Neville was content to cite illustrations of objects from Little Wilbraham comparable to those from Linton Heath. For illustrations of material from Linton Heath it is necessary to search the corpora of the late E. T. Leeds, and even so there are many objects, including some of the brooches, from Linton Heath which have never been illustrated. It is therefore

<sup>1</sup> For items cited by author and year of publication see bibliography, p. 26.

proper to include also in this study the two graves from Linton Heath which have swords, especially as one of these is directly comparable to the swords at Little Wilbraham.

For both cemeteries also an attempt has been made to identify the male graves. This has been done purely on the grave goods, and the results of this appear in Appendix 1.

#### DESCRIPTION OF MATERIAL

##### *Little Wilbraham grave 42*

Found 3 September 1851; Neville (1852), p. 16. Man with head to south. By the head, the upper part of a horn mount (48.1379; fig. 3*d*) of bronze with row of small rivets on lower edge; rim binding to secure top of horn is held by three clips; over join of metal a fixture, originally with a ring, to hold a strap. Second mount, now reconstructed on middle of horn. No finial. Diameter of mount, 7.4 cm, height of mount 6.0 cm. Horn reconstructed to length of 41.0 cm.

Also by head, a thin bronze cauldron (48.1380; fig. 3*b*) now disintegrated, and represented by upper part with fragment of ear, diameter 25.5 cm.

By right thigh, a sword (48.1381; fig. 1*a*), iron, pattern-welded, length 89.5 cm, with wood of scabbard on one side. The sword has a gilt bronze mount (fig. 2*a*), of angular ridged design, width 2.0 cm.

Also in the grave, a shield boss and spear not identified.

##### *Little Wilbraham grave 44*

Found 4 September 1851; Neville (1852), p. 16. Man with head to south, in grave 4½ ft deep; adhering to finger bones, the handle of a sword (48.1382; Fig. 1*b*) of which only the blade now remains, length extant 76.0 cm. The sword has a bronze guard and the remains of a bronze mount (Fig. 2*c*). A sword bead of translucent green glass with white zig-zag trails (48.1384). Also a shield boss and spear not identified.

With this burial was the complete skeleton of a horse, from which an iron bit (48.1383; fig. 3*c*) with silvered studs and fittings survives. The two-link bit has bar cheek-pieces.

##### *Little Wilbraham, grave 96*

Found 26 September 1851; Neville (1852), p. 19. Man with head to north-west, in grave 4½ ft deep. A sword (48.1420; Fig. 1*c*) length extant 82.5 cm., originally with a pommel and side-pieces, now lost, but extant of the fittings are a mount (Fig. 3*d*) of ridged design with slight traces of dots as part of the design, and a chape (Fig. 3*d*), short type, bronze gilt with lined decoration on upper part and worn off lower edge.

A sword bead (48.1421) of black opaque glass, with white design. Also three other beads, a shield boss, spear, and knife, not identified.

##### *Little Wilbraham, grave 151*

Found 14 October 1851; Neville (1852), p. 22. Man with head to south-west, in grave 2 ft deep. Sword (48.1445; Fig. 1*d*), pattern-welded, length 92.5 cm. A sword bead (48.1446), of black glass inlaid white and red. Also a shield boss, spear, and bronze buckle not identified.

##### *Linton Heath, grave 14*

Found 8 January 1853; Neville (1854), pp. 98-9. Man in grave 4 ft 10 in. deep. By the left thigh, a sword (48.1529; Fig. 1*e*), pattern-welded, length 84 cm., with fragments of wooden scabbard

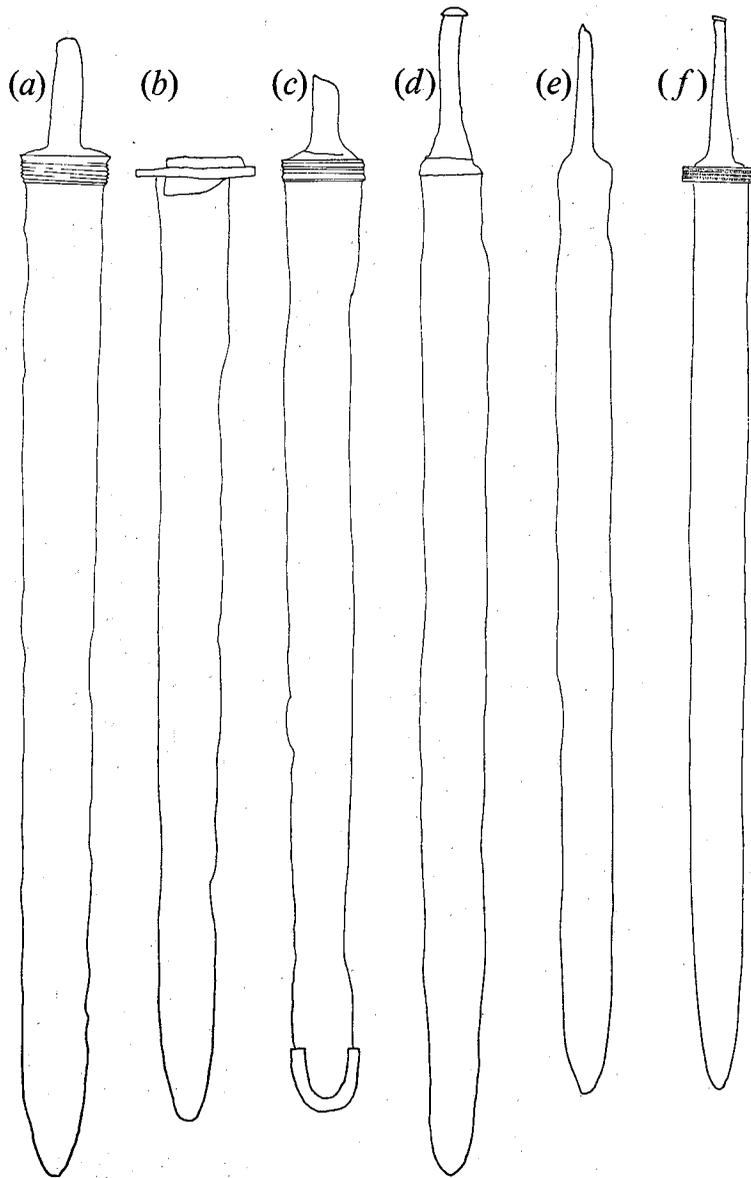


Fig. 1. Swords from Little Wilbraham and Linton Heath. Little Wilbraham: *a*, grave 42; *b*, grave 44; *c*, grave 96; *d*, grave 151. Linton Heath: *e*, grave 14; *f*, grave 64.

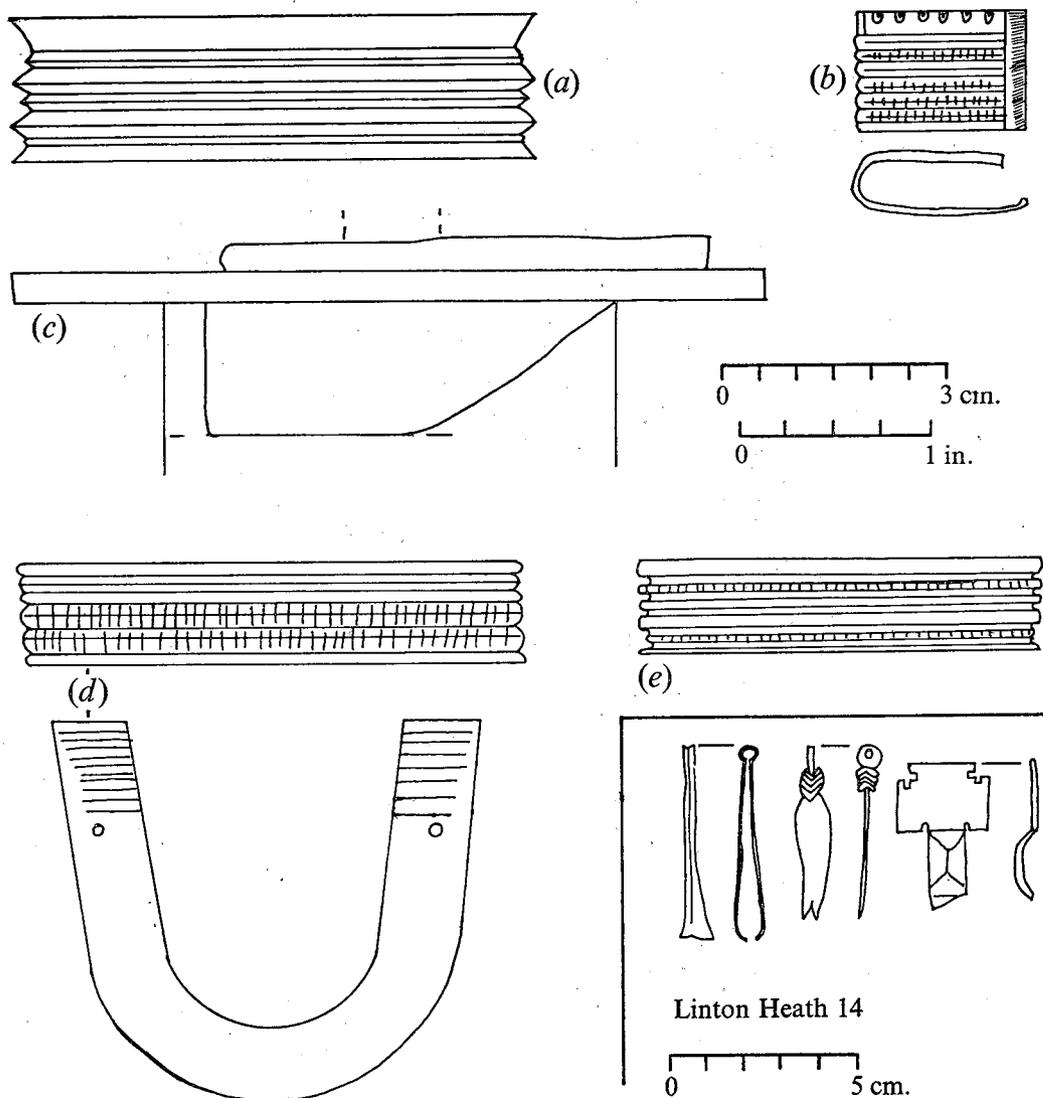


Fig. 2. Scabbard fittings. Little Wilbraham: *a*, grave 42; *b*, 1928 excavations; *c*, grave 44; *d*, grave 96. Linton Heath, *e*, grave 64; *inset*: miscellaneous items, Linton Heath, grave 14. Scale: *a-e* (1/1); *inset* (1/2).

on blade. Near the head, a small-long brooch of cross-potent type (48.1530; fig. 2; *inset*), tweezers and a nail picker (48.1531; Fig. 2, *inset*).

Also a spear by the head, and a shield boss on the left side.

#### *Linton Heath, grave 64*

Found 2 February 1853; Neville (1854), 107-8. Man with head to south-west, in grave 3 ft 6 in. deep. By left side, a sword (48.1587; Fig. 1*f*), pattern-welded, length 85.2 cm. On slight traces of scabbard a gilt bronze mount (Fig. 2*e*), ridged design with raised dots, width 1.25 cm. Also a shield boss, spear, ferrule and knife, not yet identified.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Neville recorded the lengths of spearheads from Linton Heath, thus making identifications possible.

## DISCUSSION

This selective republication of the graves with swords at Little Wilbraham and Linton Heath has been deliberately planned to discuss certain features of these graves. These are scabbard fittings; drinking horns; and bronze cauldrons. Only brief discussion of other features is given.

*Swords*

The two swords from Linton Heath and two of the swords from Little Wilbraham, those from graves 42 and 151, show pattern welding.

*Sword beads*

Three of the Little Wilbraham swords, those from graves 44, 96, 151, have sword beads and were included by Miss Evison in her list of sword beads from England.<sup>1</sup> Apart from one from North Luffenham, Rutland, these are the only examples from north of the Thames valley. I have no addition to Miss Evison's list of English graves with sword beads.

*Scabbard fittings*

Of the six swords in this survey, three have a scabbard mouth extant, one of which also has a chape; and one other has traces of the scabbard mouth, on a sword which retains its guard. The series is extensive, which is rare in England, where scabbard fittings and chapes are rarely preserved.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest group of scabbard fittings found in Anglo-Saxon graves are those which are part of the late Roman/early Frankish continental series well-known from Samson and Epruvé in Belgium and grave 43 at Krefeld-Gellep in the Rhineland.<sup>3</sup> In England the sword from Abingdon B42 has both a mount and a chape of this type; a similar mount adorns the ring sword in Petersfinger 21 and there is a chape or related form on the sword from grave B48 at Abingdon.

Another closely defined group of scabbard mouths are those which are a plain bronze band. These are known from Bighthampton 44, Fairford 30, Petersfinger 7 and on a knife from Kempston grave 27. The sword from Little Wilbraham 44 would seem to be of this type, for the extant fragment has no trace of gilding.

Another group are those with a perforated lug. These include three ring swords: Gilton, Petersfinger 21, and the elaborate mount from Chessel Down. Also with a lug are the swords of Dover 96*b* and Selmeston 51. Like another sword from Sussex, Alfriston 89, Selmeston 51 is decorated with garnets on the mount, a very rare feature in England.

There is a group of swords whose scabbard mounts are gilt, and which have a gently

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia* CI (1967), 83, nos. 12-14, pl. 8*b-d*.

<sup>2</sup> For a provisional list of scabbard mounts from England see appendix 2, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> J. Warner. 'Zu frankischen Schwertern des 5. Jahrhunderts', *Germania* xxxi (1953), 38-44; *idem* in *Germania* xxxiv (1956), 156-8; A. Dasnoy, 'Les Épées du Vme siècle de la région Namuroise', *Ann. Soc. Arch. Namur* LIII (1967), 17-34.

ridged design. These include one of the swords from Faversham,<sup>1</sup> as well as those of Petersfinger 20, Mitcham 192 and Mitcham 211. These have no raised dots as ornamentation. A variant of this form would appear to be the sharply ridged mount of Little Wilbraham 42.

A variant of this has raised dots as ornament. The mouthpiece of Little Wilbraham 96 is a worn example of this form. Much less worn is the mount of Linton Heath 64, which can be used to give the group a name.<sup>2</sup> The Linton Heath type of scabbard mount has a gently ridged profile and is ornamented with raised dots, which are often worn. Several other examples of the form are known. There is one from Kempston grave 75 (2 February 1864). Apart from a fragmentary shield boss and two spearheads, not identified, this grave also contained a crushed bucket. This has circular plates as escutcheons and these are ornamented with very degenerate Style I ornament, for which a date in the late sixth century has been suggested. This does not, of course, mean that the sword necessarily dates to the same half century. The sword of Kempston 75 has a pommel, now detached, of a fairly simple cocked-hat shape. There would appear to have been a roughly similar pommel on the sword of Little Wilbraham 96, but this is not extant. Two other swords of the same type are known to me. The first of these is from Long Wittenham 67. The second is from a grave found at Battle Edge, near Burford, Oxfordshire, before 1848.

The Burford sword has a long U-shaped chape, plain, and apparently without ornamentation. There is a chape of similar length but with lines as ornament from Bredon's Norton, Worcestershire. These are slightly longer than the chape of Little Wilbraham 96, which has a short U-shaped chape, as does Fairford 30.

The Burford chape was once compared with the chape of the sword from Brighthampton 31, but though they are of similar length, the Brighthampton chape is ornamented with animals in a naturalistic style, which do not appear on the Burford chape. The mount of the Brighthampton sword is decorated in chip-carving with a coil-spiral design. One other group of chapes are those which are a broad socket. There is one in silver from Faversham,<sup>3</sup> and one of bronze has recently been published from Alton 42.

It is from Brighthampton that the most elaborate knife fitting known from an English grave has come. This is from grave 22 at Brighthampton, a silver knife case, ornamented with silver punch marks. The bronze mount from Kempston 27 has already been mentioned. One other is known to me. This is a find from between graves 6 and 7 of the 1928 excavations at Little Wilbraham, which has ornament like the swords of the Linton Heath type, as can be seen from Fig. 2*b*.

Dating evidence for the scabbard fittings of the Linton Heath type is poor. Kempston 75 from its bucket would seem to be a grave of the late sixth century, but the sword may be an heirloom. This sword and that of Little Wilbraham 96

<sup>1</sup> B.M. reg. 954, '70; *Archaeologia* CI (1967), 88, fig. 9*a-b*.

<sup>2</sup> In Kennett (1968) I described the group as 'Little Wilbraham type'; this is ambiguous and the terminology used here is to be preferred, and will be used when Kennett (1968) is published.

<sup>3</sup> B.M. reg. 951, '70; *Archaeologia* CI (1967), 85, fig. 3*j*.

have cocked-hat pommels, which might indicate an earlier dating. The wisest course would appear to be to regard scabbard mounts of the Linton Heath type as sixth century, but not to be too definite as to whether they are early or late in the century. Dating swords is a particularly difficult process, for the sword was frequently handed from father to son, and was often old and useless when buried.

### *Drinking horn*

Grave 42 at Little Wilbraham contained two vessels. One of these is a drinking horn, now represented by its upper mount and a small centre band. The plain mount is unusual in English finds, but has a parallel in an ill-recorded and now lost example from Cransley, Northants,<sup>1</sup> from a small group of burials, whose main body of finds (the distinctive ones are a workbox and a skillet), seem to belong to the Christian Saxon phase of the seventh century. Rich graves of this late phase have produced the main body of ornamented horns from England. The Taplow barrow, in south Buckinghamshire, contained at least four,<sup>2</sup> the most elaborate of which has a rim mounting decorated with Style I ornament and embellished with vandykes. All of the Taplow horns have beaked-head finials, sometimes with additional ornament on the stem of the finial. The pair of great horns in the Sutton Hoo ship burial have the same form of embellished finials ending in a beaked head, and are decorated at the rim by a mounting and vandykes. The set of five smaller horns from Sutton Hoo have a decorated rim with a vandykes but lack the elaborate finial.<sup>3</sup> From the Broomfield, Essex, burial<sup>4</sup> there are two unornamented horn tips. These were found with a Coptic bronze bowl; a sword with a pyramidal jewel; two small blue glass bowls with lattice decoration; two lathe-turned wooden cups, bound with bronze rims; two wooden buckets with iron mounts; and a large iron cauldron. The finial of a drinking horn from a cist cremation at Loveden Hill, Lincolnshire was found with a scramasax, two bone combs and ironwork.<sup>5</sup> This finial is again a beaked head, and closely resembles those from the Taplow barrow, but in its present form the Loveden Hill finial lacks the additional embellishments of some of the Taplow examples and the great horns from Sutton Hoo.<sup>6</sup>

The main body of English finds of drinking horns belong clearly to the Christian Saxon phase of the seventh century, but another has been suggested as rather earlier. This is the mount from a grave at Strood, Kent,<sup>7</sup> which is ornamented with Christian scenes, and which has been suggested as dating to the fourth or fifth century. Also in this grave were a sword, a knife, a low conical shield boss, a buckle with shield on

<sup>1</sup> *P.S.A.* ix (1881), 93-5.

<sup>2</sup> For information on the Taplow horns I am indebted to Mrs L. E. Webster of the British Museum; for illustrations see N. Åberg. *The Anglo-Saxons in England* (1926), figs. 1, 4-9; E. T. Leeds. *Early Anglo-Saxons in England* (1926), figs. 1, 4-9; E. T. Leeds. *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (1936), pl. 21.

<sup>3</sup> R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford. *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial: a handbook* (1968), pp. 29-31, pl. 18, figs. 10-11.

<sup>4</sup> *P.S.A.* xv (1894), 250-5.

<sup>5</sup> Lincoln Museum; information from unpublished Ph.D. thesis of K. R. Fennell (Univ. Nottingham; Grantham Public Library).

<sup>6</sup> It is possible that other less completely excavated rich burials of the seventh century, e.g. Wheat-hampstead and Cuddesdon, contained horns.

<sup>7</sup> Evison (1965), p. 107 and fig. 14; the horn mount is in Liverpool Museum (M 56399).

tongue and a shoe-shaped rivet. The last three might perhaps indicate a later dating than that given for the horn mount as these objects find their closest parallels in graves of the sixth century,<sup>1</sup> though just a few are earlier.<sup>2</sup> It is possible, however, to view the Strood horn as a survival in an odd sixth-century grave, which happened to be on the same site as a Roman cemetery, but with which it has no connection. There is, after all, no connection, except of geographical propinquity, between the early Romano-British cemetery (or cemeteries), at Kempston and the well-known Anglo-Saxon cemetery, whose earliest graves are early fifth century.

It has been suggested to me<sup>3</sup> that the ring and handle of bronze belonging to 'some wooden instrument, a few fibres of which were seen in the cavity' from grave 32a at Kempston (one of the graves of 20 October 1863),<sup>4</sup> might have been a horn mount, but there is nothing in the Kempston finds which resembles a horn mount. It is possible that this is the record of either a needlecase, of which there are two from Kempston,<sup>5</sup> or the handle of a wooden weaving batten, similar in function to the iron ones of Luton and Holywell Row 11.<sup>6</sup> Such an object would not have been inappropriate for the owner of the Kempston cone beaker.<sup>7</sup>

Like the English finds, drinking horns on the continent are from very rich graves. Remarkably close to the Little Wilbraham one is a plain rim band from a horn found in grave 411 of the Hailfingen cemetery.<sup>8</sup> The grave is one of a number on the continent with a sword and bead, and also contained an axe, a purse mount, glass vessel, buckles and a shield boss. Two of the richest graves to be found in recent years are those from under the floor of Kölner Dom.<sup>9</sup> Both the grave of the Merovingian princess found in 1959<sup>10</sup> and the six-year-old prince's grave found in 1960 included a drinking horn in their very rich assemblages. Both of these are elaborate horns. The young prince's horn<sup>11</sup> had straps to hold it up when not in use which fasten with buckles under the device at the top. These straps are fastened to rings on the horn. The lower mount is elaborate but only slight traces of the upper remain. Another embellishment of this horn is the guard behind the place where the hand would be held when the horn was in use.

On the continent also glass horns are found in some quantity. Often these too are from very rich graves. Among those published since Miss Evison's 1955 survey are two from graves rich in glass and pot.<sup>12</sup> These are Krefeld-Gellep 1213<sup>13</sup> and Trier

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Finglesham D 3, Stodmarsh.

<sup>2</sup> K. Böhner, *Die Fränkischen Altertümer des Trierer Landes* (1958), pp. 181-2.

<sup>3</sup> By Mr L. Alcock.

<sup>4</sup> *A.A.S.R.* VII (1864), 286-7; *Coll. Ant.* VI (1868), 203-4; also *Coll. Ant.* VI (1868), 171 for separate account.

<sup>5</sup> B.M. 1891, 6-24, 162, and Bedford Museum 3847; Kennett (1968).

<sup>6</sup> *Ant. J.* VIII (1928), 182; Lethbridge (1931), pp. 4-9, fig. 3.2.

<sup>7</sup> But not the gold and garnet pendant (B.M. 1891, 6-24, 4), which is interpreted as from grave 32b above grave 32a, and not from the same grave. Original record not contemporary.

<sup>8</sup> H. Stoll, *Die Alamannengraber von Hailfingen* (1939), p. 66, taf. 9.

<sup>9</sup> English summary Werner in *Antiquity* xxxviii (1964), 202-8.

<sup>10</sup> *Germania* xxxviii (1960), 105, no. 38a-c; *Kölner Domblatt* xvi-xvii (1959), 72.

<sup>11</sup> *Germania* xlii (1964), 178-80, no. 26, abb. 14.

<sup>12</sup> *Archaeologia* xcvi (1955), 171-91, pls. 63-9.

<sup>13</sup> *Germania* xxxviii (1960), 83 no. 9, taf. 10.1.

Steinrausch 9 sarcophagus 4.<sup>1</sup> A new horn has also been published from Köln,<sup>2</sup> from where several were already known when Miss Evison compiled her survey in connection with the publication of the only glass horns from England, the fine pair from Rainham, Essex, which unfortunately have no associations. Additional to Miss Evison's examples is a further horn from Bonn.<sup>3</sup>

The two glass horns from Rainham are shown on the map, Fig. 4, which shows English drinking horns known to me. Most of these are from rich seventh-century graves such as the multiple groups of horns from Sutton Hoo and Taplow. Single horns like Cransley are also known from the same date, but some like Little Wilbraham 42 might be rather earlier.

### *Cauldrons*

The triangular-eared cauldron from grave 42 at Little Wilbraham is one of three from the cemetery. Another fragmentary example was found in grave 5, associated with wrist clasps and beads, but apparently neither brooches nor weapons. This vessel also lacks its base which fell to pieces when found, but the ears are complete. The third cauldron was found on 28 October 1851 and contained a cremation. This complete vessel is figured here (Fig. 3*d*). Another bronze vessel also found on 28 October 1851 with a cremation is not now extant, except for its handle, which suggests to me that it was of a rather different shape to the cauldron, but in default of the actual vessel we cannot be certain.

These three cauldrons from Little Wilbraham were all placed by Thompson in his hybrid group.<sup>4</sup> This is because their walls are slightly concave, but in reality they are comparable to the globular type. The cauldrons from Holywell Row grave 11 and Asgarby, like those from Fairford, are similar. Since Thompson's survey was published a number of years ago, several more have come to light and in view of this a new map (Fig. 4), and a new list (Appendix 3) have been prepared.

Three types of triangular-eared bronze cauldron were distinguished by Thompson. Apart from the hybrid type, with which indeterminate fragments have also been classed, there is a carinated type with concave walls above, like one from the Sawston grave, and a globular type with convex walls such as the one from Barrington.

The earliest of these forms is the carinated type, which is found as early as third-century hoards like Filzen, on the Mösel,<sup>5</sup> and occurs in a fourth-century hoard buried for safe keeping on Halkyn Mountain, Flintshire,<sup>6</sup> associated with three 'Irchester' bowls,<sup>7</sup> a pan, and an imported bowl whose developed examples include one from Krefeld-Gellep 1782,<sup>8</sup> but the Halkyn Mountain bowl is carinated while its developed sister is rounded. Three triangular-eared cauldrons were found in the

<sup>1</sup> *Trierer Zeitschrift* XXIV-XXVI (1956-8), heft 1, 120-7, taf. 29-30.

<sup>2</sup> *Romer am Rhein* (1967), 270, D 85, far taf. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *J. Glass Studies* IV (1962), 141, fig. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Ant. J.* XXXVI (1956), 193-9.

<sup>5</sup> *Trierer Zeitschrift* II (1927), taf. 10.

<sup>6</sup> *Archaeologia* XIV (1803), 275, pl. 49.

<sup>7</sup> Defined by Kendrick, *Antiquity* VI (1932), 162, pl. 1.1.1.

<sup>8</sup> *Germania* XLII (1964), 205, no. 34, taf. 58.1.

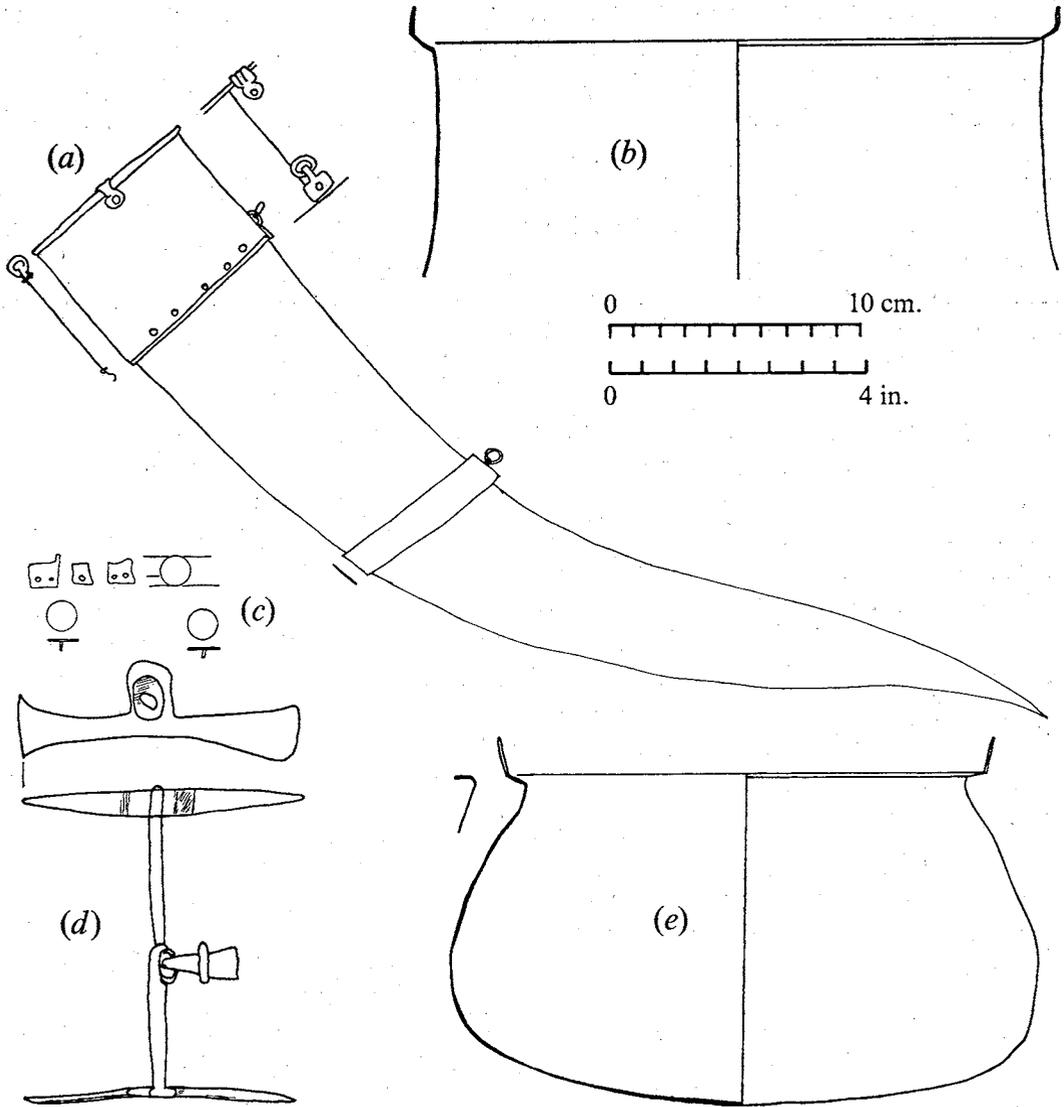


Fig. 3. Little Wilbraham: *a*, drinking horn, grave 42; *b*, cauldron, grave 42; *c*, *d*, horse bit, grave 44; *e*, cauldron, 28 October 1851; (all 1/3).

Halkyn Mountain hoard before 1760; and it is certainly suggestive when half the known examples of the type from Britain come from a late Roman context, that the others could have derived from a similar source in Britain. There was a late Roman bronze vessel industry in Britain.<sup>1</sup> Its products include the 'Irchester'-type bowls such as were found in the Halkyn Mountain and Sturmere, Essex,<sup>2</sup> hoards. The same

<sup>1</sup> This whole subject is reviewed by the author in *J. Northampton Mus.* iv (1968), 5-39, and *Jahrb. Rom.-germ. Zentralmuseums, Mainz* xvi (1969), 123-148, especially 145-6 for cauldrons.

<sup>2</sup> *V.C.H. Essex* III (1963), 185, pl. 27*a*.

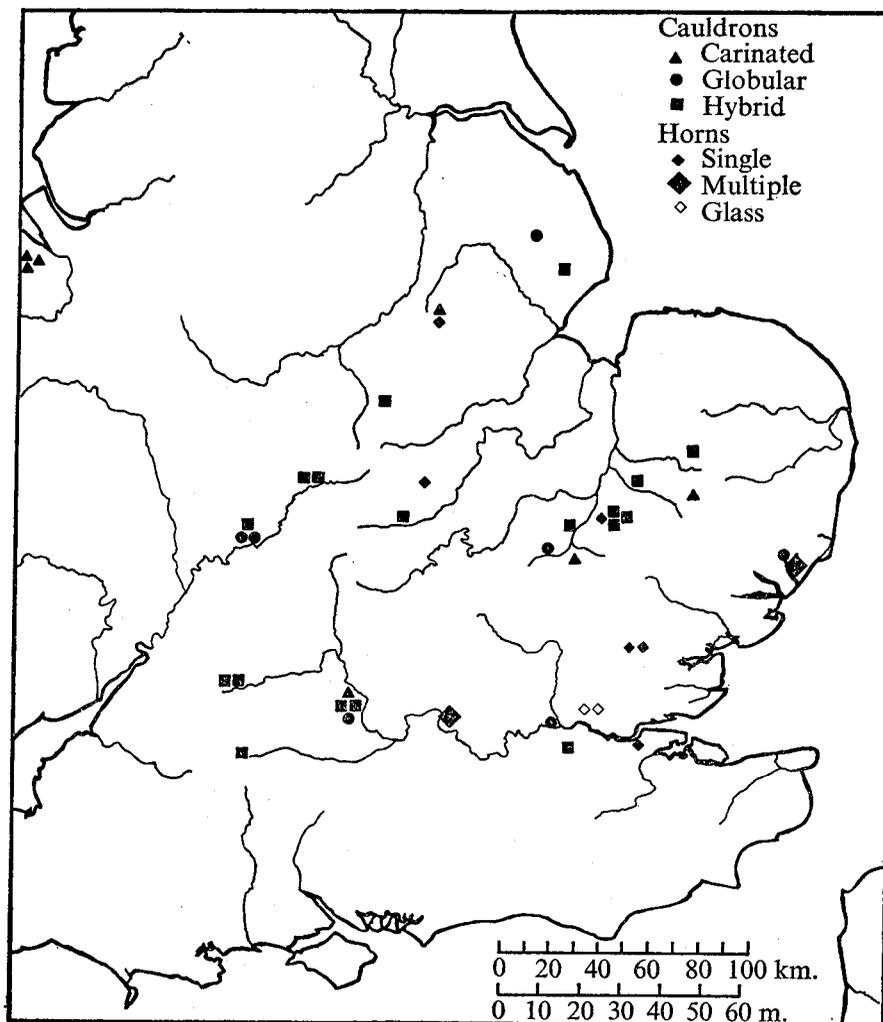


Fig. 4. Distribution of cauldrons and drinking horns in England.

type of ear is found on some of the earliest hanging bowls, and indeed the hanging bowl found in grave 103 from the Sleaford, Lincolnshire, cemetery<sup>1</sup> has the appearance of being a late Roman bowl, re-used with a new base and escutcheons later added. Other hanging bowls such as Chessel Down<sup>2</sup> and Baginton<sup>3</sup> have the same vessel form. Clearly the late Roman bronze-vessel industry in Britain exerted influence on its Anglo-Saxon successor. The triangular-eared cauldron could be another instance of the same influence. While I do not deny that there is evidence for the manufacture of these and other bronze vessels in the Namur region, I do not think that this is the only production centre for these objects. Certainly I doubt whether grave 93 at Long Wittenham represents 'a boy who must have come straight

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquity* vi (1932), pl. 1.5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pl. 2.1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ant. J.* xv (1935), 109-12, pls. 11-12.

from the vicinity of Namur'.<sup>1</sup> We know all too little about the relations between the Anglo-Saxons and the sub-Roman Britons, and it could equally be suggested that the earliest triangular cauldrons, with a carinated body, are a late Romano-British product as one imported from a continental source. This is not to deny that there are late Roman bronze-vessel imports from Belgium into Britain,<sup>2</sup> but it could be questioned whether what have been distinguished as imports are not in fact local copies at least in some cases. Certainly the difference in base manufacture between the British and continental *bassins à bord godronné* may well indicate this.

Apart from the three in the Halkyn Mountain hoard, three other triangular-eared cauldrons with a carinated body are known. One is from grave 93 at Long Wittenham, associated with the stoop cup with Christian scenes, perhaps an import, but the other two are local finds. One is from the grave found at Sawston in 1816, associated with a sword, shield boss and pearl-edged bowl. This could equally be derived from a late Roman context, for the oft-quoted Furfooz bowl<sup>3</sup> is not the only one from a late fourth- or early fifth-century grave in northern Gaul. Others are known from Vermand; Abbeville grave 85, with a coin of Honorius (t.p.q. 395);<sup>4</sup> Spontin grave H;<sup>5</sup> Spontin grave C, with a purse of eighty-four coins ending with ones of Arcadius (t.p.q. 395);<sup>6</sup> and of a different sub-type from Grosskarben, near Mainz.<sup>7</sup> The other is from an isolated grave at Ixworth Thorpe, associated with a spearhead, shield boss and a sword. The fragmentary Croydon cauldron has been reconstructed as of this type,<sup>8</sup> but it seems best to leave it in the indeterminate group, as insufficient remains to predict the reconstruction accurately. This carinated type is known on the continent, and has been found in grave 6 at Helle,<sup>9</sup> near Oldenburg, and in a rich late-fifth-century grave from Mainz-Bretzenheim,<sup>10</sup> associated with a lance, arrows, spearhead, sword, axe, mail, helmet, bronze bowl and jug.

From the carinated type there develops both in England and on the continent, as for example in the rich Krefeld-Gellep grave 1782,<sup>11</sup> a type with a bulbous body and slightly concave sides, but no carination. This is the type represented by the three cauldrons from Little Wilbraham, and in England it is the largest group. I would suspect from their numbers and wide distribution that the type could equally well have been made in England as imported. These vessels are found over a wide area, and those from Bidford-on-Avon are made to seem less isolated by examples from Alveston, near Stratford, one fused; Baginton, Warwickshire, two; and Duston, Northants, one in fragments. At Long Wittenham, there are two and one of the later globular type as well as the more well-known one from grave 93. Farther south a

<sup>1</sup> Evison (1965), p. 32, fig. 13b-c.

<sup>2</sup> This whole subject is reviewed by the author in *J. Northampton Mus.* IV (1968), 5-39, and *Jahrb. Rom.-germ. Zentralmuseums, Mainz* XVI (1969), 123-148, especially 138-45 for Gallo-Roman vessels.

<sup>3</sup> J. Nenquin. *La Nécropole de Furfooz* (1953), p. 52, fig. 12. C. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Diss. Arch. Gandenses* VIII (1962), 19, pl. 8.4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ann. Soc. Arch. Namur* LIII (1966), 188, fig. 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 180, fig. 6.15.

<sup>7</sup> *Germania* XV (1931), 259, abb. 5.

<sup>8</sup> In *Surrey A.C.* LVI (1959), 106, fig. 16.

<sup>9</sup> *Bonn. J.* CLVIII (1958), 387, abb. 11.4.

<sup>10</sup> G. Behrens. *Frühchristliche und Merowingische Mainz* (1950), pp. 25-6, abb. 43.

<sup>11</sup> *Germania* XLII (1964), 206 no. 36, taf. 59.1.

fragment including a lug was found in a barrow at West Overton, Wiltshire, but even so there are still very few of these from south of the Thames. To the north it is possible to add an example from Asgarby, Lincolnshire, associated with a sword, a shield boss, a buckle, and a fragmentary claw beaker. This glass vessel is amber, the amber of the Newport Pagnell, Bucks, and Fairford, Glos, claw beakers, and, directly comparable to the claw beaker from Howletts grave 37 also in the British Museum, with which it may be readily compared.<sup>1</sup> The claws and nicked trails of the Asgarby fragments confirm this suggestion. These glasses have been suggested as sixth century on typological grounds.<sup>2</sup> Few of the other examples of the hybrid type of triangular-eared cauldron have associations. The one from Holywell Row grave 11 was found in a rich grave<sup>3</sup> whose pendants indicate a mid-seventh-century date, though it is certain that some items like the great-squareheaded brooch, the girdlehangars and the armlets are survival pieces in this grave. Both the bronze vessels, the cauldron and a pearl-edged bowl could also be survivals from the sixth century. The shears in the grave of the 1851 Fairford cauldron find might indicate a similar late date, though shears are known in sixth-century graves on the continent, such as at Schwarz-Rheindorf 10,<sup>4</sup> with Kempston-type cone beaker, a late-sixth-century type of pearl-edged bowl, and a coin of Justinian (t.p.q. 527). The Queniborough grave also included a pearl-edged bowl, but it is not possible to give any precise indication of the date of this grave. Similarly those used as cremation containers,<sup>5</sup> such as one from Little Wilbraham and those from Baginton, contained no objects which could be closely dated. A similar but carinated vessel, without ears, was used as a cremation container at Loveden Hill, Lincs. Both the Baginton examples and the cremation container from Little Wilbraham, like Holywell Row and Fairford, approach the globular profile, which is the final development of this type of bronze vessel.

It was a globular cauldron from Stenigot, Lincs, which prompted Thompson's survey. This vessel is unusual in that it is riveted, but its association with a scramasax is indicative of the late-seventeenth-century date of the grave. This dating is similar to that of the barrow on Brightwell Heath, Suffolk, where a globular cauldron used for a cremation was found with a bone comb, an ivory bracelet, and a bone draughtsman. The draughtsman marks the grave out as late for the closest parallels are found in the Castle Bytham, Lincs,<sup>6</sup> grave whose objects are in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. Two of the Bidford-on-Avon cauldrons are of the globular type, and one of these was associated with the elaborate shield boss of grave 182, for whose late Style I ornament a late-sixth-century or early-seventh-century date may be suggested.

<sup>1</sup> This is a different amber from that of the claws of the 'experimental group', e.g. Howletts graves 7 and 14.

<sup>2</sup> D. B. Harden in *Dark-Age Britain* (1956), pp. 139-40, fig. 25, *ii c* 1, pl. 17A a.; W. A. Thorpe, *English Glass* (1961), pl. 10e, for Newport Pagnell.

<sup>3</sup> Lethbridge (1931), pp. 4-9; cf. *Dark-Age Britain* (1956), p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> G. Behrens. *Merovingerzeit* (1947), pp. 4-5, abb. 10.

<sup>5</sup> For discussion of metal vessels as cremation containers see *Med. Arch.* xi (1967), 10-14.

<sup>6</sup> *Arch. J.* x (1853), 81-2.

The triangular-eared cauldrons from Little Wilbraham including that from grave 42 stand towards the end of the development of their form, and on typological grounds a sixth-century date might be preferred. Slight evidence of association for other examples tends to confirm this. General hypothesis of an insular development from the late Roman beginnings has also been advanced.

#### *Horse bit*

Grave 44 at Little Wilbraham had also the complete burial of a horse. From this the bit (Fig. 3c), survives, together with some of the fittings. The bit has two links and bar cheek-pieces. This form is one of the two principal types of horse bit found in Anglo-Saxon contexts. The other form has ring cheek-pieces, perhaps more properly called shackles. The bar type of bit is known from two Northamptonshire sites: Brixworth and Duston, neither associated.<sup>1</sup> The shackle type is found also in Northants, at Marston St Lawrence<sup>2</sup> and Hardinstone,<sup>3</sup> the latter associated with a circular phalera decorated with garnets and fishes.<sup>4</sup> A fragmentary example was found in grave 9 of the 1912 excavations at East Shefford, Berkshire.<sup>5</sup>

#### *Toilet articles*

Tweezers are often found in male graves as at Linton Heath grave 14 (Fig. 2, *inset*) and Little Wilbraham graves 35 and 169. Other examples include Petersfinger 21 and Abingdon 25.<sup>6</sup> The nail cleaner is paralleled in an unassociated find from Kempston,<sup>7</sup> but is probably a survival of a Roman form.

#### *General discussion*

The preceding discussion has served to highlight the importance of the graves with swords at Little Wilbraham and Linton Heath. One final point remains. There are two possible explanations of the graves with swords at Little Wilbraham. Either they represent successive burials of ruling leaders of the community – for who else could afford a sword? – or they are approximately contemporary burials at the end of the sixth century, for which the many great squareheaded brooches in the women's graves are good evidence of some prosperity. It is not, however, possible in the present state of our knowledge to decide between these two.

<sup>1</sup> Northampton Mus. D 247/1955-6; D 331a/1955-6; D 172/1956-7.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. 1928.

<sup>3</sup> Northampton Mus.

<sup>4</sup> *V.C.H., Northants.* 1 (1902), coloured plate.

<sup>5</sup> *J.R. Anth.* I. XLV (1915), 113.

<sup>6</sup> E. T. Leeds and H. Short. *An Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Petersfinger* (1953), p. 18, no. 68, pl. 8. 68; E. T. Leeds and D. B. Harden. *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Abingdon, Berkshire* (1936), p. 35, pl. 18.25.

<sup>7</sup> Bedford Museum B.M. 49; Kennett (1968).

## APPENDIX I

*Male graves at Little Wilbraham and Linton Heath*

In this appendix, only those graves with obviously male objects, mainly weapons, are listed. The page numbers refer to the page of the original reports by Neville; the direction to the position of the head.

Grave	Page	Direction	Objects	
			Weapons	Others
			Little Wilbraham (Neville, 1852)	
1	13	S	Shield, spear, knife	—
8	13	W	Shield, spear, second spear, knife	Annular brooch Belt plate
12	14	(Crouched)	2 spearheads, knife	—
18	14	W	Shield, spear, knife	—
24	15	(Multiple grave)	Spear	—
34	15	S.W.	Shield, spear, knife	Chisel, 9 beads
35	15	S	Shield, spear, knife	Equal-armed brooch, tweezers, 41 beads, ring, studs
36	16	S	Spear, knife	—
37	16	S.E.	Shield, spear	2 beads
39	16	W	Spear, knife	—
42	16	S	Sword, shield, spear	Drinking horn, cauldron
44	16	S	Sword and bead, shield, spear	Horse-bit
55	17	N.E.	Spear, knife	—
57	17	S	Shield, spear, knife	—
58	17	S.E.	Shield, spear, knife	—
66	18	W	Spear	—
71	18	W	Shield, knife	—
72	18	N	Shield, knife	—
74	18	S	Spear, knife	—
83	19	N.E.	—	Adze
84	19	S	Spear, knife	—
86	19	W	Spear	—
96	19	N.W.	Sword, and bead, shield, spear, knife	3 beads
98	20	S	Shield, spear	—
108	20	S.W.	Spear, knife	Bronze fragments
125	21	S	Spear, knife	—
126	21	S.W.	Spear	—
127	21	S	Spear, knife	—
139	22	S	Shield, spear	—
146	22	S	Spear	—
149	22	E	Spear	—
151	22	W	Sword and bead, shield, spear	Buckle
169	24	S	Shield, spear	Buckle, tweezers
181	24	S	Spear, knife	—
183	25	S	Spear, knife	—
184	25	S	Spear	—

Grave	Page	Direction	Objects	
			Weapons	Others
			Linton Heath (Neville, 1854)	
2	96	—	Spear	Roman brooch
7	96	—	Shield, spear, knife	—
8	96	—	Spear	—
13	98	—	Spear	—
14	98	—	Sword, shield, spear	Brooch, tweezers, nail cleaner
17	99	—	—	Bucket, coin
18	100	—	—	Spur, brooch
19	100	—	—	Disc brooches, 2 strap ends
23	101	—	Spear, knife	—
25	101	—	Shield, spear, knife	Pot, buckle
28	102	—	Spear	Brooch
34	103	—	Spear, with ferrule, knife	—
46	105	—	Shield, spear	—
48	105	—	Spear	—
53	106	—	Shield	—
64	107	—	Sword, shield, spear with ferrule, knife	Buckle
66	108	—	Spear	—
80	110	—	Spear	Pot
81	110	—	Shield, spear, knife	Buckle
89	111	—	Spear	—
94	112	—	Shield	—
95	112	—	Spear	Roman pot
102	113	—	Spear, knife	Iron buckle

## APPENDIX 2

*Provisional list of scabbard fittings from Anglo-Saxon graves*

Kempston, 75, Beds.; B.M. 1891, 6-24, 75; Kennett (1968).

Abingdon, 42, Berks.: Leeds and Harden, *Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Abingdon, Berks* (1936), p. 38, pl. 19, and 9.

49, *ibid.* p. 20, pl. 19.

Long Wittenham, 67; B.M. 1875, 3-10, 40.

Linton Heath, 64, Cambs.: Fig. 2e.

Little Wilbraham, 42, Cambs.: Fig. 2a.

44, Fig. 2c.

96, Fig. 2d.

Fairford 30, Glos.: *Fairford Graves* (1852), pl. 3.3.

Alton, 42, Hants.: *Archaeologia* CI (1967), 83, fig. 1b.

Chessell Down, I.O.W.: *Ant. J.* (1967), 11-19, fig. 2, pl. 2b, 3b.

Dover, 96b, Kent: *Archaeologia* CI (1967), 84, fig. 2h-i.

Faversham, Kent: B.M. 951 '70; *Archaeologia* CI (1967), 85, fig. 3j.

B.M. 954 '70; *Ant. J.* XLVII (1967), 10, fig. 3.

Gilton, Kent: *Archaeologia* CI (1967), 87, fig. 9d.

Brighthampton, 30, Oxon: Evison (1965), p. 105, fig. 11.

44: *Archaeologia* XXXVIII (1860), 88, pl. 2.8.

- Burford, Oxon: B.M. 1848, 7-27, 1. *Oxon* xxxiv (1969), 111-15.  
 Mitcham, 192, Surrey: *Surrey A.C.* lvi (1959), 119, pl. 21.192.  
 211 *ibid.* lvi (1959), 120, pl. 21.211.  
 Alfriston 89, Sussex: *Sussex A.C.* lvii (1915), pl. 27.1-1a.  
 Selmeston 51, Sussex: Lewes Museum.  
 Petersfinger, 7, Wilts.: Leeds and Short, *Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Petersfinger* (1953), p. 8.  
 20, *ibid.* p. 14, pl. 1.  
 21, *ibid.* pp. 16-17, pl. 1.  
 Bredon's Norton, Worcs.: *V.C.H. Worcs* 1 (1901), 230, coloured plate.

#### *Knife fittings*

- Kempston, 27, Beds.: Bedford Mus. 3799; Kennett (1968).  
 Little Wilbraham, Cambs., 1928 find: fig. 2b; Lethbridge (1931), p. 71, fig. 38.1.  
 Brighthampton, 22, Oxon: *V.C.H. Oxon* 1 (1938), pl. 26, lower.

### APPENDIX 3

#### *Bronze cauldrons with triangular ears from England and Wales*

##### *A. Carinated with concave wall above*

- Long Wittenham, 93, Berks.: Evison (1965), p. 106, fig. 13b.  
 Sawston, Cambs.: *Archaeologia* xviii (1818), 340-3, pl. 25.4.  
 Halkyn Mountain, Flints.: *Archaeologia* xiv (1803), 275, pl. 49 (three found in hoard).  
 Ixworth Thorpe, Suff.: *P. Suff. I. A.* xxv (1951), 213.

##### *A1. Carinated, no ears*

- Lovenden Hill, Lincs.:\* Lincoln Mus.

##### *B. Globular with convex wall*

- Long Wittenham, Berks.: B.M. 1875, 3-10, 7.  
 Barrington, Cambs.: Mus. Arch. Eth. Cambridge.  
 Stenigot, Lincs.: *Ant. J.* xxxvi (1956), 193-7, pl. 13.  
 River Thames, London: *London and the Saxons* (1953), p. 147, fig. 25.  
 Brightwell Heath, Suff.:\* *Ipswich F.C.J.* vi (1921), 11-13.  
 Bidford-on-Avon, Warw.: *Archaeologia* lxxiii (1923), 100, pl. 73.5.  
 182: *ibid.* lxxiv (1925), 276, pl. 57.3.

##### *C1. Hybrid*

- Girton, 56, Cambs.: *Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Girton* (1926), p. 17.  
 Little Wilbraham, Cambs.:\* (Fig. 3d) Neville (1852), p. 23, pl. 16.  
 Fairford, Glos. (1844): *Coll. Ant.* ii (1852), 160.  
 (1851): *Fairford Graves* (1852), pp. 15, 19, pl. 8.  
 Queniborough, Leics.: Nichols, *History of Leics.* i, ii. 377, pl. 50.2.  
 Asgarby, Lincs.: B.M. 1915, 10-7, 4.  
 Holywell Row, 11, Suff.: Lethbridge (1931), p. 8, fig. 3.1.  
 Baginton, Warw.:\* Coventry Mus. (two, both with cremations).

*C2. Fragments*

Long Wittenham, Berks.: B.M. 1875, 3-10, 8, 9 (two cauldrons).

Little Wilbraham, 5, Cambs.: Neville (1852), pl. 16, upper.

42, Cambs.: (Fig. 3*b*.)

Illington, Norf.:\* Norwich Mus.

Duston, Northants.: Northampton Mus.

Croydon, Surrey: *Arts in Early England*, IV, (1915), pl. 117.3.

Bidford-on-Avon, Warw.: *Archaeologia* LXXIII (1923), 100.

West Overton, Wilts.: Evison (1965), p. 111, fig. 21.1.

QUOTE: The symbol\* indicates vessel used to hold cremation.

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Plate I Grave group from St John's cricket field.



Plate II Applied brooches from Barrington.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

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