

THE ANGLIAN SETTLEMENT OF THE DERBYSHIRE-STAFFORDSHIRE PEAK DISTRICT.

By MARGARET J. FOWLER, M.A.

“633. In this year King Edwin was slain by Cadwallon and Penda at Hatfield Chase . . . then afterwards went Cadwallon and Penda and laid waste the whole of Northumbria.” A.S. Chron. (Laud Chron. (E), trans. Garmonsway. *Everyman*, ed. 1953, p. 25.)

“ . . . for Penda, with all the nation of the Mercians, was an idolater, and a stranger to the name of Christ; but Cadwalla, though he bore the name and professed himself a Christian, was so barbarous in his disposition and behaviour . . . ” (Beda, II, xx). *Everyman*, p. 101.

“661. In this year at Easter Cenwalh fought at Posentesburh; and Wulfhere, son of Penda, ravaged from Ashdown . . . Wulfhere, son of Penda, ravaged in the Isle of Wight, and gave the people of Wight to Aethelwald, king of Sussex, because Wulfhere had stood sponsor for him at baptism.” (A.S. Chron. Laud (E), Garmonsway, p. 33 f.).

(Mercia was officially Christianized in 652/3).

“676. In this year . . . Aethelred king of Mercia, overran Kent.” (A.S. Chron. *Everyman*. Laud (E), Garmonsway, p. 38.)

THAT the Trent valley, at least as far inland as the Burton-on-Trent area, was settled early in the sixth century A.D. by Anglian bands, is a long accepted thesis (1). It has been assumed generally that from this area, where later Repton became a royal town, and which one feels may have been the district where the royal line felt itself most at home, the Peakland, among other districts, was conquered sometime in the late sixth, or the seventh century (2). The Anglo-Saxon jewellery, of Kentish type, is the main evidence for this

view, and it is of course evidence of the utmost importance. However, one is impelled to ask whether this is the whole story. Now that the theory of the "extermination" of the Britons has lost support, and now that there is general belief in a period of British prosperity — albeit brief, tribal and under "tyrants"; now that Anglo-Saxon material in general has been sifted and classified to a considerable extent, we can pause to look more closely at what one might call peripheral material, in border areas, among which we may hope to find tangible indications of those Britons who to some extent managed to hold their own or at any rate to survive.

Such a border area is the Peak District, lying as it does on the eastern edge of the Highland Zone. It is an area not in itself immediately desirable to the Anglian invaders, especially to those who found themselves conveniently suited in the lower valley of the Trent. In this upland region, among the many tumuli of the Bronze Age, intrusive burials have been found, accompanied by iron and other objects manifestly of our own era; other tumuli are known in the district, which were first built during the Anglo-Saxon period. Among the relevant burials there exists a considerable confusion of material types accompanying the dead. These types can be classified under the following heads:

- (a) Romanizing or Celtic.
- (b) Kentish or Frankish.
- (c) Objects of a Christian significance.
- (d) Anglo-Saxon, non-Kentish.

Among the Romanizing material we find the Grindlow bowl, the Thors Cave barrow bronze pan (connected with the Chessel Down bronze pan which is linked to Castor ware by its stamped leopard (3)), and occasionally late coins; also the Castern geometrically patterned bracelet, the Newhaven "boss", and little vessel. Also there are a few fragmentary finds which belong to this group. Among the Kentish material, there is the group of fine cloisonné and filigree jewellery, and the glass, as well as the remarkable shield bosses. Christian symbols link with this group — the Winster filigree cross particularly, and perhaps also the cross on the Benty Grange

helmet.¹ A Frankish element is introduced by the Bruncliff jug, and perhaps by another pot. The spearheads and a few knives, and presumably the swords from Brushfield represent what we may call normal Anglo-Saxon, along with single beads found in several burials, and the Wyaston link of beads (4).

The major problem which arises is how to synthesize this curious hybrid collection. The oddest thing about the area is the comparatively large amount of Kentish material; single finds of such things would cause little surprise, but this is a considerable amount of such material and cannot be lightly dismissed as casually acquired. Some serious reason for its provenance must be found. Further, that such material — and in at least one case specifically Christian in origin — should be found so far north in what are, properly speaking, pagan type tumuli, seems to indicate something strange. What was the racial and political grouping of the people who left these things? Were they Anglian, British, or British with an intrusive Anglian ruling element? They could have been, one presumes, Anglians settled rather apart from those of the Trent valley, and perhaps with differences with regard to their Continental origin; or British with bartered or looted material from nearby Anglian settlements; or simply British with a small intermixture of Anglian settlers — these presumably being their self-imposed leaders.

The view that they were British would depend for its acceptance largely on the nature of the bartered or looted material, and on the circumstances of its burial. The Anglo-Saxon material found in our district, with the exception of iron knives, spearheads, and needle boxes, and more particularly of the beads from Wyaston, is not comparable to that normal in the Trent valley; there is a marked absence of cruciform brooches, for instance; and the group of Kentish or generally speaking, south-eastern types, from the Peak District, is not paralleled to the east of this area. It therefore seems unlikely that it was brought in by simple trading means, and it could

¹ The Benty Grange material is not treated here at all, as it is being studied by Mr R. Bruce-Mitford, of the British Museum.

not on the same grounds have been looted from raided valley settlements. But, on the other hand, although the details of many of the finds are meagre, it is undoubted that some of the barrows, for example Wyaston, an earthen barrow of a kind not normal in the area, and Lapwing Hill, with coffin rivets remaining, were decidedly of Anglo-Saxon rather than Celtic types. As against these being purely Anglian, there is of course the difficulty raised by the apparent absence of tumulus burial among the early Anglian settlers of the Trent valley. Nevertheless, in the face of the undoubtedly non-Celtic nature of the barrows mentioned above, and the rather larger amount of Anglo-Saxon material than one would find, or expect to find, in a purely Celtic backwater, an uncolonised British community seems rather unlikely to have been left to its own area.

If the group is regarded as simply an isolated Anglian one, i.e. a small community of settlers who had claimed a small part of the more habitable part of the Peak District, then the penannular brooches and other Romanizing material have to be accounted for as loot, presumably from some nearby Britons, or those who had been dispossessed. This view would be in fact the reverse side of one which took the purely British view, and regarded the Anglo-Saxon material as loot brought in by British raids on the valley settlements. Neither view is therefore very satisfactory.

The third possibility is that a small group of Anglian settlers came in, either during the later part of the sixth century, or sometime towards the middle of the seventh century; they settled down with some of the local British, and married British women, thus producing a mixed community. If they entered at the earlier date, they must be presumed to have been prepared later to be taken into the expanding Mercia. There are difficulties over even this compromise view. In the first place tumulus burial at this period is without parallel for Anglians to the east until one comes to the East Riding of Yorkshire, (itself a district which can be used for parallels only with caution, as a modern study of settlement problems of the period there is needed); but in the East Riding Anglian

burials, normal Anglian goods, e.g. cruciform brooches, are found. The absence of either pottery or brooches of normal Anglian types is noticeable in our group. A later settlement of Anglians as overlords to a group of Britons, i.e. towards the middle of the seventh century, could perhaps explain the absence of cruciform brooches.

These are the main questions or possibilities arising from the purely archæological material. What other evidence may be used?

At first sight the lack of literary evidence pertaining to Mercia seems to be a serious hindrance, and we have to admit this at the start. There is no indication either from Bede or from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as to the earliest Mercian history.

There are no indications of the earliest limits of Mercia. But perhaps here a helpful hint may come from the place-name Wichnor (5), which derives from the meaning, "The slope or bank of the Hwicce". Wichnor is a village a little further up the Trent than Burton-on-Trent. We do not know anything about the Hwicce until later than this period, and what we can infer then from the Tribal Hidage; but the Hwicce, like the Pecsætan, the inhabitants of the Peak District, were eventually swallowed up by Mercia. At any rate, the name Wichnor may give some indication that at first Mercian territory was confined to the northerly side of the Trent. Could it also have been kept for a time from expansion westwards, by the Pecsætan, and if so who were they? On this question there is no literary evidence, and all we have are the references in the Tribal Hidage, well into the period of the Mercian overlordship of the Pecsætas. The Hwicce we know must have been swallowed up in Mercia by the time when Oswy king of Northumbria after his final defeat of Penda in 655, gave Peada "The kingdom of the Southern Mercians, divided by the river Trent from the Northern Mercians" (6); but in the Tribal Hidage, the independence of the Hwicce is remembered in the retention of the name, and sub-kings were maintained in allegiance to their Mercian overlords. Whoever the Hwicce were, and whatever their territory was, does not concern us, however, except as a comparison, in view of our lack of evidence about the Pecsætan.

The question which now arises is whether the Pecsætan automatically have to be regarded as fundamentally Anglian, and sprung from the Anglian bands who first settled the Trent valley. Is there anything vital against these people being regarded as originally, i.e. up to the seventh century, the most easterly outpost of those who fled to "the woods, the waste parts, and the bare cliffs" (Bede, H. E.: I, xv). Such a group of people could have provided a link between Penda and Cadwallon, king of Gwynedd. If we could regard the people dwelling in the Peak District up to the seventh century as Romano-Britons in origin, or Celts (whatever one prefers to call the non-Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of Britain at this time), we could explain the occurrence in some barrows of annular and penannular brooches, and specifically sub-Roman material, e.g. from Newhaven and Castern.

When we look more closely at the literary evidence, bearing in mind what has been said above and the confused nature of the archaeological material it seems possible to make out a vague but not necessarily incoherent pattern. First of all we see that in 633 King Edwin of Northumbria was slain by Cadwallon and Penda after Edwin had ravaged as far as Anglesey, and the whole of Northumbria claimed to have been laid waste. As Stenton points out (7), this does show that the "latent strength of the British kingdoms" was more than we might have expected, and further that such a British kingdom could be a very useful ally to Penda. It can mean nothing more or less than that there was a singular and working alliance in the early seventh century between Mercia and a near British neighbour. So it may be possible to assume that at this time the two territories marched together, or else were divided by some community holding its own as a go-between. A purely British community in the Peak District could have been the most easterly group under Cadwallon's overlordship; or a group of Britons there with Anglian adventurers as a military aristocracy could have been friendly to both.

The next scrap of evidence which is relevant comes in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 661, when we find that Mercian forces under Wulfhere are in the south

of England ravaging even into the Isle of Wight, which was given by Wulfhere to the King of Sussex. It is not possible to say how much we may argue for a previous connexion with the south on the grounds that Wulfhere stood sponsor at the baptism of the King of Sussex as this, according to usage, could have happened merely as the result of an expedient alliance. We may note here that Mercia had been officially Christianized in 653/3 (Laud text. 655 A text). We get no further connexion with the south until 676, when Aethelred overran Kent.

Now the Kentish filigree jewellery, some of which is found in our Peak District burials, is considered to have reached its most prolific and its best period in the late sixth to early seventh centuries, as one of the material instances of the well-being and the stability of Kent under Aethelbert. Further, the examples, cross and brooch, from Winster Moor were thought by Baldwin Brown to be late examples of this jewellery — he speaks of the dullness of the filigree, etc (8). They could have been, then, products not of the richest and most artistic period, but of a time much nearer to the middle of the seventh century.

Umbos of the type found at Tissington are Jutish in origin (9), rare outside Kent and the Isle of Wight. Their dating is rather vague, but there seems no reason why they should not have been used by Wulfhere's opponents and taken as booty when he overran the Isle of Wight.

A reasonable explanation of the Kentish material as a whole within our area, including the Frankish pottery, would be that these things were brought back as loot by a part of Wulfhere's soldiery. But the problem which then arises is why, Mercia now being Christianized, these objects should be found in tumuli in the Peak District? Not one such object has appeared from the Trent valley even as a casual find; by this time the practice of putting grave goods with the dead must have been dying out there. But if we accept it as a possibility that among Wulfhere's followers was a group of Britons now prepared to follow a Mercian king, then we get a little further. To go back somewhat earlier, we are told that Cadwallon professed himself a Christian, but was "so barbarous",

etc. Can we see in Cadwallon's type of Christianity, and probably that which held in remote inland regions of Britain long after connexions with abroad had been severed, the final debasement of the religion retained by the Britons in such a way as to rouse the horror of Gildas earlier? How much more debased any remnants of Christianity must have become in the period after Gildas. But to such a people to whom the normal doctrines of Christianity had long been lost, there would have been nothing illogical in burying their dead in pagan tumuli — such as that on Winster Moor — along with a beautiful decoration like the Winster Cross, which could well still have been recognised as a symbol bearing magic. It would be much more strange to assume that newly Christianized Mercians would have done such a thing — especially Mercians for whom there is no evidence in their pagan burial grounds in the Trent valley for burial in tumuli anyway, so that a memory of how their ancestors buried their dead can hardly confuse the issue here. It could be suggested, therefore, that in this group of burials with objects brought from the south-east, we have the last floreat of a group of Britons, before they, too, became English.

However, if we postulate a group of Britons with Anglian military leaders, who had entered the district sometime in the first half of the seventh century, this fits even better. The British part of the community could have been responsible for the persistence of tumulus burial; the Anglian military aristocrats for the alliance with Mercia in the raids on the south-east. In this way the non-British features in a few of the tumulus burials of the period (e.g. coffin rivets), could be the more easily explained. The sword burials at Brushfield and Tissington could be regarded as the graves of some of the Anglian warriors, taking over the tumulus rite. It cannot be suggested that this gives a final answer to the problem in our area for this period; it is difficult to explain all features satisfactorily.

The purpose of this article is primarily to draw attention to the strange nature of the material in the Peak District, and the peculiar problems which face not only archaeologists but historians who wish to try to impose some

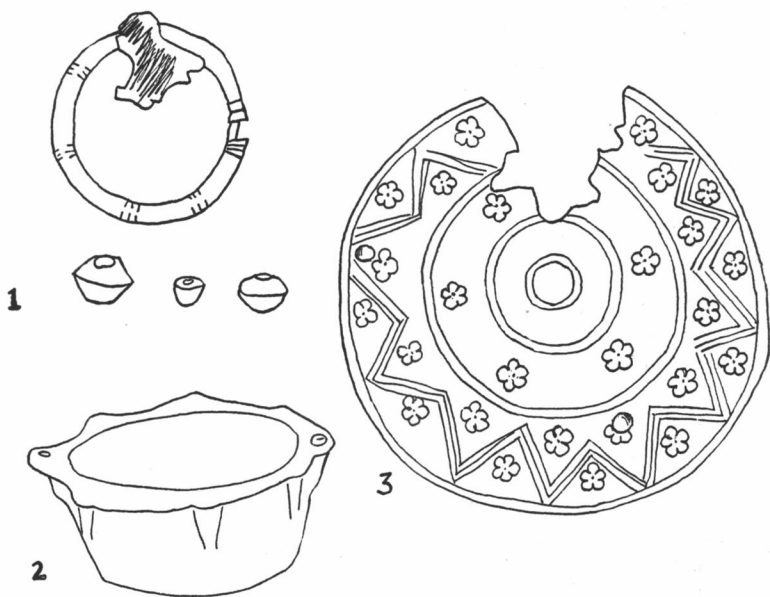
order on this short but chaotic period. If we are now to believe that a good many British communities survived as such during the first centuries of Anglo-Saxon settlement, and that in some areas a gradual fusion came about, rather than the simple extermination of the one by the other, we must be prepared to look for material evidence of this process.

CATALOGUE OF FINDS.

ROMANIZING, OR CELTIC.

CASTERN, first barrow. Originally opened 1845, *Vestiges*, p. 73; re-opened later, *Ten Years*, p. 166.

Intrusive burial into an earlier barrow. This barrow was about thirty-five yards in diameter, and four to five feet high. The intrusive burial was an inhumation, accompanied by several



- 1.—Bronze brooch and glass beads, Borough Fields, Wetton.
- 2.—Bronze vessel, The Low, Newhaven.
- 3.—Bronze boss, The Low, Newhaven.

flint fragments, and a small bronze bracelet described as about half an inch broad, made of a flat strip, and about $2\frac{3}{8}$ ins. in diameter. Possible comparisons, Saffron Waldon, Essex, and Vermand, Aisne. See Baldwin Brown, p. 458.

A small fragment of thin bronze similarly decorated was found in an Anglian burial at Driffield, Yorks., along with an undecorated bronze bracelet, amongst other objects. See Mortimer, pl. CII, 816, and p. 282. Fig. 7.

MUSDEN, fourth barrow. *Ten Years*, p. 148.

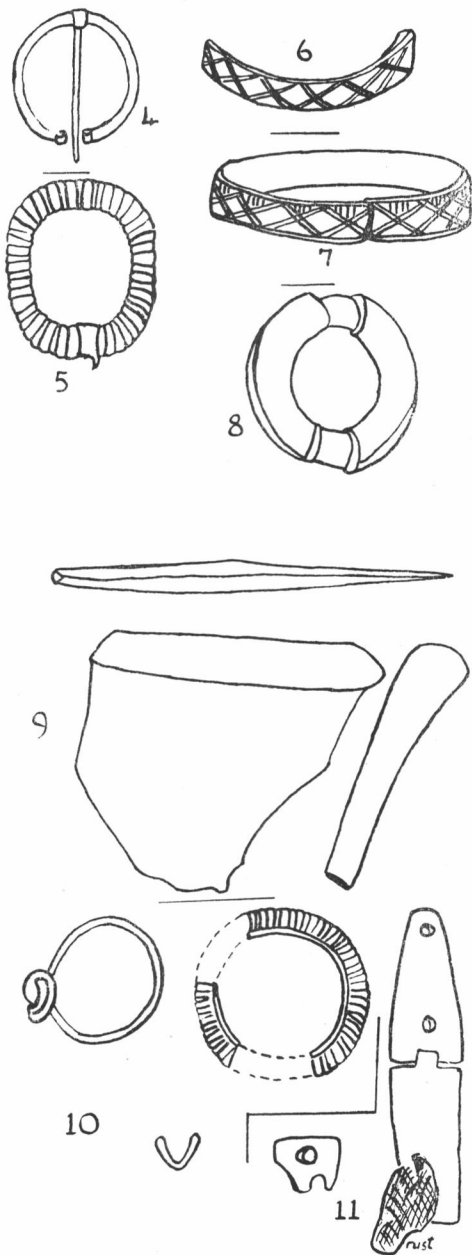
Two annular brooches, both the same, bronze, grooved, pins broken. This barrow was composed mostly of earth, was about twenty-five yards across, about three feet high, and was flat topped. There were two inhumations near the centre about halfway down, accompanied by the brooches and a pebble. Fig. 5.

NEUHAVEN, THE LOW. *Ten Years*, p. 45.

A barrow of "tempered" earth. Bateman remarks on the similarity in make-up to that at Benty Grange. There was no skeleton found, only a few calcined bones, which were too small to be assigned to anything with any certainty. There were many small pieces of thin iron straps, described as more or less overlaid with bronze, and said to be similar to the strap fragments from the Benty Grange helmet. Along with these went a boss, three inches in diameter, made of thin bronze pierced with three holes, and with raised concentric circles; it was ornamented with a dotted chevron pattern, with small die-stamped rosettes in the angles of the chevrons. Along with it was a small ribbed vessel of bronze with two perforated lugs, and a small bronze ferrule or hoop. Bateman gives references to two small vessels like the one here, one from Lewes (*Archæologia*, XXXI, p. 437), and one from Lincoln (Lincoln volume of the Archæological Institute, p. xxx). The Lincoln example was said to have been found along with Samian fragments. Both these examples were ornamented with a dot and circle pattern arranged in the shape of an equal armed cross. Thin bronze bosses are known from some Roman sites, but it has not been possible to find any close parallels to this example. Figs. 2 and 3.

OVERHADDON, GRINDLOW. *Ten Years*, p. 48.

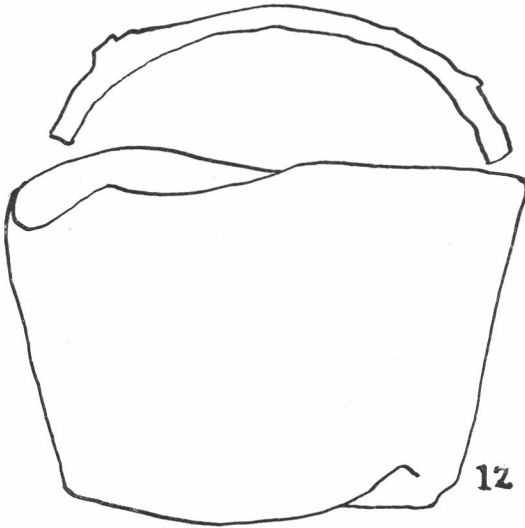
In the overburden of an earlier barrow "relics of a later interment", with the bronze bowl fragments, see Kendrick, *Antiquity*, VI, 1933. Along with the bowl went the remnants of what Bateman calls a silver-plated frame for an enamel. The lozenge pattern on this is similar to the pattern on the bracelet from Castern. Fig. 6.



- 4.—Bronze brooch, Kenslow Knoll, Youlgrave.
 5.—Grooved bronze brooch, Musden fourth barrow.
 6.—Bronze fragment, Grindlow, Overhaddon.
 7.—Bronze bracelet, Castern first barrow.
 8.—Pumice (?) object, Winstar.
 9.—Glass fragment and iron awl, Stanshope.
 10.—Bronze brooch, silver knot ring and earring, Wyaston.
 11.—Bronze hinge and bone pin head, Cow Low, Buxton.

WETTON, THORS CAVE BARROW. *Ten Years*, p. 172.

A barrow about nine yards across, slight elevation, much ploughed over; built mostly of earth and chert lumps. Just below the surface was a mass of charcoal, with bits of burnt and unburnt bone, and pieces of stags horns. Near the centre, about a foot below the surface was a bronze vessel, with a slender corroded iron handle, and a ridged sandstone bowl. The bronze vessel was 4 ins. high and 6 ins. in diameter, and is described as "first cast and then hammered". It was inverted, with traces of wood over it. This pan is similar to one from Chessel Down. It is now missing, but is drawn in the Bateman MSS. It is quite plain. The Chessel Down example is ornamented with a stamped leopard derived by Baldwin Brown from Castor ware animals, and thus possibly of early date. The Chessel Down vessel was $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. high. See Baldwin Brown, p. 103, pl. IX, 2 and pl. CXIX. The sandstone bowl is in Sheffield Museum (S.M. Catalogue, J.93, 125). Fig. 12.



12.—Bronze vessel, Thors Cave Barrow, Wetton.

WETTON, BOROUGH FIELDS. *Ten Years*, p. 201.

A burial found accidentally by Carrington while digging about in the supposed Romano-British village site; a female inhumation with three bi-conical glass beads (two lilac and one blue); also a bronze annular brooch with a corroded pin, and with a little decorative grooving; also an iron awl and iron nails.

Round about this same place there were ashes, boars tusks and other bones, and two coins, small brass, one Constantine family, reverse *Gloria Exercitus*; the other minute and presumably illegible. A few years later, Carrington realised that the ground on one side of the place where the interment was found was slightly raised, and contained mixed bones, broken vessels, animal bones, etc. — none of these are extant. At the base of this disturbed part was a long bronze "skewer" 12½ ins. long with the end fashioned into the shape of a pig or boar's foot. This is also missing. Nearby was a disturbed inhumation, with an iron knife and spearhead. Fig. 1.

WINSTER. Ten Years, p. 98.

Two contracted inhumations found in a garden at Winstre; along with them two iron spearheads, and a small pottery vessel described as "of coarse and unornamented pottery" (this is missing), a small curved iron instrument, a beehive quern, and this small object which is in the Museum at Sheffield, and which is most puzzling. It seems to be made of polished pumice, is light grey and extremely light. It looks rather like an imitation Iron Age terret ring! No parallels can be found. Fig. 8.

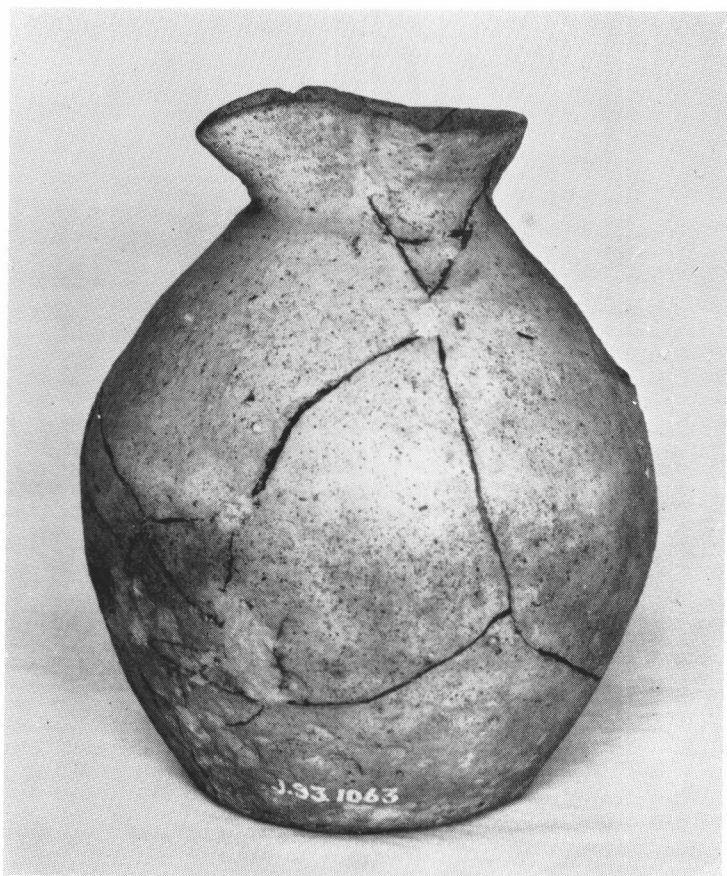
YOULGRAVE, KENSLOW KNOLL. *Vestiges*, p. 28.

A barrow about thirty feet in diameter, made of earth and stones. It was first opened in 1821 by William Bateman. The brooch was found on the breast of an extended skeleton and with it was a quartz pebble, and a fragment of red pottery, now missing. The barrow was an earlier one which had been much disturbed by the later burials. In his re-opening in 1848, Bateman found much confusion, but among other things he found fragments of kiln-baked wheel-made ware of red colour, and an iron knife. Of the pottery fragments, Bateman remarks "The vessel appears to have had a narrow neck, and to have resembled that found at Bruncliff . . . in form paste and colour". i.e. perhaps another Frankish vessel. See below for the Bruncliff vessel. Brooch: Fig. 4.

FRANKISH OR KENTISH.

BRASSINGTON MOOR, GALLEY LOW. *Vestiges*, p. 37.

An intrusive burial in an earlier barrow. Disturbed inhumation near to the surface. With the burial was a gold and garnet necklace which is in Sheffield Museum (S.M. Cat., J.93, 707, illustrated there). According to Leeds (*Art and Archæology*, p. 109), and to Baldwin Brown (Baldwin Brown, p. 773), this necklace of Kentish type should be seventh century. The reasons for this dating depend upon the cloisonné and filigree style.



Frankish Jug, Bruncliff.
Height $8\frac{1}{2}$ " , Diameter at base 4".

Also found were several large iron rivets, perhaps of a coffin, iron arrowheads (?), a bone pin (S.M. Cat., J.93, 419), fragments of a pottery vessel, said to be slightly glazed, but now lost, and two beads (S.M. Cat., J.93, 711, 712). The pin has a large swollen eye.

BRUNCLIFF. *Vestiges*, p. 101.

Jug, extant (S.M. Cat., J.93, 1063), broken, of Frankish-Kentish type, red wheel-made ware, with bi-conical body, pinched trefoil lip. This is from an earthen barrow about three feet high over a grave two feet deep. There was an extended inhumation in the grave, with the jug and a small curved iron knife. There were traces of wood around the body, as of planks or coffin. Near to the tibia were the remains of "an article" of wood and iron, the use of which Bateman could not decide; it had had some ornamentation, as he says, "upon one part of it is a small silver cell or settings, which had retained a stone or gem of some description".

The jug is of a kind not normally found outside Kent, and not common there, although allied types are frequent. In Kent it would presumably belong to Leeds Frankish phase, i.e. during the sixth century and presumably beyond. Plate I.

CAULDON HILLS. *Ten Years*, p. 153.

Intrusive burial found in a badly disturbed earlier barrow. There is no certain warrant for the inclusion of this here, but Bateman describes the fragments of a vessel found as of "firmly baked ware, with a polished black surface, produced mechanically", and there is a poor sketch in one of the manuscripts which shews these fragments restored into what seems to bear a considerable likeness to a Frankish bottle vase.

BUXTON, COW LOW. *Vestiges*, p. 91.

Group extant, S.M. Cat. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{J.93, 703. Pin and chain suite.} \\ \text{J.93, 704. Silver necklace with blue} \\ \text{and white pendant.} \end{array} \right.$

Illustrated in Catalogue. J.93, 705. Bead of thick blue glass.

Glass bowl or cup, now restored to Sheffield Museum, figured in the Catalogue, p. 241.

A secondary inhumation in an earlier barrow. The pin suite and the glass bead were apparently at the neck of the body; the other articles were in a wooden box with two hinges (Fig. 11) and a bronze hasp and a staple with iron padlock. There was also a fox's tooth in the box. Bateman also refers to what seems to have been the end of a perforated bone needle of some kind, which had a small bronze "hoop" about it (Fig. 11). Also a comb and iron fragments.

This pin suite and necklace must be of similar date to the Brassington Moor necklace, i.e. according to the same authorities seventh century; for at Roundway Down, Wilts. (Baldwin Brown, p. 425 and p. 371 and pl. LXXXI), a pin suite of the same type as the Cow Low one was found with a necklace with similar barrel-shaped gold beads, and garnets set *en cabochon* as the Brassington Moor necklace. Also at Roundway Down there were similarities, i.e. barrel-shaped beads and silver pendants, to features of the Cow Low necklace.

The glass vessel has recently been restored to Sheffield from Lewes Museum. It is paralleled at Desborough, Northants, in shape, although the Cow Low example is smaller; it is also like one from Dover (Baldwin Brown, p. 485, pl. CXXV, 4, and pl. E, ii, p. 519). This glassware is normal to the south-east. Hinges and bone pin head. Fig. 11.

STAND LOW. *Vestiges*, p. 74.

Glass bead necklace, which has a spacer silver wire bead in the centre. This silver bead is barrel-shaped, i.e. of the type found on the Brassington Moor garnet necklace, and connected with the same group therefore.

Also a small round bronze needle box of normal type found here, and two iron knives.

STANSHOPE. *Ten Years*, p. 187.

A barrow about three hundred yards from Long Low, Wetton. An earlier barrow, much disturbed. Pieces of human skull, fragments of two or three pottery vessels, and iron awl, two small pieces of bronze and a piece of thick glass described as like that from Cow Low. The fragment has now been found, and it is of similar glass to the Cow Low, and seems to have been like it in general shape and size. The fragment is highly iridescent, and is a greenish colour. Fig. 9.

WHITE LOW, WINSTER MOOR. *Vestiges*, p. 19.

Gold and garnet filigree cloisonné brooch (S.M. Catalogue, J.93, 708, illustrated there), with silver back and four rivets. Neither Leeds nor Kendrick have fitted this brooch into their Kentish typology, though Kendrick puts a footnote suggesting that this might not be of Kentish manufacture (*Antiquity*, VIII (1933), p. 429), but this does not seem a very satisfactory judgment. The usual view is that this type of brooch began during the upsurge of Kentish culture under Aethelbert (560-616) and therefore in Kent is late sixth to early seventh century. This example is regarded as late of its kind by Baldwin Brown on the grounds that its filigree work is stereotyped and dull, and it might then have reached our district well into the seventh century.

The finding of this brooch is unsatisfactorily recorded, as it was found by a farmer in 1765 or 1766 when levelling an earthen barrow (see *Archæologia*, III, p. 274). Also said to have been found were two glass vessels between ten and eight inches in height, described thus, "with wide circular mouths and a little bulge in the middle". Again these seem to be of normal Kentish glass type, examples of which are freely illustrated by Baldwin Brown. Unfortunately, these vessels are missing. Also found, and again now lost, was a silver collar or bracelet about one inch broad, "joining at the ends in dovetail fashion and studded with human heads and other small ornaments secured by rivets". Also beads are mentioned in the account and remains of bronze clasps to a jewel box. The cross referred to below may come from the same burial. Altogether this seems to have been a remarkably rich find, and a great pity that it should have been so broken up and lost.

CHRISTIAN RELICS.

WHITE LOW, WINSTER MOOR. *Vestiges*, p. 19.

A gold filigree cross which very probably came from the same group as the other things referred to above, although the evidence is not definite. However, the filigree treatment is also "loose and monotonous", and Baldwin Brown regards this as evidence of the late date of the piece, i.e. presumably well into the seventh century, and of similar date to the brooch. The cross is illustrated in the Sheffield Museum Catalogue, p. 222.

"MILITARY" GROUPS.

Barrows at Brushfield and Tissington produced burials of a distinctly military flavour. While the other articles could be regarded as normal Anglo-Saxon types, two shield bosses of a high type normally not found outside Kent were found.

(1) BOWERS/BOARS/BOS-LOW. "Notice of the opening of a Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Grave Mound at Tissington" by J. E. Lucas. Published in Jewitt's *Reliquary*, 1864-5, p. 165, Vol. 5.

This barrow lay in the angle of the main Buxton road and Tissington lane. Part was destroyed before its opening by Lucas. According to Lucas what remained was about ten feet high and forty yards in diameter, and the mound was made up of earth and stones. Only fragments of human bone were found. A sword was found, and a shield boss of the high Kentish type. The sword which was originally in a leather sheath was mounted with silver; its length was thirty-four inches and it was two and a half inches wide. It had a round rivetted silver chape. There was also a spearhead associated. This group is in the British Museum, and it is also illustrated in Jewitt, *Grave Mounds and their Contents*, figs. 372 and 408.

(2) BRUSHFIELD. In the report of the above barrow, Lucas refers to a similar discovery of a sword and a shield boss of the same kind, on the same farm at Brushfield on which the Lapwing Hill barrow lay. This is also referred to by Bateman, while describing work on the barrow at Lapwing Hill (below). Bateman says simply that a barrow opened at Brushfield in 1828 produced a sword and shield boss; evidently Bateman acquired the sword for his collection, as it is at Sheffield, but he did not acquire the boss. Probably this sword and boss are those illustrated by Jewitt in *Half Hours with British Antiquities*, figs. 213 and 212.

(3) LAPWING HILL. *Ten Years*, p. 68.

In the same neighbourhood as that described above. Opened by Bateman in 1850. This barrow produced a sword, coffin rivets remnants of the wooden planks of the coffin, a short iron knife and two spearheads. There was no shield boss with this group. This was an earthen barrow about seventeen yards across, and four feet high.

These shield bosses are the only known instances of the type in the north. The type is illustrated by Leeds (*Archæology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, p. 65, fig. 11, a).

WYASTON. *Ten Years*, p. 188.

An earthen barrow thirteen yards in diameter and four feet high. Human teeth were the only signs of a burial. Twenty-seven beads were found, five of these being amber (illustrated Baldwin Brown, pl. CIV, 3). There is nothing to suggest that these are of unusual type; with the beads were two silver knot rings, which are paralleled at Long Wittenham, Berkshire (along with a silver pin suite of similar though more poverty stricken type to the Cow Low suite); Leeds (*Anglo-Saxon Art and Archæology*, p. 110 f.) puts the Long Wittenham group at seventh century date. But also with the Wyaston group was a penannular or annular flat bronze brooch, with the pin missing which may tie up with the Romanizing or Celtic group. Also two small silver earrings.

Brooch, one ring and earrings. Fig. 10.

NORMAL ANGLO-SAXON RELICS.

Needle boxes, iron spearheads, etc., are known from a number of barrows in the district, and most of these are referred to in the Sheffield Museum Catalogue. As this does not pretend to be an exhaustive article, no attempt has been made to classify them here.

BRIEF NOTES ON BRONZES.

Grindlow: Bronze bowl: illustrated Kendrick (*Antiquity*, VI (1933), pl. I fig. 4). "British Hanging Bowls". Regarded as

of Romanizing beaten bronze type. The little enamel would presumably fit in with this alright (see Barrow List).

Middleton Moor: Trumpet pattern escutcheon regarded by Kendrick as "North Midland work of the 6th century", i.e. Ultimate La Tene. Figured *ibid.* pl. VIII, fig. 2).

N.B. A fragment of a bronze bowl was also found on Middleton Moor in 1788 (date of the finding of the escutcheons), and is in S.M., and is also figured in *Arch.*, ix, p. 189. (S.M. Cat., J.93, 710).

Benty Grange: Silvered bronze and yellow enamel bowl escutcheon Kendrick, p. 178, fig. 10 (B). "It is a little roundel entirely filled by a design of animals biting each others tails . . . Originally" (i.e. this design) "was not Celtic; now it has become characteristically so." Derived ultimately from the frieze of animals that appears on the Cont. in 4th cent., and belongs on Kendrick Romanizing series. It is put here by K. as *c.* A.D. 600.

REFERENCES.

- ¹ F. M. Stenton: *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 38 (2nd edition).
- ² *Ibid.*, p. 41; and Baldwin Brown: *The Arts in Early England*, p. 773.
- ³ Baldwin Brown, *ibid.* p. 103, pl. IX, 3 and pl. CXIX.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. CIV, 2.
- ⁵ Ekwall, E. Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names.
- ⁶ Bede, H. E.: III, 24. (Everyman edition).
- ⁷ Stenton, *ibid.*, p. 80.
- ⁸ Baldwin Brown, *ibid.*, p. 118.
- ⁹ Leeds, E. T.: *Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, p. 65.

ABBREVIATIONS.

- Baldwin Brown: *The Arts in Early England*.
Vestiges. T. Bateman: *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire*.
Ten Years. T. Bateman: *Ten Years Diggings in Celtic and Saxon Grave Hills*.
Mortimer, J. R.: *Forty Years Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*.
S.M. Catalogue: Sheffield Public Museum. *Catalogue of Bateman Antiquities*.

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The sketches have been taken from water-colour drawings in the manuscripts; reproduction of these is difficult and it must be admitted not very satisfactory.