

**PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY**

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS & HUNTS
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)



VOLUME LXVI

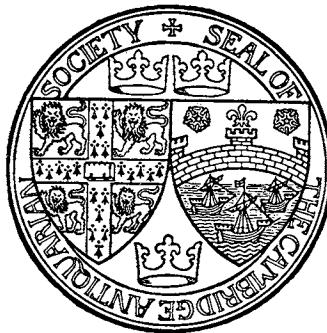
JANUARY 1975 TO DECEMBER 1976

**IMRAY LAURIE NORIE AND WILSON
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ANGLO-SAXON FINDS FROM BROOKE, NORFOLK, 1867-1869

DAVID H. KENNEDD

SUMMARY

A survey of the Anglo-Saxon finds in the British Museum found at Brooke, Norfolk, at various dates between September 1867 and December 1869. The meagre evidence for grave groups is assessed: the objects are described and illustrated together for the first time. It is suggested the finds represent a cemetery, small (not more than 20 graves with objects), mainly inhumation, but with an occasional cremation, in use during the latter part of the sixth century A.D. The incidence of inhumation cemeteries in the mainly cremation area of Norfolk is discussed and some cemeteries with an occasional cremation are documented.

INTRODUCTION

In November 1870, the British Museum acquired a collection of Anglo-Saxon objects found at Brooke, Norfolk,¹ between September 1867 and December 1869. They were purchased for £10 from Mr C. B. Baker of Bungay, Suffolk, but how and exactly where he had acquired them is not known.² Forty objects were acquired by the British Museum: thirteen brooches, nine other bronze pieces, two strings of beads, nine spearheads, two knives, two shield bosses, two pots and a loom weight. Excepting the loom weight (now lost) these are all illustrated here; many of the objects, including some of the brooches, for the first time.

No contemporary published or manuscript account of the finds is known and the source of the evidence recorded in the British Museum's register has not been traced. Three terse summaries of the finds have been published in this century – by Smith in 1902,³ by Clarke in 1939⁴ and by Meaney in 1964⁵ – and some of the brooches were illustrated by Aberg in 1926.⁶ From these drawings, made because, no doubt, Aberg felt he should illustrate material which was then not published in any form, some of the brooches have become better known.

The exact site of the cemetery is not known. It has been suggested that the finds came from the area of TM 294995.⁷

¹ For full titles of authors referred to in footnotes, refer to bibliography at end of paper.

² Information from the British Museum register.

³ V.C.H. Norfolk 1 (1901) 339; see also the summary by R. A. Smith in [British Museum] Guide to Anglo-Saxon . . . Antiquities (1923) 83–84.

⁴ Norfolk Arch. 27 (1939) 216.

⁵ Meaney (1964) 170.

⁶ Aberg (1926) figs. 68, 69, 73, 74, 80.

⁷ Meaney (1964) 170, citing Norfolk Arch. 27 (1939) 216.

While no direct evidence contemporary with the discoveries is known of the associations of *any* of the Anglo-Saxon finds from Brooke, the register of the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities of the British Museum does include some information about the date of finding of *some* of the objects. These *may* be a reflection of possible grave groups. This is presented in order of discovery:

September 1867:

Cruciform brooch (1); annular brooch (4); beads (8). These, if an associated group, could represent a woman's grave.

January 1868:

Cruciform brooch (5); small-long brooch (6); bronze ring (7); three spearheads (31, 32, 33); large knife (35). If associated, these finds could represent a woman's grave (5, 6, 7) and up to three male graves. However, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the brooches and the ring are from one or more of the men's graves, nor for two of the spearheads to have come from a single male grave.

December 1869:

Girdle-hanger fragment (2); tweezers (3); spearhead (34). If an associated group, these are most probably a man's grave, but the girdle-hanger and tweezers could be from a woman's grave.

It is clear that the surviving meagre evidence is open to a variety of interpretations. For the remaining twenty-seven objects not even this much is known. In view of this lack of firm associations the objects have been catalogued as to type, with discussions, where appropriate, following the individual objects. The following classifications have been employed:

Brooches

Beads

Bronze objects

Weapons

Pottery

In this way the order in the British Museum's register has been roughly adhered to. All objects are British Museum, 1870, 11-5, x.

Brooches

There are thirteen brooches from Brooke: four annular, including a probable pair; six cruciform; one florid cruciform; one small-long; and one great-square-headed. The catalogue is subdivided into these types. In the descriptions, right and left refer to the wearer's right and left, not the onlooker's.

Annular brooches (fig. 1)

4. Bronze annular brooch, diameter 38mm, undecorated, pin missing, textile impression on the underside.

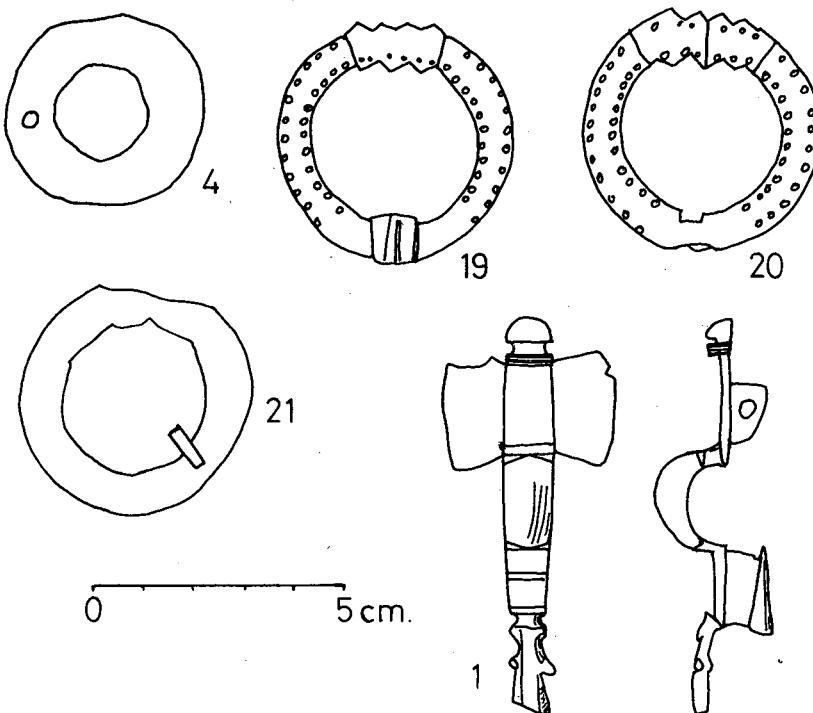


Fig. 1. Brooke: annular and cruciform brooches.

19. Bronze annular brooch, diameter 45mm, with a fragment of iron pin remaining congealed to the brooch. There is a stylised attempt at two opposing biting jaws and the brooch is decorated with small circlets on the upper face. Pair to 20.
20. Bronze annular brooch, diameter 45mm. Pin missing. Rather more of an attempt at stylised biting jaws remains on this brooch. The brooch is decorated with small circlets on the upper face. Pair to 19.
21. Bronze annular brooch, diameter 47mm, worn on one side, retains fragment of iron pin with small textile impression on it, but is undecorated.

The four annular brooches from Brooke are all of the commonest variety, the large flat form.⁸ The probable pair (19, 20) are of note because of their decoration and the attempt at biting jaws, stylised though it is. Most annular brooches belong to middle and late sixth century. The well-known St John's, Cambridge, grave group, with a large, late group IV cruciform brooch, is typical of the associated groups of these annular brooches.

⁸ Leeds (1945) 46-49, mapped on fig. 29.

⁹ Fox (1923) pl. 27.1.

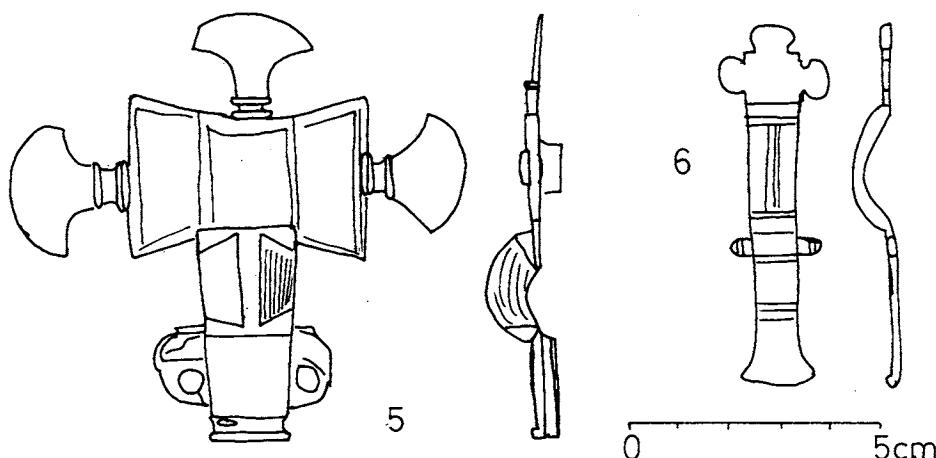


Fig. 2. Brooke: cruciform and small-long brooch; possibly a grave group.

Cruciform brooches (figs. 1–4)

1. Bronze cruciform brooch, lacking tip of the animal head and side knobs to the headplate, length extant 80mm. Slightly winged headplate, a half-round top knob, the animal head is not developed and is mis-proportioned with one eye protruding at an angle and the other is a normal position (fig. 1).

Aberg's group II,¹⁰ but on account of the poorly developed head it could be argued that this is an early example. Winged headplates are found on brooches of this group from Trumpington, Cambs.,¹¹ a much later piece to judge from the animal head; Kenninghall,¹² and Rotherly Temple, Leics.¹³

5. Bronze cruciform brooch, lacking the whole of the animal head below the catch. Length extant 87mm. Winged headplate with a flat spade-shaped knob on either side and the top. Short, low bow above a plain space enclosed by stylised lappets (fig. 2).

This brooch¹⁴ has many signs of being late in the development of its form, Aberg's group IV. The total lack of body to the knobs find an immediate parallel in the principal brooch of Little Wilbraham grave 81¹⁵ and is not as developed a form as are found on brooches from Barrington¹⁶ and Haslingfield, Cambs.,¹⁷ Woodston, Hunts.,¹⁸ and Kenninghall, Norfolk (a pair).¹⁹ The lappets of these brooches exhibit a number of differences: Brooke semi-circular

¹⁰ Aberg (1926) 185, table 1, no. 29.

¹¹ Aberg (1926) fig. 60.

¹² Aberg (1926) 185, table 1, no. 30: in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

¹³ Aberg (1926) 186, table 1, no. 54.

¹⁴ Aberg (1926) fig. 80.

¹⁵ Aberg (1926) fig. 81.

¹⁶ Aberg (1926) 190, table 1, no. 150.

¹⁷ Aberg (1926) 189, table 1, no. 141.

¹⁸ Aberg (1926) 191, table 1, no. 169; H. Shetelig *The Cruciform Brooches of Norway* (1906) fig. 129.

¹⁹ Aberg (1926) 189, table 1, no. 126; Brown (1915) pl. 157.

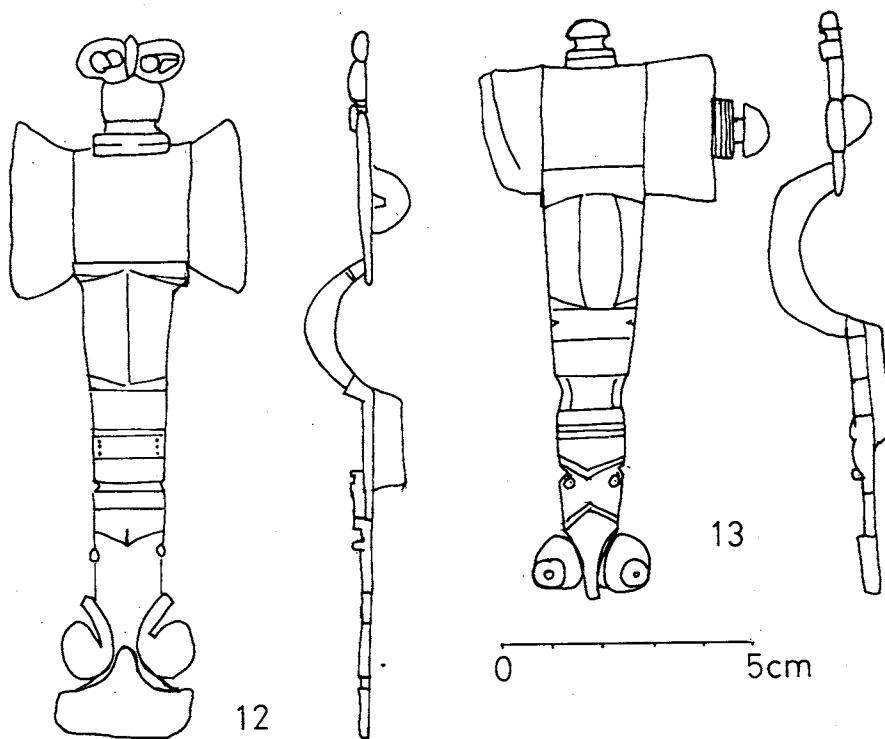


Fig. 3. Brooke: cruciform brooches.

with a perforation, as if recalling an attempt at animal ornament, but the Kenninghall pair have more elaborate lappets with some attempt at a beaked head. The lappets of the Little Wilbraham brooch are plain square efforts with a notch on the lower side to give the impression of a stylised drooping heap. Much closer to Brooke in this respect is Woodston with a perforated semi-circle of metal for each lappet. The Brooke brooch lacks its foot, but the others quoted give an indication of the likely termination. Barrington has a wide, spade-shaped foot with only two eyes remaining from the animal head. On the Woodston brooch there is the semblance of an animal head with nostrils but the final termination is spade-shaped. Flatness and a semi-circular termination characterise the pair from Kenninghall while the Little Wilbraham brooch with its human face, so like the faces on many of the early East Anglian forms of florid cruciform brooch, breaks completely with the animal head. As can be seen, all these are late brooches, belonging to the second-half of the sixth century.

12. Bronze cruciform brooch, length 142mm, lacking side knobs; large top knob with a florid expansion; winged headplate; short bow and no lappets; stylised animal head with spade-shaped termination (fig. 3).

This brooch²⁰ is notable for its top knob. Florid excrescences are more usually found on

²⁰ V.C.H. Norfolk 1 (1901) col. pl. 4; Aberg (1926) fig. 69.

brooches with lappets, Aberg's group IV, for example Little Wilbraham grave 171²¹ and Little Eriswell grave 9²². The closest parallel to the Brooke brooch, however, is another brooch without lappets, from Exning, Suffolk,²³ which differs only in having a less stylised animal head as the foot. The animal head of the brooch from Holywell Row, grave 58²⁴ is particularly close to that on the Brooke brooch while brooches from Holwell Row, grave 79²⁵ and Girton²⁶ suggest that the side knobs of the Brooke brooch would have been plain. These late examples of Aberg's groups III and IV cruciform brooches may be ascribed to the second half of the sixth century.

13. Bronze cruciform brooch, length 118mm, complete except for one side of winged headplate and one side knob; both extant knobs are plain without any extensions; foot ends in whirl nostrils to a recognisably animal head (fig. 3).

This brooch was illustrated by Aberg²⁷ and used by him to indicate the standard pattern for cruciform brooches without lappets, excrescences to the knobs and retaining a recognisable animal head. It is at the end of the first stage of the development of cruciform brooches and at the point at which the elaboration culminating in the florid examples begins. No exact parallel is known to me, but Aberg lists a number of brooches which resemble this one in its general appearance though differing in one or other particular. For instance a pair of brooches from a burial at Akenham Hall, near Ipswich,²⁸ have a nipple to the top knob and termination beyond the animal head to the foot. This foot is found also on similar brooches from Lakenheath, Suffolk.²⁹ One could perhaps suggest that this brooch from Brooke is to be dated to the middle of the sixth century.

14. Bronze cruciform brooch, length 136mm, with one wing of the headplate and its side knob now a separate piece (B.M.1870, 11-5, 24), and lacking the other side knob; top knob split down the centre and side knob elongated, decorated with vertical lines and ending in a small nipple; remnants of a winged headplate; short bow above plain space between lappets with an attempt at a beaked head (one only extant); long foot, very flat, retains animal head and has curling nostrils (fig. 4).

15. Bronze cruciform brooch, length 131mm, worn and lacking parts of both sideplates and both side knobs; top knob, half-round with a nipple; plain surviving lappet has only a vestige of a beaked head; animal head has a long snout and whirl nostrils (fig. 4).

Both these brooches were illustrated by Aberg,³⁰ yet it is difficult to see how representative they are. The first (14) is unusual in the slit half-round knob, the elongated side knob and the elongated flattened animal head, while the second is too worn to judge how it originally looked. Both, however, bear witness to the fact that often old and worn objects were buried by the Anglo-Saxons with their dead.

²¹ R. C. Neville *Saxon Obsequies Illustrated* (1852) pl. 4

²² P. Camb. Ant. Soc. 59 (1966) 6, pl. 1a.

²³ Aberg (1926) 187, table 1, no. 76.

²⁴ Lethbridge (1931) 32, fig. 15.2.

²⁵ Lethbridge (1931) 35, fig. 16.1.

²⁶ Fox (1923) pl. 27.2.

²⁷ Aberg (1926) fig. 68.

²⁸ Aberg (1926) 186, table 1, no. 74.

²⁹ Aberg (1926) 187, table 1, no. 82.

³⁰ The brooches are respectively Aberg (1926) fig. 74 (14) and fig. 73 (15); in Aberg's drawing of (14) the piece with the side knob is not shown.

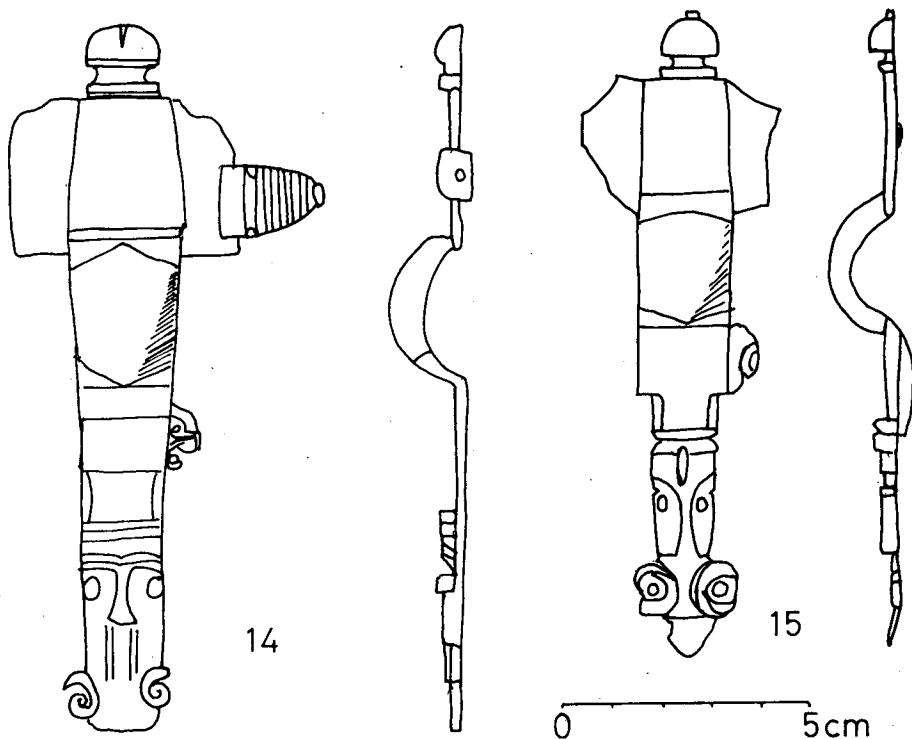


Fig. 4. Brooke: cruciform brooches.

Florid Cruciform Brooch (pl. I)

10. Bronze, partially gilt, florid cruciform brooch, with silver facings on the headplate; very worn with gilding eroded on exposed surfaces to show bare metal and iron on the face below the lappets. The wear is most acute on the wearer's left of the brooch with the headplate uppermost. Extant are the headplate, bow, lappets and face; the foot is missing. The end has been filed square and it can be suggested that the iron on the face at this point represents an attempt to attach a foot to the brooch. The headplate is made in three pieces: both side pieces were separately cast and attached later. The top extension has a pair of developed beaked heads, each with the beak curling under the face to leave an open void. There are lines on neck of each beast to the base, but the right hand beast is partially obscured by a textile impression, 9mm x 3mm with a warp of 16 threads to 10mm but only 4 weft threads visible. At the base of the animal heads is a bar of grooved design with silver facing mostly eroded. The central panel of the headplate is set within a plain area. Cut into this are the right and left hand parts of the headplate, both separately affixed to the stock of the brooch. The right-hand plate has heavy bronze rivets with circular heads over the silver facing. The left-hand side, with its lower rivet filed flat and the upper protruding, does not exactly fit the slot cut for it. There is no silver facing to this side. The right-hand piece has two distinct beaked heads with beaks curling to give open space. The wear on top and upper head corresponds to wear on top piece's right-hand beast. The left-hand piece is worn to a curve on the lower beast; though both beasts

are indistinct, the lower one has many details of eye, face and outside of beak obliterated. Each piece has a bar divided into three part divisions before the silver facing at the end joined to the stock of the brooch. The centre panel of the brooch's headplate is a series of disjointed limbs. There is a low arched bow with a central panel on the top with a four-leaf clover design. This is very worn and has only slight traces of the gilding left. The bow is above a panel between small oblong lappets. The top corner of that on the right is broken off but there is more wear on the left-hand one. The long narrow panels have fragmentary disjointed animal ornament. The centre panel is divisible into two halves with two laterally placed eyes on the right and a disjointed leg on the left. Below the panel is a face, partially obscured by the iron, of which the upstanding curving eyebrows and stud eyes can be discerned.

This fine brooch, to the best of my knowledge, is illustrated here for the first time. It has been noted in passing by Aberg³¹ and by Leeds³² but no extended discussion is known to me. The florid cruciform brooch, Aberg's group V, has been the subject of a number of lengthy recent essays³³ but much which is of a general nature will be omitted here so as to concentrate on the individual features of the Brooke brooch.

One general point must be made first. The series of florid brooches (both cruciform and square-headed) is divisible into two main groups: East Anglian and East Midland (or mid-Anglian). These two broad geographical groups are not mutually exclusive but serve rather to indicate the main area of distribution of their respective types. Typical examples of East Anglian florid brooches are that from Sporle, Norfolk,³⁴ now in Norwich Castle Museum, and the four from Kenninghall, including one square-headed example.³⁵ The East Anglian florid brooches can be divided into a number of sub-groups and have a wide distribution. In contrast there is more uniformity among the East Midland brooches, though these do have an internal development and are known both as cruciform and square-headed brooches, and their distribution is much more compact in a triangle (approximately) formed by Gloucester, Nottingham and Cambridge, with only three outliers.

The Brooke piece is one of these three outliers: the others are the great square-headed brooch of Leeds' class C3 from Ipswich³⁶ and a fragmentary cruciform brooch from Saltburn-on-Sea, near Middlesborough, Yorkshire.³⁷ The Brooke brooch, therefore, is not likely to

³¹ Aberg (1926) 193, table 1, no. 213.

³² Leeds (1936) 83, with map fig. 16.

³³ By the late E. T. Leeds, *A Survey of Group V Cruciform Brooches* (1954), manuscript in the Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, seen by kind cooperation with the department in May 1968 and more recently published as the late E. T. Leeds and M. Pocock, 'A survey of the Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches of the florid type', *Med. Arch.* 15 (1971), 13–37; Leeds' manuscript is reproduced as *ibid.*, 15–26. The subject has also been studied D. H. Kennett, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery from Kempston, Bedfordshire: a reconsideration* (typescript, 1968) discussion of object 360. This typescript is available Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, British Museum, London, and County Record Office, County Hall, Bedford. Subsequently, D. H. Kennett, 'A Fragmentary Florid Cruciform Brooch from Brixworth, Northamptonshire', *J. Northampton Mus.* 10 (1974), 20–37, with full list and documentation as of June 1972 of all brooches of the East Midland florid type.

³⁴ Aberg (1926) 193, table 1, no. 212; J. Y. Akerman *Remains of Pagan Saxondom* (1855) pl. 40.1.

³⁵ Aberg (1926) 193, table 1, nos. 209, 210, 211; Brown (1915) pl. 157; Leeds (1949) no. 130.

³⁶ Leeds (1949) no. 138.

³⁷ *Yorks. Arch. J.*, 22 (1913) 131; *V.C.H. Yorks.* 2 (1912) 93–96 with fig.



Pl. I: Brooke: florid cruciform brooch (10). *Copyright: British Museum.*

have been a local product in view of its obvious geographical position.

It is unusual in another way also. It has lost the triangular foot that it is usual to find on these brooches; this, or another foot, has been restored to it as the iron bar shows; and this new foot has been lost to the brooch, which was then possibly used and certainly buried as a complete and usable brooch without the foot. The filing would suggest that before burial it was intended for use as a piece of dress jewelry. Worn, old brooches are most usually buried, with their useful life extinguished, as can be seen in the fragmentary florid brooches such as those from Brixworth, Northants.,³⁸ Baginton, Warks.,³⁹ and Sleaford, Lincs., grave 169.⁴⁰ Re-used brooches are, however, known. In 1941 Leeds drew attention to two from Islip, Northants., both hybrids from older, earlier cruciform brooches.⁴¹

Most of the features isolated on the Brooke brooch can be easily paralleled on many of the florid cruciform brooches of the East Midland variety; for instance the relationship of the top extension and side plates of the Brooke brooch to similar features on brooches from Duston, Northants.,⁴² St John's, Cambridge,⁴³ and North Luffenham, Rutland.⁴⁴ But no other brooch has perforated top and side plates to the headplate and all, except St John's, have a wider plate on the outside of the brooch as well as a deeper plain area between the two beaked heads. In fact the St John's brooch⁴⁵ has other resemblances to that from Brooke. This unpublished piece has been severely damaged by the action of a cremation fire and consequently only part of the headplate and the bow remain. One corner of the right-hand 'knob' remains with clear indications of a beaked head. There are bars at the junction of 'knob' and headplate, one with small square blocks and one a striated oblong. The central panel of the headplate is larger than on the Brooke brooch but only marginally. It has a pair of eyes and a nose visible in the top of a panel filled with fragmented limbs. The low arched bow is topped by a plain square panel.

The low arched bow of the Brooke brooch is topped by a square panel with a four-leaf clover design. A similar panel is to be seen on the North Luffenham florid brooch.⁴⁶ Plain square panels are found on the square-headed brooch from Haslingfield⁴⁷ and cruciform brooches from Baginton,³⁹ Market Overton, Rutland,⁴⁸ Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Nottinghamshire,⁴⁹ and with a central garnet inset from Brixworth,⁴⁰ as well as on the St John's brooch.⁴⁷ Other East Midland brooches, e.g. the square-headed examples from Kempston, Beds.,⁴⁸ and Holdenby, Northants.,⁴⁹ and the cruciform ones from Market Overton,⁵⁰ have

³⁸ Northampton Museum no. D 14/1955-56; Aberg (1926) 193, table 1, no. 220; the brooch forms the subject of the author's paper 'A Fragmentary Florid Cruciform Brooch from Brixworth Northamptonshire' for *J. Northampton Mus.*

³⁹ Coventry Museum, no. A/1013/13; unpublished.

⁴⁰ Aberg (1926) fig. 85, drawn restored with a side wing; for a drawing of the brooch without the missing side plate see H. Shetlig *The Cruciform Brooches of Norway* (1906) fig. 131.

⁴¹ *Antiq. J.*, 21 (1941) 234-236.

⁴² Leeds (1936) pl. 22d.

⁴³ Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, unpublished.

⁴⁴ *V.C.H. Rutland* 1 (1908) fig. 6. (a photograph).

⁴⁵ Leeds (1949) no. 139.

⁴⁶ *Archaeologia* 62 (1911) pl. 71.5.

⁴⁷ M. J. Dean *The Excavation of the Anglian Graveyard at . . . Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Nottinghamshire* (1965) fig. on p. 12.

⁴⁸ Leeds (1949) no. 141.

⁴⁹ Leeds (1949) no. 143.

⁵⁰ *Archaeologia* 62 (1911) pl. 71.4 and pl. 71.6.

a round knob to the bow.

The panel between the lappets of the Brooke piece is the usual jumble of limbs, less well organised than Baginton,³⁹ Brixworth⁴⁰ or Duston,⁴¹ but with more style than that of the unprovenanced brooch in the Mayrick Collection of the British Museum.⁵¹ The lappets are narrow for this type of brooch and conform neither to the plain pattern seen on the Willoughby-on-the-Wolds⁴² brooch nor the divided pattern of the Kempston⁴³ great square-headed brooch or the Baginton³⁹ cruciform brooch. The Haslingfield square-headed brooch has two long narrow oblong panels with striated bars, but I know of no brooch with the narrow, unified panel of jumbled animal ornament seen on the Brooke piece.

The face of the Brooke piece is typically of the East Midland pattern and, despite the iron bar, compares with the finest of them: it has none of the stylisation of two of the Market Overton brooches.⁵⁰

The foot of the Brooke brooch would have been triangular: its exact form we do not know.

It is generally, and probably correctly, assumed that these brooches were not buried until well on in the sixth century, if not in the early years of the seventh century. Somewhere within this typologically based dating, that still lacks any firm associated evidence, would be appropriate for the Brooke brooch.

Small-long Brooch (fig. 2)

6. Bronze small-long brooch, length 71mm with a trefoil head, a long low bow, small lappets and a triangular foot.

This brooch belongs to a small group of trefoil-headed small-long brooches distinguished by Leeds for their lappets.⁵² Other trefoil-headed small-long brooches with rectangular lappets are two from West Stow, Suffolk, and a pair in grave 2 of the Barrington A cemetery.⁵³ Lappets are rare on small-long brooches. The only sizeable group are those with a trefoil-head at the later stages of development. Others are known, however, as for instance the square-headed pair from grave 9 at Little Eriswell, Suffolk.⁵⁴

Square-headed Brooch (pl. II)

11. Bronze great square-headed brooch, severely damaged by cremation fire and now in three main pieces with several very small fragments also: (i) the headplate, severely buckled with the top right-hand corner stuck back; (ii) the lower left-hand corner of the headplate, once affixed as in Leeds' photograph; (iii) bow with disc, and footplate (in two in Leeds' photograph): (iv) left lobe of footplate, some small fragments. The headplate's details on the left-hand side are very much damaged by the fire, with all corners indistinct: the lower right is only partially extant, though Leeds suggested a spatulate leaf. On the top edge are a pair of stylised faces, looking outwards, each with the hair parted centrally and curled up at the ends, two circular eyes and a triangular nose. The sides each have one visible face. On the right-hand one the visible details are the hair going down to the nose and curling round the eye to give a double spiral effect to the circular eye. There are the remains of a circular design in the indistinct lower left-hand corner. The central design of the headplate is an oblong panel with a flattened 'S' design and oblong panels forming a border.

The bow has a raised central bar surmounted by a disc extending beyond its sides.

⁵¹ British Museum, no. 1878, 11-1, 283: unpublished.

⁵² Leeds (1945) 10-14 with figs. 5 and 7.

⁵³ Examples listed Leeds (1945) 91.

⁵⁴ *P. Camb. Ant. Soc.*, 59 (1966) 6.

Apart from raised edges, the bow itself is plan. The disc is circular with a central setting for a stone surrounded by three rings. On the back of the bow is a rivet to hold the disc. Wear is visible on the central bar of the bow beneath the disc and is consistent with the suggestion of abrasion, probably by filing, to flatten the raised bar to take the disc. In this case the disc may be an addition to the original concept of the brooch.

The foot is the most damaged by fire, having lost the basal lobe and parts above it and much of the left side. It is divided by a median bar. From the right-hand side the impression is gained of a beaked head built round a prominent eye at the top of the foot; the main design is cabling on the two outer edges of a triangular void and a pear-shaped lobe, once set with a stone.

Though severely damaged by the fire this remains a very fine brooch, which when complete must have looked a worthy piece of jewelry with three, probably four, stones, most probably garnets or an imitation, shining against a polished or more likely gilt background. Briefly discussed by Leeds in 1949,⁵⁵ this brooch provides the best evidence for cremation at Brooke, for it is evident that the brooch was burnt on the pyre. Neither pot is conclusively a cremation vessel, though one may be, and none of the other objects have passed the fire.

Leeds placed this brooch at the end of his B1 class and suggested it was a hybrid with relations with his B4 and B8 groups. The headplate he saw as coarse and clumsy: unworthy of so fine a foot. The masks originated as copies of the Herpes B4 masks and indeed the Brooke brooch has several other affinities with the B4 group's later examples, as Aberg emphasised when he compared it to the Tuxford brooch. The cable motifs Leeds compared with those of the B1 brooch from grave 29 at Ipswich, another B1 with a disc.

More can be said. The central panel of the headplate has an oblong 'block design' that may be loosely derived from the long and short work of some Thames Valley saucer brooches,⁵⁶ though these have their oblongs broken up into smaller pieces. The flattened 'S' is totally unlike any other central piece to a B1 headplate, nor any other great square-headed brooch. One wonders if it is not a throwback to some other brooch form or even to a different type of Anglo-Saxon artifact.

The chief interest in the bow lies in its disc, possibly a later addition. Discs have been found on the bows of a number of square-headed brooches. Leeds⁵⁷ pointed to five in the B1 class: Ipswich 29 (41); Bury St Edmunds (45) now missing; Faversham (55) now missing; Mildenhall (63); and Brooke. Also with a disc is the B4 from Tuxford (89) and there is a disc from Barton Mills (126). The disc of Bifrons 41 (3) is a face disc, the progenitor of the mask set in the bow of several early Kentish great square-headed brooches. The disc on Ipswich 29 is larger than the bow and has a firm plain border and a central stud, with the middle design of beaded lines divided at four points by three lines. The Mildenhall disc is the same width as the bow and has a tripartite division of the middle band. The Tuxford disc has a small outer plain band, a catherine-wheel middle band and a stud-like centre. Like the Brooke disc it extends beyond the bow, but only the Brooke disc has the setting for a stone.

A setting for a stone is evident on the two extant lobes of the Brooke brooch and may also have been a feature of the basal lobe. The use of stones on East Anglian brooches is infrequent. From Kenninghall has come a florid square-headed brooch of Leeds' C2 class⁵⁸ with small diamond-shaped stones in the headplate and between the lappets. There are two small square stones on the headplate and bow of a large East Midland florid cruciform brooch

⁵⁵ Leeds (1949) 44, no. 65; see also Aberg (1926), 68 with 196, table II, no. 32.

⁵⁶ e.g. the brooches illustrated *Antiq. J.* 13 (1933) pl. 35.

⁵⁷ Leeds (1949) 36: the numbers refer to his catalogue.

⁵⁸ Leeds (1949) no. 130.



Pl. II: Brooke: great square-headed brooch (11). *Copyright: British Museum.*

from Brixworth, Northants.,⁵⁹ and on the C3 florid square-headed brooch from Kempston, Beds.,⁶⁰ where black metal was used to simulate stones on the headplate, between the lappets and on the triangular foot. Red enamel was used to produce settings on the B5 square-headed brooch in grave 21 at Linton Heath, Cambs.,⁶¹ and the headplate of that peculiar silver radiate brooch from Market Overton was once ringed with garnets.⁶²

Cabling is a common feature on the foot of B1 great square-headed brooches: it is found on four of those from Ipswich (41, 42, 43, 57); two from Kenninghall (49, 50); and single examples from Hunstanton (44); Bury St Edmunds (45); Holywell Row 14 (46); Holme Pierrepont (47); Billesdon (48); Londesborough (59) and Market Overton (61).

The B1 is a common East Anglian type. This discussion has not used three others from Norfolk: Catton (52), Bridgham (58) and a third from Kenninghall (60); and there is a large number from Suffolk, including six from Ipswich. Their date is suggested by Leeds as a little pre-500 but it is likely that a long life for the type must be envisaged, lasting well into the sixth century. It is probable that the Brooke piece, as Leeds' placing rightly showed, is at the end of the development and a date in the second half of the sixth century would not be out of place.

Beads (Pl. III. a)

There are two strings of beads extant in the Brooke material.

8. A string of 21 beads, reading from right to left as worn on a woman's breast:
 - a. long green glass
 - b. small blue glass with red inclusions
 - c. small blue glass with red inclusions
 - d. amber
 - e. quartz
 - f. blue glass mixed with a deep blue glass
 - g. large amber
 - h. multi-coloured
 - i. white glass in two segments
 - j. long blue glass
 - k. amber
 - l. set beneath the string and obviously from the wear on the upper surface in its original position a loop of black glass
 - m. amber
 - n. long blue glass
 - o. blue and dark blue glass
 - p. amber
 - p. red paste
 - r. red paste
 - s. long blue glass
 - t. amber
 - u. amber

⁵⁹ see n. 40.

⁶⁰ Leeds (1949) no. 141.

⁶¹ Leeds (1949) no. 86.

⁶² Aberg (1926) fig. 161.



Pl. III: Brooke: beads from Brooke (8 upper string; 9 lower string).

Copyright: British Museum.

9. A string of 75 beads (+ 2 missing) which from the centre outwards is as follows:

- (i) Centre bead: a large multi-faceted crystal damaged on the larger flat face; originally with six sides and three groups of six faces cut on the crystal, with an attempt at a hexagon on the smaller flat face.
- (ii) Two strings each originally of 38 beads often corresponding exactly, sometimes roughly.

Wearer's right

- a. light blue on dark blue opaque glass, double truncated cone
- b. red flattened spherical with white zig-zags and commas

Wearer's left

- light blue on dark blue opaque glass, double truncated cone
- red flattened spherical with white zig-zags and commas

- c. red pentagonal paste
- d. red on yellow paste
- e. large amber
- f. red paste, small
- g. deep red amber
- h. light green glass, translucent
- i. amber
- j. red and white on yellow paste
- k. amber
- l. red on yellow paste
- m. amber
- n. green on yellow, long cylindrical
- o. amber, flat
- p. white with blue zig-zags and red spots in centre of zig-zags, paste
- q. green long cylindrical
- r. amber worn on one side
- s. blue paste
- t. white and green glass opaque
- u. amber
- v. blue paste
- w. amber, square-sectioned barrel-shaped
- x. yellow paste
- y. green ribbed
- z. blue glass
- aa. light amber
- bb. red paste, small
- cc. dark amber
- dd. red paste, small
- ee. amber, worn and pitted
- ff. blue glass
- gg. deep red spiral
- hh. yellow paste, quadrangular deep cuts in sides
- ii. amber broken
- jj. green paste
- kk. red glassy paste speckled white
- ll. red burnt clay
- red rectangular paste
- red and white on yellow paste
- large amber
- blue and white paste
- amber, flat
- black glass with white
- amber
- red on yellow paste
- amber
- deep red on yellow paste
- (amber, missing)
- red on yellow paste
- amber
- white with blue zig-zags and red spots in centre of zig-zags, paste
- green long cylindrical
- amber
- blue glass
- light blue cylindrical
- amber
- blue on white
- (amber, missing, remnant on string)
- yellow paste
- green oblong nobbed
- blue glass
- amber, oblong square-sectioned
- red paste
- amber, hexagonal flat-faced
- blue glass opaque
- amber
- off white glass, translucent, long cylindrical
- blue on white paste flat circular
- grey paste
- amber
- amber
- red paste
- red paste

Had the string (9) been presented as a single list from left to right this correlation would not have been apparent. Examination of other bead strings in the reserve collections of the British Museum revealed several more instances of a string divisible into two halves that match for most of their members. One such string (Pl. IV) is a previously unpublished one from Caister St Edmund (B.M. 1893, 6-18, 24). The centre bead in this case is a large, shapeless amber piece. The others are as follows, from the centre:

Wearer's right

- a. small amber
- b. red with white and yellow spirals

Wearer's left

- small amber
- black with white and-yellow spirals

Pl. IV: Beads from Casket St Edmund, Norfolk. Copyright: British Museum.



- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------------------------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|----------------------------|----------|------------------------------------|----------|------------------------------------|----------|---------------------------------|----------|---------------------------------|----------|---------------------------------|----------|---------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------|----------|---------------------------------|----------|------|----------|-------|
| c. amber | knobs | black streaked red, red and white | amber | black, white and red knobs | d. amber | black, white and red knobs | e. amber | black, white zig-zag, yellow lines | f. amber | black, white zig-zag, yellow lines | g. amber | black, white zig-zag, red lines | h. amber | black, white zig-zag, red lines | i. amber | black, white zig-zag, red lines | j. amber | black, white zig-zag, red lines | k. amber | black, red zig-zag, red lines | l. amber | black, red zig-zag, yellow lime | m. amber | lime | n. amber | amber |
|----------|-------|-----------------------------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|----------------------------|----------|------------------------------------|----------|------------------------------------|----------|---------------------------------|----------|---------------------------------|----------|---------------------------------|----------|---------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------|----------|---------------------------------|----------|------|----------|-------|

o. amber	amber
p. amber	amber
q. amber	amber
r. amber	amber
s. amber	amber
t. black paste	black paste
u. amber	amber
v. red paste	red paste
w. amber	amber
x. (bead missing)	red paste
y. amber	amber
z. amber	amber
aa. amber	amber
bb. amber	amber
cc. amber	amber
dd. black spiral	turquoise spiral
ee. amber	amber
ff. white opaque three part spiral	white opaque broken fragment
gg. amber	amber

This type of correlation can also occur on necklaces purely of amber beads. Those of Linton Heath, Cambs., grave 49⁶³ are roughly shaped from the largest at the centre to smaller ones on the outside. One of the Kenninghall necklaces (B.M. 1883, 7-2, 32) has 47 amber beads, with a central group of four two large in the centre and two smaller flat ones on the outside. The remainder are round and small. Another amber necklace from Kenninghall (B.M. 1883, 7-2, 33) has 43 beads: a flat one in the centre and 21 small round ones either side. Other amber necklaces from Kenninghall have 61 beads (B.M. 1883, 7-2, 35) and 46 beads (B.M. 1883, 7-2, 34) but on these correlations between the two sides are not so apparent. A mixed string from Kenninghall (B.M. 1883, 7-2, 31) has yellow and green pentagonal beads, red on yellow cylindrical beads, green on yellow cylindrical beads, light green cylindrical beads, brown on white beads and double beads of red on light green.

Whilst it is possible to point to the occurrence of individual forms at other sites, insufficient research has so far been done on Anglo-Saxon beads in general to give any firm indications of date. Some forms have been defined as purely seventh century and others as mainly fifth but these are individual cases. It would be inappropriate to give any firm indication of the date of the Brooke beads.

Bronze Objects (Fig. 5)

There are nine bronze objects from Brooke: a girdle-hanger fragment, a pair of tweezers, a belt suite, two bronze rings, a wrist clasp and a pin.

2. Bronze girdle-hanger fragment, length extant 61mm; the tip alone remains of a key-shaped girdle-hanger.

Girdle-hangers, a peculiarly East Anglian component of the range of Anglo-Saxon accoutrements, have yet to be studied in detail. This example belongs to what would seem to be the simplest type where the stem is the lengthened middle bar of an otherwise featureless 'E'.

⁶³ Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

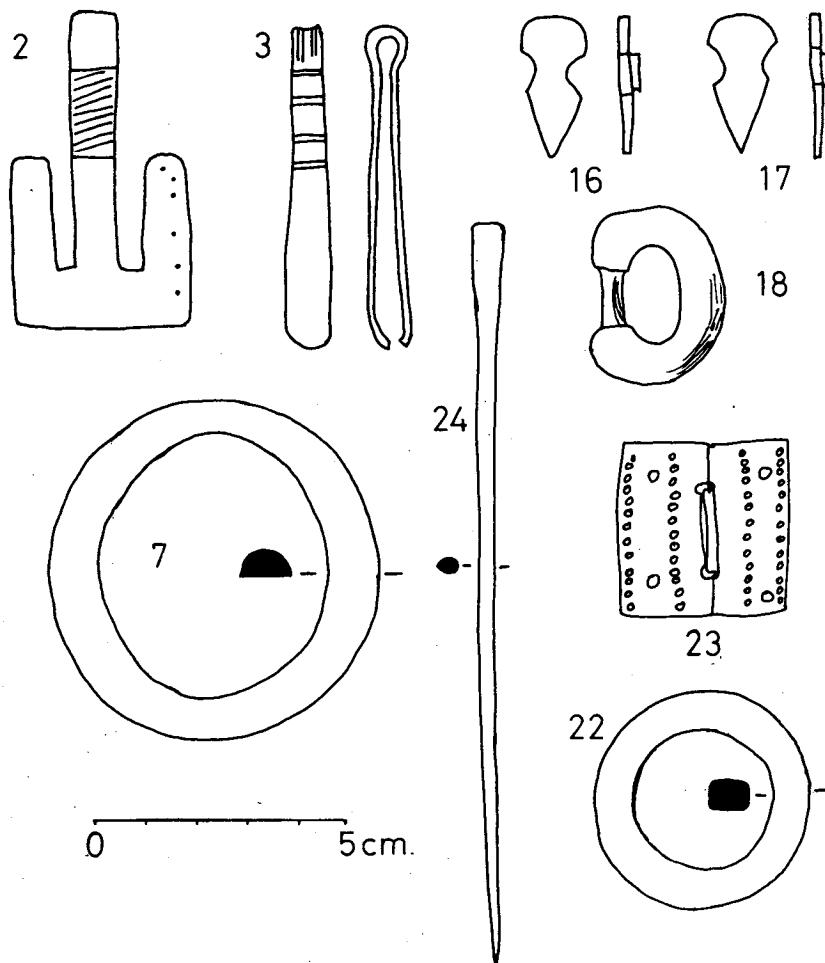


Fig. 5. Brooke: bronze objects.

3. Pair of bronze tweezers, with ribbed ornament on the top of the spring and lines on the upper face, length 62mm.
 7. Bronze ring, semi-circular in section, outside diameter 64mm, worn at top.
 16. Bronze shoe-shaped stud, length 28mm.
 17. Bronze shoe-shaped stud, length 28mm.
 18. Bronze buckle loop, width 36mm, no pin.

The buckle loop and shoe-shaped studs most probably formed part of a belt suite, more commonly found in Kent than in East Anglia.⁶⁴ One may presume that like a buckle from

⁶⁴ This point is ably demonstrated by Aberg (1926) 116-131 and 212-216, table 5.

Barrington, Cambs.,⁶⁵ the loop was once fitted with a shield-on-tongue pin. Buckles of this general form from East Anglia, like those from St Johns,⁶⁶ Little Wilbraham⁶⁷ and Holywell Row grave 31,⁶⁸ have a triangular plate, once fitted with inlaid gold foil such as is still extant on the St John's buckle from a well-known late sixth century grave group.

22. Bronze ring, square-sectioned, diameter 42mm.
23. Bronze wrist clasp, of two joined oblong plates, both ornamented with two rows of circlets, length 34mm.

Wrist clasps are common in East Anglia.⁶⁹ This very simple type is also found at Kenninghall (B.M. 1883, 7-2, 10) though this example has raised dots and circlets.

24. Bronze pin, length 14.8cm, circular-sectioned, tapering to a point.

Weapons (figs. 6 and 7)

Thirteen weapons are extant from Brooke: two knives, nine spearheads and two shield-bosses.

25. Iron spearhead, with broken socket, slightly bent from vertical, length extant 221mm, blade 160mm.
26. Iron spearhead, angular blade, split socket, length 230mm, blade 142mm, width 33mm.
27. Iron blade, probably from a knife, tanged, broken at tang and point, length extant 162mm.
28. Iron spearhead, broken at tip, length 256mm, blade 143mm.
29. Iron spearhead, length 270mm, blade 170mm.
30. Iron spearhead, length 234mm, blade 110mm.
31. Iron spearhead, socket retains pin, length 245mm, blade 140mm.
32. Iron spearhead, broken in two, length 150mm, blade 75mm.
33. Iron spearhead, broken in two, tip of blade missing, length 194mm, blade 95mm.
34. Iron spearhead, pin in socket, length 188mm, blade 112mm.
35. Iron knife, in poor preservation, traces of wood remain on handle, overall length 294mm.
36. Iron shield-boss, with low carination, has lost most of rim, overall diameter 160mm, height 74mm.
37. Iron shield-boss with bronze capped rivets: boss is low and curved with a low spike ending in a small iron disc, diameter 166mm, height 64mm.

There is little that can meaningfully be said about either the knives or the spearheads from Brooke, except to remark that in a small cemetery, apparently so richly furnished with spears, it seems strange that there are none of the usual small Anglo-Saxon knives. Neither blade is of this type.

The shield bosses, on the other hand, provide an interesting item. Of different profiles, one (37) has bronze-capped rivets. Ornamented shields and bosses with other than iron rivets reach their apogee in the shield from Sutton Hoo,⁷⁰ but humbler cemeteries provide a rich array of finds. Silver rivets on shield bosses and as shield discs are common. Kempston grave 52 (grave of 11 Dec. 1863) has a boss, covered with bronze sheathing on the upper part, with a large disc, topped by a, now separate, silver rivet head, silver capped rivets on the rim and on the shield itself, which has bronze edging extant and a tinned bronze fish badge and tinned

⁶⁵ Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

⁶⁶ *Archaeologia* 63 (1912) 191, fig. 19.

⁶⁷ R. C. Neville *Saxon Obsequies Illustrated* (1852) pl.

⁶⁸ Lethbridge (1931) 18, fig. 10, B 1.

⁶⁹ There is a general discussion of wrist-clasps in Leeds (1945) 53-61.

⁷⁰ R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial, A Handbook* (1968) 21-24, fig. 6, pl. 4.

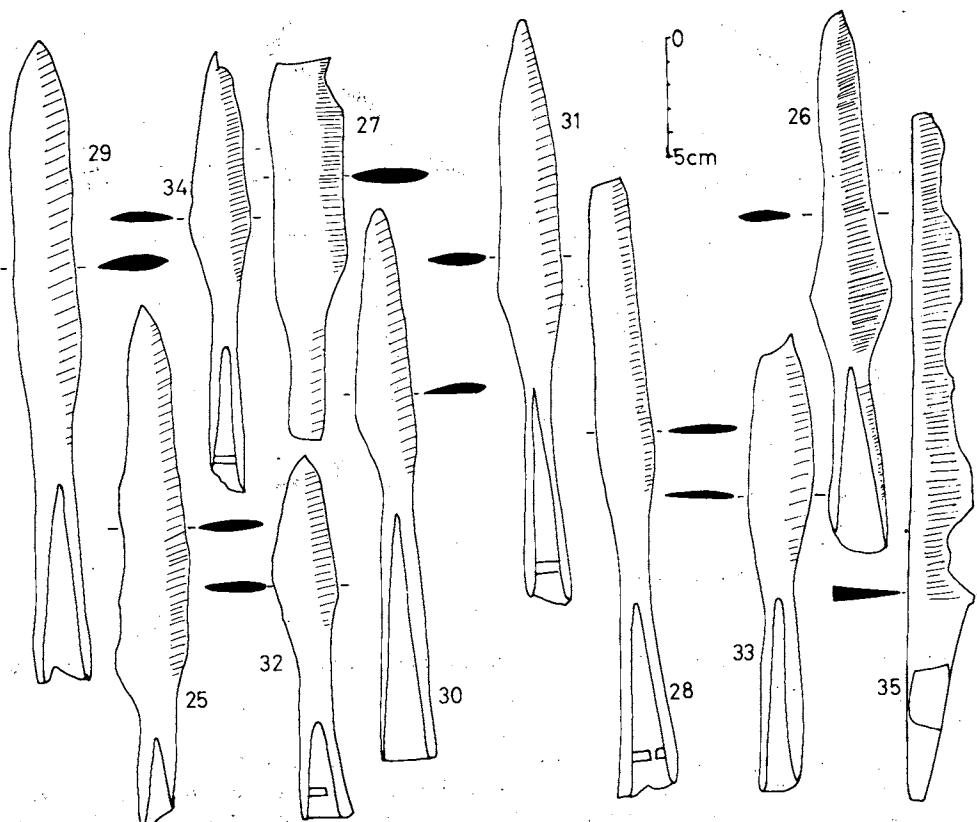


Fig. 6. Brooke: spears and knives.

bronze disc-headed rivets.⁷¹

Bronze-capped rivets have been found on shield-bosses from a number of widely separated sites. The British Museum have examples from Long Wittenham, Berks.,⁷² White Horse Hill, Berks.,⁷³ Faversham, Kent,⁷⁴ and Malling Hill, Sussex,⁷⁵ as well as that from Brooke. In East Anglia, admittedly on the western fringes, there are examples from Barrington, Cambs.,⁷⁶ and Woodston, Hunts.⁷⁷ The dating of these is at present only to be guessed at: the White

⁷¹ On this shield see D. H. Kennett *Kempston* (full ref. in n. 33); for the primary account of the grave *Coll. Ant.* 6 (1868) 207-208.

⁷² British Museum no. 1875, 3-10, 31/33/39 (three examples).

⁷³ British Museum, no. 1862, 7-7, 45.

⁷⁴ British Museum, no. 1002. '70.

⁷⁵ British Museum; no. 1839, 10-29, 153a.

⁷⁶ Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

⁷⁷ Peterborough Museum.

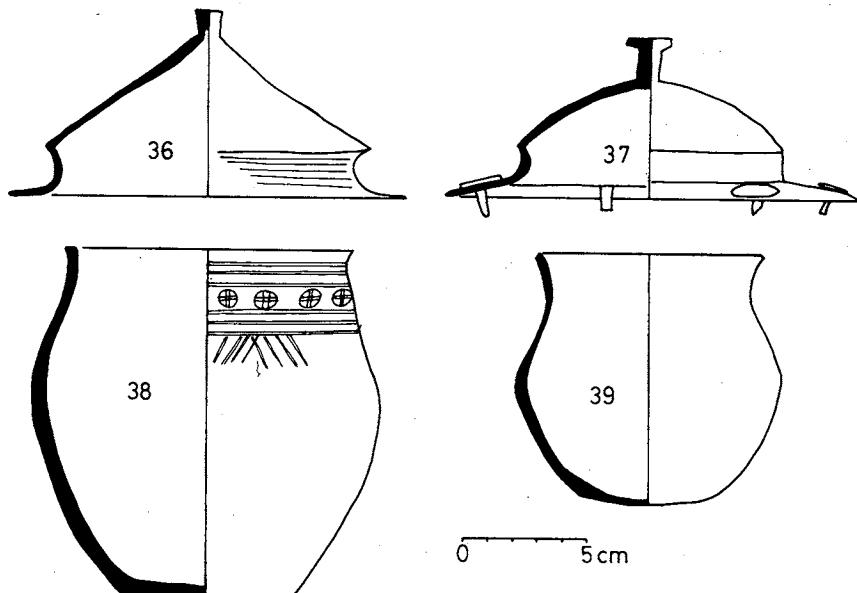


Fig. 7. Brooke: shield bosses and pottery.

Horse Hill boss is of the Holdborough type and therefore probably seventh century but the others could be earlier.

Pottery (fig. 8)

- Two pots and a loom-weight (now lost) are known from Brooke.
38. Small jar of brown ware, three neck lines, row of cross-in-circle stamps, three grooves, widely spaced four-line chevrons on shoulder, remainder of pot is plain. Height 14.0mm, rim diameter 11.5mm.
 39. Small globular vessel, rough. Plain. Height 100mm, rim diameter 88mm.
 40. Loom-weight (lost): triangular, with two holes (not illustrated).

DISCUSSION

The Brooke Cemetery

This paper has provided the first full publication of the Anglo-Saxon finds made at Brooke, Norfolk, 1867–69. In all forty objects are known. From these, incomplete as they probably are, it is possible to build up some picture of the cemetery and therefore of the community it served.

Where dates for individual objects have been advanced it will be remembered that they fall predominantly within the middle and latter years of the sixth century. The one earlier object, (1) a cruciform brooch, may well be an heirloom or the earliest object buried, as a date within the sixth century is probable for this object. Probably the most recently buried piece is the florid cruciform

brooch (10), but even that does not seem to belong much, if at all, beyond the end of the sixth century.

Assuming each of the larger brooches (5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15) represents a separate burial of a woman and each of the spearheads (25, 26, 28-34) a male grave, this gives seven women and eight men. Another woman may probably be added from the record of the British Museum register for September 1867, which notes a cruciform brooch (1), an annular brooch (4) and beads (8). The remainder of the objects would seem to fit as extra accoutrements for these sixteen graves.

Neither of the pots is exactly large and perhaps both were accessory vessels to inhumation graves, rather than cremation containers. Cremation was, however, used at the site, as the state of the great square-headed brooch shows, though its use does not appear to have been more than occasional.

The Brooke finds would thus seem to represent a cemetery of some sixteen graves, with objects dating to the mid to late sixth century. Two features are unusual: an inhumation cemetery in Norfolk and the occasional use of cremation.

Occasional Cremations

Brooke has been described as a 'mixed cemetery'⁷⁸ but the proportion of inhumations to cremations is 15:1 or more probably higher. This, surely, does not indicate that the cemetery was a 'mixed' one, for one rite is clearly predominant, in this case inhumation. It is much more appropriate to call Brooke 'an inhumation cemetery with an occasional cremation'.

Inhumation burials found in large cremation cemeteries have caused these to be called 'mixed'. A case in point is Illington, Wretham, Norfolk, where 212 cremations were found and three inhumation burials.⁷⁹ This, surely, represents a mainly cremation cemetery with the occasional inhumation burial. Nor would I call Caistor St Edmund⁸⁰ a mixed cemetery, because its inhumations represent a late phase and for most of its long life this was a purely cremation cemetery.

Brooke is not the only inhumation cemetery with an occasional cremation. East Shefford, Berks.,⁸¹ has long been thought of as purely an inhumation cemetery, yet several of its pots could have been cinerary urns and at least one brooch has passed through the fire. In the East Midlands the use of occasional

⁷⁸ Meaney (1964) 170.

⁷⁹ The information available about this unpublished cemetery is summarised by Meaney (1964) 176.

⁸⁰ *Norfolk Arch.* 27 (1939) 216-220.

⁸¹ *V.C.H. Berks* 1 (1906) 239-240; *J. Royal Anthropological Inst.*, 45 (1915) 92-130; material in British Museum, Newbury Museum, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and Reading Museum has been collated by the author with a view to publication of this cemetery.

cremation is widespread. Luton, Beds.,⁸² has only three cremations in comparison to its 41+ inhumations. The medium size cemeteries of Northamptonshire such as Marston St Lawrence⁸³ (32 inhumations, 4 cremations) and Duston⁸⁴ (31+ inhumations and 2 cremations) are other examples. At Nassington⁸⁵ there were 65+ inhumations and three cremations and the phenomenon is known also in mid-Anglia. Of the Cambridgeshire cemeteries, Barrington B⁸⁶ (114+ inhumations) and Haslingfield⁸⁷ (unknown) are both large but have a few cremations. More concrete is Soham⁸⁸ (23 inhumations, 2 cremations), and one can even have slight suspicions about one or two of the six pots known from Linton Heath⁸⁹ (104 inhumations). All of these have been described as mixed yet the proportions hardly seem to indicate an equivalent use of both rites.

It would seem best to reserve the term 'mixed cemetery' for those sites where the proportions are roughly equal. Girton, Cambs.,⁹⁰ for instance, has 80+ inhumations and 130+ cremations and falls within such a category of mixed cemetery. Similarly Little Wilbraham, Cambs.,⁹¹ (199+ inhumations, 135+ cremations) is truly mixed, and even St John's Cricket Field⁹² (50+ inhumations, 100+ cremations) does not show too great a disparity. The other large mixed cemetery of the Ouse valley is, of course, Kempston, Beds.,⁹³ where the true position may never be known; but of an estimated 300 burials at least 126 were inhumation and at least 53 cremation. My suspicion is that the original figures were something in the order of 220 inhumations and 80 cremations. In each of these the proportion of inhumation to cremation is not too disparate: Girton 2:3; Little Wilbraham 3:2; St Johns 1:2; Kempston 3:1. These proportions are very different from the proportions in inhumation cemeteries with only the occasional cremation of which Brooke (15:1) is a prime example. One would suspect that a complete search through all the known literature would produce several more examples.

⁸² *Antiq. J.*, 8 (1928) 178–192.

⁸³ *Archaeologia* 33 (1849) 326–334; *Archaeologia* 48 (1882) 327–339; *V.C.H. Northants* 1 (1902) 228–233.

⁸⁴ *P.S.A.* 19 (1903) 310–314; Northampton Museum unpublished.

⁸⁵ *Antiq. J.* 24 (1944) 100–128.

⁸⁶ *Camb. Ant. Soc. Comm.* 5 (1883) 5–30; Fox (1923) 250–255.

⁸⁷ Fox (1923) 255–259.

⁸⁸ *Camb. Ant. Soc. Comm.*, 33 (1931) 152–163.

⁸⁹ *Arch. J.* 9 (1854) 95–115.

⁹⁰ E. J. Hollingsworth and M. M. O'Reilly *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Girton College, Cambridge* (1925).

⁹¹ R. C. Neville *Saxon Obsequies Illustrated* (1852); Fox (1923) 260–262.

⁹² Fox (1923) 242–244.

⁹³ *Coll. Ant.* 6 (1868) 166–172, 201–221; on this site see the unpublished account of the present author (n. 33 above).

Inhumation Cemeteries in Norfolk

Norfolk is usually thought of as a county of cremation burials. Like Lincolnshire it has over 500 Anglo-Saxon pots, mostly cremation urns. Yet there are a number of important inhumation cemeteries in Norfolk, as in Lincolnshire.

The largest is probably Kenninghall⁹⁴ (TM 034861), which is now only reconstructable as a group of unassociated objects, which individually suggest a date in the sixth and early seventh centuries for the site. Similarly Hunstanton Park⁹⁵ (TF 695411) and Sporle⁹⁶ (TF 854075) are groups of sixth-century material, probably to be dated to the middle and latter years of the century rather than its opening decades. Individual burials like Catton⁹⁷ (TG 227099), Bridgham⁹⁸ (TL 939845) and Gissing⁹⁹ (TM 151850) are also to be dated to the sixth century.

Other material is, however, definitely of the seventh century. This is exemplified by the late inhumations at Caistor St Edmund of which the best-known find is the Coptic bronze bowl.¹⁰⁰ A large, purely Christian, Saxon cemetery is Caister-on-Sea¹⁰¹ and another is known from Thetford,¹⁰² where another site produced the well-known shield boss with ribs.¹⁰³

The inhumation material does not, however, compare with the wealth of cremation sites. These are large: Caistor St Edmund,¹⁰⁴ Castle Acre,¹⁰⁵ Markshall,¹⁰⁶ Illington¹⁰⁷ and Pensthorpe¹⁰⁸ are amongst the best known and largest Anglo-Saxon cremation cemeteries in England. Caistor St Edmund, with over 500 known cremations and 1000 suspected, compares in size with the great continental sites like Westerwanna.¹⁰⁹

Compared with these, the smaller inhumation sites may seem insignificant, yet their number and wealth of material does represent a phase of Norfolk's history. It is therefore right that they should be as fully published as possible. It is not,

⁹⁴ *Norfolk Arch.* 27 (1939) 223-224 gives list of known objects.

⁹⁵ *P.S.A.* 18 (1901) 310-321; *P.S.A.* 19 (1902) 172-174.

⁹⁶ *V.C.H. Norfolk* 1 (1902) 337-338.

⁹⁷ *Leeds* (1949) no. 52.

⁹⁸ *Leeds* (1949) no. 58.

⁹⁹ *Norfolk Arch.* 27 (1939) 222.

¹⁰⁰ *Norfolk Arch.* 27 (1939) pl. 14, lower.

¹⁰¹ Unpublished excavations of C. Green.

¹⁰² Unpublished excavations of G. M. Knocker.

¹⁰³ *Antiq. J.* 43 (1963) 44-45 with figs. 3 and 24b-d.

¹⁰⁴ *Norfolk Arch.* 27 (1939) 216-220 gives a summary; publication by J. N. L. Myres, *et al.*, is I understand forthcoming.

¹⁰⁵ The evidence is most conveniently summarised Meaney (1964) 172.

¹⁰⁶ *Norfolk Arch.* 27 (1939) 200-201, 225-226; Meaney (1964) 178.

¹⁰⁷ Meaney (1964) 176 gives a summary of this unpublished site.

¹⁰⁸ *Norfolk Arch.* 27 (1939) 201-203, 227-228; Meaney (1964) 177.

¹⁰⁹ K. Zimmer-Linnfeld, *et al.*, *Westerwanna*, 1 (1960).

I feel, too great an expectation to express the wish that the others, and in particular Kenninghall, may not have to wait for the centenaries of their museum acquisition,¹¹⁰ before full publication.

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¹¹⁰ The Brooke material was acquired by the British Museum in November, 1870; this paper was completed in November, 1970.

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